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# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY  
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

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## INSIDE

### Running Wild, p. 5

Could 1980 give us another Ford-Carter re-run? Why has Ted Kennedy fallen so far so fast and can he climb back? Jim Chapin and Jack Clark analyze the field of candidates from far right to muddled middle and point out the fate that awaits any candidate even perceived as being left wing.

### Special Report: Inflation, p. 8

Before we start taking wheelbarrows of paper money to the corner grocery we need to look at some anti-inflationary programs. Leslie Nulty and Howard Wachtel examine some causes and suggest some cures for this most talked about topic.

### Socialist Notes, p. 12

While DSOCers and DSOC-supported candidates didn't exactly sweep the country in this fall's local elections, some joined the small but growing club of elected socialists.

### Youth Conference, p. 13

Creeping socialism seems to be going at a gallop if one can judge by the growth of the DSOC Youth Section.

### What's Left to Read, p. 14

Blind spots on the left. Ron Radosh looks at left-wing antisemitism, left-wing romanticism and right-wing scapegoating.

### Big Business Day, p. 15

This program will not be brought to you by Mobil Oil.

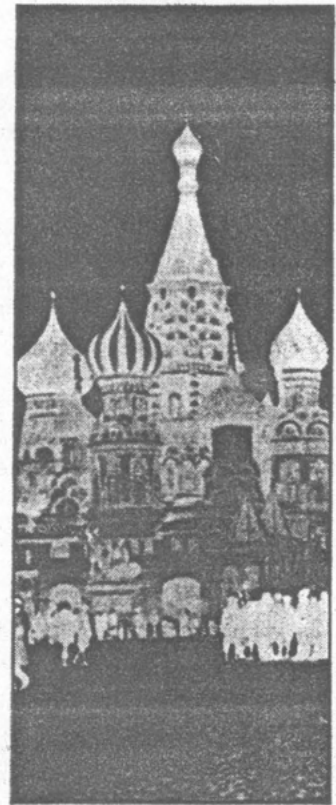
# New Cold War Risk to Peace

By Michael Harrington

**T**HE SOVIET INVASION OF Afghanistan is a flagrant violation of the right of national self-determination and a provocation which could lead to the revival of the Cold War or, more precisely, to a situation that will threaten world peace more than the Cold War ever did.

It will be said by the Russians and their friends that the Afghan people have no rights because they are reactionary feudalists and religious fanatics and that the invasion therefore does the work of "progress." That, of course, is the classic apology for imperialism from the British Raj to the present: that a great power must "civilize" backward natives over their dead bodies and trampled rights. It is no more compelling when invoked in Moscow in the name of "Communism" than it was when the French were saving the Algerians from themselves or the United States was bringing "democracy" to the Vietnamese. In the thirties, anti-Fascists were right to support feudalist Ethiopia against Mussolini's Italy on the grounds that the right of national self-determination is not reserved to "progressives," particularly when that last term is defined by an aggressor with gun in hand.

It is true that the Soviets toppled a man who has been rightly called "the Afghan Pol Pot." It is also true that Moscow supported him until the moment it betrayed him. Moreover, as *Le Monde* remarked, by identifying "progress" with a tiny elite—a "small clan rather than a



*“Thus, even though these are, thanks to Russian imperialism, difficult times to talk about peace and disarmament, that is what we must do.”*

totalitarian party,"—installed by foreign bayonets, and equating nationalism with traditionalism, Russia has struck a mighty blow for reaction in Afghanistan.

Worse. As *L'Unita*, the organ of the Italian Communist Party, said in an article attacking the Russian intervention, this action threatens world peace even more than the crises in the fifties and early sixties. That the Soviets have now

accused the United States of turning back to the Cold War, i.e. of doing what the Soviets themselves did, reminds me of that great American police tradition in which anyone who has been hit by a cop is booked for assaulting an officer.

But this does not mean that the United States should, in hysterical reaction, accept the Soviet invitation to a new Cold War. It is conceivable that

there has been a basic shift in Russian strategy which is related to the serious internal crises of that society: declining productivity, a high birthrate among its Moslem population, energy shortages and continuing agricultural failure. The hawks at the London *Economist* raised that possibility in an article titled "A Russian drive south?" which appeared before the Soviet invasion. But it is also

## LETTERS

To the Editor:

Ruth Jordan's article "Coalitions: Too Many or Not Enough?" (November) correctly notes that we need more not less coalitions.

One newly awakened group which ought to be included in progressive coalitions are the handicapped rights activists and advocates. As a handicapped person I know firsthand the terrible consequences which flow from the abdication of social responsibility and the absence of a mass social democratic movement.

I propose to DSOC that it needs a caucus of handicapped people. We so-called handicapped individuals should be in the forefront of poor people's struggles. If anyone is interested in my proposal or in helping to develop better "handicapped rights" legislation please write me in care of Wichita DSOC (OC), 2841 E. Kinkaid, Wichita, Kansas 67211.

Freda Neuman  
Wichita, Kansas

■ ■ ■

To the Editor:

Russell Gibbons, editor of *Steel-Labor*, suggests that my book *Democratic Rights for Union Members* identifies the Steelworkers with the Miners and Teamsters (December). Not true. Did he notice page 228:

"Quite different from the others, not like the racket-infested painters or the easy-going musicians is the . . . United Steelworkers. . . . Unlike the Teamsters no one was ever murdered for challenging the Steelworkers officialdom; and unlike the miners' union under Lewis, oppositionists in the Steelworkers live to fight another day. Nevertheless the union's leadership cannot rest comfortably with union democracy. . . ."

Of course, the USWA is different. But in one respect there is a similarity. Stolen elections. The USWA has a long record of suspect elections. I saw Donald Rarick beaten right at the union's convention. Some of the record can be found in John Herling's *Right to Challenge*. For other evidence, the reader may consult pp. 229-33 of *Democratic Rights for Union Members*. The District 31 election was stolen; the union admitted some of the fraud in that election when the perpetrators were caught redhanded.

No, the 1977 election was not supervised by the Labor Department. At the request of the union officialdom, the Department made certain useless and futile gestures which served only to whitewash the proceedings. Mr. Gibbons uses that feeble intervention precisely for the purpose it was intended to serve, to give the appearance but not the reality of a fair election. The Labor Department never enters a union election at the request of dissenters who need protection. But it

will enter to serve the officialdom which needs a cover.

H. W. Benson  
New York, N.Y.

■ ■ ■

To the Editor:

Irving Howe's analysis of the situation in Iran in the January issue is excellent, but we must take exception to his statement that "it is a matter of principle to support the right of the detested Shah to asylum." Howe himself documents the reasons that make the Shah a criminal as well as a political refugee. Justice requires that somewhere the Shah answer for the brutal and repressive system he imposed. At least he must be stripped of his looted wealth—and that is something our government could facilitate.

There is a greater question involved, too. 1979 was a year of falling despots. Bokassa, Somoza, Idi Amin, and the Shah all toppled. Together they imposed a tyranny which resembled the terror the world condemned at Nuremberg. Now these tyrants are enjoying the benefits of political asylum. This ought to offend our sense of justice as much as the taking of the hostages in Iran.

Deborah Meier  
Jack Clark  
New York, N.Y.

Letters to the editor must be signed. We reserve the right to edit for brevity. Please limit letters to less than 250 words.

## DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Formerly the  
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possible—indeed, more likely in my opinion—that Moscow's move was an act of "defensive aggression" (the phrase coined by the London *Times*), motivated by fear that the Islamic revival in Afghanistan and Iran might infect the Moslem sixth of the Soviet population. This is indeed the first time that the Soviets have used their troops outside of the Red Army's high water mark—but it is still an action on the Russian border. I say this, not to condone an utterly immoral act, but to understand its motivation in order to be able to frame a proper response to it.

