

Israelis, Palestinians and self-determination

by SHLOMO AVINERI

The current flurry of diplomatic activity in the Middle East should not obscure the fact that the fundamental conflict has not neared resolution. This is a conflict between two national movements, each laying claim to the same piece of land. One of these movements, Israeli Zionism, accepts the other's claim to self-determination. But none of the Arab parties in the conflict has ever acknowledged Israel's right to exist. That is the fundamental issue.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization, in particular, explicitly states in its charter (in paragraph 20) that the Jews are not a nation, but merely a religious group, and hence have no right and no capacity to sustain a body politic. Consequently, the PLO program calls for the establishment of a "secular" Palestine, in which "Moslems, Christians, and Jews" will live together, the implication being that the Jews, not being a nation, deserve only religious freedom.

This perception has characterized the Arab attitude to Jewish nationalism from its outset. The tragedy, and intellectual scandal, of this position, is that it denies to the other side that very right—national self-determination—that it claims for itself.

The PLO's denial of the Jews' right to national self-determination puts Israeli moderates in a tight corner. On one hand, there is growing Israeli sympathy for Palestinian self-determination, not only among intellectuals and journalists. The ruling Labor Party has gone a long way towards accepting the fact that without solving the Palestinian problem, true conciliation cannot be achieved. Thus, the Israeli Labor Party's 1973 election manifesto explicitly spoke of a Jordanian-Palestinian solution to the Palestinian quest for self-determination, though not of a separate West Bank Palestinian state. This is a long way from former Prime Minister Meir's hard-line statements that "there are no Palestinians." Similarly, the present Prime Minister, Itzhak Rabin, has repeatedly stated that it is incumbent upon Israel to help solve the Palestinian problem.

On the other hand, the Israeli moderate is faced

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with the fact that the PLO is aiming at a completely different solution. Whether through a "salami tactic" or through an outright "war of national liberation," all sections of the PLO are committed to the ultimate destruction of Israel. *Not one voice has been raised until now within the PLO suggesting that it will accept the existence of Israel as a legitimate body politic in the Middle East.* Because of this, the Israeli moderate, who accepts the idea of national self-determination on a universal scale as part of his socialist credo, who even accepts the establishment of a

(Continued on page 2)

Notes from a political diary: March 1975

by MICHAEL HARRINGTON

March 1. New York. The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee National Board meeting was the busiest we've ever had. Plans were discussed for an organizers' school in the Midwest in June, a youth conference, a West Coast conference in the fall. There was a feeling that the opportunities for the Left are greater than at any time in a generation. Moreover, a political consensus emerged in the course of the debate: that the times demand a greater emphasis on the specifically socialist content of our politics. We remain, of course, the partisans of the democratic Left and we understand that the basic choice of 1976 will be between the mass liberal Left and the conservative Right. But within that framework, everybody felt that the economic crisis is making socialist proposals more relevant and necessary.

In the middle of the meeting, I had to leave to go over to a New Democratic Coalition conference at Chelsea High School. Morris Udall was questioned by a panel of Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman, Robert Browne, the black economist, and myself. On the whole, Udall made a much better impression on me today than he had when he visited the New York delegation at the Kansas City mini-convention. In December he had rattled off a series of one-liners, some good, some bad, none serious. Today he responded to specific questions about domestic economic problems with that informed expertise one finds in a practiced Member of Congress.

(Continued on page 5)

Israel...

(Continued from page 1)

Palestinian entity on the West Bank and Gaza—at considerable cost to Israel—has great difficulty dressing Palestinian grievances, has great difficulty in viewing the PLO as a partner in any future deliberations. It is because the PLO calls only for an exclusivist, one-sided self-determination, rather than because of the Palestinians' terrorism, that the PLO is unacceptable from my own socialist point of view.

Yasir Arafat's speech at the United Nations only confirms this view. Never in his speech did Arafat mention the name "Israel." He only referred to "Zionism" (within the formula of "Imperialism, Colonialism, and Zionism") and compared it to French colonialism in Algeria and American imperialism in Vietnam.

This puts the Israeli government in a difficult position. Leaving tactical disagreements aside (there

can be no doubt the Israeli government made a big mistake by not stating publicly during the Palestinian debate that it would negotiate with any Palestinian group which accepted Israeli existence, an offer the PLO would have refused to its own detriment), the Israeli government really can not negotiate with a group that explicitly denies Israeli self-determination.

