DEMOCRATIC LEFT
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Special Issue

Socialist Feminism Today

Feminism's Political Value

Women & War

The Pro-Choice Movement

plus

After the Fall of Iraq: Continuing the Anti-War Movement

Transportation for People, Not Profit

DSA Locals in the Anti-War Movement

OPINION

After the Fall

The success of the military campaign does not meet the criteria set out beforehand to justify the intervention.

By Frank Llewellyn and Joseph Schwartz

Bush and the neoconservative ideologues that pushed the country into an unjust and unnecessary war are reveling in the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime and the displays of euphoria that always greet the fall of tyrannical oppression. They have transformed the justification of a war supposedly aimed at destroying weapons of mass destruction and breaking supposed ties with Al Queda into a war for human rights.

Multilateral interventions against genocidal regimes may be justified as might efforts to stop an individual individual rogue state – such as the United States – from using brute force to reshape the world in their own narrow interest. But such interventions can only be just if sanctioned by truly international institutions. Certainly, there are no mourners for Saddam's brutish regime in the peace movement. But contrary to what the warmongers believe, the success of the military campaign does not meet the criteria set out beforehand to justify the intervention: where are the weapons of mass destruction that threatened the US, and where are the ties to external terrorist organizations that currently pose a threat to world peace?

The outcome of the military campaign was never in doubt; rather, it is the outcome of the occupation of Iraq that is. The Iraqi people certainly deserve a shot at building a democratic society, but it is unlikely that this will be achieved under the occupying aegis of a mistrusted, even despised, imperial occupying power. Any domestic forces that appear to be pliant to US interests will inevitably be rejected by a truly democratic Iraqi voice. Witness the disdain shown by the Iraqi public for Ahmad Chalabi, a corrupt exiled businessman. It is not even clear if a US and British military presence can establish legitimate order, yet alone indigenous democracy. Afghanistan has yet to see stability or democracy, while Afghani women have yet to see their aspirations met.

Already there have been assassinations and political infighting among the Iraqis chosen by the United States Defense Department (!) to assist in the "civilian" administration. And it is ulikely that any American-anointed Iraqi leadership can escape the label of puppets, particularly if American corporations are gaining the lion's share of the profits from a reconstruction paid for by Iraqi oil. Iraqi oil has been nationally owned since 1970. Yet, the US government proposes to sell these national assets to foreign – i.e., US – transnational oil companies. So much for oil being the patrimony of the Iraqi people.

The United Nations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) – particularly from the Arab and Islamic world – must play a more significant role than that planned by the US and Britain if we are to have any expectation of a truly democratic outcome in Iraq. And the United States public must be prepared that the likely outcome of democratic elections in Iraq will be a nationalist or Islamic government hostile to the US government. Democracy in the developing world, as we have seen in Algeria, Turkey, and South Africa, rarely yields regimes that kowtow to American foreign policy. Iraq has a tradition of fierce nationalism that predates Saddam Hussein. We ignore it at our peril.

Those of us opposed to this unilateral United States military campaign made three main arguments. The first was that Iraq posed no immediate military or security threat to the US or its neighbors, particularly after inspectors were in place. Nothing that has been "discovered" counters this basic fact, nor is it likely that such a smoking gun will be discovered. They will no doubt discover

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some chemical or biological weapons but these were never a threat to us or even to theater powers such as Iran or Syria (which also have chemical weapons that cannot be delivered outside the Persian Gulf).

Second, we argued that the war would provide a gold mine of new cadre to terrorist organizations. We have already seen, according to the news, thousands of non-Iraqis volunteer for certain death or capture by crossing the border to fight against our troops. Once the battlefield quiets we can expect these new recruits to the war on terror (courtesy of the US intervention) to begin to seek new targets. And if the Iraqi economy is not rebuilt where will all those ex-soldiers returning to everyday life end up?

Third, we argued that the damage to relations with historical allies and international institutions would render the world less safe. The Bush administration has articulated a dangerous doctrine of preemption, asserting that the US has the right to instigate war at will against states that it perceives as long-term, eventual threats. It is the doctrine of an empire, not the leader of the community of nations. Furthermore, it is a doctrine that dangerously promotes nuclear proliferation. Would we have invaded Iraq if we really thought that Saddam had the bomb? Every state on Rumsfeld's hit list can be expected to accelerate its efforts to acquire nuclear weapons.

The doctrine of "preemptive" war is a misnomer, as it moves well beyond the "just war" doctrine of a "preemptive" military strike being justified if and only if an about-to-be-attacked nation can only defend itself successfully if it attacks first. Obviously, Iraq was neither about to attack the United States nor could it do so successfully, even if the US did not take "preemptive" action. Rather, Bush's National Security Doctrine says that the US can "preventively" attack any nation that it conceives to be even a distant, eventual threat to US interests anywhere around the globe. It is a doctrine that threatens to negate the very principle of national sovereignty that has provided a modicum of global stability since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1644. If Iraq is first, will Iran or Syria be next? What of North Korea? Columbia? Venezuela? And how can the US caution any other nation not to engage in "preemptive" strikes?

The ideologues from the Project for the New American Century (William Kristol, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz and co.) do the "strategic" (if disastrous scenarios can be called strategy) thinking for the Bush administration. They are deeply opposed to a world in which there is any counter to the hegemonic power of the United States, be it the United Nations, the European Union, or simply world public opinion. People associated with this group are arguing for military intervention in Syria and Iran, which is why Rumsfeld's recent threats against those regimes are so disturbing. James Woolsey, the former director of the CIA, who has stated that we are in the midst of World War IV with Arab and Islamic nationalism, is currently being considered for a top post in the American occupation administration.

So what should we in the peace movement do? First, we must continue to organize and to demand that the United Nations and NGOs work with the Iraqi people towards an independent, non-aligned transition to indigenous Iraqi democracy. But we must also focus the nation's attention on the dangerous and insecure world that Bush's broader National Security Doctrine of preemptive wars will bring to the world scene. Second, we must link Bush's international agenda with his war on workers and the poor at home. They seek to make the world safe for transnational corporations; we seek to make it safe for ordinary people. Finally only by defeating Bush, can we force the imperial adventurers to pay a price that even they will recognize.

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Cover photos (from left to right): World War II poster shows women supporting war effort; "Code Pink," the women's preemptive strike for peace, protests threatened war with Iraq; a woman officer in the US Army takes aim on the firing range.