### Saber Rattling

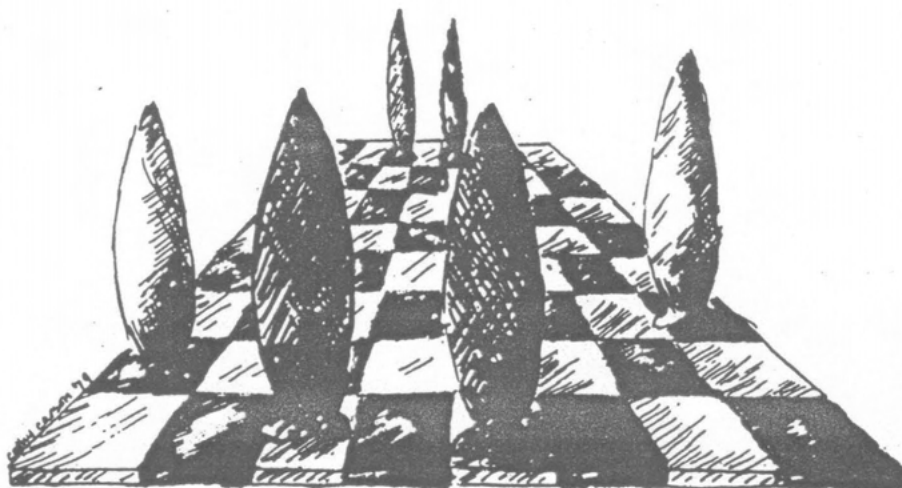
Whichever hypothesis is right, the saber rattling of all the Republican candidates except John Anderson is both wrong and dangerous. They appeal to the understandable frustrations of an American people humiliated by, and furious about, the events in Teheran. But they do so with dangerous and demagogic simplifications. Calling for new strike forces will do nothing in either Iran or Afghanistan except provoke World War III. Moreover, their hazy belligerence keeps the American people from understanding the real roots of the Southwest Asian crisis: a generation of bipartisan *realpolitik* in which this country sought its security through anti-Communist dictators, from Chiang to the Shah. The U.S. did not simply make cynical deals with such people, but actually believed that they represented their nations, even as we abetted their crimes against their people.

In this context, President Carter's performance is ambiguous. On the one hand, in the flap over Russian troops in Cuba, the hostage situation and at least the early stages of the Afghanistan crisis, he has acted with moderation and restraint which contrasts favorably with the Republican hawks. But, on the other hand, it was Carter who helped create the Cuban situation by wildly overreacting to the first reports about it; it was Carter who, in one of the most irresponsible and dangerous acts of his administration, admitted the Shah to the United States even though he had been warned that such an act of kindness to a political murderer and a thief would provoke extreme reactions; and it was Carter who, by thus contributing to the Iranian crisis gave the Soviets a kind of cover for the Afghan invasion (much as

Suez in 1956 somewhat obscured the Russian crime in Hungary).

Moreover, Carter's air of outraged innocence after the invasion was a gift to the hawks, immediately welcomed by Ronald Reagan, among others. The president clearly implied that his prior advocacy of detente and SALT had depended upon a naive faith in the sincerity and decency of Moscow, as if the news of Soviet imperialism in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 had never reached Plains, Ga. The president thus ignored—and indeed subverted—a critical truth enunciated by Zbigniew Brzezinski right after the invasion: "SALT is not a favor to the Soviet Un-

grains were for building up livestock and thus not a necessity, he did not add that his move will cut the meat consumption of the mass of the Soviet people, albeit not of the the Soviet bureaucracy or army. Moreover, Carter's statement that we could now use that grain to help the Third World is remarkably cynical. It says to the hungry of the planet that if Soviet imperialism makes American agricultural sales to Moscow unwise, *then* we will dump grain into emaciated countries, in part so as not to alienate the American farm vote. That all of the Republican candidates, except Anderson, were even more cynical in their Des Moines debate is par for the course.



Cathy Carson/WIN

ion. SALT is not a Soviet favor to the United States. SALT is a strategic accommodation in the most dynamic aspect of the relationship. If that relationship was ever worse than it is today, we would need SALT even more then, because SALT introduces strategic stability . . . whether there are Soviet troops in Kabul or whether Soviet troops are marching back to Tashkent."

### SALT Over Our Shoulders

Russia's Cold War moves have, alas, forced SALT out of the American discussion, at least temporarily. They have also provoked a series of American countermoves, such as limiting technology exports and putting an embargo on grain shipments to the Soviets. Both moves are understandable under the circumstances, but I am disturbed by the use of the food "weapon." Even though Carter carefully pointed out that the

Having helped to create the crisis, the administration is not acting too badly in dealing with the mess it helped to make. But what about the call for a return to the Cold War? It is critical to understand that, if the United States moves in that direction, it will wind up in a situation much more dangerous than the Cold War itself.

At the height of the Cold War, the world was more or less divided into the American bloc, the Soviet bloc, and the nonaligned powers. The blocs were never disciplined and homogenous as was sometimes imagined: the Yugoslavs and Chinese broke with the Soviet Union; the French, British and Israelis broke with the U.S. over Suez in 1956; and so on. Still, there was a certain bipolarity to the world of power. The nonaligned bloc was composed mainly of ex-colonial nations that had just won their freedom and was originally focused

on further decolonialization. Indeed, there was an illusion that all of the non-white countries were in essential solidarity with one another. The bloody internal disputes of the Third World — India-Pakistan, Somalia-Ethiopia-Eritrea — were in the future. There were many who thought that the achievement of national independence would miraculously solve all problems—the economic and social as well as the political.

But even with these qualifications, the United States and the Soviet Union were supreme within their own camps and unique in their global nuclear capacity. That is no longer the case. In 1972, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger talked of the new multipolarity of the world, speaking of five great powers (Russia, the United States, China, the European Community and Japan). That was not really accurate, e.g. Japan has never played a world power role since World War II, but it did take into account the increasing complexity of global politics. Even more to the present point, there has been a delayed social explosion in some Third World countries. Islamic militancy is an obvious case in point. Who controls Iran, the Embassy, the hostages? We do not really know—and it is not clear that Khomeini himself knows. Was the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca the opening salvo of yet another fundamentalist political movement that

will bring down the Saudi royal house during the next decade? It seems likely.

### Unwise Responses

The United States is now moving to support Pakistan as a reaction against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Yet all of the previous fears about the Zia regime—that it is unstable, bent upon becoming a nuclear power and willing to use its atomic weapons against India—remain as compelling the day after the Russian move as the day before. Under such unprecedented conditions of instability, talking about going back to the Cold War is dangerous and simplistic. The world is much more unstable, much less under the control of the superpowers and there could be Zia bombs, Khomeini bombs, Qadhaafi bombs in the wings. Thus, even though these are, thanks above all to Russian imperialism, difficult times to talk about peace and disarmament, that is what we must do.

Secondly, even if one rejects the previous argument, we must certainly not "throw money at problems." That phrase, it will be remembered, was coined by Richard Nixon to slander social programs of the sixties. It was, among many other things, not true, i.e., the United States did not invest billions into radical and innovative programs which did not work. It put most of its money into Social Security and Medicare; and for all of the soaring rhetoric, the funds expended on the poor and minorities were, in a number of cases, well used but always insufficient. Now, the same reactionaries who have been lecturing the nation on irresponsible, unfocused social spending are beating the drums for irresponsible, unfocused military spending.

The Carter administration has pledged a 5 percent real increase in military spending. Why 5 percent? Why not 8 percent—or 2 percent? Like proposals to hold federal spending to a fixed percentage of GNP or income, no matter what the circumstances, such commitments guarantee waste at best, and invite destabilizing outlays that can increase the danger of thermonuclear war at worst. The MX was a bad idea prior to Afghanistan—an expensive, qualitative escalation in the arms race that could lead to a generation of counter-moves or even, if the American hawks, who swallow every Soviet military claim whole, are right—to a preemptive strike from Russia.

“Anyone who calls for a return to the arms race is, under present American political circumstances, calling for more poverty, more urban misery, more economic racism, as well as more inflation.”

All of this becomes even more complicated when one considers that some of the salient "facts" in various strategic arguments are debatable and perhaps dubious. For instance, an article in *Foreign Policy* in the Fall of 1978 by Seyom Brown ominously suggested that the increase in Soviet power would lead to their domination of the coasts of Eurasia and thereby to the "control of the world." And yet, after attacking the United States for "semi-pacifism," the London *Economist* said about Soviet arms: "They are not always efficient arms. The Japanese are relaxed even though Russia's fleet now has six times as many vessels, and twice the tonnage, of America's Pacific fleet. They say Russia's warships are always breaking down, are unprotected from the air, and that Russia's creaking seaborne supply for Vietnam had been in 'ships like those we sank in 1905.'" And the *New York Times* has reported that the American project of developing Euromissiles able to strike at the Soviet Union—which may have been one of the factors in the victory of the Cold War faction in the Kremlin—emerged out of interlocking committees in which a small number of people wearing a large number of hats reviewed and approved their own decisions.

