

the yankee radical

(617) 354-5078

May-June 2010

2010 Democratic Socialists of America Awards Reception

All Out For Jack and Georgia!

Sunday, June 13

Social 3 PM; Program 4 PM

56 Perkins St., Jamaica Plain

Directions: www.dsaboston.org

We hope you can join us at Boston DSA's annual awards reception, this year honoring two champions of social justice and grassroots democracy: **Georgia Hollister Isman** and **Jack Clark**. Our reception will once again be held at the historic Jamaica Plain home of environmental activist Marcia Peters and David Karas. **Honorary Co-Chairs** for this event are **MA AFL-CIO President Robert Haynes** and **State Senator Patricia Jehlen** (D-Somerville), with special guest **Senator**

Sonia Chang-Diaz (D-Boston).

Georgia Hollister Isman is Director of Mass Alliance, a statewide coalition of 23 unions, civil rights, environmental and community groups (including DSA) working for a more progressive State legislature. Georgia helps Alliance-endorsed candidates win elections by consulting with them on every aspect of the campaign, from strategy and fundraising to communications and voter ID. Under her leadership the Alliance has helped elect new progressive leaders across the state and trained dozens of new political organizers.

Prior to working for Mass Alliance (and after graduating from Oberlin

College), Georgia served as campaign manager or field director for progressive candidates in Ohio, Texas and Washington, and in 2004 organized thousands of Massachusetts volunteers to go to New Hampshire for *America Coming Together*, the labor-backed effort to defeat George Bush. In 2005 she led the successful campaign to elect Pat Jehlen to the State Senate, considered by many a model of grassroots mobilization. Georgia also serves as a founding Board member of EmergeMA, where she helps develop and teach a training program for Democratic women candidates.

(continued on page 6)

DSA Member Discussion Meeting

21st Century Socialism?

WHEN: Wed., May 12, 6:30 PM

WHERE: 45 Mt. Auburn St., Camb.

T STOP: Harvard Square, Red Line

The term "socialism" has been used to describe a bewildering variety of parties, movements and contradictory ideas from the last century, from the repressive dictatorships of Stalin, Mao, and Saddam Hussein to Scandinavian social democ-

racy to workers self-management. And all that was before Glen Beck and the Tea Bagger added Barack Obama, Hitler, and Teddy Roosevelt! Although millions throughout the world have also fought for democracy and social justice under its banner, does socialism have a future today? Our speakers will suggest it does, and bring their decades of left activism and scholarship to our

informal discussion.

Elaine Bernard is Director of the Harvard Trade Union Program and National Vice Chair of DSA. **Arthur MacEwan** is Professor of Economics Emeritus at U. Mass Boston, and a member of the *Dollars & Sense* collective. Light refreshments will be served.



SHORT TAKES

Don't Shop at Shaw's!

On March 7th, Shaw's unionized Methuen warehouse workers were given two bad choices; vote in a contract that had a 1% raise that would be eaten by a massive increase in health care costs and would allow temp workers to take their jobs, or go on strike. The company said "if you strike, the next offer will be worse." They chose to strike anyway to protect their jobs and demand better treatment. On April 1st Shaw's, owned by a London-based conglomerate, cut off the health care of the workers and their families.

Assuming the strike hasn't been settled by the time you read this, the best way to keep up with solidarity efforts are websites of the union (www.JusticeAtShaws.org) and of course Jobs with Justice (www.massjwj.net). Labor, religious, student and community leaders are joining in this struggle. Boston DSA is doing our bit by leafleting outside Porter Square Shaw's (Cambridge) on Saturdays, 5-7 PM. Contact us at 617-354-5078 or Chair@dsaboston.org to confirm our

continuing Saturday actions—then join us!
—Adapted from *Jobs with Justice Website*.

UPCOMING EVENTS...

The featured speaker at the **May 22nd North Shore Labor Council** dinner is Senator Bernie Sanders. Honorees include: Mike Fadel of 1199SEIU, Lynn United for Change, and Budget Rent-A-Car Workers, IUE-CWA Local 201. For tickets, visit:

www.NSLCdinner.myevent.com ...

Young Democratic Socialists are having their annual summer retreat in Wurtsboro, NY (that's the Catskills), **August 6-8**. For more information visit: www.DSAUSA.org.

