

# DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY  
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

April 1980 Vol. VIII No. 4 \$1

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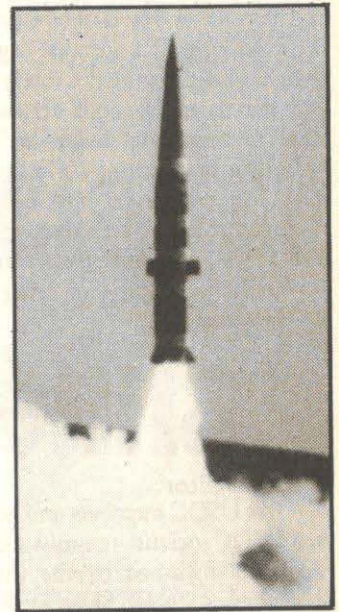
# Superpowers' Balancing Act

By Sanford Gottlieb

**S**OVIENT-AMERICAN RELATIONS had deteriorated seriously before the invasion of Afghanistan, and one of the reasons on the Soviet side, perhaps the most important one, was the NATO decision to deploy medium-range missiles on European soil. Secretary of State Vance described the rationale for this decision last December: "The Soviet deployment of modern MIRVed SS-20s, and the Backfire bomber, threatens to provide the Soviets with nuclear preponderance in the European theater. In response, the (NATO) alliance has developed parallel programs of modernization and arms control." In reality, "modernization" is a misnomer and there has been no arms control.

The NATO fear of Soviet preponderance is based in part on the USSR's replacement of older, single-warhead medium-range missiles targeting Western Europe with multiple-warhead SS-20s that can destroy more targets. This development stems from the MIRV technology that was pioneered by the United States and developed five years later by the Soviets.

For many years NATO has allocated some 400 submarine-launched nuclear warheads to balance the Soviet medium-range missiles. Four hundred warheads—each several times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb—happen to represent the amount mentioned by former Defense Secretary McNamara in the



Pershing Ia /U.S. Army

**“**The new NATO missiles cannot be deployed before 1983. By then the USSR could double the number of its SS-20s. The situation calls for negotiations at the earliest possible time.**”**

1960s as constituting an adequate nuclear deterrent. (The United States today has 10,000 strategic warheads in its arsenal.)

The NATO decision to add 464 ground-launched cruise missiles and 108 Pershing II missiles to the European theater does much more than "modernize" existing forces. It would be the first time that NATO missiles capable of reaching targets in Russia would be deployed in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. In an international climate where the Soviet leadership feels increasingly "encircled," a term that has recently returned

to their official rhetoric, this decision will aggravate their fears and spur their counter-measures.

Was the NATO decision necessary?

No, not from a military viewpoint and certainly not from an arms control viewpoint. The International Institute for Strategic Studies' "Military Balance 1979-80" concludes that "something very close to parity now exists between the Theater Nuclear Forces (weapons with ranges greater than 100 miles) of NATO and the Warsaw Pact." Moreover, NATO has a significant but de-

creasing lead in tactical (battlefield) nuclear weapons. Therefore, NATO should build up immediately, not in the indefinite future. The new NATO missiles cannot be deployed before 1983. By that time the USSR, if unchecked by arms agreements, could double the number of their SS-20s. The situation calls for negotiations at the earliest possible time.

### Missed Opportunities

In October 1979, Soviet President Brezhnev offered to "unilaterally reduce the number of medium-range nuclear

## LETTERS

To the Editor:

We think your discussion of news and current issues is interesting, but as the newsletter of a socialist organization, there's something that's sorely lacking—and that is news about *organizing*. We want to hear what locals in Texas and Michigan are doing. We want to know about their successes and failures, how they recruit new members. *We want to know how to operate locally as part of a national organization to bring socialism to America!*

Eva Ollen  
Renee Pink  
Rochester, N.Y.

■ ■ ■

To the Editor:

As DSOC members and participants in a DSOC socialist-feminist study group, we were disturbed by the tone of Jan Rosenberg's "New Shift in Family Focus" (January 1980). Its snide attitude towards feminist concerns and ideas was coupled with misreading of the actual views of the family held by feminists. To speak of "genuflecting," "missionary zeal," and "orthodoxies" without acknowledging the value and power of recent feminist thought is not conducive to a sympathetic, critical response to feminism.

While few feminists would call for the destruction of the family, neither is it accurate to speak of a "new romance with the family." To recognize that the family does meet human needs does not preclude the recognition of the oppressiveness of the woman's "double day." Betty Friedan may find herself in a new relation to her cooking, but most women find themselves in the same old one. Feminists seek new institutions, such as community controlled day care, that would relieve some of the intense pressure now placed on the family.

Socialists must realize that it is the individualizing pressure of a corporate-dominated society, not feminism, that is weakening all human bonds, including those of family. We should search for forms of community—in the family, the neighborhood, and at work—that celebrate the human interdependence of free, equal people.