There is still another difference between the eighties and the Cold War period: the domestic economic impact of further escalation. It could be argued that from 1945 to 1967-68, military spending primed the economic pump with the support of conservatives and was thus an effective, if dangerous, form of Keynesianism. But ever since Vietnam triggered the beginning of the current inflationary spiral and, more importantly, since it became obvious that stagflation marked a new era in the history of capitalism, guns have been counterposed to, not supportive of, butter. Therefore any-

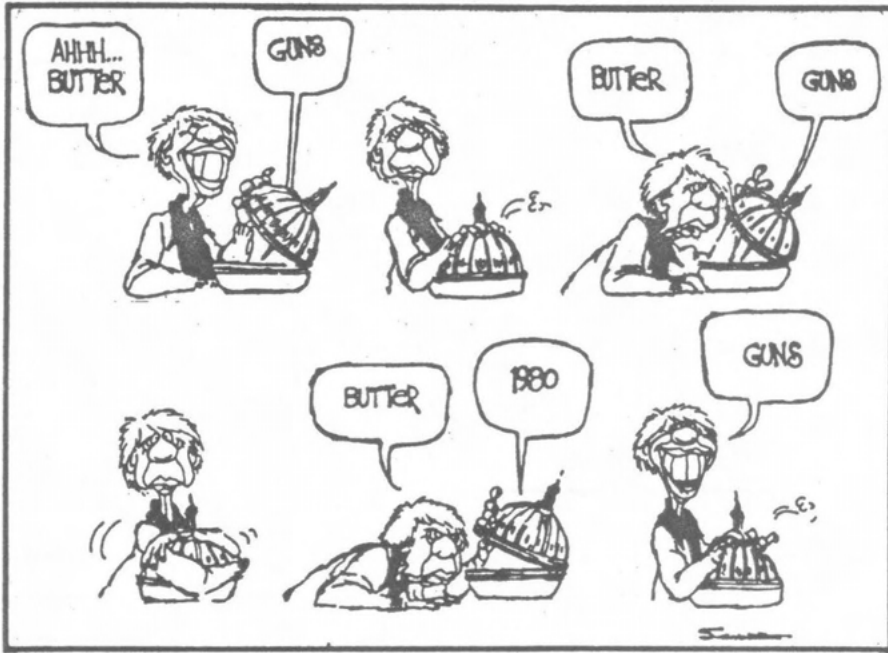
Continued on page 13



In case of democracy, break glass.



# 1980 Campaign: Surprises Likely in Coming Months



WILPF

By Jim Chapin and Jack Clark

**A**LTHOUGH AT THIS WRITING 1980 has barely begun, the campaign for the presidency has been in full gear for a year. Sometimes it may be possible for the people to forget it, but it is never possible for the candidates (even or especially for a president who cloaks himself in a mantle of non-political rhetoric while apparently calling every local political figure in America). Last year it seemed that 1980 was going to be one of those rare turning points in which basic issues of the future of American politics were to be settled. Now that is less clear. The Republicans have begun to sort themselves out: they have a long frontrunner, three major rivals, and three also-rans, while the Democratic side has seen yet another dizzying overturn (something that has become characteristic of it in the last dozen years).

Among the Republicans, Ronald

Reagan continues to have a commanding lead. He seems so far ahead that William Safire has remarked that Reagan is the first non-incumbent to run a Rose Garden campaign. His candidacy has faced major obstacles: distrust by important sectors of the Republican leadership (the moderate governors still think of him as an extremist who will hurt the party's chances in November, many Old Right figures like Senators Goldwater and Thurmond have never been close to him, the New Right activists think he has sold out to the middle in the person of campaign manager John Sears, the old Ford apparatus still remembers 1976); a pervasive feeling that he's too old; and an increasing sense that he's too uninvolved. But he still remains far in front, both in polls and party support. His major weakness may be that he hovers around 40 percent in the polls no matter what the opposition. Pitted against six opponents, that makes him a big winner, but head-

to-head against an opponent who could put together an anti-Reagan coalition, he would be in trouble.

The rest of the field can be sorted out simply. Two Republicans stand at the ideological edges of their party, and neither has much chance to win. Representative Phil Crane at one time looked as though he would be a major challenger from Reagan's right, but his campaign has been hampered by internal quarrels which cost him direct-mail whiz Richard Viguerie. Crane's main purpose now is establishing credentials for the future. Representative John Anderson of Illinois, whose views are those of a centrist Republican of 1960, has staked out the "far left" in the closed world of the current Republican party. He may do well in an early primary or two, but he is unacceptable to the true believers who make up the bulk of his party. His intention seems to be to widen the party's ideological base, but to do that, he'd have to scare the others in the early primaries. One more candidate, Senator Bob Dole, unfairly remembered as the hatchet man on the 1976 ticket, stands virtually no chance of nomination.

That brings us to the other three of the Republican "Big 4." The most dynamic is John Connally, still seen by many Republicans as embodying the best and worst characteristics of the old Democratic party: vigor and corruption. His strategy has been to win the nomination through *chutzpah* and big spending. (If that strategy could work in the Republican party, Nelson Rockefeller would have been nominated.) His big guns will come out in South Carolina: if he can't beat Reagan there, he can't win anywhere. From our perspective, Connally would probably be the most dangerous president in domestic affairs: he's an activist pro-corporatist with a reasonably sophisticated economic policy. But he is probably the weakest possible Republican candidate for the fall.

Senator Howard Baker somehow has managed to win the "moderate" label by supporting the Panama Canal treaty and being a fixture in the Washington Establishment. But he frittered away his early poll strength (which put him second to Reagan among active candidates) by failing to organize, and is now trying to make up for that by being the most strident Republican hawk on Iran, Afghanistan and SALT. To win, Baker has to beat George Bush early on, then emerge as the candidate of the anti-Reagan coalition. But beating Bush may be tough, for Bush is the Jimmy Carter of this year's field. He's another "moderate" (only in the Republican party would a conservative Texas millionaire whose main credentials are from the CIA be a moderate), has organized the key early states while keeping solid establishment connections, and is poised to burst into prominence under the right conditions. Like Carter in 1976, he is the overdog-underdog going into Iowa and New Hampshire. If he does well in those two states, he could well win the nomination and even the election. If he falls down there and neither Reagan nor Baker can put it all together, a divided Republican party would probably turn to the candidate who runs best against any Democrat in the polls: Gerald Ford.

### *And in This Corner*

There are only three serious Democrats running for the nomination. Only one of them is speaking to the issues and laying out a coherent strategy for the American future. He's Governor Jerry Brown of California. Unfortunately for us, half of his campaign platform (the fiscal conservative half) would be bad for the left. Unfortunately for Brown, he's paying the price of his past inconsistencies, and has been steadily dropping in the polls as the Democratic race turns into a two-man show.

But the real story of the campaign so far has been the startling decline of Senator Edward Kennedy. Everyone knew that his poll lead over Carter was to some extent artificial, but who would have thought that a 30-point lead could turn into a 20-point deficit in three months? In a race between well-known candidates, such a reversal has never happened before.

So what has happened?

Carter is partially correct in his pub-

lic assessment that he's now running against a flesh-and-blood candidate and not an abstraction. Bad luck, personified by the Ayatollah and Leonid Brezhnev, has played a major role. Chappaquiddick has played a larger role, especially among liberals, than most analysts figured.

But the real problems are political. First, the power of the presidency and Kennedy's dislike for insurgency have been important. Originally, Kennedy's major strengths were to be his legitimacy combined with the energy of an anti-presidential revolt. Carter was perceived as an illegitimate Democratic president, outside most of the party's traditions and power blocs, while Kennedy was perceived to be close to them. At the same time, the Draft Kennedy movement, led by figures like International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger, stirred up grassroots enthusiasm. Since Kennedy's announcement, however, Carter has moved to show that *any* sitting president can muster considerable legitimacy. He has been using the powers now available to the "total Presidency" (Samuel Lubell's phrase) almost as much as Nixon did in 1972, but this

time to a chorus of approval rather than disapproval from the press. Meanwhile Kennedy, to be safe from embarrassment, dismantled and demobilized his existing grassroots committees, thus scattering the insurgent energy. Ironically, he has gained almost no new establishment support he did not already have before he announced (Morris Udall and Jane Byrne are the only two major new figures to endorse him in the last two months).

More important was that Kennedy, so often considered by liberals "not a real liberal" (because of S-1, etc.) or by radicals as a "stalking horse of capitalism," was perceived as a threat by the establishment. In a sense we all (including Kennedy) were too naive. We thought that Kennedy could not be McGovernized because he was Kennedy. As Elizabeth Drew put it in the *New Yorker*: "Kennedy himself seems to have been thrown off stride. . . . A man who had been accustomed during his entire career to receiving praise for his political acumen and ability suddenly, according to press reports, could do nothing right."

What happened to the press? Sen-

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### Excerpts: DSOC DRAFT RESOLUTION ON 1980 ELECTION POLICY\*

DSOC is a socialist organization, proud and clear about its identity, working as a loyal constituent in mass movements which are for liberal reform of the system rather than for its basic transformation. We have always seen that involvement as a transition toward a major socialist movement, insisting that we go to the people where they are, participate with them in their battles and pointing out that each separate struggle against injustice must ultimately become part of an attack upon the coherent system of injustice which, for all of the desirable reforms the democratic left has imposed upon it, corporate capitalism is. . . . It is in this context that we should define our involvement in this movement.

