



# the yankee radical

Institute for  
Democratic  
Socialism

(617) 354-5078 <http://dsaboston.org/>

March 2004

## March for Women's Lives

**Date:** Sunday, April 25, 2004

**Location:** Washington, DC

**Contact:** Greater Boston  
NOW, 617-232-1017

*By Julia Nogueira*

The United States is at war with Iraq. The leader of our country is an ultra-conservative, pro-lifer named George Bush. People from across the nation are preparing to march in a massive demonstration of pro-choice support. The year? 1992.

In 1992, a march for women's reproductive rights took place on the Mall in Washington, DC. And despite an eight-year reprieve from the attack on women's rights during the Clinton years, the need to rally support for reproductive freedom is more critical than ever before.

On Sunday, April 25, 2004, hundreds of thousands of pro-choice Americans will again converge on Washington, DC, for the "March for Women's Lives" to demonstrate the

nation's overwhelming support for women's rights and reproductive choice.

### What's at stake?

- President Bush continues to stack the courts with ultra-conservative judges who could turn back the clock on reproductive rights, and possibly over-turn *Roe v. Wade* altogether.

- Congress just passed the medically unsound abortion procedures ban, which threatens women's health by banning common, life-saving abortion procedures through its vague language.

- Women around the world are suffering from serious medical conditions and death because of U.S.-driven restrictions on family planning that prohibit overseas organizations from mentioning abortion as an option—even when a woman's health is at risk.

*Roe v. Wade* gave women in the U.S. unprecedented freedom and responsibility over their bodies and their lives. Since that ground-breaking decision in 1973, a woman's right to choose

has never been more at risk. As the anti-choice agenda expands, the lives and health of women are increasingly threatened.

In response to George W. Bush's attack on women, Massachusetts residents will march together with supporters from every state to show that we will not tolerate restrictions on our access to reproductive health care, nor will we allow women's futures to be sacrificed.

For the first time ever, this March is a collaborative effort of the National Organization for Women, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the Feminist Majority, the Black Women's Health Imperative, NARAL Pro-Choice America and the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health.

To purchase bus tickets through NOW for the "March for Women's Lives," visit [www.equalityandjustice.com](http://www.equalityandjustice.com). Or contact Greater Boston NOW at 617-232-1017 or e-mail [Tickets@equalityandjustice.com](mailto:Tickets@equalityandjustice.com) for more information.

*Julia Nogueira is a Board member of Boston NOW.*

## 2 Short Takes

by Mike Pattberg

### **Socialist Scholars Conference**

The 22nd annual Socialist Scholars Conference takes place March 12-14 at Cooper Union in NYC. This year's theme is "The World Is Not For Sale! Rethinking the Common Good," and features panels ranging from The Commodification-Privatization of Practically Everything, to The Black Activist Church, to Left Cartoonists. Among those presenting and debating will be Naomi Klein, William Greider, DSA Vice Chair Harold Meyerson, Barbara Garson, Stephen Eric Bronner, Marion Nestle, and Kim Moody, along with representatives from the German SPD and Brazilian Workers Party. (212) 817-7868, [www.socialistscholars.org](http://www.socialistscholars.org).

### **Haiti**

Although the Bush administration sent no US representatives to the 200th anniversary celebration of Haitian independence earlier this year, apparently they were planning to observe it in their own fashion: facilitating the overthrow of a flawed but democratically elected Haitian President by a group of far more flawed armed insurgents, including many known human rights violators associated with earlier US supported dictatorships. US Haitian policy is run these days by Sen. Jesse Helms' ex-staffers, and they seem to have been very annoyed by former President Aristide's lack of compliance with US demands to privatize and restructure the Haitian economy, according to reports in *The Guardian* and elsewhere. If so, it brings to mind past covert, US-orchestrated "regime changes" of third world democracies into repressive right wing dictator-

ships; Iran in 1953 (Oil), Guatemala in 1954 (United Fruit), Chile in 1973 (cold war), as well as the attempted coup in Venezuela last year. These past interventions were accompanied by the usual official smokescreens, false denials and cover-ups, with much of the truth eventually leaking out only decades later in boastful CIA memoirs, Freedom of Information requests, etc.

Among those trying to get to the bottom of the Haitian events now, in real time, when they can still be influenced, are the Congressional Black Caucus ([www.congressionalblackcaucus.net](http://www.congressionalblackcaucus.net)) including DSA member Rep. Major Owens (D-NY), along with our own Rep. William Delahunt (D-Cape Cod). Other sources on the unfolding events in Haiti: Dr. Paul Farmer's locally-based group Partners in Health ([www.pih.org](http://www.pih.org)), the Washington, DC-based Haiti Reborn ([www.haitireborn.org](http://www.haitireborn.org)) and Amy Goodman's Democracy Now, carried on WZBC FM 90.3 weekdays at noon.