What, then, of the Palestinians in the future? The immense publicity achieved by the PLO through its legitimization by the UN has obscured the fact that the Palestinian community is not totally represented by Beirut-based guerrilla groups, for there are three groups of Palestinians—those under Israeli rule on the West Bank and in Gaza, those in Jordan east of the river, and the Beirut-based organizations. *The great majority of the Palestinians, those in the West Bank and in Jordan proper, have basically opted for the moderate, diplomatic solution.* The West Bank population, for example, much as it would like freedom from Israeli occupation, and as much as it admires PLO-inspired hijackings and murders, is ultimately realistic and moderate and has not, over the years, given the PLO that kind of territorial base which a successful guerrilla organization needs for its victory. The Jordanian monarchy has been thoroughly Palestinianized since 1970, and also represents the moderate Palestinian element, ready for a compromise with Israel and aware that it will have to live with the Jewish state as a neighbor.

If the diplomatic moves with Egypt—and possibly even with Syria—are to succeed, this moderate Palestinian-Jordanian factor, pushed aside after Rabat, must return to center stage. Then a compromise solution, more or less based on 1967 borders, plus security guarantees for Israel, may be worked out between Israel, Jordan and the moderate Palestinians of the West Bank. If by that time some of the less radical groups within the PLO will change their intransigent and exclusivist position, relinquish their non-acceptance of Israel and join in the discussion, further steps toward true conciliation would be possible. But the PLO in its present structure and its present ideological stance is not and cannot become an element of understanding. Peace can only be founded on mutuality and reciprocity, not exclusivism and supremacy. □

For an independent Portugal

Recent events in Portugal are disturbing.

Parties to the right and to the left of the Portuguese Communists have been banned, and the army has made it absolutely clear that this month's election will make little difference in how the country is ruled. As Flora Lewis reported in the March 22 *New York Times*, leftists throughout Europe are upset by the political turns in Portugal. In the words of one French Socialist, "There is no doubt that the Portuguese Socialist Party is hardest hit by what has happened in Lisbon."

For our part, we echo Mario Soares' hopes that Portugal can achieve socialism on its own terms, that the last colonial power not "trade one imperialism for another."

But there can be no question that Portugal must solve its own problems without the "help" of the United States. James Buckley's crude saber-rattling (we should seize the Azores and if we fail, fire the Joint Chiefs of Staff) is predictable and wrong. And the more "sophisticated" reasoning of Senator Hubert Humphrey is just as wrong. He wants us to use American power "to support democratic elements in Portugal." The way we helped "democratic elements" in Vietnam? In Greece? In Chile? In the Dominican Republic? Such monstrosities can not be justified on the basis that the Kremlin does it, too.

Humphrey and others who want to demonstrate the United States' commitment to "democratic elements" would do better to urge that American power not be used to maneuver in the internal politics of Portugal or any other country.

—DAVID BENSMAN
JACK CLARK

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Layoff dilemma: seniority vs. affirmative action

The problem is all too familiar. Unions fought long and hard to win seniority rights and thus deprive employers of "discretion" in layoffs. Women and minorities, long kept out of the labor force by sheer discrimination, have made at least some headway in the last few years thanks to affirmative action and anti-discrimination efforts. Now we have an economic downturn and millions face loss of their jobs. Should seniority be violated or should the women and minorities face disproportionate losses?

It seems like an impossible situation and in many ways it is. But some people on the Left have been considering how to deal with the dilemma, and we present some of those proposals here.

The Anti-Recession Act of 1975

by WILLIAM BYWATER and ARCHER COLE
*President and Assistant to the President of District 3,
International Union of Electrical Workers*

"In a nutshell, ARA would require employers who plan to reduce the work force to instead reduce the work week by as much as 20 percent and be subsidized by the government to pay employees at a full week's wages.

"For example, a company of 1000 employees which must lay off 20 percent of its work force or 200 employees would be required instead to reduce the regular 40 hour work schedule by 8 hours or one full working day and keep its work force of 1000 on the payroll working 32 hours a week.

"From the calculations we have done, ARA should cost the government about \$5 billion a year for each million workers it keeps on payroll (assuming an average wage of \$5 per hour). By comparison with other proposals put forward recently, its expenditures are relatively moderate and its effects are more far-reaching and immediate."