. . . Kennedy is the most effective national liberal politician in the United States. His positions on issues like budget cuts, national health, progressive taxation and energy are to the left, not only of Jimmy Carter, but also of the frightened, vacillating Democratic majority in the U.S. Congress. And yet, Kennedy has retreated on national health, making major concessions to the insurance companies in the name of political pragmatism. His revision of the criminal code contains anti-civil libertarian measures, even in the revised version, as well as welcome reforms like the abolition of the Smith Act. More to the present point, Kennedy is not at this time a spokesperson for the clear anti-corporate program which is demanded if the nation is to solve the structural crisis of stagflation. . . .

We do *not* support Kennedy as a charismatic individual, a *deus ex Camelot*, who will miraculously solve problems which are rooted in the corporate dominance of the society. We do see him as infinitely preferable to Carter, as the one Democrat who has a realistic chance of taking the nomination away from that utterly inadequate leader and, above all, as the candidate whose campaign will provide the greatest opportunity for the growth of the movement to democratize corporate power and to achieve full employment with price stability. . . .

\*Adopted by the DSOC National Board, Oct. 13-14, 1979.

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ator Kennedy had been around for 17 years. Surely his errors were no greater than those of Jimmy Carter speaking of "ethnic purity" or Gerald Ford suddenly freeing Poland? The *Wall Street Journal* broke a long standing policy to run photographs of Chappaquiddick on its editorial page. The *New York Times*, always complacent about Rockefeller's wealth and still complacent about that of a Connally or a Russell Long, suddenly focused on Kennedy's wealth in a front-page article. The whole press first attacked Kennedy while he was ahead, and then studiously ignored him once he was behind. Meanwhile Carter has been allowed, even encouraged, to wrap himself in the mantle of "national unity."

### *Perceived as a Threat*

The fact is that the people who run America think of Kennedy as a threat. Their whole campaign of the last few years has been to shift the dialogue in such a way that liberalism is safely dead and interred and Jack Kemp is a serious economic thinker. Kennedy had the potential to change the boundaries. He is the first serious left candidate for the presidency since McGovern in 1972. And we have now to accept that any left candidate with a serious chance for the presidency will be attacked on the grounds of "competence" as well as of ideology.

In the face of this assault Kennedy has been helpless so far. His advisers want to be "pragmatic" rather than "liberal." Their chance to win (for themselves?) must not be "impaired by ideology." All Kennedy's instincts tend to pull him in the same direction. But this strategy is hopeless and decidedly not pragmatic. In the established political universe Kennedy is now far behind. If Kennedy's personal shortcomings are looming large, that's partly because Kennedy chose to emphasize "leadership" and personal qualities in his campaign. If the contest centers on "dêcency," play-boy Kennedy fares badly against pious Carter. Any intraparty challenge against an incumbent president needs a coherent rationale. Ronald Reagan tried to "play it safe" against Ford in the early going of 1976, and began to win only when (in North Carolina) he went back to his ideological roots.

We should understand that Kennedy's problems are large. He wants not only the nomination but the election. But if he mobilizes the left wing of the party



**“Playing it safe is playing to lose. And if Kennedy loses, 1980 will just be a part of the seventies rather than a real beginning for a new decade.”**

to win the former, he endangers the latter. In the present electorate, there is no left majority. Such a majority can only be won by enlarging the electorate. That is Kennedy's task now. From our point of view the reasons for supporting Kennedy are more, not less, cogent. The violent hostility to Kennedy of most of the national elite should make it clear where we belong. If Kennedy has any chance of winning, it can only be by clearly laying out a new and coherent economic program for the eighties. "Playing it safe" is playing to lose. And if Kennedy loses, 1980 will just be a part of the seventies rather than a real beginning for a new decade.

It is probable that Carter's lead over Kennedy has reached its high point. The real question for Kennedy is whether the inevitable decay in Carter's support as people begin to focus on domestic rather than on foreign issues, redounds to his advantage or is delayed and benefits the Republicans in the fall. At the moment the most likely result of this primary

season is a Carter versus Reagan race. But we should all remember that the most likely Democratic candidates for the Presidency at this point in the last three elections were Johnson, Muskie, and Humphrey. If 1980 were to be a mirror image of 1976, we would expect the race to pit Carter against Bush, with Bush winning.

But it need not be so. If the Kennedy campaign is prepared to mobilize existing left constituencies and appeal to the currently depoliticized potential voters in the barrios, the ghettos and the working class communities, 1980 could mark a turning point in American politics and a resounding victory for Kennedy. The senior senator from Massachusetts still has a chance to make history, but not under the conditions of his—or his advisers'—choosing. ■

*Jim Chapin, national director of DSOC, and Jack Clark, former national director, have both been longtime Democratic party activists.*

# A SPECIAL REPORT

## Inflation in Four Sectors Chief Cause of Distress

By Leslie Ellen Nulty

**T**HE PERSISTENT PEACETIME INflation that plagues the U.S. economy has many sources. These include the rapid decline in supply of cheap domestic U.S. oil (which in turn has strengthened the bargaining power of other oil producing nations), the instability and fragility of international financial markets, and the steadily increasing concentration of economic power in the hands of the top two or three hundred corporations. Underlying these immediate causes is a painful and costly process of fundamental readjustment in the U.S. economy.

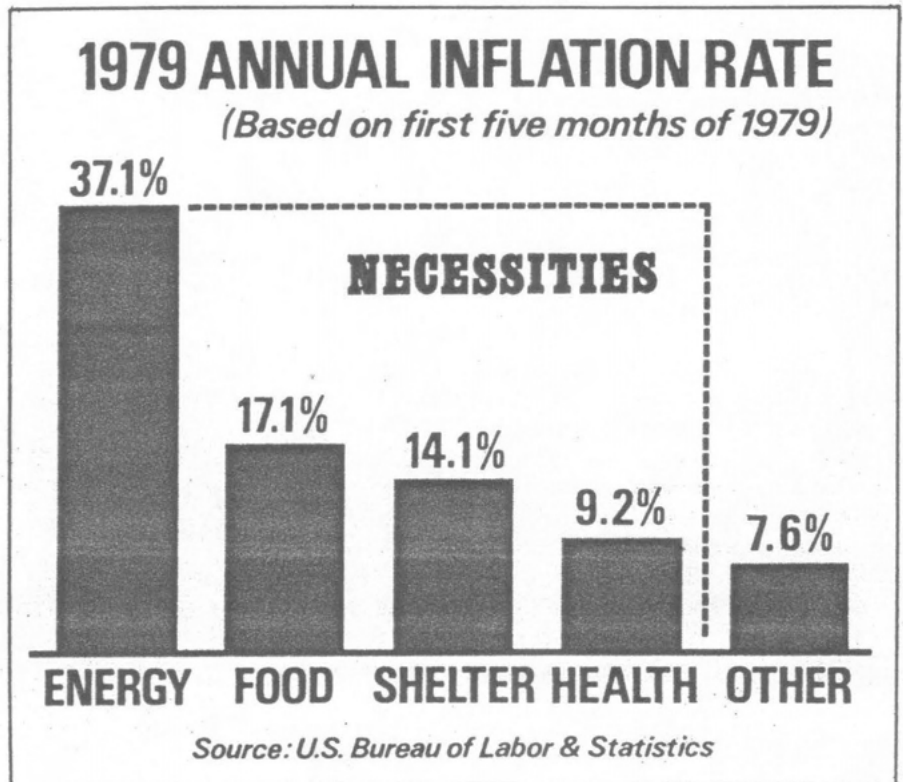
Every factory, office building, shopping center, superhighway and home in this country has been located and built on the assumption—reflected in the price structure—of the availability of cheap and abundant natural resources—notably land, energy, and water. This assumption is becoming obsolete, not only because cheap resources of our own—especially oil—are becoming scarce, but also because the U.S. is increasingly integrated into the world market. Hence our prices are affected by scarcity anywhere in the world. One hundred years ago a decline in Japanese timber production relative to demand would have had little effect on U.S. lumber prices. Today it does. High Japanese prices cause lumber producers to divert U.S. logs to Japan, thus reducing our domestic supply and driving up U.S. prices. Similarly, the fact that the U.S. has had to increase dramatically its imports of oil to compensate for declining U.S. production has put tremendous pressure on the world market and is a major reason why OPEC has been able to raise prices by such enormous leaps for everyone in the world.

Our economy was efficiently designed for a world of cheap energy and natural resources. It is not efficient for the new circumstances. This decline in efficiency is due not to a change in the economy but to an inescapable change in the circumstances. Adjusting our economy to these new circumstances will be a long, painful, and expensive business. Thus, inflation is partly "real"—the inevitable result of the increased cost of producing goods with a now inefficient system added to the cost of changing that system so that it will become efficient once again.