### **Iraq Protest**

The US controlled occupation of Iraq continues, with its unfriendly takeover of the Iraqi economy, retention of Saddam Hussein's repressive anti-labor laws, prospective rule by a semi-appointed (not elected) local government, and refusal to cede transitional political authority to the UN. Not to mention continuing carnage of American troops and Iraqi civilians.

To protest these policies, among others, and to commemorate the one year anniversary of the Iraq war, United for Peace and Justice is co-sponsoring a March 20 rally in NYC. For a bus to New York call (617) 338-1197, [ujpcoalition@yahoo.com](mailto:ujpcoalition@yahoo.com)

### **Phyllis Bennis Talk**

In a world where terrorism is a real danger, how can security be achieved without "preventive war"? On March 24 author Phyllis Bennis, director of the New Internationalism Program at the Institute for Policy Studies, will speak on the alternative of "Common Security." Sponsored by Peace Action and Watertown Citizens for Environmental Safety, the talk takes place at St. John's United Methodist Church, 7:15 pm, 80 Mt. Auburn St., Watertown.

### **Jobs with Justice Dinner**

This year's Jobs with Justice dinner takes place Thursday, April 1, at Suffolk Downs, 111 Waldemar Ave., East Boston; 6 pm reception, 7pm dinner. Among the honorees: the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, IBEW and CWA Verizon workers (for defending healthcare), the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride, the New England Regional Council of Carpenters and the Brazilian Apostolate of Massachusetts.

### **Emergency Contraception**

Emergency contraception is a safe method that can usually prevent pregnancy if used within 72 hours; better access to it could prevent many unwanted pregnancies and needless abortions. State House bills sponsored by Representatives Ellen Story and Doug Petersen and Senator Linda Melconian would require hospital emergency rooms to make the drug available to rape survivors and allow

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### **John Keil, 1911-2003**

A life long comrade and friend  
to all who seek a better world.

# DSA Speakers Bureau

Can't get to some of our discussion forums? No matter — we'll come to you!

Boston Democratic Socialists of America is pleased to announce our newly formed Speakers Bureau, comprised of knowledgeable long time members who have been involved in many different struggles for social justice.

## About Our Speakers

**Harlan Baker** was one of the founding members of DSOC, which became DSA. He served in the Maine State Legislature from 1979-1988. He sponsored legislation dealing with worker owned cooperatives, municipally owned power districts, and a state owned bank. He was the sponsor of legislation to divest state pension money from business investing in South Africa during Apartheid. He currently teaches speech and theatre at the University of Southern Maine.

- **Coalition Politics or How I Learned to Live with the Democrats**
- **Public Enterprise Legislation**

**Ed Clark** has served as Executive Vice President of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (U.N.I.T.E.). Most of his life has been spent working in the United States and European labor movements. In the late 1960's and early 1970's he was an organizer and business agent for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. As a student activist in the 1960's, Clark worked in the South in the struggle to integrate racially segregated public facilities. He is an Honorary Vice Chair of DSA.

- **U.S. Labor Movement and the Left**
- **Labor and Socialism**
- **The Peace Movement and the Unions**

**Ellen Israel Rosen** is a sociologist who has taught at Vassar College and is now Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Nichols College. She has done research at the London School of Economics, at M.I.T, The Radcliffe Institute at Harvard University, and at Boston College. Her first book was *Bitter Choices: Blue Collar Women In and Out of Work*, based on a study of over 200 women factory workers in New England. Her second book is

*Making Sweatshops: The Globalization of the U.S. Apparel Industry.*

- **Women and Globalization**
- **Textile and Apparel Trade Policy**
- **Women and Sweatshops**

**Robert J.S. "Bob" Ross** is Professor and former Chair of Sociology at Clark University. Ross was a Vice President of early SDS and part of the group that participated in the writing of the Port Huron Statement. Since 1996, Ross has addressed more than 100 professional and public groups about problems of human and labor rights in the apparel industry — the sweatshop issue. He has been a policy analyst, speechwriter, economic development consultant and community organizer. He is the author, with Kent Trachte, of *Global Capitalism: The New Leviathan*.

- **South to South: Poor Countries Stake in Labor Standards**
- **The New Left of the '60's Compared to the Student Movement Today**
- **The Three Legged Stool of Decent Conditions: Strong Unions; Reformer Allies; Sympathetic Public Policy**

**Rand Wilson** has worked as a union organizer and "labor communicator" for more than twenty years. He currently works for Jobs with Justice, a community-labor coalition for workers' rights with 40 local chapters around the United States. Most recently, Wilson worked as Communications Director for Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 285 in Boston, MA. While at Local 285, he was actively involved in health care reform, helping to spearhead a statewide Jobs with Justice Health Care Action Day and Take a Break for Health Care, a short on-the-job membership education program.