Democracy and Care Unbound:
On Feminism's Abiding Political Value

By Michele L. Rossi

Today, most of us are only too painfully aware of leftists' worldwide difficulty in winning and exercising power. Capital's enhanced global mobility, legal challenges by undemocratic transnational bodies like the World Trade Organization, and the explosion of service jobs that offer little chance for wage and revenue growth sabotage states' tools for safeguarding their people, firms, and environment. Governments starve for funds to implement the policies we socialists love, and our forebears fought bitter struggles to achieve: universal programs that prioritize human needs for food, shelter, health care, education; and regulations that protect humans and the planet and allow people a life outside of work.

Given the dire circumstances, it is heartening to see that over the last ten years segments of the US left and labor movements have grown savvier in identifying the dynamics behind these recent assaults on freedom and wellbeing, and more vocal in decrying them. While the labor movement's leaders have not exactly dusted off *Das Kapital*, some have stepped up efforts to make union members, and wage earners and voters more broadly, aware of the extent of their losses. Labor and its supporters have publicized declines in wages, pensions, health care benefits, safety regulations, and environmental protections, and fingered global capital as the culprit. Indeed, the US labor movement deserves special praise for adopting an internationalist rather than protectionist stance and stepping up its commitment to grassroots electoral mobilization. (Direct action is fun, but eventually all but the most hardcore anarchist activists realize demonstrations are no substitute for goals and a strategy with regard to the state. It still takes the hard work of coalition-building and boring old electoral politics to deliver the changes progressives want.)

As society accepted self-interest, competition, and ruthless individualism everywhere, and in everyone, else, women in the home became a sort of "nurture preserve."

What worries me, however, is a tendency on the left to assume that pointing to shrinking paychecks is sufficient to win elections. It is not. Identifying threats to working people's economic security can help to sway their votes, but anyone who has watched the Right's political successes knows that people get more fired up by a profound sense of loss, anger, and panic over what is happening to them outside of work. Of course the two are related – the market has grown so powerful that it now corrodes areas of life supposedly immune to its logic – but in the US, the Right has been especially clever at keeping this connection out of the mind of voters. People do not readily pin their deteriorating quality of life off the job – fatigue, fear, crime, lack of time to spend with family and friends, and frenzied consumption as the chief means to express affection and bond with others – on global capitalism fueling greater inequality. (A columnist in my hometown newspaper blamed an increase in rudeness and stress and a decrease in volunteering for Little League, the PTA, and church bazaars, on Americans' watching too much TV!)

And the left is hardly doing its best to help people make this connection. Confused and hampered by their own unexamined nostalgia for a way of life associated with traditional, authoritarian "family values" as much as economic security (think Mom in the kitchen baking pies as the kids come home from school), many on the left are tongue-tied. We are uncomfortable or clumsy applying democratic and egalitarian principles to resolve conflicts in intimate life, so we prefer to remain silent on such questions, and cede the ground to the Right. Small wonder, then, that many working people follow the Right's lead and blame working women, poor mothers, people of color, and queers for our society's decay.

The Right will continue to trounce the left in public debate and elections if we think we can ignore the "social"or "moral" issues of intimate life and stick to economic analysis, where we feel confident. On the contrary, for the left to win on economic issues we must tackle moral issues. And to do that successfully we need to take advantage of insights from decades of feminist thought and organizing. To that end, I offer the following crash course in feminist analysis.

Socialists have long decried how humans' dazzling ability to create things from the world's resources leads to misery – when those who perform this work lack

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Women and War: Mothers or Militia?

By Kira Brunner

Women have played a pivotal role in the anti-war movement ever since Aristophanes first wrote the Greek comedy *Lysistrata* in 415BC. Aristophanes' raunchy comedy depicts an all out sex strike in which women refuse to have sex until their men agree to outlaw war. Taking the call to heart, this March close to 1000 readings of the play were staged in 56 countries around the world; in a day of international protest against the war in Iraq.

"Old Women's Project"anti-war demonstration in San Diego. *(see page 10).*

Some participants hoped that today's war hawks would take the play to heart. As the BBC reported, Actress Anne-Marie Helger called for Mrs. Blair, Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Rasmussen to "stay out of their husbands' beds until they call their dogs off." And one Danish theater director encouraged her cast to take the message of the play all the way, encouraging women to wear chastity belts to discourage men from heeding the call to war. Of course the politics of the bedroom is not the sole domain of straight women. At the March 26, New York anti-war protest one poster read "Lesbians against boys invading anywhere." While another woman bared her breasts on 34th Street with the words "shock and Awe" scrawled across her stomach.

But not everyone fights war with sex. A more time-honored, if somewhat less bawdy, view holds that women as the traditional homemakers and nurturers already firmly stand on the high moral ground of pacifism. Remember the Mothers of the Disappeared in Argentina and Chile, where women carried photos and marched weekly to draw attention to loved ones killed by military troops. Or the Women in Black who stand quietly, all in black, in vigils around the world to protest war, rape, ethnic cleansing and human rights abuses. Founded in Israel in 1988 by women protesting against Israel's Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, Women in Black, may be most famous for the weekly vigils it staged in Belgrade throughout the Yugoslavian wars, daring to take to the streets at a time when protest was illegal.

Today, women have continued to embrace the role of pacifist to fight against the Iraqi war. The organization Code Pink Women's Pre-emptive Strike for Peace, perhaps best pokes fun at the military and the very language of war. If a war can be called a "peace keeping mission," why can't a peace be called a "preemptive strike"? The organization's name, Code Pink, is a play on the Bush Administration's color-coded terrorism alerts. They held a week-long vigil in front of the White house in March, which was then carried on by women all over the world.

Women anti-war protestors face harassment and at times even death to nobly send a message of peace. Nonetheless, all this still leaves one important element out of the mix. In today's perpetual war on terror the role of women as vanguards of peace has become tricky. Women's usual position as nurturers and mothers makes them excellent spokespersons against killing and aggression. But now that women have strong active roles in the military how can they reconcile their peaceful role with that of warrior? Ironically, the gist of *Lysistrata*'s comedic brilliance is that the women find it just as hard to go without sex as the men. Fast forward 2,500 years and it appears that in today's world, women find it equally as hard to stay off the battlefield as do the men.