Editor's note: The IUE proposal will be incorporated in legislation to be introduced by Congressman Henry Helstoski of New Jersey.

The answer is jobs

by BETTY SCHLEIN
*President, Nassau chapter
National Organization for Women*

"Over and over women have been given reasons why they should wait for equal economic opportunity. Now that we have made great strides in public acceptance of the concept of equal employment and equal pay for women, we are confronted with an economy in which unemployment is reaching up to 10 percent of the work force.

"Women and minorities are just breaking through the old barriers that have precluded them from a fair chance. Having been hired, they are now the first being fired!

"What can we do?"

"Women and minorities cannot find their equality without equal opportunity for all. In a fair economy, all persons who wish to work should be entitled to jobs at a reasonable wage.

"If the private sector cannot provide sufficient jobs, then the public sector ought to create public works programs, not only in highways, sewers and housing, but also in human services such as health care, schools and child care. The money saved in unemployment insurance and welfare benefits could be used for this purpose. The right to a job must become as valid and acceptable as the right to Social Security.

"Let us stop taking it out on each other and join together to overhaul the large structures. The very groups that ought to be most united in our common efforts—the labor movement, women and minorities—are nibbling away at each other—fighting over a smaller and smaller piece of the economic pie.

"We, as feminists, must recognize that one of our priorities today is the fight for full employment. An administration that says an unemployment rate of 8 to 10 percent is acceptable is unacceptable to us.

"There is a National Committee for Full Employment, led by Coretta King, Murray Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Leonard Woodcock, Gloria Steinem and others. They are working toward passage of a full employment act which is before Congress this year. I would urge NOW and others to join forces to help develop this coalition and the kind of national action campaign that passage of such a bill will require. We can and we must create the massive majority for change!"

Shorten the work week

by TILFORD DUDLEY
*DSOC member, former political action staffer for CIO
and AFL-CIO, presently lobbyist for United Church
of Christ*

"Our unemployment problem is partly that we have more workers than we need at current levels of productivity. AFL-CIO tax expert, Arnold Cantor, has spoken of 'automobile lots bulging with cars . . . retail shelves sagging with goods . . . industries operating at very low capacity rates.' The same is true of refrigerators, TV sets and much of the heavy hardware. We don't need more products but we do need more jobs.

"Since World War II, there has been a sustained increase in productivity. It varied from year to year but averaged 3.1 percent per year for a total of 77.5 percent.

"But it's not the same size work force. Millions of female and minority workers have come into the labor market.

"With this increased productivity and significant additions to the work force, American industry had to find something for all these people to do. The resulting increases in production brought more physical comforts and desirable improvements in living standards. It also brought on a flood of unnecessary gadgetry, waste,

unneeded luxuries and damage to our environment. Society is now being forced to adjust, because of the energy crisis, to a more stringent economic reality. The question is whether we plan our adjustments or take them as they come, haphazardly.

"It's time to revive an old trade union demand—cut the work week, without cutting pay. The 40 hour work week is out of date and a hindrance to desirable egalitarian shifts in schedule and lifestyle. We can well afford to cut the work week to 30 hours, require time and a half above 30 hours and double time above 40 hours. That way we would encourage employers to share work rather than lay people off. And for the 9.4 million people currently working more than 40 hours, we would provide an incentive to cut their work schedule without cutting their living standards."

Letter to the EEOC

by VERNON E. JORDAN

Executive Director, National Urban League

and BERTRAM H. GOLD

Executive Vice President, American Jewish Committee

"... while [full employment] is our basic goal, we must search today for ways to reduce the disproportionate hardships women and minorities face during the current layoffs, and to reduce the tensions between workers. Among the illustrations and proposals which we commend to your consideration are the following:

- The International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have traditionally shared the work. . . . The Newspaper Guild at the Washington *Star-News* recently voted to go on a four day week to avert layoffs.

- The United Auto Workers negotiated supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB), which provide laid-off workers with at least a year's seniority 95 percent of their regular wages in SUB and unemployment insurance. As long ago as 1970, the UAW advocated reverse seniority, urging employers to keep workers employed less than a year while laying off those entitled to unemployment benefits and SUB. . . .