Carol Dorf  
Nathan Landau  
New York, N.Y.

*Jan Rosenberg replies:*

In the movement's early days, virtually every radical feminist theorist defined the family as the linchpin of sexism and called for its destruction. One unintended consequence of the attacks on the

family was to heighten the conflict between upper middle class professionals and working class women whose lives typically were centered in their families. It should not surprise us that feminism (at times ambivalently) embraced the individualistic ethos which Dorf and Landau wish to confine to the otherness of corporate capitalism. Their conclusions belie their criticism; they begin by denying the past but end by embracing the very concern with interdependence which I suggested is at the heart of an important tendency in contemporary feminism.

■ ■ ■

To the Editor:

In his January article, "New Cold War Risk to Peace" Michael Harrington gives Richard Nixon the credit for coining the phrase "throw money at problems. . . ." In fact the quote belongs to Senator Kenneth B. Keating as reported in the *New York Times* of Dec. 24, 1961. The full quote is as follows: "Too often our Washington reflex is to discover a problem and then throw money at it, hoping it will go away."

Stephen R. Parker  
Jackson Heights, 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  
Newsletter of the  
Democratic Left

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DEMOCRATIC LEFT is published ten times a year (monthly except July and August) by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-3270. Subscriptions: \$10 sustaining and institutional; \$5 regular; \$2.50 limited income. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors. ISSN 0164-3207. Second Class Permit Paid at New York, N.Y.

rockets stationed in the western part of the USSR, compared with the present level, provided there is no additional deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe." While the NATO countries could not accept this offer at face value, it could have been seriously explored. Instead, the United States pressed its allies to approve deployment of the new missiles. Afterward, Secretary Vance declared: "We are prepared to enter into serious negotiations on long-range theater nuclear forces, within the framework of SALT III." Yet, SALT II was then in trouble in the Senate and after Afghanistan was indefinitely deferred. There is thus no SALT II, no SALT III, and no talks on medium-range missiles in Europe.

If the ground-launched cruise missiles are deployed, their small size and mobility will make any verification system virtually impossible.

In the interim, the Soviet Union can continue to build up its SS-20s, perhaps without phasing out its older missiles targeting Western Europe.

The Netherlands and, to a lesser extent, Denmark and Norway resisted the NATO decision. The Dutch said they would make no decision for six months about deployment of the weapons on their territory. The Danes and Norwegians finally went along, emphasizing the need for negotiations.

It was the West Germans who helped the Carter Administration push through the decision. Asked by the Moscow correspondents of the *New York Times* why Helmut Schmidt, "who is not a confrontationalist," would want these weapons, retired Soviet Lieutenant General Mikhail A. Milshtein gave a realistic answer. "First, as we have all been told," replied Milshtein, "all the Pershing II's would be deployed in West Germany, and this would give that country a bigger role within NATO. Second, some undoubtedly believe the allegation that the SS-20 has given superiority to the Warsaw Pact. Third, the issue has come to be pictured, to some extent, as a test of NATO's ability to make basic decisions about its military strength. Fourth, many in NATO consider it more effective to sit down at the negotiating table with a decision in their pocket. They could then talk about reducing the present Soviet weapons systems in exchange for reduc-

tions in those Western systems that are to be deployed only in the mid-1980s. I think this approach never produced anything in the past, nor will it now." The general might have added that Schmidt's hawkish political opponents have been breathing down his neck.

The NATO decision did not occur in a vacuum. It was part of the unraveling of détente. This unraveling has been fed by the Soviet military buildup, the use of Cuban proxies in Africa, and the repression of dissidents at home. On the U.S. side, it was fostered by restrictions on trade, closer relations with China, delays in ratifying SALT II, and the decision to give the Pentagon a budget of 5 percent above the inflation rate, as well as the NATO decision on new missiles.

Once the passions over Afghanistan and Iran die down, and before if possible, the superpowers will have to get back to the negotiating table to curtail

the various arms races in which they're engaged. May or June will be the last chance to ratify SALT II before it becomes a perishable commodity. The Mutual Balanced Force Reductions Talks (MBFR), now stalled, need to be revived. MBFR could be a possible forum for discussing medium-range missiles if SALT III is nowhere in view.