Women play an ever-increasing role in on the ground combat. The TV images of women POWs, and air force pilots are a far cry from the gentle nurturing pacifist of yesteryear. Think of embedded CNN reporter Gary Tuchman's interview with female fighter pilot "Thumper." "There are opportunities for women there just haven't been in the past" Thumper told the reporter. For example, the opportunity to drop bombs from her F-16,

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Democracy and Care Unbound

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control over the product, production process, or profits, and the abundance they create by laboring together goes to someone else. In the case of industrial societies, that someone else is the capitalist, who uses profit to further diminish those who must work for a living, by making any one person's labor power less necessary, and turning fellow laborers into hostile rivals for a shrinking number of jobs and smaller rewards. Under such desperate conditions – sing along with me now – men only feel human off the job, while eating, drinking, and, uh, procreating.

If in the past some parts of the US left and labor movement were indifferent to this tune, today they are not. What has been less commonly absorbed – yet is vital for the left to improve its skill at handling "moral" questions – are the insights sparked by feminists, who drew attention to an array of oppressions in addition to economic ones. Socialist feminists in particular revealed how women are exploited, alienated, and coerced not only as wage laborers, but also in the very processes that permit men to enjoy eating, drinking and procreating. These efforts paved the way for later waves of feminists to examine how gender, race, and geography inflect nation building and economic exploitation.

Most significantly, feminists of all stripes insisted that what goes on in private, personal, "emotional" life is as deeply political as what happens in the "rational" public sphere of economic production and formal government. Thanks in part to their research and activism, we better comprehend how they all intertwine – with one another, and with unequal, gendered divisions of labor and power. Distinctions between "public" and "private," "work," "family," and "government" have been exposed as unstable and contestable; they vary according to place and time. Furthermore, within any society only certain groups recognize and practice, let alone benefit from, them. In fact, the US left and labor movement built andconsolidated their gains upon such separations, to the detriment of women and ultimately their own movements. Today's dilemmas can be traced to yesterday's betrayals; the contemporary left's difficulty in beating the Right on moral *and* economic issues stems from unfinished revolutions.

The left is hampered by their own unexamined nostalgia for a way of life associated with traditional, authoritarian "family values...."

To be specific, in Europe and the US, as production of material goods increasingly moved out of the home, and liberal democracy spread, both men and women were forced off the land, out of the home, and into desperate wage labor in order to survive. Yet as Heidi Hartmann noted decades ago, in many cases male trade unionists found retaining control over women, especially their sexuality, care giving and domestic labor, more compelling than advancing working class interests as a whole. They often opposed women's struggles for the vote. And rather than organize female workers to prevent them from becoming cheap competition, many trade unions pursued agreements with capitalists that specified a family wage for male workers and hiring policies and practices that excluded women.

Establishing the family wage as the standard payment for male workers was an advance; it allowed some working class people to increase their level of consumption and to begin to adhere to a middle class ideal of separate spheres, public and private, for men and women, respectively. Now some working class men, too, could forego care giving and domestic responsibilities entirely, and devote their energies to participating in the contentious public world of wage labor and politics. Meanwhile, some working class women could withdraw from wage labor and confine their concerns to the private: caring for home and children, and replenishing husbands and sons when they returned from the fray.

But left and labor movement aficionados often miss the down sides to this victory, particularly in the United States. As compliance with the notion of separate spheres for men and women moved down the class ladder, many women found themselves worse off. Women's working for wages lost respectability. Union hostility and employer discrimination closed down the possibility of wage labor offering viable

alternatives to women's trading limitless affection, sex, childcare, and domestic labor for men's economic support.Any woman not attached to an upper class man or an employed member of the male labor aristocracy – unmarried women, divorcees, widows, and women of color, especially African American women – had to hustle between public and private, between low wage labor and domestic duties, and expose themselves to extreme exploitation in both. The New Deal and subsequent welfare state expansion offered these women little relief (which recent welfare reform – the switch from AFDC to TANF – snatched away).

Meanwhile, other kinds of problems festered among those who enjoyed enough distance from economic hardship to maintain a male breadwinner/female caregiver division of labor. Feminist thinkers like Nancy Chodorow and Jessica Benjamin pointed out that the two-parent nuclear family in which the woman is responsible for raising young children – and by extension, any domestic arrangement with a rigid separation of male and female activity, and where caring for young children is primarily women's work – predisposes human relationships to confusion and strife. At a most basic, personal level, such childcare arrangements incline boys to grow up to see the world in terms of difference and separation and to prove their masculinity by denying emotion, interdependence, and nurturance. Simultaneously, they encourage girls to grow up to see the world in terms of similarity and connection, to be uncomfortable with independence, and to learn to anticipateand respond to others' wishes and needs more than their own. From the start, male-female interactions are set up to be dysfunctional.

Women's movements caught fire because they promised to address the power inequality, coer-

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GENDER AND MORAL POLITICS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Distinctions between "public" and "private" and what is appropriate for men and women take on different configurations and meanings in newly industrializing societies. Here, patterns of domination that can not be attributed to capitalism (because they pre-date industrial development) may be more apparent than in the United States. Such societies also afford opportunities to observe how an emerging capitalism conflicts with and accommodates them and the moral panics that ensue.

In the absence of industrialization and state formation, kinship systems play an enormous role in organizing social life. More specifically, intermarriage in the interest of economic and/or political alliances, what Gayle Rubin famously dubbed" the traffic in women," insures order and solidarity between groups and individuals. Since there is a great deal riding on these marriages, elaborate rules develop to regulate who may sleep with whom. Older men control younger men and all women, and everyone polices women's sexuality and reproductive capacity to make sure it is heterosexual and confined to the appropriate man within marriage.

In some of these traditional societies, a woman could expect to gain in status over the span of her life. In exchange for her own subordination, as she bore sons and aged, a woman got to control young daughters-in-law. Such traditional women justifiably perceive that "modernization" – rapid capitalist development and the introduction of liberal democracy with abstract "rights" – offers them little, while robbing them of most everything.

For young women in industrializing nations, the changes hold promise as well as peril. Young girls are targeted as cheap, docile, disposable labor for factories. With their families' traditional means of subsistence evaporating, the girls themselves often see factory work as preferable to arranged marriages, or working in prostitution – the other option for poor and working class women not supported by a man. Escaping their ancestral villages to make money in a factory town gives these young women a chance to earn money, a taste of freedom and adventure, perhaps even an opportunity to marry for love. And their growing sophistication and self-assertion draws the wrath of men and elders.