- **Health Care Reform**
- **Community Labor Coalitions**

If you are interested in having one of our Boston DSA Speakers at your New England school or organization please e-mail [speakers@dsaboston.org](mailto:speakers@dsaboston.org) or call us at (617) 354-5078. Suggested donation is \$100.00 plus expenses. Rates are negotiable for lower income or student groups.

# YDS National Organizer's Report

By Lucas Shapiro

*(Excerpts from a report to the DSA National Convention in Detroit last November)*

The Young Democratic Socialists (YDS) and other campus activists are undergoing a process of reorientation. Beyond engaging in the debates concerning an appropriate response to the US/UK occupation of Iraq, YDS activists must work to rebuild chapters by returning to other interrelated mat-

ters of social and economic justice. Given the anticipated rise in student activism during the coming election year, YDS must craft a strategy to sustain current member participation while attracting newcomers. YDS can play more of a leadership role in the youth wing of the dump Bush movement than it did during the earlier stages of anti-war activity. In order to accomplish this, YDS will need to develop well-reasoned, attractive materials to circulate on campuses and

other activist hubs like the Internet. While the broad student left is united in its opposition to the Bush administration, some groups and individuals may pursue what many in YDS would consider to be an irresponsible approach to the challenge of beating Bush at the ballot box. The approach of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), for example, is to condemn anyone advocating voting for a Democratic administration to

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## State Senate Setback

The Commonwealth Coalition (CC) endorsed Angus McQuilken went down to a narrow (300 votes) defeat by Republican Rep. Scott Brown in the March 2 special election to replace former State Senator Cheryl Jacques. (The Coalition comprises union, women's, environmental and community organizations including DSA.)

McQuilken, the Democratic candidate for the Norfolk, Bristol and Middlesex district, campaigned as a strong supporter of public education, universal health care, gun control, gay marriage and abortion rights. He

walked with striking nurses at Brockton Hospital in 2001, and supported welfare extensions to those completing an education or training program. Brown opposed McQuilken on many of these issues, especially gay marriage, and had the active support of Governor Romney.

According to the Massachusetts Money and Politics Project, a CC spinoff, the GOP raised more than \$2 million last year to back party candidates, mostly from financial, real estate and venture capital interests. Brown outspent McQuilken almost 3 to 1.

DSAers helped in phone banking efforts during the campaign, and may be called to do so again, since many anticipate a rematch in November. Those who wish to work on the McQuilken or any other Coalition endorsed state legislative campaign this year call Joe O'Brien at (617) 422-0118. DSA members who wish to suggest possible progressive state rep or senate candidates in their districts who might be endorsed by the Coalition should call us at (617) 354-5078.

— J. Martov

## Short Takes

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qualified pharmacists to dispense it. NARAL Pro-Choice Massachusetts (617-556-8800) urges you to call your State Reps and Senators (617-722-2000) to ask them to support H.2438 and S.546, currently bottled up in committee.

### Women and Globalization CD

Last December Boston DSA sponsored a panel discussion of the effects on women of capital's increasingly global pursuit of a low-wage work force. Scholar-activists Maria Aguiar, Elaine Bernard, and Ellen Rosen participated in one of our more successful forums, ending with a lively Q&A

period.

Fortunately, progressive radio personality David Goodman recorded it on two CDs for replay on one of his shows, and we can now offer them to you for only \$15. (What a deal!) Just send your request and check to Boston DSA, PO Box 51356, Boston, MA 02205.

### **YDS from page 4**

replace Bush. YDS; on the other hand, does not take an either/or approach to electoral politics. We recognize the need to combine both the pragmatic, short-term goal of defeating Bush, with an emphasis on long-term vision and movement building.

YDS activists must also find ways to relate to the issues that young people face in great numbers. Addressing issues like rising tuition costs, lack of post-graduation job opportunities, military recruitment, and threats to affirmative action programs may help counter the prevailing sense of apathy and disenfranchisement from the political process that characterize youth today. YDS, in my view, ought to relate more directly to the issues that have generated considerable student activism over the past several years. This means recommitting to participate in the anti-sweatshop movement and having a less dismissive stance towards anti-corporate globalization activity. To their credit, some YDS chapters and activists have dedicated considerable time to these very issues, even when not taking direction from the Activist Agenda.

### **YDS & the National Youth and Student Peace Coalition**

YDS continues to play a role in the National Youth and Student Peace Coalition (NYSPC). The NYSPC was one of the first political formations to initiate anti-war activity shortly after September 11th. In March of 2003, the coalition gained significant attention for launching a successful I-day student strike/walk-out before the US/UK invasion of Iraq. As with much of the rest of the anti-war movement, the onset of war and occupation proved disorienting. Over the summer,