"Another approach might be to rotate unemployment. Instead of sharing the work (which means that all workers take home smaller paychecks), an employer might lay off a fourth of the workforce, making them eligible for unemployment insurance, and after a given time, rehire them and lay off another fourth, until all workers have had a turn. . . .

- The United Auto Workers says it is willing to accept 'fictional seniority' in individual cases. For example, a black applied for a job in 1965 but was turned down, although qualified whites were hired. In 1970 as a result of affirmative action, the black was hired. Under the UAW plan, the black worker would have real seniority from 1970 and 'fictional seniority' from 1965. However, the union stresses no higher seniority workers should be fired to make way for 'fictional seniority.' Instead, under it, the workers would be laid off but paid full salary and fringes. Since the employer was responsible for the initial discrimination, argues the UAW, it should bear the brunt of correcting it. . . ."

Memo to New York City employees

by ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON

Chair of NYC's Commission on Human Rights

"The New York City Commission, like the courts, will use its powers to assure that the real achievements of the last decade towards full and equal employment opportunity will not be undone in the course of one recession. The pattern of 'last in and first out,' if allowed to continue, would result in bottom-rung status in perpetuity for excluded groups. Its effect has always been to allow grossly unequal reductions of minority and female employees, a cycle that must be broken. . . .

"The Commission suggests that before any final decision to terminate employees is made, the following steps be taken.

- 1) Analyze the results of any proposed workforce reduction to see if there are a disproportionate number of minorities or females affected.

- 2) If there will be, identify the reasons for this disparate impact. Is it due to seniority? Do the areas you selected for cut back have more minorities and females than other departments you did not select?

- 3) Analyze whether the same cost savings can be made by other cuts and economies, including those not involving total layoff of employees. Have you considered company-wide reduced work weeks, shift changes, payless work days or payless holidays? Can cuts in the workforce be made in other departments or divisions so that the impact on minorities and women is reduced and falls equally on all employees? Can senior employees be encouraged to retire voluntarily by increased increments? . . ."

Sharing the misery?

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

*DSOC National Board member and
Labor Director, American Jewish Committee*

"The desirable answer is full employment. But, until then, shouldn't we consider temporary measures, like work-sharing, to reduce tensions between black and white workers and between men and women workers?

"In the past several weeks, this subject has elicited considerable comment. While a number of unions back work-sharing, others feel it is a "share-the-misery" plan which allows employers to get off scot-free. Some unionists insist that it was employer hiring discrimination that kept out blacks and women, particularly in industrial plants, and that therefore employers should pay for that past discrimination. That sounds logical. But, in the current depression, to force them to keep their entire staff on full-time may lead to bankruptcy, in which case *all* the workers will be unemployed.

"So we're in a dilemma. Labor's historic slogan is "Solidarity Forever." Should it be "Solidarity part of the time?" Should 90 percent of the workers work full-time while 10 percent get unemployment benefits and, when that runs out, welfare? Or should we seek ways of alleviating *temporarily* the worst effects of the depression through work-sharing and other techniques?" □

Democrats and campaign finances

The Democratic Party Campaign Treasurer's Handbook by Barry E. Wagman, Oakdale Publishing Co., 283 pp. \$10.

1974 was the year of campaign finance reform. In the wake of Watergate, 13 states changed their laws to require campaign finance reports for the first time. California passed a complicated law in a bitterly contested referendum; New York changed its laws to allow corporate contributions of up to \$5,000; and the Federal election laws came under close scrutiny and some change.

With all of that, it's not surprising that Barry Wagman's manual for campaign treasurers was not ready for the '74 elections. But it is too bad. Wagman, a certified public accountant and an experienced campaign treasurer, presents the complete how-to-do-it course in handling organizational finances. The treasurer for any voluntary organization could make good use of this handbook, but with its system of forms, which meet all specifications of state and Federal election laws, the manual's real strength is that it provides a guide through the maze of campaign finances.

The idea for this book was Wagman's, and he was encouraged in his efforts by the Democratic National Committee staff. The final details are now being worked out so that the manual can become an official Democratic Party publication. Helping to get a technically competent and efficient campaign treasurer's manual published is a worthy goal and an appropriate function for the Democratic National Committee.