Specifics of the bargain varied, but the bottom line is, the expectation that a good (chaste, obedient, conventionally attractive, fertile) woman will be economically supported by the man who controls her is no longer tenable – in advanced capitalist or newly industrializing countries. Women, especially older women, may be drawn into very conservative stances in their doomed efforts to hold men to these deals. Many find little appeal in a liberal capitalist model of feminism, seeing in it only a way to expose women to greater sexual and economic exploitation. Consider some Muslim women who embrace the veil because they feel it conveys that they are not sex objects. They are not so different from their conservative Christian counterparts in the United States, who seek the security of inviolable marriage contracts, and oppose contraception and abortion because they claim they "let men off the hook" and devalue women's childbearing and nurturing capacity.

—MLR

Roe v. Reproductive Rights

By Eliyanna Kaiser

It has been over eight years since there has been a vacancy in the Supreme Court, making this the longest stretch in over 100 years without an appointment. The seniority of judges makes appointments during the reign of the Bush Administration increasingly likely. The most actively anti-choice President in the nation's history will soon have the opportunity to drastically affect the razor-thin 5-4 margin, by which abortion is legal in the United States as well as the direction of all reproductive rights for generations to come.

This incredibly serious situation has rebirthed a cyclical problem in the reproductive rights movement. Seeking to defend ground won, abortion's legality, feminist institutions today busily erase potentially divisive radical rhetoric from their main messages, negating the possibility of using this moment as an opportunity to re-build a movement that demands full reproductive rights. Issues such as birth control, drug-testing, pre-natal care, workplace hazards, sterilization abuses, child care, the childbearing/custody rights of the LGBT community, and the rights of single-mothers, women in prison, minors, and disabled women are pushed to the periphery and ghettoized as the trenches around *Roe* deepen.

The key players in the reproductive rights movement (like NARAL, NOW, and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America) are aware of the internal contradictions of race, class, and sexuality that this problem intensifies. These organizations have made real progress since the 1970s and no longer singularly represent a middle-class, heterosexual, and white constituency. To understand the problems of the day, it is necessary to recognize that the feminist movement has a meaningful analysis. Even as many concede that the defense of legal abortion is a limited tactic, today's feminists act from the belief that the radical end of reproductive equality cannot be achieved without the prerequisite of legal abortion. Questions about strategy are centered on what is possible in the "real world."

A socialist feminist critique of this digging-the-trenches strategy should neither dispute the necessity of defending legal abortion, nor disparage our sisters' taste for pragmatism. Instead, we must emphasize some history and recall that legal abortion was not won through direct mail funds appeals that paid the salaries of lawyers and lobbyists. Rather, legality was won through the *organizing* of a feminist movement that articulated a radical reproductive rights agenda. If the current assault on *Roe* is to be defeated, it may require such a movement. An honest look at our state of affairs, however, reminds us that there are few signs that today's activist constituency will morph into a vibrant constituency of placard-waving activists chanting, "Free Abortion on Demand."

While public opinion may or may not be on our side (*Ms. Magazine* claims that youth aged 18-27 support legal abortion [74 percent], the *New York Times* claims that youth aged 18-25 oppose legal abortion [39 percenet]), the fact of non-organization remains. Young women do not hold memberships in feminist organizations in any significant number. The youth and student activist movement, which is gaining membership at rates not seen since the 1960s, does not often engage in feminist activism.

If re-organizing a feminist base is paramount, the issue of how the reproductive rights institutions relate to their feminist constituents must be considered.

First, feminist members are solicited for donations. Fundraising is important. Often, however, as in the case of recent fundraising by Planned Parenthood Federation, the messages used in fundraising serve a counter-productive end by re-emphasizing that *Roe* is the only important feminist issue. The literature accompanying the return envelope paints attacks on reproductive rights, like judicial appointments in the federal circuit and the global gag rule, as a conspiracy by the Bush Administration to create the preconditions to challenge legal abortion, rather than emphasizing how these attacks affect women in other ways.

Next, we should consider, how feminist organizations brand their messaging in the public sphere. There has been a general shift away

from the rhetoric framing reproductive rights issues as "rights" and towards using the most consumerist approach of "choice." The recent name-change of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) to NARAL: Pro-Choice America is the most obvious example of this trend. This rhetoric implicitly applies an exclusive focus on legal abortion as the only issue of importance. Also it represents the tunnel-thinking of a movement that would cede ground to the "pro-life/anti-choice," who would like nothing better than to paint the world as pro-consumer choice for women versus pro-rights for babies – rather than deal with the human rights of women.

The final way in which feminist organizations interact with their constituents is through the periodic organizing of members to vote "pro-choice" and to do volunteer work in the final weeks of the electoral cycle. This is probably the most effective way in which the mainstream groups mobilize their base, but it is limited in that those participating are rarely encouraged to take action beyond the election day, and are actively discouraged from taking a broader approach to thinking about reproductive rights.

The Feminist Majority Foundation is a major exception to the rule of non-organizing. Though they share some of the same problems of a narrow focus on *Roe* (their "Never Go Back" campaign is their major project), one can at least argue that they have a campaign, in the movement-building sense. FMF has a decent-sized staff of paid campus organizers and dedicates substantial resources towards promoting feminist politics and activism in the youth and student movement. Their project, the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance, has members at over 114 campuses in over 40 states. While this work should be praised, it, too, misunderstands the nature of movement-building. The structure of the organization gives local-decision making power to chapters, in theory, but the real decision-making (i.e. allocation of resources) occurs at the staff level, and the FMLA membership has no national leadership body (elected or otherwise) that directs policy. This top-down approach hijacks the intended goal: growing a movement of young feminist leaders. In addition, the problem of racial diversity hangs over the FMLA as a constant reminder of how their politics are failing to attract the attention of young women of color. Although this is not a situation that other progressive organization's can claim to have completely solved, the socialist left being absolutely no exception, the incredible need for a diverse and well organized feminist-activist core at this historical moment begs for attention. Still, the FMLA is the most promising sign of a commitment to organizing from the feminist movement and should be heartily supported in their efforts.

Seeking to defend ground won, feminist institutions today busily erase radical rhetoric from their main messages.

Because of the entrenched problems of the major feminist institutions, the job of building a feminist movement rests heavily on the shoulders of any and all feminists who are experienced organizers and activists. We must be willing to forgo the advice of the sectarian left of "going to where the action is" and to move progressive activists to radical politics – not because the advice is not sage wisdom, but because the progressive movement is not much concerned with feminist issues. Awakening the Left, even socialists, to the importance of engaging with feminist politics will be a challenge.