NYSPC coalition partners agreed to prioritize anti-Bush electoral politics and mobilization. This new political initiative intends not to abandon the critical opposition to war that dominated the previous year, but instead to use the coming presidential election as a vehicle to connect issues of imperialism, the ongoing crises in Iraq, domestic budgetary woes and an overall sense of disenfranchisement. This campaign of electoral activism and education officially launched on November 4th (exactly 1 year before the 2004 election) with NYSPC local affiliates sponsoring a variety of "countdown to kick-out" events. A few YDS locals organized teach-ins and film screenings on this date. The current trajectory of NYSPC's electoral work remains unclear. The NYSPC can potentially play an important role in building a strong student activist core within the anti-Bush movement. But YDS will not be waiting for the NYSPC to take collective leadership on this front. We are currently formulating our own action guide to electoral issues, informed by our distinct political perspective. As much as we recognize the benefits of working in principled coalition with other national youth and student organizations, we will need to seize on the opportunity to make convincing arguments independently of coalition partners who may advocate entirely different approaches (such as many in the Campus Greens or the Young Peoples Socialist League).

### **YDS & United for Peace and Justice**

United for Peace and Justice (UfPJ) continues to be YDS' other main coalition partner. As only one organization out of the more than 650 that comprise

the coalition, YDS' influence within UfPJ is certainly minimal. YDS has benefited from UfPJ's strong mobilization capacities, printed resources and ready-made events to attend. UfPJ is a critical counterweight to the notorious A.N.S.W.E.R. "coalition". Coming out of its summer conference, UfPJ has dramatically broadened the scope of issues it chooses to confront. UfPJ has endorsed and mobilized for the solidarity protests against the World Trade Organization, the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride, the demonstrations during the Free Trade Area of the Americas ministerial in Miami on top of lending strong organizational muscle to 2004 electoral initiatives. This new ambitious strategy in some ways supplants the efforts of multi-issue organizations like the YDS. The formation of a protest oriented broad coalition that addresses the whole gamut of issues traditionally important to the left is a somewhat unprecedented phenomenon. YDS needs to stress its continued relevance in this context. We will continue to push for principled and reasonable political discourse consistent with our commitment to democracy, human rights, social justice and multilateralism within coalitions like UfPJ.

## **Yankee Radical**

P.O. Box 51356  
Boston, MA 02205  
Phone: 617-354-5078

e-mail:  
yankeeradical@dsaboston.org

Web: <http://dsaboston.org>

Editor: M. Pattberg

Asst. Editor: A. Costello

## Coming Soon Before a Convention Near You

# BOSTON SOCIAL FORUM

By Jason Pramas

On July 23-25 at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, the weekend just before the 2004 Democratic National Convention, the Boston Social Forum (BSF) plans to open a major front in the World Social Forum process here in the United States.

Starting from a small handful of Boston organizers at the Campaign on Contingent Work and the North American Alliance for Fair Employment, the BSF effort has blossomed into a network of over 60 Boston-area progressive organizations of every description (including DSA), organizing committees in nearly every other New England state, and connections to an increasing number of national and international organizations. By the time the BSF begins, we expect there will many more involved in building this project. We have reserved an entire university to allow at least 5000 people to participate in our little happening.

The drive for the BSF began on November 12, 2002, when we heard that Boston had won the horse race to host the next DNC. It immediately struck us that, if events followed their usual pattern of development, local progressives would embark on a strategy that has essentially been written into the corporate media script that we all too often follow.

The script is this: People in power hold some event, say a meeting of the IMF and World Bank. The left protests this event, and rightfully so. The media, if it discusses the event at all, focuses 99 percent of its coverage on what the powerful did at the event, and perhaps 1 per-

cent of coverage on the protestors—who are held up as an inchoate and purely reactive mass with few if any useful ideas. When all is said and done, the general public has little, if any, inkling of what the left was all worked up about. In fact, the public rarely gets to hear what our ideas are at all. And they certainly don't understand that we are not just trying to protest, but we are also trying to create a vision for a better world.

Sometimes this is the best that the left can do. But not all giant corporate-controlled events are the same, and the DNC is certainly not the same as an IMF or World Bank meeting. For all its faults, it is still an expression of the democratic impulse in this country. To even consider trying to “shut the DNC down,” and charge the inevitable barricades like so many punch-drunk lemmings, seemed to us the greatest folly, and a pointless waste of an incredible opportunity being handed to Boston area progressives.

We knew that Boston was to be the site of a world historic event. We knew that many DNC delegates, whatever the corporations that dominate the Democratic leadership would have us believe, were progressive. We knew that a good number of folks, though nothing like the huge number that will go into the streets against the Republican Convention, would come to town to protest the Democrats—either educationally through the usual methods of the nonviolent left or through direct action. We knew that Boston area progressives and the communities we spring from would be looking for some ways to discuss our vision for a better society, and to project that vision onto

the larger political stage. We also knew that various national progressive organizations and “stars” would descend on our city looking for ways to do the same.

There was one new political form that we thought would give local movements, and our friends from across the region, nation and world, the perfect opportunity to bring all these forces to showcase our best ideas, and have a really excellent time in the bargain: the World Social Forum process. Dozens of Boston activists had traveled abroad to participate in these forums. So we thought, “let's do a Boston Social Forum.”