But the inflation experienced by ordinary Americans has been much worse

than is warranted by this adjustment process alone. This extra burden is due to the fact that inflation is also the mechanism by which corporate America ensures that the lion's share of the real burden of adjustment is borne solely by ordinary Americans—the 75 percent or 80 percent of our citizens who must work for a living in an economic environment over which they have no control.

Under recent leadership government has become little more than a handmaiden in this process. In drafting the guidelines program, the Carter administration explicitly stated that although wage increases were not the primary cause of our current inflation, they



Advocate/cpf/Chart by Craig Covner



were to be a primary target in seeking a "cure." When Treasury Secretary Miller or Federal Reserve Board Chairman Volcker tells the "public" that they will have to suffer a decline in real living standards in order to beat inflation they aren't referring to their own living standards—nor to those of their fellow bankers, corporate executives or doctors or lawyers.

In short, there is no question that our economy must and will adjust to new circumstances of higher cost scarce natural resources and an integrated world economy. The major economic questions of the next two decades however are how it does so, under whose direction, and for whose benefit. Currently these questions are being answered undemocratically—almost unilaterally and for their own benefit—by the top corporations that effectively control the U.S. economy.

It doesn't have to be this way. A counter-inflation program that also advances the adjustment process can be devised that recognizes that the majority of ordinary citizens have, over the past decade, already suffered a significant decline in real living standards and that the proper aim of public policy is at least to restore that loss, not to add to it. This can be done through sectoral programs that will simultaneously contribute to restructuring demand and supply to respond to the new global realities, ensuring that the burden of adjustment is shared fairly by all.

### Focus on Four Sectors

Such a policy should start by recognizing that the four key sectors of food, energy, housing, and health care—basic necessities that account on average for 70 percent of the budgets of ordinary Americans—also account for the worst of inflation over the last ten years. Individually their price trends have exceeded the remainder of the CPI fairly consistently. In the immediate past, they have been going up at twice the rate of non-necessities.

All four involve goods or services for which near substitutes cannot be readily found and for which a reduction in the quantity consumed represents a net loss of "welfare," in the sense that the loss cannot be compensated for by increased consumption of some other commodity or service. (Conservative critics of my analysis imply that there is no welfare loss, because families, in their

formulations, are theoretically able to substitute say, household appliances, whose prices have been relatively stable, for heating or medical care, whose prices have not. It's the 20th century version of "let them eat cake.") Payment for the four necessities is predominantly non-postponable and roughly 30 percent is billed directly to households at least monthly, if not more often.

All four sectors are characterized by special market problems on both the supply and demand side. On the demand side, "consumer choice" is often restricted by the limited range of substitutes (e.g., for the local supermarket, for medical specialists, for property taxes, for gasoline, etc.). On the other side, in three of the sectors, energy, health and food, supply is increasingly controlled by a declining number of corporations or similarly organized private interests, large enough and few enough to avoid competitive restraints on their pricing behavior.\* They are also large enough

\*Although this is less true of housing than of the other three, the misguided preference for using monetary policy (high interest rates) to control inflation immediately reinforces the complex of other factors that propel inflation in the highly leveraged housing sector.

and powerful enough to frighten the government out of imposing any other kind of restraint.

### Balance Supply and Demand

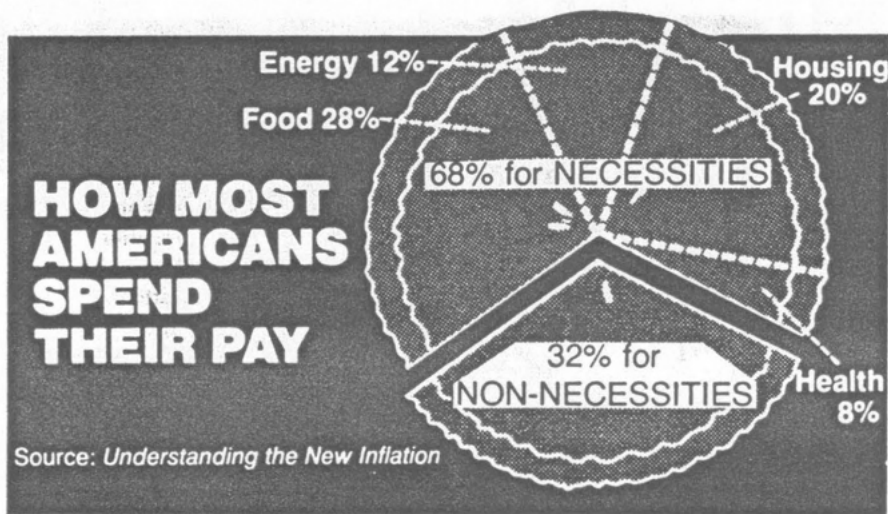
A progressive program has to operate on both supply and demand for each of the basic necessities.

We already have subsidy programs for the consumption of food, health care and housing through food stamps, Medicare and Medicaid, rent subsidies, tax subsidies, etc. Unfortunately, as essential as they are to current beneficiaries they do not serve our current needs.

To begin with, they are not universal programs. They have strict eligibility criteria which, as the tax system becomes increasingly regressive, create conflicts between overburdened working people, young people, middle income people, and the select beneficiaries of these programs. These conflicts between groups that should be allies will become more and more prominent as the programs' strong inflationary biases, with consequent pressure on the public treasury, become obvious. In all these programs inflation is "built in" because demand is subsidized without anything being done about the structure of supply.



Plain Dealer/LNS/cpf



"Supply side economics" has just begun to be trendy among the establishment. Their solutions, however, tend to take the form of more tax breaks for the private producers who've given us the inflation we're already suffering. In contrast, progressive supply side programs

encompass a wider range of options extending from increased direct public sector efforts such as a Federal Fuels Corporation or a salaried health service, to horizontal divestiture in energy, credit allocation and controls in housing, and land use planning to halt the suburban-

ization of prime farm land. Even where subsidies (whether direct or through the tax system) are used, a progressive program would exact tough requirements to tailor private actions to public ends, rather than simply handing out the money.

As the U.S. confronts the end of its international hegemony, the end of national self-sufficiency in critical inputs such as energy, and attempts to adjust to a world in which even air and water are no longer "free goods" (as I was taught in Introductory Economics), reorganization of the control of supply and the composition of demand are inevitable. As long as this process fails to answer the popular demand for restoration and advancement of the living standards of all Americans, and not just the privileged few, the issues will not go away. ■

*Leslie Nulty is an economist with the International Association of Machinists.*

# Structural Causes Lead to Multifaceted Assault

By Howard M. Wachtel

**L**ESLIE NULTY'S WORK ON THE INFLATION in four necessities—food, housing, energy, and medical care—serves to remind us that statistics can deflect our attention from those conditions of life they are designed to explicate. Her work speaks to the problem of how inflation in the 1970s has affected different income groups in America. Since these four items make up such a disproportionate part of the household budgets of low and middle income groups, the inflation in necessities has meant that the inflationary decade has had its most severe impact on lower and middle income segments of the population.

Inflation has uneven effects; it distorts an income distribution determined without reference to inflation. The *distributional impact* of the recent inflation has, therefore, been uneven in its conse-

quences. This should not surprise us since the market has no way of accounting for the distributional consequences that its invisible hand inflicts on society. For some this has meant a pat on the back during the 1970s; for others it has been a slap in the face!

The 1970s will be marked in subsequent economic history narratives as



"Never put anything off till tomorrow. It'll cost twice as much."

America's first inflationary decade. Never before in our history have we experienced as much inflation over such an extended period of time. During the decade of the 1950s, inflation never exceeded 2.7 percent in any year. The rate of *stagflation*, which is the combined rate of inflation and unemployment, never exceeded 10 percent and for most years was in the acceptable range of about 6 percent. During the 1960s the picture was essentially the same until the last few years of that decade. Inflation reached 2.9 percent in 1966 and again in 1967 and then began to inch upward to 4.2 percent in 1968 and 5.4 percent in 1969. Still, in no year did the rate of stagflation (the sum of the inflation rate and the unemployment rate) exceed 10 percent. In fact, it never even reached 9 percent during that decade.

Everything changed in the 1970s. The rate of stagflation exceeded 10 per-



“Groups seeking to defend their respective turfs by making claims on the national income are a symptom of inflation, not the cause.”

cent in 1970 for the first year since 1948. Except for 1972, it never dipped below 10 percent for the entire decade, reaching peaks of 17.6 percent in 1975 and an estimated 19 percent this past year.