This reality became painfully clear to me last March when I attended the Socialist Scholars Conference, an annual event in New York City that attracts hundreds of the most respected socialist scholars from around the world to debate important issues and theory. I attended the two feminist panels at the conference but was shocked when it was pointed out to me that neither panel, nor any of the featured speakers throughout the weekend would be addressing reproductive rights at this crucial moment. One of the panels that I attended featured *The Nation* columnist Katha Pollitt, who had recently caused a stir with her essay, "Regressive Progressive?," in which she criticized Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH), who is vying for the Democratic Party nomination for President, for having a voting record of "Henry Hyde proportions" when it comes to reproductive rights. (Indeed he has earned at times a 95% rating by the National Right to Life Coalition.) Pollitt listed the many ways in which this "progressive" had betrayed his women constituents, highlighting his betrayals of young women, and women in prison. Months later when Kucinich declared his intentions to run, recognizing the importance of being at least nominally pro-choice in securing the support of progressive Democrats, Kucinich announced that he was "against abortion" but that he would do nothing to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. In the face of such opportunistic equivocation, Pollitt issued a note in her following column praising Kucinich for "coming around."

I went to the panel to challenge Pollitt as to whether the mere defense of *Roe* was good enough. She recognized in theory the problem with letting Kucinich off the

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cion, waste of talent, and mutilation of selves required for women and men to fit into and maintain rigid, distinct, recognizably heterosexual roles within separate spheres. It is a pity that, for a variety of reasons scholars are still trying to untangle, radical political movements of all kinds died down or disappeared before they could (or would) digest the analyses or fight for the kinds of changes socialist feminists and their successors advocated. The boldest feminists sought to redistribute power and resources democratically across structural (public, economic, institutional) as well as personal (private) arenas.

Instead, the liberal wing of the feminist movement that survived and became feminism's dominant political voice avoided such radical reconfigurations. Liberal feminists made it easier for certain women to choose to move into the public arena, but on capitalist terms. They struggled to remove barriers to equality in the marketplace, allowing middle class white women increased access to education and professions, and to contraception and abortion.These advances should not be derided, simply kept in perspective. Freed to concentrate on more profitable endeavors, elite women could join many men in keeping distance from the labor that cares for frail bodies and cleans up messes – usually by hiring a more economically vulnerable woman to do it.

By contrast, many working class, poor women and women of color had long been in the labor market, and at low wages. If not, they were soon pulled into it. Global economic restructuring according to capitalist imperatives meant the family wage for their male counterparts vanished during the 1980s. No one rushed to assist these women with meeting their unpaid caregiving obligations. In the US, a liberal women's movement and an embattled labor movement were painfully slow to recognize these women and acknowledge their problems: a need for quality child care, assistance in caring for aging parents, access to

"Old Women" Protest War

San Diego, California isn't known for its politics, but it does have a small, progressive community that has been growing in stature and numbers since the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, with occasional exceptions, the local media has consistently ignored progressive activism or depicted it as inconsequential.

In the past year or so, however, the activist community has been making news. A recent protest against the (then) pending US attack on Iraq, highlights what a can happen when a few women armed with shopping bags and pots and pans take to the streets.

The organizers of the women's protest, a small group of activists who call themselves "The Old Women's Project" hoped, at best, to get twenty women out dressed in black and carrying shopping bags with signs on them reading, "Women do not buy this war!" To their surprise, 380 women showed up at a trendy downtown shopping area. They walked solemnly around the Gaslamp District, two-by-two. The protest made front page news in the San Diego *Union-Tribune (*derisively labeled "The Onion" for its exclusionary reportage when it comes to making public progressive issues around the city).

A subsequent "Old Women's" protest, which encircled the Federal Building, was not covered by the Onion, but TV coverage abounded.

The Old Women's Project was founded on International Women's Day 2001 by long-time San Diego activists Mannie Garza, Janice Keaffaber, and Cynthia Richssues. The project were creative, visible endorsers of the San Diego Affordable Housing movement and have been part of many other actions and coalitions around home health care workers, women prisoners, gay and lesbian issues and other issues pertaining to women. These creative activists are helping to give the San Diego activist community the attention it has long deserved.

The report was submitted by Virginia Franco of San Diego DSA, who is pictured in the "The Onion" photo above taking part in the "Old Women's" anti-war protest.

health care independent of wage labor, revaluation of wages for jobs where women predominate, a shorter work week for men and women, and a need for men to take on more caring labor at home.

Today, we all feel the consequences from feminism and labor's unfinished revolutions. The advent of separate spheres for men and women, facilitated in industrialized nations by working class men selling out working class women for a family wage, preserved a non-market logic – an ethic of care, a kind of *morality* – by assigning it to women to exercise in private. Nurturing was saved, but it was also thereby contained, made scarce and essentially banished from the public realm. Public institutions such as the state could be excused from providing care; any that attempted it were vulnerable to attack for overstepping their bounds and delivering inferior results.

Indeed, as society accepted self-interest, competition, and ruthless individualism everywhere, and in everyone, else, women in the home became a sort of "nurture preserve." Minor concessions to liberal feminism aside, women provided the emotional grease and (unpaid and invisible) caring labor to keep everything running, especially "the market." And now, largely thanks to global capitalism, this nurture preserve is fast disappearing everywhere, leading to widespread panic over women's "carelessness." (See sidebar.)

In advanced industrial societies, almost everyone suffers from what sociologist Arlie Hochschild identifies as the "care deficit." Men and women move through their days drained and hostile from pursuing (increasingly hard to get) wage labor, with diminishing financial returns. Short on resources, time and energy to replenish ourselves and our loved ones, we can hardly bother with the unpaid labor of caring for anything, or anyone, else. Those who can afford it contract out, satisfying their and their dependents need for nurturance through the market. The rest of us do without.

The Right seizes on this wretched situation and frames it as a moral crisis. And it is. But what is being violated are values that recognize and support caring labor – values that ought to be claimed as part of the left's democratic, feminist, and egalitarian impulses, in defiance of the Right's desire for rigid order, hierarchy, and brutal defense of (male) privilege. Moreover, we on the left can reveal how this "moral" crisis has structural (i.e., political and economic) components. We need to deliver the message loud and clear: the culprits behind our discontent are global capitalism and sexism. Our society's crisis is not due to a lack of personal responsibility or "family values" among those who want an independent, adequate income, democracy, and respect in all relationships: women, lone mothers, wage earners, the poor, people of color, and queers.