The BSF, like the rest of the World Social Forum process will allow all the fragmented social movements in our region to gather together and talk about our visions for a better future for our city, our region, our nation, and our world—in the context of corporate globalization, and across the spectrum of human knowledge.

For more info on BSF visit [www.bostonsocialforum.org](http://www.bostonsocialforum.org), or call (617) 338-9966. DSA members interested in doing BSF workshops should also call DSA at (617) 354-5078. On April 4, Noam Chomsky and Michelle Shocked will participate in a BSF fundraiser at the Middle East Restaurant, 4-10 p.m., \$10, 472 Mass Ave., Cambridge.

*Jason Pramas, a long-time Boston labor organizer and sometime DSA member/consultant, is coordinator of the Boston Social Forum. This article was excerpted from a longer piece for Z magazine.*

# Mopping Up: Notes from Nicaragua

By Margaret Morganroth Gullette

We made our first visit to our Sister City in 1989, during the Contra invasion, and fell in love with San Juan del Sur — with the people, the Sandinista energy in the midst of impoverishment, the kindness of omitting to class us among “the Yankees, enemies of humankind.” From stevedores to schoolteachers, many people said about their day jobs, “We are making the revolution” Every year since, my husband and I have gone back as delegates of the Newton-San Juan Sister City Project, mainly to help build rural schools with villagers. The Project survived the 1990s, starting with the anti-Sandinista election bought by George the First for \$300 million, which drove many NGOs out of Nicaragua. But we decided we could not leave the people we had been working with.

Rosa Elena Bello is a “social entrepreneur” of the kind honored by Ashoka. She started a health clinic as soon as hunger began to appear after the imposition of US sponsored “neoliberal” economic policies by post-Sandinista governments. The Sister City collected materials for medicine chests for the rural health workers whom Rosa Elena was training, and at her suggestion we started a “Cow Project” to bring malnourished kids milk. It’s still operating. As the government slashed education and health budgets, she and a Belgian colleague kept inventing programs to mop up the ensuing flood of disasters.

One of them was a literacy pro-

gram for women. After a grueling year of applying to foundations (most of which then didn’t care about literacy or women) I found enough money for our first year. Rosa Elena found the teachers and a feminist workbook that taught health and women’s liberation, and the adult students started on the long road that begins with A. That was seven years ago. After only three years of study, 246 women were graduated with sixth-grade diplomas. We started a similar program on a nearby island for another 110 women.

Then Rosa Elena said we needed a high school for adults, and I found funding for the first and then second years (I’m still shopping for the third). It is a Saturday school (Sabatino) for people who work all week, and for those not welcomed in the federal high school: women with children and students over eighteen, male and female. Unlike the federal high school, it is free.

In San Juan the favored panacea, tourism, now brings the sex trade, drugs, mansionization, and, for the locals, astronomical rents. Meanwhile, the cold warriors never give up. Colin Powell in Managua in November 2003 congratulated himself for his role in the Contra invasion and dissed the Sandinista Party as “Communists,” apparently to insure that Nicaragua becomes a “democracy” without an opposition. The Sandinistas still find it necessary to support three-time loser and former comandante Daniel Ortega, tarnished by his step-daughter’s accusations that he sexually harassed her since her early teens. Then there are the

neoliberals’ results: 60% unemployment, maquiladoras, and the drop to a Haitian level of per capita income.

What we accomplish in San Juan is Kleenex against a flood. Nevertheless, when I interviewed adult students in the high school, I felt there must still be hope.

Elisabeth P. C., aged 30, mother of two (11 and 5 years old), is in the second year of the Sabatino. She left school at age 15 because of incapacitating headaches, and had given up the idea of education until the Sabatino opened. She has been living for eleven years with an abusive man. Recently, he hit her and one of the children. Armed with her authority as a woman who goes to high school, she and her father had it out with him. He promised to amend and stopped taking drugs.

Elisabeth cried when telling me about not being able to attend school for pain. “But I want to go forward. I want to,” she said intensely. “Pero quiero salir adelante, lo quiero.” Then she went on to tell me why the Sabatino matters so much. “It is good for us, the women. If I had my knowledge earlier, maybe I would have been able to raise my children without him, on my own. I thank you all,” she said, smiling as serenely as if, when contemplating her good fortune in being able to study, she hadn’t a care in the world.

*Margaret Morganroth Gullette, author of Aged by Culture and the award winning Declining to Decline, is a Resident Scholar at the Women’s Studies Research Center, Brandeis.*

# A Better World Is Possible



*Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World is Possible.* Barrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2002, 268 pages.

Reviewed by Mike Prokosch

Two years into this “jobless recovery,” our economy still isn’t working very well for working people. Neither is the global economy. Slow growth and growing inequality mar the present for the world’s billions and the future for any hope of democracy.