What has caused this dramatic shift in the underlying structural parameters of the economy? Many explanations have been advanced for the causes of inflation in this period. All have a kernel of validity to them. The Vietnam War, which we never paid for through taxes, has demanded its costs in inflation. OPEC and energy price manipulations by the oil companies cannot escape blame as well. The increased forces of economic concentration in the economy exact their toll in higher prices which escape competitive market regulation. Government policy, profligate in its spending habits, has led to a monetary expansion unjustified by the growth of real output in the economy. The collapse of America's preeminent position in the world economy has unleashed the forces of monetary instability with attendant consequences for inflation in the United States.

### Dump COWPS

Whatever the causes of inflation, and they are multiple, the time has come for a serious assault on the problem or it will tend to feed on itself even more, gaining additional strength as it multiplies, until we are all engulfed by its power. On one matter we can agree: the Carter administration through its Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS) has been a dreadful failure. What have we learned from COWPS about inflation? How have they spent their millions of dollars? Why have they come up with nothing that seriously addresses the inflationary problem? COWPS should immediately be disbanded as a symbol of failure and neglect. Progressive forces should take this as their first plank on an anti-inflationary platform.

The approach of COWPS has been to attack labor for inflation. It is true that

once inflation gets rolling every group in society seeks to protect its standard of living by extracting claims on the national income that keep their real incomes constant. This is simply defending one's turf. Groups seeking to defend their respective turfs by making claims on the national income are a *symptom* of inflation, not the cause.

### Structural Changes

Policy must be directed at fundamental structural causes:

1. An energy policy that has as its objectives the twin goals of anti-inflation and conservation.
2. A reconstructed international monetary order that will stabilize monetary relations in the world and reduce the rate of inflation in the United States.
3. A serious policy of selective price controls in those sectors of the economy where the market no longer effectively regulates price competition, coupled with supply side policies which seek to restore competition so the market can take over as a regulator of price.
4. Selective public management in those sectors of the economy which are of preeminent national interest (like energy and finance) which are designed to streamline the productive and pricing process.

5. More prudent public fiscal and monetary policies which reduce the less essential government expenditures while keeping an eye on the inflationary effects of monetary policy.

Without such a multifaceted assault, inflation will not subside, since the built-in escalators during an inflationary process are far stronger than the built-in dampers. This requires attention to the political dimensions of inflation because at root that is where the problem is. Neither echoes from the past nor the clichés of the present will do it. ■

*Howard Wachtel is professor of economics, American University, Washington, D.C.*

### RESOURCES

Information about inflation is as varied and contradictory as the theories about it. The COIN Campaign (Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities) has pamphlets about inflation in the four sectors. Write to Suite 413, 2000 P St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

For an easy-to-read overview of different theories, see the October 1979 issue of *Dollars and Sense*, \$1 from 38 Union Square, Room 14, Somerville, Mass. 02143.

## Discover Democratic Socialism

Do you think of yourself as a socialist? Do you belong to a socialist organization? If you answered yes to the first question and no to the second, then you should join the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). DSOCers are active in unions, minority, community and feminist organizations, the anti-nuclear movement and the left wing of the Democratic party. We do not separate our vision from practical politics. It is because we are socialists that we have a unique contribution to make to the democratic left, showing how incremental reforms must be extended toward a structural transformation of society. By joining thousands of DSOC members in 40 locals and every state you can be part of the resurgence of the American left.

I'd like to join the DSOC. Enclosed find my dues. (\$50 sustaining; \$20 regular; \$10 limited income. Dues include \$5 for DEMOCRATIC LEFT.) Send to: Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 801, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel.: (212) 260-3270.

I want to subscribe to DEMOCRATIC LEFT. Enclosed is \$10 for a sustaining subscription; \$5 for a regular subscription; \$2.50 for a limited income subscription.)

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# SOCIALIST NOTES

By Nancy Kleniewski

**A**S REPORTED LAST MONTH, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. DSOC played a major role in electing DSOC member David Sullivan to the City Council. The campaign manager, the campaign coordinator for Harvard University, and the coordinator for one of the city wards were all DSOC members. Dozens of other DSOCers volunteered time for canvassing, leafletting, and fundraising.

In the field of 23 candidates for nine seats, elected at-large by proportional representation, David finished second, only 20 votes behind the first-place winner. His was the largest vote for any liberal candidate since the present voting system was inaugurated in 1943.

David's most prominent campaign issues were housing and tenants' rights, including strengthening rent control and preventing condominium conversions. He had worked with tenant groups for two years and had written a tough anti-condominium ordinance which the City Council passed last August. Many of the tenant groups, in turn, supported his campaign and helped turn out the vote in their apartment buildings.

Another base of support was students. David had worked for student voting rights ever since 1972 when, as a student at MIT, he was prevented from registering for the presidential primary. After that incident, he became involved in a campaign to unseat the election commissioners and wrote a bill which was passed in the state legislature banning harassment of students attempting to register. A graduate of Harvard Law School, David is chief counsel to the election division in the office of the Secretary of State.

DSOC member Ben Ross, who worked on the campaign, stressed two lessons learned from the experience. First is the vital importance of voter registration. Registration in Cambridge has declined overall during the past ten years, but in the precincts where voter registration drives had prevented massive declines, David received the highest proportions of his votes. His strong identification with voters' rights and his organizing for registration aided his campaign.

Second is the importance of a wide base of support. Sullivan supporters included students, the elderly, tenants and homeowners, and spanned the usually unbridgeable gulf between the university community and the working class neighborhoods of Cambridge. This wide response was generally attributed to the consistent support that David has given to tenants' and students' organizations and to neighborhood groups over the past eight years.

■ ■ ■  
SAN FRANCISCO DSOCERS HAD ONE WIN AND ONE LOSS on election day. The win—an impressive one—was DSOC member Harry Britt's successful bid for reelection to the Board of Supervisors in the Fifth District. Harry, who has been characterized as "... the outspoken progressive voice on the Board of Supervisors," was the only incumbent to be reelected to the Board. The loss was Proposition R, the ballot initiative backed by San Franciscans for Affordable Housing that would have strengthened rent control, regulated con-

dominium conversion, and limited evictions. Bay Area DSOC members turned out in force to canvass for both Harry and Prop R, but the progressive forces were apparently outspent by the realtors on the housing proposition, as well as on a proposed ordinance to limit the height of downtown buildings, which also lost.

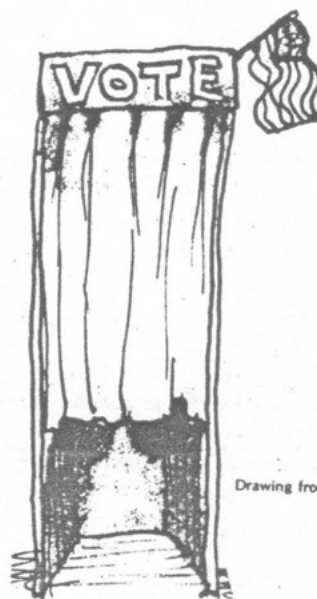
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IN PHILADELPHIA, DSOC MEMBERS HELPED ELECT PROGRESSIVE attorney David Cohen to an at-large City Council seat. Elected to the Council in 1968, Cohen resigned his seat in 1971 to run unsuccessfully for mayor against police chief Frank Rizzo. At the end of Rizzo's two terms, several progressive candidates emerged. Philadelphia DSOC interviewed several candidates and decided to work for two in the May primary—Dave Cohen and Mel Jackson, a progressive black running for a City Council seat in an integrated district. Jackson lost, so DSOC supported only Cohen in the final election, supplying personnel for telephoning, fundraising, and leafletting, and taking responsibility for one ward.

Although not a DSOC member, Dave Cohen shares virtually all of DSOC's views on issues and has indicated that he wants to stay in close contact with Philadelphia DSOC, both to formulate progressive legislation and to help build support for it among the city's liberal, left, neighborhood, and labor communities.

■ ■ ■

NOT ALL OF OUR MEMBERS AND LOCALS WERE SUCCESSFUL in the fall elections. In New Bedford, Mass., DSOC-backed City Council member Brian Lawlor lost a two-way runoff election for mayor by 54 to 46 percent after coming in first in the preliminary election. Supporters attributed his defeat to a strong campaign against him by the local news media and the city's "power structure." And San Diego DSOCer Trudy Robideau lost her campaign for a seat on the San Diego Community College Board of Trustees.



Drawing from Reason.