On March 3 Secretary Vance said in Chicago: "Specifically, the offer to negotiate an agreement on limiting theater nuclear forces in Europe remains on the table. The Soviet Union should pursue it with us." Perhaps the superpowers, having faced the distasteful prospects of a new cold war, will now summon the will to contain the European sector of their nuclear arms race. ■

*Sanford Gottlieb is Acting Executive Director of New Directions, a Washington-based lobby on international issues.*

# Sharing Socialist Views in Vienna

By Michael Harrington

**W**HENEVER SOMEONE IN DSOC independently arrives at my conclusions about something, I have been known to remark, "That proves that Marxism is a science." Not, mind you, that I think it is—I have written at length against that delusion—but the phrase is simply a facetious way of saying that I am happy that our minds meet. Sitting at the huge table at the Vienna Hilton in early February as a participant in the Leaders' Conference of the Socialist International (SI), I was tempted to mutter that phrase again. For the heads of the mass parties of the SI had responded to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in much the same mode as DSOC: a clear condemnation of the Soviet violation of the right of national self-determination; a commit-

ment to continue the struggle for detente and disarmament nevertheless; a whole-some rejection of Cold War II. There was, of course, one major difference between the consensus in Vienna and the positions we took in the States: the people who agreed at the SI conference are the leaders of governing or major opposition parties in their respective societies, and their attitude might make a significant contribution to keeping the world sane and whole.

The Vienna Conference was attended by the major leaders of the European democratic left, including SI President Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, François Mitterand, Olof Palme, James Callaghan, Mario Soares and Joop den Uyl. In addition, Shimon Peres of Israel, Bulent Ecevit of Turkey, along with representatives from Chile, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Jamaica, Sene-

EXCERPTS FROM A STATEMENT BY THE  
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL PARTY LEADERS CONFERENCE,  
VIENNA, FEBRUARY 5-6, 1980

... The Socialist International condemns the intervention of the Soviet Armed Forces in Afghanistan and calls upon the Soviet Union to withdraw all of its troops from that country.

The policy of détente and the search for harmonisation of differing interests which was begun more than a decade ago has led to significant results which are noticeable in the every-day lives of many people, although this process is restricted mainly to Europe and the world powers. It is in the interests not only of one side but to the benefit of all concerned that the tensions between East and West be reduced and that cooperation be extended.

... The struggle for human rights is waged with great courage and sacrifice in all continents. In Latin America many Democratic Socialists have lost their lives in the struggle. In the USSR, the harassment of Andrei Sakharov is a clear example of the constant persecution of those expressing dissenting opinions in communist countries.

The Socialist International is deeply concerned by the dangerous escalation of tension, the intensification of the arms race and of great power rivalries and the growing recourse to force in international relations. . . . In the interests of peace and in order to safeguard détente the Socialist International therefore regards it essential:

- that all opportunities for bilateral and multinational dialogue be taken advantage of;
- that the USSR withdraw its troops from Afghanistan;
- that the preparations for the second follow-up meeting of the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe (Helsinki) to take place in Madrid in the late fall of this year, should be continued;
- that the suggestion by the USSR of a European Conference on Energy be explored as soon as possible;
- that new openings be found to negotiate a halt to the deployment of new nuclear arms in Europe;
- that the Vienna negotiations take on a greater sense of urgency;
- that all efforts be made to start negotiations on SALT III as soon as possible.

The Socialist International will put increasing emphasis on its contacts with the Non-Aligned Movement.

gal, and Venezuela were present. George Fernandes, the head of the Indian underground during the Emergency, a Cabinet member in the Janata Government, and now a chief of a main anti-Indira faction in the Parliament, was an invited guest. Impressive as the Third World participation was, it was somewhat less than at the Lisbon meeting of the SI Bureau in October 1979, which included Sandinistas, members of southern Africa liberation movements and delegates from a number of Latin American parties.

The broadness of representation is evidence that the policy of reaching out, initiated by the SI at the Geneva Congress of 1976 which elected Brandt president, is working. The SI is now the only functioning international of political parties in the world.

The presence of so many European leaders focused much discussion on the reaction of that region to the Afghanistan crisis. Some of the parties had voted to accept Euromissiles to counter the

Soviet SS-20s—and all of them considered that Soviet move as aggressive and destabilizing. Joop den Uyl of the Dutch Labor Party (along with the Belgian socialists) had voted to postpone the Euro-missile acceptance to see if those weapons could not be "traded off" against the SS-20s even before they were built. At Vienna, he pointed out that Europe is the most heavily armed region on the planet. Olof Palme added that it might well turn into the battlefield of World War III.

François Mitterrand was particularly insistent that there is a "margin of maneuver" in the current situation. The West, he argued, should probe the Russians over the summer and early fall; it should not rush to a new policy or engage in a politics of ultimatums (most of the leaders present oppose the Olympic boycott). Mitterrand, and almost every other leader, urged that plans for the Madrid European security conference in autumn must go forward (that is a follow-up to the Helsinki agreement). James Calla-

ghan of Britain similarly emphasized that SALT II had become all the more important in the light of recent events.