To satisfy this economy, millions of lives are being shattered. Software engineers, x-ray readers, and dozens of other white-collar jobs are moving to India, Kenya, or Brazil. Meanwhile, nurses here are paid so much more than doctors in the Philippines that those doctors are studying to become nurses, emigrate, and earn some real money. Is this an efficient allocation of human capital?

On the ideological level, this global economy’s underlying justification is losing credibility. Its governing institutions -- the IMF, World Bank, WTO -- promised that free markets would bring us faster growth and broader prosperity. Now they are trying to explain why it is that the more state-run economies have done the best.

At times like these, people start looking for alternatives. Try *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World Is Possible*. Its nineteen authors distill the global justice movement’s ideas for a communitarian, fair, and

sustainable future.

They are not globophobes. “[G]lobal civil society does not oppose trade,” they begin. “What the protesters reject is the use by corporate interests of international trade agreements to circumvent democracy in their global campaign to strip away social and environmental protections.”

To curb corporate power, *Alternatives* would change economic policies to:

*Defend the Commons.* Land, water, seeds, healthcare, and education are among the necessities of life today. All are being appropriated by transnational corporations in a drive for new profit centers. New “trade” agreements like the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) could give investors the right to sue governments if they obstruct corporate takeover of public services and common resources. The authors would block these new corporate rights, prohibit privatization of water and unengineered seeds, and set up international environmental regulations outside the authority of global trade bodies.

*Boost local control.* “All decisions should be made at the lowest level of government competent to deal with them,” say the authors, echoing Catholic “subsidiarity” doctrine and J.M. Keynes. “Decisions should constantly move closer to the people most affected by them... All systems should emphasize local production and consumption... fewer food miles, fewer oil miles, fewer travel-to-work miles... solar, wind, mini-hydro, micro-power, and conservation... small-scale local agriculture and local markets... investment and capital should remain in the

community, constantly recycled, and locally controlled.” To “localize,” the authors would take economic steps. They would reverse the taxes, subsidies, and deregulation that favor global corporations. But they would retain international human rights agreements; they don’t assume that localizing decisions inherently increases democracy or freedom.

*Curb Corporate Power.* Transnational corporations are the lords of the global economy. The combined sales of the largest 200 exceeded a quarter of all countries’ measured economic activity in 2000, say the authors. Again, they want to end corporate welfare and change other economic policies that tilt the playing field toward the biggest companies and investors.

There is little uniquely global about these proposals. That’s not surprising. Growing corporate power, shrinking democracy, and the enclosure of the commons are trends we recognize in our lives here. I would even say Washington is forcibly exporting them to the rest of the world through the IMF, World Bank, global trade agreements, and military offensives. Now that globalization of increasingly concentrated wealth and power is boomeranging back on us.

That is a message for this election year. To win, the Democratic candidate must make a single message from our experience of “trade,” war, stagnant wages, economic insecurity, vanishing healthcare, and continuing unemployment as Wall Street races ahead. The winning message is about the concentration of wealth and power in a tiny

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## Book review

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elite. The Bush Administration is an inequality gang. For them, every crisis is a new opportunity to shovel money upward.

### A changing global movement

The authors of *Alternatives* have laid out an attractive blueprint for economic democracy. Now more voices need to join in. The people most affected by today's global problems also need to be proposing the solutions. If they don't, the solutions won't solve those problems. The people most affected won't get involved and the US global justice movement won't broaden and grow in critical ways.

Many wings of our movement are already acting on this challenge. Most anti-sweatshop groups work closely with exploited sweatshop workers and look to them for leadership. The campaigns to end debt, AIDS, the IMF and World Bank spring from the global south. Unions from UE to the Teamsters represent endangered industrial workers here and collaborate with their counterparts across borders.

People-of-color-led organizations like the Southwest Workers Union are building cross-border coalitions while others like the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and Miami Workers Center are organizing direct action. And in New England, imaginative initiatives are changing the face of the movement.

Global justice activists are pushing a bill through the Maine legislature that will set up a commission to study trade agreements' effect on state laws. Originally they wanted to organize more broadly via a referendum. But Maine unions feared a referendum campaign would pull neoconservative money into state elections. In the past, labor and liberals might have gone their separate ways. This time global activists elected to work with labor and build a broader movement by working on a non-binding ballot campaign which they're now taking to their state legislators.

In Massachusetts, immigrants are taking the lead in the fight against new trade agreements like the FTAA and CAFTA, the Central American Free Trade Agreement. And the momentum for change is carrying over into the peace movement. As activists start

planning for the Democratic Convention in Boston this July, they are asking, "Will our actions have a base in Boston's working class communities?" Coalition-building work holds the promise that they will.

The gulf between labor and peace activists, global and local organizing reaches deep in our movement history. If we can turn that around, maybe a better world really is possible.