But the Democrats are ducking the tougher issues. It's not just Republican politicians who engage in questionable fundraising. Senators Jackson and Bentsen made frantic and successful efforts to secure large contributions before the new Federal law placed a \$1,000 ceiling on contributions. Does the DNC think that kind of deadline ducking is in the spirit of the law? New York State now allows businesses to contribute up to \$5000 to candidates. Does the Democratic Party—the party of the little people, as Senator Jackson would put it—consider that appropriate? How does the Democratic Party define conflict of interest? Or is that just a Republican vice? What about the hundreds of thousands of dollars raised by incumbents running without opposition? Is that ethical? Where is all that money going?

Campaign laws leave lots of space for unethical practices if only because there is no mechanism for enforcement—particularly in state and local elections. A technical manual is fine, but what the Democrats really need is an official Party code of campaign ethics. And just as we have a compliance review commission to see that candidates live up to the Party's affirmative action provisions, we need Party wide enforcement machinery for a code of ethics. Until we get it, the Democratic leadership's horror over Watergate can be—and should be—dismissed as so much hot air.

—FRANK LLEWELLYN

Political diary...

(Continued from page 1)

Most of his answers placed him, predictably, in the liberal mainstream: for public employment jobs and the Hawkins-Humphrey full employment bill (which provides a legally enforceable right to a job), for the Kennedy-Corman health bill, etc. On three issues, his remarks were of more than routine interest.

Browne asked if affirmative action principles should be applied to unemployment so that minority group members and women would not bear the brunt of the Depression, which would be the case if union seniority rules were observed. Udall waffled. One can understand the politics of the evasion—a forthright answer on either side might seem to be guaranteed to lose some votes—but that is no excuse. If the democratic Left does not squarely face this issue, it could split the progressive forces, turning them against one another, and guaranteeing that everyone—white males, women, minorities—will lose. [There have been serious proposals on how to deal with this dilemma and some of them are presented elsewhere in this issue.] Udall did not explore alternatives. He simply equivocated.

On the railroads, Udall was more responsive. I asked him if we should treat Federal payments as purchases of equity rather than as subsidies and thus take over the railroads (in the Northeast at least) and put the unemployed to work creating this efficient, energy-saving and environment-conserving form of transportation. Udall agreed.

And on the question of taxes, he was pretty good. It is easy to be for a tax cut and for more government spending. It is not easy to advocate major—say \$30 billion—cuts in the \$91 billion tax loopholes for the rich. I posed the issue and Udall was for these measures (even though he still wanted to have some kind of investment tax credit).

Udall did not set the crowd afire; he did come through as a substantial and seasoned liberal.

March 7. Great Neck. This is McGovern-McCarthy territory on Long Island, an area of affluent liberalism and even radicalism.

Two hundred people showed up for my socialist analysis of the current crisis and responded sympathetically. Afterwards, talking to a McCarthy-McGovern organizer, I heard about Gene McCarthy's visit of the night before. He had talked to several hundred of his former partisans and made the case for his independent Presidential campaign. He focused on the need for a "constitutional Presidency." McCarthy's old supporters urged him to stake out a position on economic issues to the left of the Democratic liberals. They told him that he should take up specifically and avowedly socialist proposals, but the meeting ended equivocally. In Great Neck, which might be a weather vane for affluent liberalism, no Presidential candidate has caught on.

March 13. Chicago. Leon Shull and Don Fraser of ADA have called together an informal caucus of the people who coalesced to win on affirmative action issues at the December mini-convention. About 100 people attended, and the list was impressive. Anti-war and

McGovern and McCarthy organizers like Gene Pokorney, Carl Wagner, Sam Brown and Alan Baron; veteran liberal fighters like Al Lowenstein and Joe Rauh; trade unionists from the Communication Workers, the UAW, State County, the Machinists, the Steel Workers and the IUE; leading feminists including Sissy Farenthold, Billie Carr, Bella Abzug and Arvonne Fraser; activist fund-raisers like Stan Sheinbaum, Marj Benton and Harold Willens. As Basil Patterson pointed out, there were too few blacks present.

Before the opening session, I chatted with Ed Sadlowski, the new director of the Chicago-Gary Steelworkers district. He expressed some worry about growing Wallace sentiment among the rank-and-filers. Wallace's strength was based, he said, less on race than on concern about the economic crisis. The danger of such a demagogue building an extremist right wing movement on the shambles of capitalist breakdown are all too obvious—and familiar.