Safer Alternatives Bill

Scientific evidence increasingly indicates that a wide array of toxic chemicals in our everyday lives are contributing to an epidemic of chronic disease and disorders that include asthma, birth defects, cancers,

developmental disabilities, diabetes, endometriosis, infertility, Parkinson's disease, and others. Yet many of these toxic chemicals can be replaced with safer alternatives, and the Safer Alternatives Bill, sponsored by Senator Steve Tolman and Rep. Jay Kaufman, attempts to do just that.

Green chemistry can create the safer products and jobs that are increasingly demanded in today's economy. The European Union and other countries have already adopted more health protective requirements for products, and over 37 percent of Massachusetts trade is with E.U. member states. This Safer Alternatives program will assist Massachusetts businesses competing in the global marketplace.

—Adapted from *MA Breast Cancer Coalition website*, www.mbcc.org. For update on the bill, visit *Alliance for a Healthy Tomorrow*:

www.healthytomorrow.org.

— MP

DSA Reading Group

Boston DSA will be restarting our Socialist Book Group for the summer months (at least) by reading sections of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*, and then take it from there...but first we're reading some Marx.

The first two meetings, with the times, locations, and readings are as follows:

Meeting 1: Sunday May 16, 4-6 P.M.
Location: 24 Bridge St., Newton MA (1 mile from Watertown Sq.). See <http://knutdav.com/directions/>.

Readings:

- Karl Marx (re. theory of history). The Preface to the 1859 Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, (p. 3),
- The Theses on Feuerbach (p. 143),
- Part 1 of The German Ideology (p. 146)
- All in Robert C. Tucker, Ed., "The Marx-Engels Reader". Page numbers are in my copy (2nd Ed., 1978).

Meeting 2: Sunday June 27, 4-6 P.M.
Location: 15 Magnus Ave, Som. MA 02143 (Near corner of Washington and Beacon Streets).

Readings:

- "The Modern Prince" (p. 123-205) in Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, Ed. "Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci". Page numbers are in my copy (2008 paperback printing).

Date and readings for the 3rd meeting will be determined at the second.

All DSA members, prospective members, or just friends (old and new) are welcome to attend. If you do come, please read the material for that meeting beforehand. (If you don't quite finish it, come anyway, but at least make a valiant effort.) Light refreshments will be served—feel free to bring a contribution to the table.

— David Knuttunen

Ice Cream Social(ism)?

WHEN: Sun., July 25, 3:30 PM

WHERE: 24 Bridge St., Newton

WHAT: DSA Mtg. & Bar-BQ

Well, maybe, if you bring it to our Pot Luck cook out, which is right after an important members meeting at the home

of David Knuttunen and Susan Davidoff. The main topic of discussion will be proposed candidate endorsements for the 2010 elections, especially the September primary. The Boston DSA Executive Board may have some recommendations, and of course members can make their own. Time permitting we may want to also discuss organizing for Barney Frank's proposal to cut the Defense budget by 25 percent, or other projects DSA is involved in. Please RSVP 617-558-5853 or david@knutdav.com, especially if you're bringing food. Child care for the meeting can be provided by prior arrangement.

Yankee Radical

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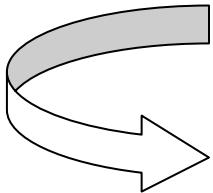
Democratic
Socialists of
America



www.dsausa.org

TAX WALL STREET

We need good jobs NOW!



How many people do you know that are unemployed?

How many do you know that got some of the \$145,000,000,000?

(Yes, that's \$145 billion that went into banker's pockets last year, after we bailed them out.)

This is just the latest outrage. For 30 years, corporate CEOs and Wall Street speculators have put the squeeze on workers by cutting their own taxes and raising ours; privatizing public services so they make more profit and we get less services; and busting our unions so they can make more money while we the workers don't make enough to pay our mortgages or rent.

- They used their rising profits to lobby Congress for banking deregulation and cuts to consumer protections.
- Then they invented unscrupulous mortgage and investing practices, turning our financial system into a casino.
- When their speculation didn't pay off, they got Congress to bail them out to the tune of \$15,000 for every household in America.
- Even after the bailout they have failed to extend credit to businesses, failed to renegotiate mortgages, continued to pay lavish salaries and bonuses, and spent millions lobbying against financial reform, fair taxes, and a recovery for the rest of us.