At the moment, the left may not command the state, but we do have the power to promote an honest, accurate, pro-labor and pro-feminist discussion of our society's shortage and devaluation of nurturance in all spheres. That is a first step toward winning elections and ultimately enhancing democracy and the quality of life: by creating and financing public goods like universal health care, child care and elder care; and by reassessing the value of the caring jobs women, especially women of color, are paid so little to do, expanding workers' rights to organize, insisting men share in nurturing labor, and reducing the length of the work week. Otherwise, if we on the left fail to make use of our *democratic* moral resources, the Right will see to it that the market is the only thing that is "free."

Michele L. Rossi grew up on a Pennsylvania farm and misses the wildlife. She served on DSA's national staff from 1995-1998 and stays active in East Bay DSA.

Nathan Hakman

Nathan Hakman, professor emeritus of political science at SUNY Binghamton, died Wednesday, September 26, 2001. Hakman's specialty was constitutional law. Hakman was a DSA member as well as a supporter of the ACLU, People for the American Way and Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

Prior to joining the BU faculty he served as a researcher in labor, public affairs and communications issues at the University of Illinois. He also worked as a labor and industrial relations analyst at the U.S. Wage and Stabilization Board in Chicago during the Korean War. Hakman taught at the University of Alabama, Michigan State University and the University of Denver until he began his career at Binghamton in 1960. His other interests were in public interest litigation, political trials and judicial policy making. Hakman earned his BA in 1943 from Ohio University, a master's degree in 1947 from Syracuse University and a PhD in 1954 from the University of Illinois.

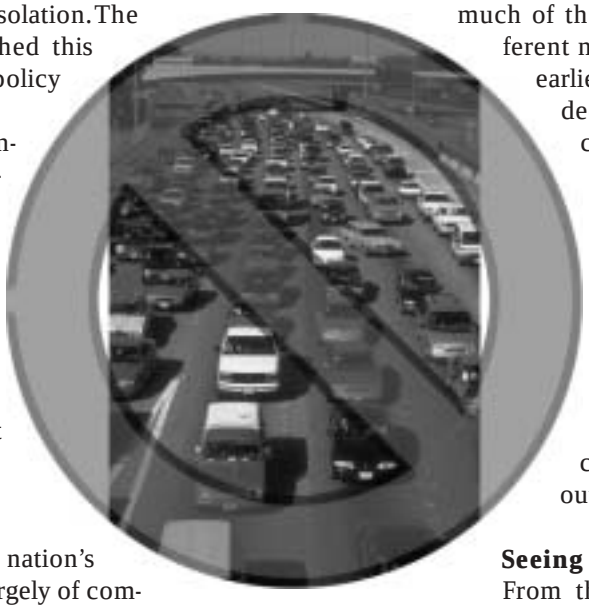
DSA was a recipient of a significant bequest from the estate of Professor Hakman and we are extremely grateful for his generous gift. Such gifts allow our members and friends to provide continuing support for DSA. Members interested in assistance in planning such gifts should contact the national director.

Transportation for People, Not Profit

By Bill Mosley

Transportation is moving to the forefront of the national agenda as it seldom has before. In a rare moment, Federal highway, transit, rail and aviation programs are all up for reauthorization this year, improving chances for a comprehensive look at the nation's transportation, in contrast to the historic practice of looking at different modes in isolation. The reauthorization decisions reached this year will affect spending and policy for several years to come.

But will the Republican-dominated national government have the vision to rethink our nation's transportation policy to improve mobility and opportunity for the majority of Americans? And, if not, is there enough of a grassroots constituency to force them to do the right thing?



Deconcentration

Prior to World War II, the nation's metropolitan areas consisted largely of compact central cities with transit-accessible "streetcar suburbs." The cities were sufficiently dense to be served by various modes of mass transportation – buses, streetcars, rapid rail in a few cities, and foot. Downtowns were the hubs of commerce and government.

But even before the war, automotive interests seeking greater profits were hatching plans that would change the face of the city. During the 1920s, though mass production had lowered the price of cars to a level affordable to the average American worker, trolleys still carried over 15 million passengers a year – but not for long. In the 1930s, General Motors, Firestone Tire, Standard Oil and Mack Trucks formed a holding company that bought and then destroyed trolley systems around the country. By 1955 almost 90 percent of the trolleys that had been running in the 1920s were gone, and with them, the principal competition to the internal combustion engine.

At the same time, the auto lobby was pressing for government construction of roads and highways, lobbying that saw its greatest triumph when construction of the Interstate Highway system began in 1956. Over the next four decades, over 40,000 miles of interstate highways – facilitating not only movement between cities, but between cities and the newly developing suburbs. This massive new highway network, along with other pro-suburban government policies (such as subsidized mortgages) led to the rapid suburbanization of America, coupled with the decline of central cities.

Following the urban unrest of the 1960s, the emptying of the cities accelerated. By the early 1970s much of the United States was a very different nation from that of two decades earlier. The middle class had largely decamped to the suburbs, leaving central cities with concentrations of the poor amidst decaying infrastructure and reduced municipal tax bases – squeezing services, including public transportation. As Witold Rybczynski noted in *City Life*, in 1950 seven out of ten Americans living in metropolitan areas lived in the central city; forty years later, only four out of ten did.

Seeing Green

From the beginning there was grassroots opposition to highways, especially those that would cut through central cities. Some anti-highway campaigns were largely successful, but others were not. Numerous highways – such as the Cross-Bronx Expressway, "a huge trench gouged across a city," as biographer Robert Caro described it – scarred, divided or destroyed urban neighborhoods.

The environmental impacts of unchecked highway construction also gained increasing attention. Study after study showed motor vehicles to be the single largest source of air pollution and one of the biggest sources of greenhouse gases. According to the Sierra Club, US highway construction has destroyed over 1,500 square miles of green space every year. And by the early 1990s, it was clear that building more highways did not necessarily reduce traffic congestion, but in fact encouraged more driving and more suburban development. DC's Capital Beltway, for instance, built as a means to *bypass* the city, attracted development like a magnet. Now, cluttered with malls, subdivisions and garden apartments, it is clogged around-the-clock.

Despite continuing government and business preferences for highways, mass transit ridership, according to US Transportation Department data, is at a forty-year high. Unfortunately, auto trips still outnumber transit rides by nearly 50 to one.