At the first working session, Lou Harris, Pat Cadell, and Peter Hart, three polling experts (and liberals) talked about the mood of the society. Harris was the most forthright: if a politician promises the people that he has the answer to their problems, there is an instant credibility gap. This, therefore, is no time to be concentrating on issues; the candidate, in a personal sense, becomes central. I objected during the discussion. It seemed to me—and it still does—that the depression is the overwhelming political reality. The candidate who can provide, not a guaranteed answer to the crisis, but the outline of a program to deal with it, will win. I did not add, though I probably should have, that if the Democratic Left fails to find a successful approach, Wallace will go unchallenged.

The discussion struck me as unfocused and dominated by the technical, nonpolitical considerations central to the pollster's art. Polling assumes the electorate to be a given. Politics should see voter attitudes as a range of possibilities. Which of those political currents predominates depends on both the program and the personality of the candidates.

I left the Chicago conference early the next morning, so I missed what some of my friends told me was the best speech of the conference—the presentation by Lieutenant Governor Mary Anne Krupsak of New York. And from what I understand came out of the continuations session, the conference did not come to firm conclusions on either program or candidates. Still, I thought the conference was worthwhile and positive. It demonstrated that the Kansas City coalition was very much intact. Despite some strains, cooperation between the reformers and the unions continues. And that is crucial. Eventually, a liberal candidate will emerge—I don't exclude the "Kennedy scenario" of a draft at a deadlocked convention. But whether the liberal candidate turns out to be Kennedy or someone else, the organizing work and the patient building of relationships between groups and tendencies will begin to pay off in election year unity.

March 14. Fresno. I flew here from Chicago to make the keynote address at the convention of the California Democratic Council (CDC), that state's venerable Democratic reform movement. CDC began in

the late '50's as an effort to build a strong Democratic Party in a weak party state. It played a significant role in electing Pat Brown governor and Alan Cranston to the U.S. Senate, and it galvanized some very early anti-war activity. Partially because of its success in spreading its ideas through the party structure, CDC declined organizationally in the late '60's. During the past two years, there has been a marked revival. Last year, all Democratic gubernatorial candidates sought CDC endorsement. This year, more than one thousand delegates gathered in Fresno.

On Friday night, Congressman Andy Young led off. I first knew him when he worked as an aide to Martin King, and he noted in his speech that we met on the tenth anniversary of the Selma-Montgomery march. A decade ago slogging through the Alabama mud, Young told the delegates, he had no idea that he would eventually be a Member of Congress from

Capital quotes

“SOME ADVICE ON SHREDDERS YOU MAY DECIDE TO IGNORE.

First you need one. Even if you think you don't. Because they're not just the tidiest way of disposing of scrap paper.

Say you're putting out a merger proposal. Or a tender for a new contract. Or a new wage structure.

Perhaps a plan to reduce the workforce. Or even increase production. In fact, anything of an important, confidential nature no one outside the firm should hear about, at least *not yet*. And quite often those working for you should not get to hear about it either, at least *not yet*.

Short of burning it in the ashtray, there's no safer way to destroy it than in a shredder.”

—Fordigraph Ltd. advertisement in
The *Economist* of London

Georgia. Young also argued for Party unity, and if I heard between the lines correctly, chided those who had refused to back Humphrey against Nixon in 1968. After the speech, he told me that he plans to support Jimmy Carter in the Florida and Georgia primaries, not because the former Georgia Governor is his first choice among the candidates, but because Young thinks that Carter might be able to beat Wallace in those two primaries, perhaps badly enough to knock him out of the race.

I also spoke Friday night. I talked about the need for a Left-liberal immediate program and candidate to deal with the economic crisis. At the same time, I stressed the importance of a socialist analysis of the specifically capitalist nature of the crisis. Among the demands I raised were: nationalization of the railroads, public ownership of the next bank that fails, a public energy corporation, and workers and public representation on all corporate boards. I was interrupted regularly by applause, and as the Fresno *Bee*

reported the next day, specific proposals were met with cheers. The experience confirmed the consensus reached at the DSOC Board earlier in the month: the delegates to a convention of liberal Democrats responded to a socialist keynote address with a standing ovation.