**It's time to make the bankers pay, for once.
Call Congress; tell them to pass a
massive jobs bill this year!**

A tax on the speculators of the Wall Street casino could put 3 million people to work fixing our infrastructure, teaching our children, making our factories more sustainable and improving our public services.

ACT NOW! Call Congress at (202) 224-3121

Tell the operator your home address and you'll be connected to your Representatives' offices. Ask your Representatives to:

- **Create millions of good, new jobs.** The Local Jobs for America Act (H.R. 4812), which would put 1 million people to work, is a good start, but it doesn't go nearly far enough. We need a massive jobs bill to help state governments and jumpstart the economy.
- **Tax the Wall Street speculators that broke our economy.** A small tax on speculators (H.R. 4191: Let Wall Street Pay for the Restoration of Main Street Act of 2009) would pay for 3 million good jobs while restraining the Wall Street "casino".
- **Rein in the Big Banks and protect consumers.** We need a strong, independent Consumer Financial Protection Agency and broad re-regulation of the banking industry.

Understanding what caused the Great Recession will help us Fix It...

In March, the private sector created only about 114,000 more jobs. Unfortunately, this is little solace to the 25 million people who are either unemployed, underemployed, no longer searching for work, or working far fewer hours than they desire.

A major jobs bill will be difficult to win because of the deficit hysteria in Washington, D.C., which is a deliberate attempt to cover up the costs of our government's wars abroad, the "socialism for the rich" bank bailouts and deregulation, and 30 years of massive neoliberal tax cuts for corporations and the rich. Deficit hysteria is also an excuse for attacks on working people's unions and on our Social Security, Medicare, and safety net programs.

Beginning in the 1940's, the American economy enjoyed a period of sustained growth. Workers organized strong unions and demanded a share in that prosperity, and thus raised the wage standards for everyone else, too. However, starting in the late 1970's and especially under President Reagan in the 1980's, the government began working with corporations to bust unions and deregulate the banking and finance industry. Many American families who had worked their way into the middle class saw their wages dropping behind the rate of inflation, because they were losing the power in the workplace to demand a fair share of corporate profits in their wages.

In order to continue to pay for housing, healthcare, and other necessities, many people had to work harder and longer. When that was not enough, they began going into debt to pay the bills. Along came the housing bubble and deceptive bank practices meant to profit off of people's need to borrow. When the housing bubble burst and the economy tanked, ordinary people stopped buying goods and services out of fear of the future.

Now, we are stuck with a downward spiral where few can afford to buy anything, which means there is less need for workers to produce goods and services, and thus the economy slows down. It's a vicious circle—less income, less buying, thus less work to be done. To top it all off, banks are refusing to lend to small businesses to help them keep functioning through this recession.



Exec Board members Barry Hart, George Borg, and Andrea Costello at the March 24 "Good Jobs Now—Make Wall Street Pay!" rally outside Bank of America, sponsored by MA AFL-CIO, Greater Boston Labor Council, MA Building Trades Council, Jobs with Justice, and Community Labor United. Speakers included Robert Haynes, Enid Eckstein, and former AFL-CIO President (and current DSA member) John Sweeney, who is now teaching a labor issues course at Harvard." (Photo courtesy of R. Wilson.)

The federal government must step in with a huge second stimulus bill to fund jobs and services. There is a lot of fear-mongering about the size of the budget deficit, but this is not the time to be worrying about that. The private sector is simply not up to the task of driving a real economic recovery. Pumping public money into jobs programs will keep the economy afloat, making up for lower private spending as corporations and banks wait out the downturn. Counter-cyclical spending (government spending, not saving, during a recession) is the best tool we have for jumpstarting the economy. **Once people are back at work, more of them will have the money in their pockets to buy the goods and services that keep the economy moving.**

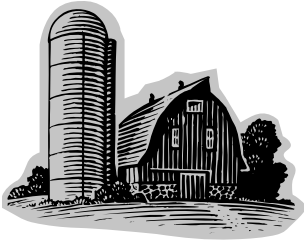
Furthermore, if the federal government doesn't pass such a stimulus bill, then we will likely see a large-scale social disaster, as state and local governments will have to cut public services and lay off public workers who provide those services, in education (K-12 as well as higher education), health care, buses and trains, libraries, parks, public safety like police and fire departments, and sanitation,

etc. Right now is the moment when communities are hurting more than ever, with high unemployment and an increased need for public services.