I found it of great interest that the expulsion of Sakharov from Moscow had emotionally affected most of the leaders more than Afghanistan. If they regarded the Soviet invasion as something of a new departure — "the worst thought through Soviet adventure ever," one said — it did not catch them by surprise. But the treatment of Sakharov could herald a re-Stalinizing trend in Russian life. That would not merely unsettle East-West relations for a time; it could mark a retreat from the very possibility of negotiations in Moscow. And since the European socialists want to respond negatively to the Soviet action and continue to push for détente even under more difficult circumstances, Sakharov's treatment might be an even more ominous portent than the Soviet troops in Kabul.

### Third World Ties

Another important topic in Vienna was the Third World. Brandt, who has led the SI in its turn toward the "wretched of the earth"—missions to Southern Africa, support for the Sandinistas and the Dominican Revolutionary Party and now for the Guatemalans and El Salvadorians—rightly felt vindicated in the context of the current crisis. For the first time in history, European socialists have relations with both socialist and non-socialist forces in the poor countries. Indeed, Bruno Kreisky had recently returned from a trip to Thailand (the deeds of Pol Pot, he said, reminded him of Auschwitz), the Philippines, India and Saudi Arabia. He warned of simplistic equations which put Indira Gandhi (who is quite hostile to the SI because of its sharp opposition to the Emergency) in the Soviet camp.

Afghanistan, Brandt commented, proves that the Third World must be a major area of political concern, for events



there can have repercussions upon the great powers. Significantly, the SI President left Vienna to come to the United States in order to present *North-South*, the report of his independent commission on international development, to Kurt Waldheim and Jimmy Carter. His own deep moral commitment on these questions long predates Teheran and Kabul, but those events demonstrate that he is right in terms of *realpolitik* as well as of compassionate solidarity. If the miseries of the poor are left to fester indefinitely—which is more or less what we have been doing for some years now—the entire globe will eventually be infected.

I touch on only a few of the highlights of the meeting. Let me conclude with two final, and somewhat personal, comments. There are American leftists

who, when they think of the SI, conjure up the Second International before World War I, or rather, its faults. They are blissfully unaware of the enormous changes that have taken place in the intervening sixty-five years and particularly ignorant about the transformations since Brandt assumed the presidency in 1976. At the Lisbon Bureau meeting of the SI last October, there was a non-European majority for the first time in history. Close relationships with African and Latin liberation movements are now commonplace. And, in the current crisis the SI is a relatively unified—by consensus, not by vote, which is the rule in this organization—international force for sanity. I was never prouder of DSOC's affiliation.

Secondly, I happened to hear a con-

versation between SI General Secretary Bernt Carlsson and a Christian journalist after the meeting ended. What, Carlsson was asked, do the mass parties of the SI "get" out their membership. Not too much, he said. But the SI lets them aid movements which are in process, struggling against great odds. "Like," he said, since I was sitting at the table, "the socialists in the United States." I do not want to romanticize. No one, including the most enthusiastic Eurosociologist, has messianic illusions about a movement which has known more failures than victories. Yet it is alive, more so than in a long time, and in its relationship with a small, beleaguered member organization like DSOC, it exhibits a very real solidarity. In this cynical world, that is something of value. ■

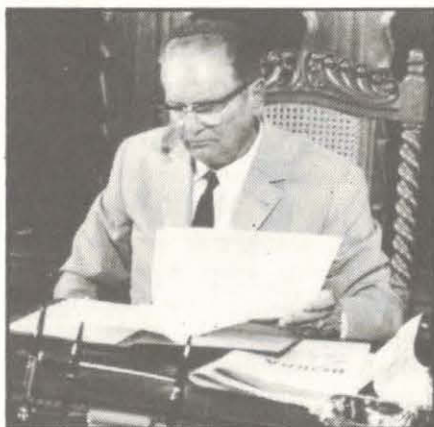
# Yugoslavia After Tito

By Bogdan Denitch

**T**HE IMMINENT DEATH OF PRESIDENT Tito and the increasing nervousness about the NATO Warsaw Pact balance in Europe encourage speculation about the problems of succession and stability in Yugoslavia. The reasons for concern are many, since there are obvious advantages to the Soviet bloc in ending the Yugoslav heresy and experiment in its present form.

A reintegration of Yugoslavia into the Soviet bloc would shorten the front line in Europe, bring the Warsaw Pact forces to the Italian frontiers, cut off Greece, and place the continued independence of Albania in question. It would also provide the Soviets with directly accessible Mediterranean ports. The naval bases that Yugoslavia can provide would more than replace the loss of port facilities in Egypt, and be more valuable than the facilities in Libya or Algeria. But these are only military advantages.

The political advantages are, if anything, greater. An end to the Yugoslav heresy, which is above all a temptation to potential dissidents inside the ruling parties of Eastern Europe, showing as it does that it is possible for a communist party to stay in power *outside* of the Warsaw



Yugoslav Press & Cultural Center  
Marshal Tito

“It is intended that there be no second Tito.”