A DSOC contingent attended the convention—some members were delegates, others came to help out. An issue of the California Socialist—"Out of the Closet" was its lead headline—and other socialist literature was distributed. We held several discussions with delegates, one right after my speech, another at lunch the next day.

On Saturday, Fred Harris arrived at the convention. He is, I was told, the only candidate actively campaigning among the grassroots Democrats in California, holding coffee klatsches throughout the state. His speech and his response to questions Saturday night were folksy and sharply populist. Jobs, he said, were the top priority, and he lashed out at corporate power. He pledged, among other things, to declare "every man, woman and child in America a veteran of World War II," so that we all could qualify for the educational, medical and other benefits provided for our warriors, but not for the poor.

On the whole, Harris impressed me. He has a serious California campaign, and if an endorsement vote had been taken at this CDC convention, he certainly would have won it. He just might do what McGovern did in 1972—start off as a dark horse, proceed to capture the bulk of the middle class Left in the Party and build enough momentum in the primaries to take the nomination. Whether the disastrous defeat in the general election would also follow, I just don't know. There are significant differences between the Harris and McGovern candidacies, not the least of which is that Harris leads off with economic and social class issues, sounding like an authentic populist.

I was not persuaded by Harris at Fresno—like so many others on the democratic Left, I don't have a candidate yet—but I was impressed by him and convinced that he is a more serious candidate than the pundits yet acknowledge.

On the basis of these experiences of the past month I am hardly in a position to suggest that the United States is on the eve of a socialist transformation. But I think that this crisis is having a profound impact upon all kinds of people. Liberals and trade unionists are more open to a socialist analysis and program than at any time in a generation. There are, to be sure, dangers. The Wallace mood which Ed Sadlowski described is the most obvious case in point. But there are also great opportunities—for the mass movement of the democratic Left which must elect a President in 1976, for the reviving forces of the socialist Left which must simultaneously push that Presidential campaign toward the Left and toward victory.

There is no one clear candidate of the Left, and that is a drawback. But there are, I sensed in these various meetings, so many possibilities. 1975 is like 1931 and we are looking for another Franklin Roosevelt and a New Deal. A New Deal which will go beyond the first New Deal. Far, far beyond it. □

Socialist notes

Debs-Thomas awards: In Chicago the annual award will go to retired Alderman Leon Despres with Joe Rauh the guest speaker. In N.Y. DSOC member Bernie Rifkin will be honored. David Barrett, socialist premier of British Columbia, will speak. . . .

Marches: Let's bring a large DSOC contingent to the Jobs Now labor march on Washington, April 26 (note date). Ditto to the march for integrated education in Boston, May 17. . . .

Conferences: A training institute for socialist organizers will be held in the Midwest, June 14 and 15. A socialist weekend conference is planned for May 30, 31 and June 1 at the Hudson Guild Farm in N.J. DSOC and the New American Movement are co-sponsoring a New York conference on socialist alternatives in the economic crisis, April 11 and 12.

Educational activities: Washington DSOC continues its successful series of Labor Luncheons. The most recent featured Sumner Rosen speaking on the economic crisis. The New York Labor Forum held a debate "Are the Oil Companies Responsible for our Economic Crisis?" Labor economist Stanley Ruttenberg spoke for the affirmative and Irving Slifkin, an attorney for the Shell Oil Co. spoke for the negative. Philadelphia DSOC's course at Lassalle's "Community" on "Democratic Socialist Alternatives for America" begins this month. Chicago DSOC has a new socialist discussion and study group. New Haven has been sponsoring an educational series which has recently featured Irving Howe, Bodgan Denitch, and Erazim Kohak. Gordon Haskell spoke on aid to developing countries and related issues to chapters in Dallas, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. . . .

Labor: In Bridgeport John DelVecchio has been reorganizing the Young Unionists Action League. YUAL chartered a bus to bring union members from Bridgeport to a statewide AFL-CIO meeting on the economic crisis. John says, "We're pushing for more rank-and-file mobilization by the unions."