In 1991, Congress enacted the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA, pronounced "ice tea") – finally acknowledging that more highways weren't always the solution. This law allowed metropolitan areas to shift some of their highway funds to mass transit and pedestrian and bike paths, a policy that was extended in the 1997 reauthorization. Yet ISTEA had only limited impact. According to the Surface Transportation Policy Project (STPP), a national organization promoting equitable, pro-environmental transportation solutions, state and local governments – still under business-driven pressure to focus on highways – transferred only 5.6 percent of their eligible highway funds.

Also limiting the reach of new mass transit was the dispersed, transit-unfriendly nature of suburban sprawl. To make mass transit work well, there had to be coordinated planning between land use and transportation – a concept that has gained currency only in recent years. A few governors, such as Oregon's Tom McCall and Maryland's Parris Glendening, managed to gain enough support from environmental, pro-transit, anti-highway and urban-revival groups to advance the cause of "smart growth" – a policy championed by national organizations such as STPP and the Sierra Club in which farms and forests are preserved while development is steered toward existing communities that need it.

Demands

Lobbyists are lining up now for the fight expected this summer over the allocation of reauthorized federal transportation funds. Progressives should also organize to demand a transportation system aimed at serving the people and protecting the environment. STPP has jump-started the debate by laying out four principles: (1) require state and local transportation agencies to account for the environmental, social and public-health impacts of their transportation policies; (2) give priority to maintenance and efficiency, rather than investing in new construction; (3) create a more balanced transportation system with real alternatives to driving; and (4) put real teeth into ISTEA's intent that the public be involved in transportation decisions.

Other demands the left should consider:

- States and metropolitan areas should be able to use up to 100 percent of their federal dollars for mass transit, as opposed to the current 20 percent limit.
* Before any federal money is granted to a community, that community should be required to develop a land-use plan that will put the funds to fullest benefit. New highway constructions must not contribute to sprawl, and transit funds must be used to revitalize communities and encourage walkable, "transit-oriented development."
* Most new federal transportation funds should come from an increase in the federal gasoline tax. Adjusted for inflation, the price of gasoline is only two-thirds what it was 40 years ago. This encourages driving and leads to more congestion and pollution. The 18.4-cent-per-gallon tax should be doubled and the new funds dedicated to mass transit and other alternatives to highways, with emphasis on improving service to lower-income communities.
- Transit agencies should be encouraged to create reliable, dedicated revenue streams for their local share of funding. Voters in Miami, one of the nation's most congested and auto-addicted cities, took a stride last November toward untangling its traffic mess by approving a dedicated half-cent sales tax.
- Intercity transportation needs a fresh look as well. While Amtrak has been strung along year after year on a starvation diet of less than $1 billion a year, the government has pumped more than $13 billion into the aviation infrastructure annually – not counting the $15 billion post- 9/11 bailout. Creating a high-speed rail network in our major urban corridors will reduce congestion on our highways as well as in our airspace. Some of the most heavily traveled air routes are also short-distance ones that could be well-served by rail. More than 4,000 passengers a day fly New York to Boston and New York to Washington.

Lefties must move

Much of the struggle must take place outside the context of federal policy. Local activists must battle pro-highway business interests in their own communities by building new alliances. For example, Good Jobs First, a Washington-based clearinghouse promoting better practices in economic development, argues that smart growth not only protects the environment and reduces congestion, but is also good for working people. GJF's Greg LeRoy points to recent resolutions by the AFL-CIO and AFSCME denouncing sprawl and supporting smart growth. But sprawl opponents have yet to win many friends in the building trades unions. Smart growth proponents need to build a better case for the job potential in building "five-story mixed-use projects atop a transit stop on a brownfield," LeRoy said. "You can steer development back to the core, which is more likely to be built union." In Contra Costa County, California, building trades unions and smart-growth groups *have* successfully made common cause to support a half-cent sales tax for transportation – an alliance made possible by "a feeling of trust" and a mutual desire "to improve the quality of life," said Contra Costa Building and Construction Council CEO Greg Feere.

For too long, transport policy has

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Transportation

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been tilted toward the interests of those who would profit from it, rather than those who use it. Can the balance be shifted in favor of "rational transportation?" Not if we rely on the corporation-friendly Bush administration. State and local governments, members of Congress, and grassroots organizations need to raise their voices. China, India, and other industrializing oil users may criticize the waste of energy in the wealthy US, but governments there often seek to follow our bad, automobile-driven example. So the environmental health of the planet is at stake. It's time for progressives to get moving on transportation.

Bill Mosley, a member of the DL editorial committee, is a Washington, DC, activist who works and writes on transportation issues. Contact him at billmosley@starpower.net.

DSA Activist Conferences in 2003

West Coast

The War at Home

Organizing for Social and Economic Justice

April 25, 26, & 27

University of California-Berkeley

Speakers include Dolores Huerta, Eliseo Medina, Harold Meyerson, Gus Newport, and Holly Sklar

Midwest A

July 11-13

University of Chicago

Website Re-Launched

DSA's web site was re-launched in April. The new format will be very user-friendly with a number of important new features including:

- Prominent display of new material making it easy to find the most recent posts.
- A sign up feature for the DSA list serve and an archive of DSA news items.
- A resources page where current DSA materials will be maintained in PDF formats so organizers can always print out a fresh original to take to the local copy shop!
- Elimination of outdated links that caused users much frustration.

It will not be necessary to update your browsers book mark as the web address remains the same! We urge members and friends to visit the site often.

Roe

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hook for his actions, and yet seemed completely unconcerned about the results in practice. I argued that Kucinich was still lying by claiming that he had never supported any action to criminalize abortion. In fact he had voted for a version of the "partial-birth abortion" legislation that criminalized the procedure, prescribed jail terms. I pointed out that Kucinich had not disclosed whether he had changed his mind on his other anti-reproductive rights stances – just legal abortion. Pollitt maintained that, since Kucinich has no possibility of winning the nomination, these concerns were immaterial. It is important, she said, to give politicians credit for coming to terms with supporting the constitutionality of *Roe*.

I was surprised to find this tunnel-thinking in the socialist movement. Generally speaking, socialists understand that the Democratic primaries are a time to raise issues, and, if possible, use the support of a progressive candidate (who would ideally win the nomination) to build a movement that articulates radical demands. It is completely unnecessary (especially since other anti-war candidates like Governor Howard Dean exist who are pro-reproductive rights) to censor ourselves from challenging (borrowing Katha's term here) "regressive progressives" in our midst.