Pact alliance, would be a major step towards stabilizing the East European situation. And, bad as the current Yugoslav example is from the Soviet viewpoint, a post-Tito Yugoslavia which developed closer ties with the Eurocommunist parties and European social democrats, would increase the pressures in Eastern Europe.

While there are clear advantages for the Soviet Union of a "reintegration" of

Yugoslavia into the Soviet bloc, there are also major costs. The most important single factor in assessing these costs is the certainty that the Yugoslavs would fight.

## Resistance Certain

An attempt to reabsorb Yugoslavia into the bloc would not be a military parade like the Czech invasion, but a bitter war against a determined, well-trained and relatively well-armed opponent. A conventional military victory, sure to be costly, would be merely the beginning. A brutal, prolonged guerilla resistance would almost certainly follow. The effect of such an adventure on the Soviet's relations with the West, the levels of NATO preparedness, the already tense relations with the West European communists, the Soviet prestige with the Third World nations, and on the prospects of a continuing detente would be enormous.

So long as the Yugoslavs maintain their determination to defend their independence, a conventional invasion is unlikely. On the other hand, attempts to fish in the troubled waters and influence the outcome of a succession, through a combination of external pressure and internal disruption, offers fewer risks. For this to succeed, certain assumptions have to be made. The first is that there are elements in the League of Communists of

Yugoslavia who would support a close link with the Warsaw Pact and a more repressive regime internally. It is in the pursuit of such alternatives that there have been repeated attempts to form an illegal, underground, pro-Moscow Communist Party. This is the reason why the overwhelming majority of the political dissidents in jail in Yugoslavia today are "Cominformists," i.e., pro-Soviet dissidents. However, this grouping is marginal, limited almost exclusively to pensioned-off police and army officers in some less developed regions.

The constitutional mechanisms for replacing Tito are clear. It is intended that there be no second Tito. The functions and prerogatives of Tito will be distributed to a collective body formed from the leaders of the republics, a general secretary of the party, a ceremonial rotating president, a chairman of the League of Communists, and a head of the military forces. This collective leadership has reasonably good prospects of taking hold, since it reflects the genuine bases of power in Yugoslavia today. The question still is what range of alternatives exist *within* the League of Communists or, rather, which currents will dominate the collective leadership. I assume that none of the anticommunist groupings in or out of Yugoslavia can play a significant role in the post-Tito years. The pro-Soviet grouping has even less of a chance. The most popular single feature of the present Yugoslav regime in the non-Party (LCY) population is its *independence* from the Soviet bloc.

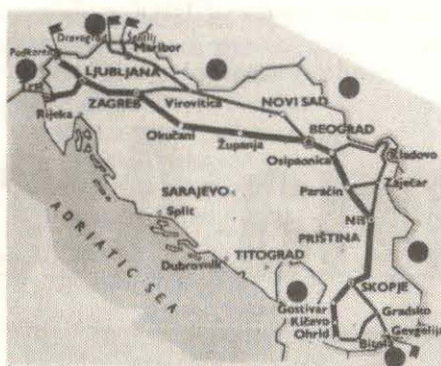
### Three Alternatives

The alternatives, therefore, are the ones in and around the present League of Communists. There are three such groupings: a stand-pat group, more or less committed to business as usual; a "Rumanian" current centered on the less developed republics, which desires to maintain independence but wants a more repressive and centralized regime; and, finally, the so-called party "liberals" in and out of office. These include party groupings that have been purged in recent years, and the Marxist dissidents of the *Praxis* circle.

The standpatters have little prospect, if for no other reason than the excessive length of time that waiting for a succession to Tito has taken. More importantly, the standpatters tend to rely

on the central federal institutions which have progressively weakened as the republics have assumed more autonomy.

The "Rumanians" have poor prospects. An alternative unacceptable to the leaderships of the three most developed republics has little chance. Further, the large new middle class which the regime has created wishes to enjoy its privileges and relatively great personal freedom, and is backed up in that desire by the groups which dominate the decentralized self-managed Yugoslav economy. It is unlikely that the group representing



Yugoslav Press & Cultural Center

that which is *least* popular about the League of Communists program would manage to create a stable leadership.

Lastly, the liberals include those party groupings which have been denounced as "liberals," the much larger group of "closet liberals" on the federal level, and the Croatia and Serbian leaderships. This grouping has done the most to define and develop the present Yugoslav system, which controls the ideological education of the secondary leadership, and which has the broadest support among the economic leaders of Yugoslavia. Their platform was the focus of the last party convention, and emphasized institutional pluralism, a pluralism based on competing institutions with differing programs—the Yugoslav answer to Western-type multiparty systems, on the one hand, and Soviet-type state socialism on the other. This emphasizes the increasing autonomy of the trade unions, chambers of commerce, local republics, all of which are seen as having legitimate interests that have to be worked out within the system. As a consequence, there are now strikes in Yugoslavia (which do not

challenge the regime, any more than those in the West do), and the various republics negotiate openly and aggressively over economic and social priorities. This grouping will probably consolidate its power after Tito's death.