We also need to force the banks to lend the money they are hoarding, stop foreclosing on peoples' homes, and stop gambling on our future. Ultimately, we should question the capitalist system, which leads inevitably to great inequalities in power and wealth between workers and bosses, and an unstable economic cycle prone to bubbles and crashes that catch ordinary people unawares but help the banks and corporations make a big profit.

Obama's not a socialist, but we are!

Boston DSA, P.O. Box 51356, Boston MA 02205 (617) 354-5078



Let's Localize!

By Eli Beckerman

With meltdowns on Wall Street, Main Street, and the Arctic, peaking world oil production, massive accumulations of public and private debt, and deteriorating health of people and ecosystems alike, it is clear by now to most people that something isn't right.

Thankfully there are people in MA and elsewhere trying to figure out a new way forward. This movement showed itself at the statewide Re-Localization Conference last fall, at coordinated decentralized actions across the planet just one week later on October 24th, outside the halls of power at the UN climate negotiations in Copenhagen, and again this spring at the World People's Conference for Climate Change and Mother Earth Rights in Cochabamba, Bolivia. And it continues to inform and inspire the work of the Massachusetts Coalition for Healthy Communities (MCHC).

By bringing a community health perspective together with economic re-localization, MCHC is developing its goal of healthy people and healthy communities powered by thriving local economies. From local sustainable wheat production and community-supported fisheries and agriculture to community-owned healthcare, banking and renewable energy, there are a growing number of grassroots initiatives already underway in the Commonwealth. They are all happening despite a public policy playing field sharply tilted against them.

We hope to build momentum around common sense policy changes that would help this work. Like using state "surplus" land to create sustainable local food systems, devising new incentives for renewable energy production, integrating public transportation

with pedestrian and bike infrastructure, and encouraging adoption of community initiatives like ridesharing, yard-sharing, weatherization/solarization, barnraisings and more. Such programs would simultaneously cut our reliance on fossil fuels, jumpstart the post-carbon economy, reduce global warming and make us healthier with significantly less healthcare costs

Throughout 2010 we are planning some regional re-localization events, leading up to another statewide conference in the winter. With your help, we can build momentum across the state to pull us back from the brink and build the future we deserve.

Eli Beckerman is Project Coordinator of the Mass. Coalition for HealthyCommunities. To learn more visit www.masschc.org and www.relocalizemassachusetts.org.

I want to join Boston DSA in honoring Gloria Hollister Isman and Jack Clark!

Please reserve ____ tickets at \$35 each for the June 13 reception

Sponsorships: Please list me as a:

supporter at \$75 (includes admission and listing in journal)

patron at \$150 (includes two tickets and journal listing)

benefactor at \$300 (includes five tickets and journal listing)

I really want to join you in honoring Georgia Hollister Isman and Jack Clark, but I just can't afford \$35!

Please reserve ____ tickets at the \$15 low income/fixed income rate.

I'd like a greeting in the event journal in the September *Yankee Radical* (copy for ad enclosed)

1/8 page (4¼×2¾) \$125 ¼ page (4¼×5½) \$200

½ page (8½×5½) \$350 full page (8½×11) \$500

Name: _____

Address: _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____ E-mail _____

Ad copy can also be emailed to
yankeeradical@dsaboston.org.
 Tentative deadline for ads is Aug 20.

TOWARD AN ECONOMIC JUSTICE AGENDA

This is a short summary of DSA's Economic Justice Agenda. For the complete text see www.dsausa.org/pdf/economicjustice_agenda.pdf and be sure to visit our web site at:

www.dsausa.org

For decades, corporate America has waged class war—against working people, the poor, minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle classes—through a conscious government policy of redistributing income, wealth and power upward.

Living standards and union membership have eroded, and wages are in a race to the bottom thanks to so-called “free trade,” while corporate profits and CEO salaries balloon obscenely. Environmental degradation continues, our schools are in crisis, and our infrastructure crumbles, while the U.S. spends more on its armed forces than does the rest of the world combined. Devaluing the public sector and deregulation have led to disasters such as the devastation in Katrina’s wake, the maltreatment of injured veterans, and the foreclosure and banking crises.