*Mike Prokosch coordinates the global economy program at United for a Fair Economy. He has recently collaborated with Tony LoPresti on a critique (on Z Net) of the anti-FTAA demos in Miami last November. They argue against certain excesses of the direct action wing of the global justice movement, and for less focus on international summit hopping than nurturing local labor-community coalitions. "Often we don't even talk about winning, we talk about 'resisting' or 'speaking truth to power.' Those are noble sentiments but not organizing strategies." (See What to Make of Miami: Searching for Next Steps in Global Justice Movement, www.zmag.org)*

# Fair Trade or Free Trade — John Kerry Must Choose!

by Dave Grosser

Looking back at (what we hope is) the final year of the Bush 2 regime, historians may add Miami to Iraq as a key site of W's undoing. In Florida, last November, Latin American governments made it clear that they could not be stampeded into signing FTAA,

the US plan to extend the disastrous provisions of NAFTA to the entire hemisphere.

Reeling from this dramatic rejection of US dominion, the Bush gang set its sights lower — and they have succeed in wrapping up CAFTA, a NAFTA style "trade" treaty with the six impoverished countries of Central

America. While the Central American governments proved more compliant than South American giants Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina, the agreement still faces tough opposition that may yet block its adoption. The US Congress is expected to vote in June or July if Bush thinks he has the votes

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# Presidential Choices 2004

*National DSA has of yet not endorsed a candidate in the Democratic primaries, although we expect to support the eventual nominee against Bush in November. The views below were submitted by local members and friends in early February, several weeks before the March 2 election in Massachusetts.*

## Mary Babic

*Communications Director for WAND (Women's Action for New Directions, [www.wand.org](http://www.wand.org))*

Democrats or die.

Issues? Take your pick.

*The right to choose:* Two of the people I love most in the world have had abortions. In situations of duress, with broken hearts, they've gone to clinics and ended pregnancies. If abortion were illegal, they

would still have made this choice; they just would have done so in places more dangerous, dirty, and life-threatening...

*Human Services:* The Republicans may not like it, but people rely on the government for all sorts of things: meals on wheels, clean water, schools that teach. Trying to strangle it only means it won't have enough oxygen to do the job right.

*The threat of nuclear annihilation:* In September 2001, several men boarded planes, looked at the passengers - little kids, moms, dads - then slammed those planes into buildings full of people. Does anyone believe that if those same men had gotten their hands on a nuclear device they wouldn't have just as happily dropped that on Manhattan? And that that action

wouldn't trigger a nuclear exchange?

This administration has reacted by building more and bigger and crazier weapons. Which only makes us more vulnerable, our existence more tenuous. We need an administration that will make us more secure by making our country a better citizen of the world: funding and enforcing cooperative non-proliferation efforts.

*The environment:* Take a step back, and this is the issue that explains what this administration is about: wealthy white men securing their interests. Capital. Power. Profits. Global warming? Don't rain on our parade, Spoilsport!

So ahead: give me Dean, give me Kerry, give me Edwards. Just don't give me death.

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## Trade

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(the US Trade Representative's office predicts a margin of one or two votes in the House). Central American countries could start voting in May.

In Central America, El Salvador has catalyzed protest all over the region. The FMLN (the former guerillas) are serious contenders for the Presidency next month on a platform which explicitly rejects CAFTA. And in the US, Central America solidarity groups have made defeating CAFTA a priority as well.

Here in Boston, the local chapter of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is demanding that Senator John Kerry

make a public commitment to vote against CAFTA. We have held three demonstrations and two call-in days to pressure him. He's the logical target in Eastern Mass given his weak record on trade. He not only voted for NAFTA, but also for "Fast Track," in which Congress yielded much of its right to debate and amend trade bills to the President. In what is widely regarded as a litmus test on CAFTA voting, Kerry was absent when Congress voted on trade pacts with Chile and Singapore last year. The rest of the greater Boston Congressional delegation opposed those pacts.

Kerry has been putting out a stronger line on trade issues as he campaigns. We still want an explicit

public declaration from him not only because it would allow public accountability on the issue, but high profile public opposition like his will cause the Bush regime to think twice about even bringing CAFTA up in Congress for a vote. So we will continue to dog Sen. Kerry until we hear that magic word: "NO". Join us to plan and carry out future actions. (You can reach CISPES at (617) 576-1709; [boscispes@gtcinternet.com](mailto:boscispes@gtcinternet.com) Meanwhile Boston Fair Trade Action (BOFTA) is coordinating CAFTA lobbying for all E. Mass Congressional districts. (617) 576-1709; [ftaa@bostonglobalaction.net](mailto:ftaa@bostonglobalaction.net))

*Dave Grosser is a member of Boston CISPES.*

## Choices 2004

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### Ed Clark

*Boston DSA Executive Board*

My union, UNITE, has endorsed John Edwards for President. We were the first national union to endorse him when he ran for Senate, and we are now the first national union to support him in his campaign for President.