### Advent of Liberals

The advent of the Yugoslav League of Communists "liberals" should have several consequences. The first, and most obvious, is that the relations between the Soviets and the Yugoslavs will probably worsen as they relapse into their normal polemical exchanges. After all, these are precisely the elements that have been repeatedly denounced as revisionists by the Soviets and who in turn have most vigorously denounced Soviet-type systems as statist caricatures of socialism. Secondly, much closer relations with the West European Communist and socialist parties are likely to follow, not only because of ideological affinities but because Yugoslavia is increasingly Europeanized in terms of its economy and cultural links. The side effect is likely to be a somewhat lower profile in foreign policy and with the nonaligned world. The younger party leaders have developed in the era following the Soviet-Yugoslav break and are more cosmopolitan and pragmatic in terms of economic policies. They are likely to encourage greater investment and economic ties with Western Europe.

The national question, beloved of journalists and commentators, is less acute than in other multinational states (other than Switzerland). Compared with the Basques in Spain, Northern Ireland, the French in Canada, and even the Scots in Great Britain, the bulk of the Yugoslavs seem reasonably satisfied with the present wide cultural and administrative autonomy which the republics have. Extremist and separatist sentiment is marginal and limited to the isolated nationalist exiles abroad. ■

*Bogdan Denitch is a member of the DSOC National Board. He recently returned from a six-month stay in Italy, during which he was DSOC's representative to the Socialist International.*

### CORRECTION

Sharp-eyed readers undoubtedly noticed the lack of the union bug on the March issue. We apologize for the oversight, which occurred at the print shop.

# Us and Them in the Polls

By Jim Chapin

**S**O FAR THE COVERAGE OF THE 1980 primaries has wavered between two theories: roughly they can be termed "the end of ideology" and "the end of liberalism." The first theory—based on the discovery some time back that most of the electorate doesn't know all that much about candidates or issues—argues that the key to primary campaigns is a great organization, good media coverage, a pleasing personality, and money. The effects of ideology only matter so far as they influence the first and last of these four factors.

The second theory, although it contradicts the first, has sometimes been advanced by the same people: Kennedy's showing reflects the final defeat of liberalism in the national arena: "we" now "know" that the sixties were an unfortunate mistake because people believed that peace and prosperity were possible and desirable, instead of the hard "reality" that war and misery are inevitable. It is impractical or immoral to believe that government can do anything about the South Bronx, but wise and practical to believe that it can control the Middle East. The only proper role of employees of government is to kill people: anything else is "big" government, and we will be left to choose our conservative poison: "Old," "New Right," or "Neo."

Both perceptions have some roots in reality. Most voters don't pay attention to the issues until they have to. Personality, money, organization and media are important. But when elections approach, the voters do begin to make choices—and make them on a largely issue-oriented basis. A *New York Times*/CBS poll comparing the national electorate, the New Hampshire electorate, and the New Hampshire voters shows the difference. Only 18 percent of the national electorate said they were paying a great deal of attention to the race, but 45 percent of the New Hampshire electorate and 56 percent of the voters were. Foreign policy was considered the key issue by 32 percent of the national electorate; economic



policy by 45 percent; but among New Hampshire voters the comparable figures were 13 percent and 62 percent.

People voted along issue lines. For instance, among the two leading Republicans, 62 percent of Bush voters supported the ERA while only 28 percent of Reagan voters did. Those opposed to draft registration voted heavily for Kennedy and Brown; those supporting it voted heavily for Carter. A majority of those favoring gas rationing supported Kennedy. Self-identified Democratic liberals went seven to four for Kennedy;

conservatives five to two for Carter.

In the end, then, issues shape results. Reagan did so well among New Hampshire Republicans because they agreed with him on the issues: once Bush stopped looking like the pragmatic choice he was dead. But personality also affects the results: if Kennedy had been riding high he would have done better across the board. It's not the end of ideology or the end of liberalism. Ideology matters, and the liberals are still there. There is no liberal majority—but there *never was*. What there was in the past (and still is in the present) is support for *specific* elements of the liberal program. On the other hand, there is no conservative majority either. The country has *not* moved to Reagan's ideas, and if he gets the nomination we will see that in the fall results. Our task is two-fold: to reassemble the elements of a specific platform around which a majority can be gathered, and to *convert* a majority of the population to our more basic ideological thrust. ■

## 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, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel.: (212) 260-3270.