The American public is fed up. The time has come for this country’s progressive movements to join forces to demand a just economic policy from the federal government. We must oppose not only Republican conservatism and its neo-conservative enablers, but Democratic

neoliberalism, too. It is time for an activist agenda that goes beyond defense of the status quo, or agitation for our own discrete issues, and speaks for an inclusive common good. Almost everyone benefits from affordable housing, inexpensive quality health care, excellent education from pre-school through graduation, an equitable tax structure, good jobs with union protection and an America less interested in empire and domination than in peace and cooperation.

In that spirit, DSA offers its Economic Justice Agenda to serve as the basis for broad, multi-issue, progressive action—one that can also serve as a unified series of legislative demands.

The Agenda is not an exhaustive blueprint for social and economic justice, nor do we consider it the final word on the subject. It is a work in progress. Its strength lies in identifying the four pillars that we believe can form the basis for a just economic policy and the program for a progressive electoral majority in Congress that can restrain corporate marauding.

Corporate America is multi-issue

and international, but the movements for social change for the most part are not. The business class uses electoral politics effectively, and it rallies behind a common “free-market” agenda. It uses racial, ethnic, and language differences as well as citizenship status to divide individuals and movements that should be cooperating in their mutual interest. The rest of us must push back in every political arena with our own shared perspective and a common legislative program. We must build solidarity among diverse movements and people. Only in this way can we reverse the growing inequality that corporate power has instituted over the past three decades, and restore the public’s faith in democratic government based on liberty, equality, justice and solidarity.

The four pillars of DSA’s Economic Justice Agenda:

- Restoring progressive taxation to the levels in effect before the Reagan administration, and enacting massive cuts in wasteful defense spending.

(continued on p. 7.)

(continued from page 1) — June 13

Jack Clark spent most of the 1970s as the first national secretary of the Michael Harrington–led Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the major predecessor organization to Democratic Socialists of America. Jack had previously quit his job as a reporter for the *Chelsea Record* to join Harrington in NYC to help organize an opposition caucus within the rightward-moving Socialist Party, which eventually became DSOC. He was the first managing editor of *Democratic Left*, has been a delegate to meetings of the Socialist International in Geneva and Vancouver, has led DSA in countless progressive campaigns in NYC and MA—and in his travels as a

DSA organizer once debated Ron Paul! Jack has also edited *Food Monitor* for World Hunger Year in Washington DC, worked for eleven years as Deputy Director for Policy and Planning in Boston for the Mayor’s Office of Jobs and Community Services, and since 2002 as Director of Workforce Development for the union-funded Transportation Learning Center back in DC.

Georgia Hollister Isman is receiving an award named in honor of Gene Debs, Norman Thomas and Julie Bernstein; Jack Clark’s is named after Michael Harrington and A. Philip Randolph. Debs, Thomas, Bernstein, Harrington and Randolph were democratic socialist leaders of the last century who embody

the struggles and values of the political tradition DSA seeks to carry on today. These awards have been given since 1977 to honor deserving activists and raise funds to support the work of the Boston local. Previous awardees include international women’s rights advocate Dessima Williams, labor activist Rand Wilson and educator Deborah Meier.

This should be a wonderful occasion to celebrate progressive struggles in Massachusetts and beyond—and two people from different generations who’ve been in the thick of them. See you all on June 13!

For information on prices, sponsorships and program book ads see page 5.

Haiti, Trade, and Clinton

By Mark Engler

Here's something you don't see every day: One of the most influential promoters of market fundamentalist "free trade" policies admitting that he screwed up big time—and that as a consequence people in Haiti are starving. Amazingly, that's just what happened in the lead-up to the recent *International Donor's Conference* on Haiti.

Earlier in March, Bill Clinton—currently honing his elder statesman chops by working on Haiti disaster relief—made a remarkable apology for the failure of policies he once championed. His statement was put in context in an excellent article by *Associated Press* reporter Jonathan Katz entitled, "*With Cheap Food Imports, Haiti Can't Feed Itself.*" The article hasn't received nearly the attention it deserves, so if you missed it when it first came out, do check it out. Katz writes:

"PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—The earthquake not only smashed markets, collapsed warehouses and left more than 2.5 million people without enough to eat. It may also have shaken up the way the developing world gets food. Decades of inexpensive imports—especially rice from the U.S.—punctuated with abundant aid in various crises have destroyed local agriculture and left impoverished countries such as Haiti unable to feed themselves. While those policies have been criticized for years in aid worker circles, world leaders focused on fixing Haiti are admitting for the first

time that loosening trade barriers has only exacerbated hunger in Haiti and elsewhere..