Like thousands of our members he was raised in a textile mill village and understands the importance of manufacturing jobs. He understands that trade agreements without environmental and worker protections oppress the poor both here and abroad. He understands and has fought for workplace standards and knows that democracy can not stop at the workplace door...

### Jack Clark

*Former DSA National Director*

The battle for the nomination has produced great results. As Jim Hightower notes, this Democratic field is sounding far more populist and aggressive than the Democrats of 2000 or 2002. Howard Dean's insurgent campaign has contributed a lot to that. Dennis Kucinich, as the most principled and progressive of candidates, has exerted influence on the debate far beyond what his fundraising total or poll numbers would suggest. Dick Gephardt helped turn around the debate on trade. In decrying the split between two nations, John Edwards set a tone that needs to carry through to the general election. Similarly,

Wesley Clark's genuine anger—and open ridicule--about Bush's manipulation of patriotic symbols needs to endure.

Now it's time for the nomination fight to end. The importance of this fall's election cannot be overstated. The Right will fight hard and dirty to consolidate its power. We need to start fighting back now. Kerry has emerged as a candidate who can challenge President Bush and his flock of chicken hawks.

Bring it on.

### Lisa Sloane

*Affordable housing consultant*

I am supporting John Kerry. Why? Largely because I think he has the best chance to win against Bush. Do I think he is the most progressive guy in the race? Not in the least. I'd love to support Kucinich. But, I think about all the terrible things that have happened in this Administration: war in Iraq, tax cuts, cuts to housing and other domestic programs, Patriot Act, blurring of the line between church and state, and on and on. And the guy didn't win by much – if at all. I can just imagine what will happen in the next term – possible appointments to the Supreme Court or lower level Federal Courts especially scare me. I hope Kerry finds a way to ensure the election is more about economics than gay marriage. I hope he finds a way to reach out—especially to all the young voters who were moved by Dean. They need to feel like it was worth it. We need them – to keep the party going and to hopefully move the party further left next time around. But first, we need to win.

### Paul Lachelier

*2002 Green Party candidate for State Rep in Cambridge-Somerville, won 37% of the vote*

I stopped paying DSA dues last year. I stopped because I got the distinct sense that DSA leaders are a certain kind of pragmatic socialist, the kind that supports only those progressive candidates who have a good chance of winning – and that, for them, means Democrats. I'm a pragmatic socialist too, but the kind that endorses all principled progressive candidates, regardless of party, while supporting those who have a good chance of winning. Small distinction, but the latter approach is far less alienating while it still rewards serious candidates.

This approach carries into presidential politics. As a Green voter, I will be casting my vote for the Green presidential nominee, but I will support with my time and energy a Green who has a far better chance of winning lower office – Jill Stein, who is fast mobilizing a campaign for State Representative in Lexington and Waltham. Whether Nader (who, as of this writing, has decided not to run as a Green, but may run as an independent), or another candidate (my personal favorite is David Cobb, [www.votecobb.org](http://www.votecobb.org)), I feel my time and energy (far more valuable than my vote) is better spent actually electing Greens...

### Chuck Collins

*Co-founder, United for a Fair Economy*

My personal politics are Dennis Kucinich. But my Presidential vot-

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## Choices 2004

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ing booth behavior is not a matter of deep principle or personal identification with a candidate. Rather it's a tactical question as to which candidate will best help open up social movement building opportunities, especially with new constituencies not in the progressive camp. Obviously this year in the final election, the overriding concern is ousting George Bush.

Unfortunately, Kerry is not a "movement candidate." In all his races for U.S. Senate, I never saw the broad progressive base get excited about him. If Kerry is the clear front-runner going into the Massachusetts primary, I will vote for either Howard Dean or John

Edwards. Dean out of respect for the movement he helped galvanize over the last eight months – and the importance of having that movement represented in the horse-trading that will soon occur. Edwards because of his message about "Two Americas" which is the best campaign rap about the dangers of economic inequality. Both votes will send a message to the front runner and likely Democratic nominee: Don't forget this base of young people, of displaced workers, of progressive anti-inequality activists.

A more important decision is where to spend the fall working to have the greatest impact on the outcome of 2004 elections. Then back to work on all the important (and less visible) local organizing work...

## Mark Schneider

*Transportation Communications Union Local 1089*

Although he voted wrong on Iraq, Kerry does have foreign policy experience, a generally progressive record, and is finding an anticorporate voice as a campaigner. He was a legitimate antiwar activist and in the Senate fought against the contras. On domestic issues, Dean is a deficit hawk who wrongly wants to roll back the middle class tax cut; Edwards' rhetoric is right but the guy was an ambulance-chaser as an attorney. Kerry-Edwards or Kerry-Graham hold Gore's states and pick up New Hampshire, maybe Florida...

*For more viewpoints, visit our Web site at [www.dsaboston.org](http://www.dsaboston.org).*

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the yankee radical  
 Institute for Democratic Socialism  
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