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# Evangelicals Uncovering Traditions of the Left

By James R. Gorman

**D**EPENDING ON THE WAY YOU count, we may be entering what some historians are calling the Third or Fourth Great Spiritual Awakening. The first took place just before the American Revolution under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield and others. The second began before the Civil War and the third may have been the resurgence of orthodoxy (fundamentalism) in the face of the liberalism of the late 19th century. If the scholars and prognosticators are right, we are entering, then, the era of "The Fourth Great Awakening."

That there is an increased religiosity can hardly be argued. The conclusions one might draw from that, however, are varied. Michael Harrington, noting such phenomena as the Jonestown Massacre, the Moonies, Hare Krishnas and the like, quotes Leszek Kolakowski as saying, "There will be a rain of gods upon the funeral of the one true God." Whether times like these represent a "rain of gods" or an awakening of genuine faith is an argument beyond the scope of this article. Of more interest is whether this awakening (let's assume that it is happening) will give birth to a socially and politically responsible faith. Some very good signs suggest that this is happening.

Martin Marty, University of Chicago church historian and much sought-after Protestant commentator, in one of his "decade-end" summaries, quotes researcher William G. McLoughlin as suggesting that "early in the 1990's at best" there will emerge a kind of "Judeo-Christian socialism" of a non-Marxist and democratic sort within the mainstream of American religious life. Marty is skeptical, but finds it interesting enough to use in closing his article.

Some present trends in American theology do suggest that McLoughlin's



Members of the Fisherfolk from Colorado joined the Sojourners Community and other religious groups in a December 1979 demonstration in support of the moratorium amendment to the SALT II treaty.

conclusion might be valid. First, the Theology in the Americas project, a North American dialogue with Latin American liberation theology, reported on by Rosemary Ruether in these pages recently, has raised the consciousness of many, especially in the Roman Catholic community. Another trend currently receiving some attention is being styled the "Young Evangelicals." This promises to be one of the most important developments in American political theology since the thirties. These Young Evangelicals are the grandchildren of fundamentalism, who are rediscovering a faith that has always had real social and political implications and responsibilities. Groups are being formed such as "Evangelicals for Social Action," "Evangelical Women's Caucus," and, some will remember, "Evangelicals for George McGovern." The magazine that most represents this movement is *Sojourners*, published by a collective of evangelicals in Washington, D.C. Another influential journal, slightly to the left of *Sojourners*, is *The Other*

*Side*, which originates from Philadelphia.

The election of a self-confessed "born-again" evangelical Christian to the Presidency has had much to do with the recent flowering of the evangelical movement in general (though it is now showing signs of abating). Evangelicalism, once the fountainhead of political conservatism in America, now ranges from Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority" on the far, far right to this new movement on the left. The history leading up to this point has at least three major steps. First the founding of "fundamentalism" at the turn of this century (the "Third Great Awakening" as some call it); second, the renewal of fundamentalism—a rejection of its separatist and sectarian personality—in what was called neo-Evangelicalism in the forties, spearheaded by Carl F. H. Henry, founding editor of *Christianity Today*; and now this third reformation of fundamentalism—another rejection of the cultural captivity and political conservatism of the neo-Evangelicals (such as Billy Graham).



## Back to Barth

This third step is itself a mixed bag, ranging from political liberals who spend their time searching for scriptural justification of their positions, to what is being called the "orthodox evangelicals" who are more disciplined intellectually and tend toward the neo-orthodoxy of German theologian Karl Barth, as well as the reformed theologies of French Calvinist Jacques Ellul and Episcopalian lawyer William Stringfellow, friend and defense lawyer to the Berrigans. It may be that as this aspect of the movement grows, there will be a more genuine application of Barth's insights to this continent than has ever been possible before. Because the evangelicals grew up in a strong biblical environment and now maintain a biblical commitment, they may be hearing Barth's biblical theology for the first time. More importantly perhaps, because these young folks are people who became politically aware during the late sixties, they are placed in a historical moment in many ways similar to that of Barth. Barth was writing and preaching during the collapse of a civilization that no one thought could collapse.

Karl Barth was a socialist and his socialism was intrinsic to his theology. American neo-orthodox theologians such as Paul Tillich and Richard and Reinhold Niebuhr were also socialists, though none of them ideologically so. They were affiliated with various sorts of religious socialism, but despaired over the many splits and subgroups to which that movement as well as the socialist and social democratic parties seemed to fall prey.

In their call to "holistic salvation," a view of salvation that takes account of more than just the personal, the Young Evangelicals are sharply critical of what they would call "structural evil." Further, they do not fall into the neoconservative trap of assuming that, since the structures cannot be changed, there must be "necessary evil," (often called "Christian Realism"). The starting point for their critique of capitalism is prophetic and non-Marxist, though they are no longer totally averse to Marxian tools. Their criticisms of capitalism eschew the traditional language of economic critique such as "bourgeois," "proletariat," "means of production," etc. As one professor at Billy Graham's alma mater, Wheaton College, put it, "It is clear that we are moving beyond capitalism, but toward what is not so clear."