"They're led by former U.S. President Bill Clinton—now U.N. special envoy to Haiti—who publicly apologized this month for championing policies that destroyed Haiti's rice production. Clinton in the mid-1990s encouraged the impoverished country to dramatically cut tariffs on imported U.S. rice.

"It may have been good for some of my farmers in Arkansas, but it has not worked. It was a mistake,' Clinton told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 10. 'I had to live everyday with the consequences of the loss of capacity to produce a rice crop in Haiti to feed those people because of what I did; nobody else.'"

Katz elaborates with discussion of some of the dynamics of Haiti's situation. These will be familiar to all who followed the food crisis in the global South, which was particularly acute in 2008:

"A combination of food aid, but also cheap imports have.. resulted in a lack of investment in Haitian farming, and that has to be reversed' U.N. humanitarian chief John Holmes told *The Associated Press*. 'That's a global phenomenon, but Haiti's a prime example. I think this is where we should start.'...

"[F]or Haitians, near-total dependence on imported food has been a disaster."

"Cheap foreign products drove farmers

off their land and into overcrowded cities. Rice, a grain with limited nutrition once reserved for special occasions in the Haitian diet, is now a staple."

"Imports also put the country at the mercy of international prices: When they spiked in 2008, rioters unable to afford rice smashed and burned buildings. Parliament ousted the prime minister."

It is a global phenomenon for sure. Indeed, the ever-astute Walden Bello basically wrote the *same article* two years earlier, with Mexico and the Philippines as case studies.

What's new—and far more rare than it should be—is the part about Clinton seeing the light. In the wake of the global economic crisis (and the food crisis before it, and also the total collapse of Argentina's economy in 2001, and don't forget the Asian Financial Crisis of the late 1990s, and, well, you get the idea) you'd think we'd get a lot more former free marketeers publicly eating crow. We have seen some economists and policymakers recant or defect. But plenty of others keep plugging on, undaunted and undeterred.

Mark Engler, Boston DSA's last paid staff person, writes for Foreign Policy in Focus. This article, much abridged for reasons of space, originally appeared on Dissent's Arguing the World website April 7 under the title "Free Trade Makes Earthquakes Worse" (www.dissentmagazine.org).

(Economic Justice continued from p6)

- Ensuring government resumes its appropriate roles through:
 - Providing single-payer universal health insurance, and expanding public initiatives in childcare, elder care, pension security, as well as primary, secondary and higher education;
 - Regulating finance and investment (as was done with the Glass-Steagall Act), controlling interest rates (forbidding usury), provid-

- ing election protection, ending pollution, strengthening oversight of workplace health and safety, guaranteeing net neutrality, breaking up the concentration of media ownership;
 - Investment in green jobs, clean and sustainable energy, clean water, public transportation infrastructure, publicly financed election campaigns;
- Enacting the Employee Free Choice Act—which would restore the right of workers to organize

- unions and to bargain collectively –as part of a broader effort to rebuild a powerful labor movement capable of achieving equity in the labor market.
- Implementing a U.S. foreign and trade policy that promotes global institutions that advance labor, environmental, and human rights, regulates transnational corporations, and allows small farmers worldwide to earn a living in their own homelands.

the yankee radical

Democratic Socialists of America
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Boston DSA Event Calendar

- ★ *Wednesday, May 12, 6:30 P. M.* *Discussion of Socialism (p1)*
(45 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge)
- ★ *Sunday, June 13, 3:00 P. M.* *Awards Reception (p1)*
(56 Perkins St., Jamaica Plain)
- ★ *Sunday, May 16, 4:00 P.M.* *DSA Reading Group (p2)*
(24 Bridge St., Newton)
- ★ *Sunday, June 27, 4:00 P.M.* *DSA Reading Group (p2)*
(15 Magnus Ave., Somerville)
- ★ *Sunday, July 25, 3:30 P. M.* *DSA Members Meeting (p2)*
(24 Bridge St., Newton)