And it's not just Pollitt. The fact that dozens of well-known anti-war organizers have taken the time to "inform" me that Kucinich has "changed his mind" shows the extreme lack of analysis in the socialist left as to what constitutes reproductive rights and feminist politics. The issues of the reproductive rights movement are largely tactical; the larger progressive movement is the only party guilty of totally selling out reproductive rights by supporting guys like Kucinich.

So, it's time to organize or die. And please don't misunderstand my criticisms. I'm not some "politico" trashing the feminists. And I'm not some feminist playing "identity politics". I'm a socialist feminist, trying to find a political home. I struggle with those that I love the most and I am fiercely proud of NARAL, Planned Parenthood, NOW, DSA, the anti-war/anti-globalization movement, and of course, Katha Pollit, without whom I wouldn't bother reading *The Nation*.

Eliyanna Kaiser is currently the DSA Youth Organizer. She comes to us from Canada where she was formerly on the staff of the New Democratic Party.

Women & War

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which she first marks with messages such as "die Saddam" or "This one is going straight into your grave, Saddam."

benefits which I have not shared ... in fact, as a woman, I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a women my country is the whole world."

But we no longer live in 1938, and women must refuse to deny themselves, as women, the rights of citizenship. Instead, women must take on citizenship seriously and soberly, and not as soldiers or mothers, but as an equal competent voice in the country in which we live.

Women must take on citizenship seriously and soberly, and not as soldiers or mothers, but as an equal competent voice in the country in which we live.

The choice between mother and warrior leaves something to be desired. In her article in *The Nation*, Liza Featherstone, recalls the famous quote from Virginia Woolf's 1938 treatise *Three Guineas*, in which Woolf comments on women's very exclusion from the state as not only a call against war, but a call against patriotism. Woolf wrote "If you insist upon fighting to protect me, or 'our' country, let it be understood, soberly and rationally between us, that you are fighting … to procure

Kira Brunner is an editor of the journal Radical Society. *She is also the co-editor, along with Nicolaus Mills, of* The New Killing Fields: Massacre and the Politics of Intervention, *which has been nominated for a 2003 Los Angeles Times Book Award in the current interest category.*

DSA Feminist Commission

DSA once had a thriving Feminist Commission, but in the last few years it gradually ceased to function. With conservatives openly attacking women's reproductive and other rights, it is more important than ever that DSA have a functioning Feminist Commission.

The Commissions serve a vital function in DSA in bringing together members concerned about particular issue areas. The Commissions can provide special forums for their issues and perspectives by organizing events, putting out publications and holding discussion groups. They can also perform an important service to the organization as a whole by bringing their issues and concerns to the attention of DSA as a whole and providing important perspectives in DSA debates on all issues.

At the last Convention, a core group of women began to discuss reconstituting the Commission and we hope to begin this task in preparation for the next 2003 DSA Convention later this year in Detroit. This special issue of *Democratic Left* is part of that effort.

Please join us, by contacting Kathy Quinn at kathyquinn@earthlink.net or by contacting the National Office at 212-727-8610.

DSA Locals

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Party was holding its convention. Twin Cities DSA participated in a demonstration in Minneapolis, which had 6000 to 8000 participants – war veterans, labor unions, and many from the religious community.

From the West, Duane Campbell reports that the Sacramento Local co-sponsored the Convergence on the Capitol, which turned out about 19,000 people. He also reports that over 10,000 people marched in San Jose and, in Los Angeles, 15,000 took part. The West Coast national mobilization, in which East Bay and San Francisco DSAers marched, was held on the February 16 to avoid conflicting with Chinatown's new year celebration.

DSA has also been contributing to the discussion around the war. The National Office put out a leaflet "Fight Bush's War: At Home and Abroad!, which was distributed by many locals at demonstrations. Stephan Peter of Twin Cities translated the DSA anti-war statement into German. It was posted on the website of our German sister organization, the SPD, in the Saarland state and their capital city Saarbruecken.

A Columbus DSA member wrote up the February demo for an alternative newspaper. Ithaca DSA made a video, with February 15 footage, featuring a Peace Studies professor (copies of this, and other antiwar videos can be obtained from Theresa Alt at talt@igc.org). Greater Philadelphia DSA published a special issue of its newspaper, *Greater Philadelphia democratic Left*, for distribution at the demonstration, and has since published two more issues with substantial coverage of the peace movement in Philly and elsewhere.

—Theresa Alt

DSA Locals in the Anti-War Movement

DSA members around the country rallied for peace on February 15 as part of the United for Peace and Justice mobilization, itself a part of an international day of protest.

New York PHOTO BY HANS BENNETT

In the East, members from the North New Jersey, Albany, Boston and Ithaca locals joined New Yorkers in the New York City demonstration. Ithacans carried their banner. Greater Philadelphia DSA had a contingent (with banner) in a separate march in Philadelphia that drew over 10,000 people.

Philadelphia PHOTO BY KATHY QUINN

In the Midwest, the Chicago Coalition Against War and Racism organized a demonstration in the heart of Chicago's Pakistani community, as February 15 was also six days before the registration deadline for many Pakistanis in the United States. The demonstration was endorsed by over 80 Chicago area organizations, including Chicago DSA, and Chicago DSA helped mobilize turnout for it. Connie Hammond, a DSA member and the secretary of DSCO, helped the Anti-War Coalition and Columbus Campaign for Arms Control to organize a march and rally of 600 people in Columbus, Ohio, including many members of DSCO. Madison DSAers have been part of the peace movement for months. On February 15, "Shoot Baskets, Not Bombs" and other creative peace signs confronted Badger Fans as they made their way to the game Estimates of the number of protesters range from 1000 to over 2000. Detroit DSA endorsed the demonstrations in that city and contacted DSA members in Detroit to participate in the march to Cobo Hall where the Michigan Democratic

Madison, WI PHOTO BY MARC SILBERMAN

Minneapolis PHOTO BY STEPHAN PETER

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❑ Yes, I want to join the Democratic Socialists of America. Enclosed are my dues (includes a subscription to *Democratic Left*) of:
❑ $50 Sustainer ❑ $35 Regular ❑ $15 Low-Income/Student

❑ Yes, I want to renew my membership in DSA. Enclosed are my renewal dues of:
❑ $60 Sustainer ❑ $45 Regular ❑ $20 Low-Income/Student

❑ Enclosed is an extra contribution of: ❑ $50 ❑ $100 ❑ $25 to help DSA in its work.

❑ Please send me more information about DSA and democratic socialism.

Name _____ Year of Birth _____

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❑ Bill my credit card: Circle one: MC Visa No. _____/_____/_____/_____

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