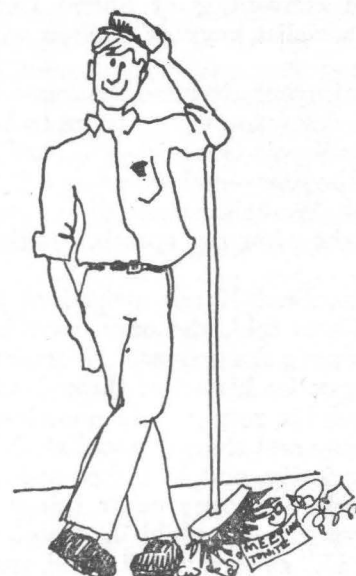
Other: David Tam, chairman of the Bay Area local, expects a spurt of memberships resulting from DSOC mobilization for the recent CDC convention. Mike Harrington spoke at a brunch in L.A. following the convention and Deena Rosenberg reports that four people joined on the spot with more memberships still coming in. A Chicago conference pulled together by the ADA was attended by DSOC members Jack Clark, Marjorie Gellermann, Mike Harrington, and Nancy Shier. The Harvard-Radcliffe DSOC fielded a slate (with like-minded leftists) in the campus Democratic club. Dennis Saffran and Elizabeth Glazer were elected treasurer and secretary, respectively. Deborah Meier, national vice-chairwoman, is running for community school board in NYC. Harlan Baker has volunteered to tour the New England region as an organizer. Julius Bernstein, DSOC national vice-chairman, recently testified at Massachusetts hearings on an initiative for a state power authority. □

Jimmy Higgins reports . . .

THE DATE HAS BEEN CHANGED and so has the sponsorship but there will be a big labor mobilization in Washington this month for jobs. As this column reported last month, some New York area trade unionists were planning an April 29 march in the hopes that their efforts would spark a national mobilization. Well, the national mobilization came sooner than expected when the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO decided to sponsor a rally. The date is now set for April 26, and the rally will be held in RFK stadium, which the 6 million member IUD hopes to have full to overflowing. The New York unionists who originally planned a march will still have one—from the Capitol to RFK stadium. Members of Congress are expected to attend the rally.

DALEY'S MANEUVERING was responsible for the recent defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in the Illinois legislature. Although officially in favor of the ERA, Daley did not hold his organization's reps in line. And with strong pressure against the ERA coming from the Chicago Catholic hierarchy, the machine legislators voted to require 60 percent of the legislature for endorsement, effectively killing the passage. One promising note for next time: trade unionists were unhappy about the defeat of ERA. When one legislator who had opposed the ERA called a large Chicago union to buy tickets for his fundraising party, he was told to "get some money from Phyllis Schafly."

SLICK POLITICS—The Congressional fight over the repeal of the oil depletion allowance has produced some strange alliances. The House of Representatives, long reputed to be the more conservative chamber, has already voted to do away with the depletion allowance. The reputedly more liberal and more efficient Senate dawdles on, as issues like keeping the depletion allowance for oil "independents" are fought out. The liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress finds its founder, Maurice Rosenblatt, lobbying for independents and against repeal. Predictably, oil state Senators, led by Bentsen and Long, are fighting full repeal of the de-



pletion allowance, and they're having an effect because liberals like Alan Cranston of California and Gary Hart of Colorado are voting with them. Oil contributions to Senators now voting has become a key issue. Four Senators on the Finance Committee received a total of \$340,000 from independent oil men last year. Interestingly, the *Wall Street Journal* reports that the major multinational oil companies are willing to lose the depletion allowance. Their hope is that such a "loss" would relieve the pressure now building to take away the much more lucrative foreign tax credit.

TVA FOR ME.—The idea of harnessing the Maine tides to produce electricity was first advanced—and first thwarted by the private utilities—during the Great Depression. The debate has whimpered on ever since, and now State Senator Howard Trotzky has placed the issue on the legislative agenda—sort of. Trotzky's bill would not appropriate any money for a power project on Passamaquoddy Bay, but it would create a five member board, "a public body corporate" to seek funds. Who would make up the board? Well, just to add some "expertise," two representatives from private utilities and three public members. Since Governor James Longley (the nation's only "independent" governor) would make the appointments, that would add up to five business representatives. So much for that idea. Except that the development of a public power authority on Passamaquoddy Bay is so good an idea that it just might not die. Environmentalists like it because it offers an alternative to damming the St. John's River or building an off-shore refinery. Labor likes it because it would create jobs in the very depressed area around Passamaquoddy Bay, and consumers like it because it would bring down the high electrical rates all over New England. It all makes Maine a likely place to fight out the next big battle against the utilities.

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