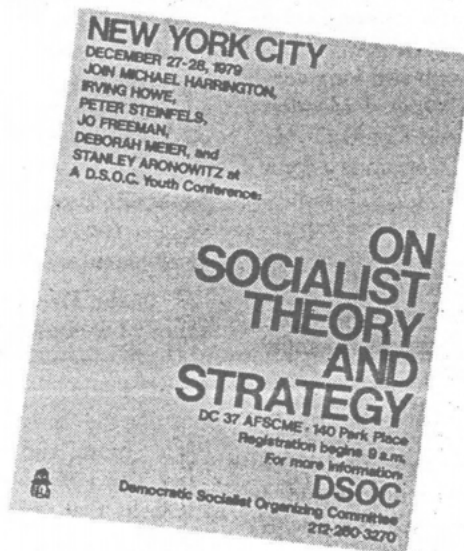
# Theory Draws 220 to Meeting

By Patrick Lacefield

**O**VER 200 YOUNG PEOPLE FROM more than 40 campuses and 30 states met in New York City December 27-28 for the DSOC Youth Section's annual Winter educational conference to debate and discuss theory and practice, and form networks and friendships. The conference, half again as large as last year's, reflected the significant growth that has occurred in the Youth Section in the past six months, with nearly a third of its 1000 members signing on during that period.

"The task of democratic socialism is not to abolish liberal rights," argued Harvard professor and author Michael Walzer in his conference keynote, "but rather to reincorporate and realize the potential of every individual within new community structures." Conference participants, active in antinuclear, community electoral, housing and antidraft efforts in their locales, received a healthy dose of democratic socialist theory in sessions ranging from the history of the American left, the state and transitional reform, and the New Right attack on the women's movement to democratic socialism and the Third World, the labor movement and the economic crisis. Resource people included Irving Howe, Stanley Aronowitz, Louis Menashe, Barbara Ehrenreich, Moe Foner and Ruth Messinger, DSOC members and non-DSOCers—people, in the words of one conference organizer, "across the spectrum of democratic socialist opinion."

Noting the Youth Section's rapid growth to 30 chapters and organizing committees across the country, Youth Section Chair Mark Levinson commented in his opening remarks that "the task of the Youth Section now is to transform quantitative growth into qualitative development of leadership and stable chapters." Hence, the conference's focus on



internal education and the plans for regional retreats for activists in the Midwest, New York, and California this Spring.

Evoking John Rawls, Karl Marx, and Martin Luther King, DSOC National Chair Michael Harrington urged conference participants to hang in for the long haul. "Our travail will go on for decades," he said, "and there is no guarantee of success. But if you wager your life on the movement, you will have the richest of intellectual and personal experiences."

This past Fall Youth Section groups engaged in a wide range of educational and organizing projects around the nation. Youth Section chapters helped organize Stop Big Oil Day protests of more than 300 in Ithaca, New York and Madison, Wisconsin, as well as teach-ins on the energy crisis in New Haven, Washington, D.C., Princeton and Harvard-Radcliffe. A tour by Michael Harrington and National Youth Organizer Joe Schwartz produced five new chapters in California alone. Numerous chapters organized teach-ins and tabling during Abortion Rights Action Week and chapters in Columbia, Missouri, Washington, D.C., and Cambridge, Mass. played a

major role in the tenants' rights movement.

In addition to the regional retreats, immediate future plans for the DSOC Youth Section include major mobilization for Big Business Day in cooperation with the Public Interest Research Groups and the United States Student Association and a major New England conference on the fight against corporate power. The Youth Section newsletter, named *Days of Decision* from an old Phil Ochs song, is available by subscription from the DSOC national office. ■

*Patrick Lacefield is a freelance writer in New York City.*

■ ■ ■  
COLD WAR, from page 4

one who calls for a return to the arms race is, under present American political circumstances (where the corporations and the rich are likely to bear even less of the burden than in the past), calling for more poverty, more urban misery, more economic racism as well as more inflation.

In all of this, I do not want to suggest for a moment that the role of the democratic left in the forthcoming foreign policy debate will be easy. On the contrary. We must simultaneously be realistic and candid about the totalitarian and imperial might of the Soviet Union and of the fact that disarmament has been made more urgent and more difficult by the events in Southwest Asia. We must understand and even sympathize with the frustrations of many Americans and try to educate them to the way in which a simplistic anti-Communism which allied itself with all the dictators and despots of the planet in the name of freedom is part of the problem. In many cases, we must frankly admit that we do not have short-run solutions or alternatives to crises created by long-run errors, like fawning on, depending on, and trusting in the Shah of Iran. But we can begin to grope toward new, long-run policies and above all to fight against the crackpot realism that thinks that our security is to be found in a new Cold War. The events of recent months have demonstrated that the world is more unstable than ever before. To make the balance of terror even more precarious at a moment when the political foundations of a good part of the globe are shaking and shattering is madness. Afghanistan points to the necessity of peace, not to escalation. ■

# WHAT'S LEFT TO READ

By Ronald Radosh

*Socialist Review* No. 47 (Vol. 9, no. 5) Sept.-Oct. 1979. c/o New Fronts Publishing Co., 4228 Telegraph Ave. Oakland, Calif. 94609. \$15 per year; \$3 per issue.

**T**HE PERSISTENCE OF LEFT WING ANTISEMITISM, often surfacing in the guise of anti-Zionism, has been a marked characteristic of portions of the New Left, as well as the older and more traditional left sects. It is a welcome development, therefore, to find movement away from this stance. In the current SR, Roger Gottlieb offers a thorough and long analytical essay, "The Dialectics of National Identity: Left-Wing Antisemitism and the Arab-Israeli Conflict." He begins with a firm denial of that view that "Zionism is a form of racism," the words of the deplorable U.N. 1975 resolution, and insists instead that Zionism is "a legitimate expression of Jewish national self-determination."

Gottlieb touches upon the failure of traditional Marxist categories to deal with Jewish oppression, and the unique contours of Jewish history, which he points out "do not fit simply or directly into traditional schemas of class structure." Gottlieb is not uncritical of Zionism, but he stresses: "Legitimate criticisms can be made of Israeli racism, occupation of Arab territory, and alliance with American imperialism. But these criticisms have an antisemitic dimension when not combined with an understanding of Zionism as a struggle for Jewish survival and liberation."

Gottlieb also manages to hit at many of the anti-Israeli myths perpetrated by sectors of the left; i.e., that Israel is a European colonial-settler state. He stresses that today Israel is no longer European—half of its population is composed of Jews who fled from nine Arab states, and it serves as a "national 'solution' for an oppressed national group of the Arab world as well." He acknowledges that Israel has acquired the support of imperialist powers, but he argues that its policies are based on "real concerns for security."

Partially critical of Zionism, which he agrees is a movement that "succeeded at the expense of other people," Gottlieb concludes that the "alternatives to Zionism remain at best ambiguous and at worst suicidal."

■ ■ ■



MFP/cpf

**Short Takes:** Particularly interesting in view of recent developments is an article by Dimitri K. Simes in the Winter 1979 *Foreign Policy*. A Soviet emigré scholar now at Georgetown University, Simes argues in "The Anti-Soviet Brigade" that the hardliners are preoccupied with a nonexistent Soviet grand design and obscure the real challenges facing America. "Nostalgia for the imperial past may be understandable," he writes, "but it is hardly a creditable guide for future foreign policies." Charging that the "new cold warriors have little to offer," Simes accuses them of overreacting to Soviet challenges, of using Moscow as a scapegoat for U.S. failures, and of ignoring conflicting trends in Soviet elites. He concludes: "Contrary to what the new right, neoconservative coalition hopes, extremely anti-Soviet policies are inherently unsustainable. Although it may be useful to oversimplify and overdramatize the Soviet threat in mobilizing popular consensus around a tougher foreign policy, this will ultimately lead to future disillusionment and further oversimplification."

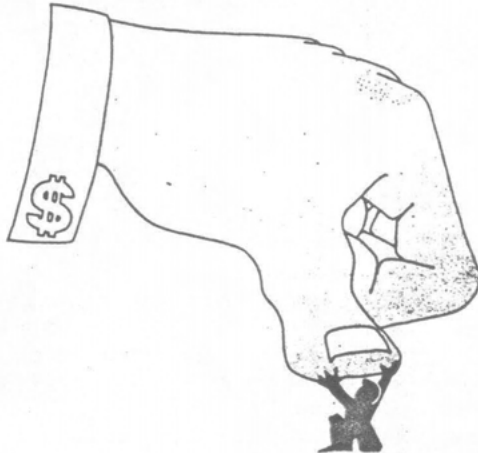
In the December 9 *Nation*, David Horowitz, a former editor of *Ramparts* and a major New Left intellectual, traces his disillusionment with old Marxist premises, and accuses the left of being "trapped in a romantic vision," of failing to examine the "viability of the revolutionary goal," and of holding a "moral and political double standard." He notes that "any Third World country that declares itself Marxist puts itself—by that very act—beyond reproach." The left, as well, has failed to accept "responsibility for its own acts and commitments," and he accuses it of still holding a "blind spot towards the Soviet Union." His essay is **MUST** reading for democratic socialists. He asks: "Can the left take a really hard look at itself—the consequences of its failures, the credibility of its critiques, the viability of its goals?" A good question.

For those who think there is no such animal as the capitalist press, pick up the November-December 1979 *Columbia Journalism Review*, and look at Peter Dreier's and Steve Weinberg's article, "Interlocking Directorates." They prove, once again, that the press is kept by the corporations who own the papers. Most of the 290 directors of the 25 largest papers, they show, "are tied to the institutions the papers cover." They are linked with "powerful business organizations," not public or labor groups, indeed, "to the largest American corporations." And they show, with examples, how this has affected press coverage of corporate interests tied in to the owners of various papers.

The current issue of *The New International Review* (\$12/8 issues, P.O. Box 156, Jackson Heights, New York, N.Y. 11372), edited by DSOC member Eric Lee, features the text of the 1950 debate between Max Shachtman and the deposed Communist Party leader, Earl Browder. It is amazing to read, five years after his expulsion, Browder's defense of the Soviet Union as the homeland of socialism. Although Shachtman still was defending the Bolshevik revolution as "the first, great, bold inspiring leap toward a socialist society," he rips apart the core of Browder's assumptions about Stalinism. The last line in his speech (you'll have to read it for yourself), as Irving Howe recalls in a brief introduction, had a terrifying effect—"Browder turns ashen." What a debater!

# BIG BUSINESS DAY

APRIL 17  
1980



Join us in a campaign to  
**Stop Crime In The Suites...**  
and explore alternatives  
to Business As Usual

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(202) 461-0456

## CLASSIFIED

**BOYCOTT "Red Coach" iceberg lettuce.** United Farmworkers of America, AFL-CIO, La Paz, Keene, Calif. 93531.

SASE will get you a sample of "Religious Socialism," newsletter of the Religion and Socialism Committee of DSOC, 1 Maolis Rd., Nahant, Mass. 01908.

Read the article the U.S. government tried to suppress. The November issue of *The Progressive* with Howard Morland's "The H-Bomb Secret: How We Got It, Why We're Telling It," is available for \$2 from The Progressive Foundation, Dept. AP, 315 West Gorman St., Madison, Wisc. 53703.

Find out about PROUT! Progressive Socialism, with a DIFFERENCE! Send \$1 and long self-addressed envelope to PROUT, P.O. Box 152, Mt. Freedom, N.J. 07970.

**BOOK A SHOW.** The Labor Theater is taking to the road from April 14th through July 12th with six shows in rep: JACK LONDON, a one-man play about the Socialist story teller; DYING TO MAKE IT, on occupational health and safety; POWER, on energy policy; NIGHT SHIFT, a drama about a steel worker; WORK-

IN' OUR WAY DOWN, a review about the Depression; & I JUST WANTED SOMEONE TO KNOW, on women's issues. Some tour sponsors are: UAW; Cleveland United Labor Agency; ACTWU; Univ. of Mass. Telephone Bette Craig collect at (212) 477-0993 for information on booking a show, or write The Labor Theater, 100 E. 4th St., N.Y.C. 10003.

The Eugene V. Debs Papers Project at Indiana State University is searching for material on Debs to be included in the publication of his complete works. We urge anyone who has Debs papers, personal recollections, clippings, photos, or other relevant material, or who would like to know more about our project, to write to: J. Robert Constantine, Editor, Debs Papers Project, History Dept., Indiana State University, Terre Haute IN. 47809.

The government and big business tax you every day of the year. We do it only once a month. Join the DSOC Pledge Plan. Write to DSOC, Room 801, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003 for more details.

Classified rates are \$2 per line, \$50 per column inch. Payment in advance, 20 percent discount if the ad runs two or more times. We reserve the right to reject ads.

## Not as Usual

**T**HE LABOR, CONSUMER, RELIGIOUS, and environmental organizations backing Big Business Day see it as the opening salvo in a decade-long campaign to reduce corporate power and give workers and consumers more control over their jobs and in the marketplace.

Herbert Stein, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under Presidents Nixon and Ford, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, sees it as "a decade-long effort to brainwash the American people into thinking that the American corporation . . . is the enemy of the people." Stein then called for a "No Business Day" on April 17 when businesses would shut down to remind the public how dependent the economy is on them.

Most people don't need to be reminded. "We want to bring the issues of corporate crime and influence, runaway plants and environmental safety to the Youngtowns and Love Canals of the country," says Big Business Day Coordinator Mike Schippiani. Teach-ins, debates, exhibits, actions, and other events limited only by the organizers' imaginations will take place in hundreds of communities on April 17. The Day, modeled after successful events such as Earth Day, Food Day and Sun Day, is linked to longer-range efforts such as the proposed Corporate Democracy Act of 1980 (see *DEMOCRATIC LEFT*, November 1979).

DSOCers on the West Coast and in New England have begun to plan for April 17 activities.

The Youth Section of DSOC will hold teach-ins and rallies against corporate power at campuses and communities across the country. The Youth Section Steering Committee has recommended McDonald's as a target for Youth Section-sponsored demonstrations. Notoriously anti-union, McDonald's has spent millions in successful lobbying for exemption from minimum wage laws.

The national Big Business Day office in Washington, D.C. will aid communities with materials and publicity. Individuals and groups interested in working on the Day should contact the office at 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Room 411, Washington, D.C. 20036, phone 202-861-0456. ■



# JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

**PINK COLLARS AND UNION LABELS:** Although only 35 of the 900 delegates at the recent AFL-CIO Convention were women, the AFL-CIO leaders showed a new, if belated, concern for improving the status of women within the labor force and the labor movement. For starters, newly elected AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland took notice of the fact that the 35-member AFL-CIO Executive Council is all-male, and named a committee to explore ways to increase the representation of women, and also blacks and Hispanics, on the council. The AFL-CIO delegates also passed a resolution urging unions to win for women workers in predominantly female occupations wages comparable to those enjoyed by workers in predominantly male occupations. But the AFL-CIO endorsed the concept of "equal pay for comparable worth" only after bitter debate within the Resolutions Committee. Fighting for "comparable worth" were top leaders in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), and Communications Workers of America (CWA). But the most bitter opposition to the resolution came from the male leader of a union whose membership is 85 percent female—the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. In a statement that sounded more like Milton Friedman than a trade union leader, ILGWU Sol Chai-kin was quoted in the December 17 *Business Week*: "I'll be damned if I know a way to get the women more money. The value of their work isn't set by theoretical principles but on the value of the work in the marketplace."

**PROFITS WITH HONOR**—"When a man's attitude toward God is right, his quality of production will improve, and when he gives an honest day's work he produces more. This improvement in productivity increases the gross national product, and there is more for everybody. In this way, by steering employers and employees to Christian morality, preachers like myself can have an important impact on economic matters." These are the words of the Rev. James Robison, hailed by many as the next Billy Graham. Texas business leaders, ac-

ording to Kevin Phillips's *Business and Public Affairs*, have such great faith in Robison that the Fort Worth-based preacher hopes to benefit greatly from their charity. Within three years, Robison is expected to have an operating budget of \$100 million a year.

**A USEFUL SUMMARY** of labor's Congressional influence appears in the December issue of the *Molders Journal* (International Molders and Allied Workers, 1225 E. McMillan, Cincinnati, Ohio 45206). Instead of rating individual members of Congress, Molders Research and Education Director Jim Wolfe gives a composite picture of state delegations for 1975, 1977, and 1979. Overall, the results are what one would expect: liberal states' delegations (e.g. Massachusetts) and highly organized states' delegations (e.g. West Virginia) vote most consistently pro-labor while conservative, right-to-work states with low levels of union membership (e.g. Utah, Alabama) have delegations least sympathetic to labor. Overall, there has been a sharp decline in labor's Congressional influence from 1975-79. In 34 states, the unions' influence has declined, and the decline in pro-union Congressional votes has been seen in some of the most liberal delegations. The limited good news emerging from the Molders' chart is that the unions' clout in the South is increasing. Of the fifteen states where pro-labor voting has increased, eight (Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, both Carolinas, Tennessee and Virginia) are in the South.

**CUBA, NO?**—Not too long ago, DEMOCRATIC LEFT columnist Ron Radosh took a pounding in the letters to the editor page of *In These Times*. Commenting on Castro's speech to the UN last fall, Radosh stated that Castro's international line echoed Soviet policy. Nonsense, calumny, red-baiting, thundered his critics; Fidel Castro is leader of the nonaligned world and speaks for the nonaligned nations. If so, perhaps Radosh's critics can enlighten us as to why Cuba failed, after 154 ballots, to win a seat on the United Nations Security Council, a perquisite routinely awarded the leader of the non-aligned movement.

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