There is also a good deal of cross-fertilization and dialogue between these Young Evangelicals and liberation theology. Jose Miguez Bonino, the Argentinian Methodist, who has done a good deal of writing and thinking in the area of the Christian-Marxist dialogue, is considered by some Young Evangelicals as a "bridge figure" between the two camps. The evangelicals, however, remain critical of what seems to be liberation theology's openness to violence and its seemingly too great dependence on Marxian categories.

These Young Evangelicals are good children. They love the tradition in which

they were born and raised. They did not leave their churches or religious heritage when it failed to address the issues raised by the civil rights and antiwar movements of the sixties (and instead continued to prohibit TV on Sundays at its colleges along with the usual prohibitions against smoking, playing cards, dancing, drinking, etc.). Instead, they began to look more carefully at their tradition and discovered in it movements as politically radical as those of the sixties. Donald Dayton, in a book that shows up on every Young Evangelical bibliography, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (Harper & Row, New York, 1976) documents

### THE RIFKIN THESIS

*Jeremy Rifkin and Ted Howard, The Emerging Order: God in an Age of Scarcity (New York: Putnam, 1979).*

This book has received much publicity on the left. There is much to recommend it. In an age of scarcity of natural resources, Rifkin asks, how will America, committed as it is to an ever-expanding economy, define itself? How will it look at its world, and reorganize its economic life to adjust to a non-growth future?

From a religious history point of view, however, the thesis is overstated and at points inaccurate. Essentially, he argues that Protestantism is responsible for the liberal ethos on which capitalism is built and he looks forward to the possibility that a reformed Protestantism can be responsible for shaping the next age toward a more human economy.

The initial part of his argument is not new. First expounded by Max Weber, it holds that John Calvin laid much of the theological groundwork for capitalism, especially through Calvin's doctrine of "double predestination," which became twisted into the "work ethic." Calvin is also held responsible for "the person of order, the rational person: the machine person for the machine age."

Holding Calvin responsible for capitalism is similar to holding Marx responsible for the Soviet Union. Though Rifkin does point out that the liberal bourgeois ethos is a fundamental distortion of Calvin's insights, he goes on to argue that Calvin and Luther must be "retired to the theological archives to be replaced by the yet unnamed heretics of the second great reformation."

While Rifkin looks to the evangelicals as one of the major forces in this new reformation, he neglects to notice that they are rereading Calvin rather than placing him on the back shelves.

Rifkin's argument is a misplaced one from the sixties. The more non-institutional and experiential the social phenomenon, the argument goes, the better. So he looks wistfully toward the charismatics, hoping that they will bring about a great theological liberation that the more stable, but still noninstitutional, young evangelicals will shape into something upon which a new economy can be built.

The charismatics that I know are all leisure-suited, middle class types who have accumulated all the material they can and are now discovering that such accumulation does not speak to their deepest yearnings. They have moved from materialism to spiritualism which is more escapist than revolutionary. True revolution (and religion) results from honest dialogue between the two rather than a commitment to one over the other.

Finally, I wonder whether religion really causes or gives shape to social upheaval, or rather follows (usually at a great distance) an upheaval that has already taken place. I'm not sure whether religion paved the way for capitalism, or whether intellectual and social forces emerging from the Middle Ages paved the way for both capitalism and the Reformation. Religion is primarily a conservative force in a liberal society and that may be its most revolutionary feature, especially in an age of scarcity.

J. R. G.

this buried treasure of evangelical radicalism.

Dayton discovers in evangelical history prohibitionists, abolitionists, feminists and socialists. William and Catherine Booth, founders of the Salvation Army, for example, were considered "Socialists and something more . . ." according to a contemporary biographer. As William Booth put it, "I say nothing against any short cut to the Millenium that is compatible with the Ten Commandments. I intensely sympathize with the aspirations that lie behind all these socialist dreams . . . what these good people want to do, I also want to do."

Nothing could sum up better the feeling toward contemporary democratic socialism on the part of these Young Evangelicals. The authority for their present commitment to the reformation of American values and social structures



Catherine Booth, cofounder of the Salvation Army.

is not economic or sociological theory. It is the symbolic heritage of the Evangelical tradition itself. The starting points are different, but just now the left wing

evangelical and democratic socialist currents may be merging, making the possibility of dialogue exciting indeed.

Marx and Jesus have always had much to say to one another, and now in a humanized Marxism and a reformed evangelicalism they can begin to use new language and insights as they find themselves, once again on the side of the poor and disenfranchised.

It is instructive to note that Billy Graham is now on the left side of the SALT II treaty, saying that it allows an "idolatrous" arms race to continue at an insane pace. Things are changing in mainstream Protestantism and the Young Evangelicals are no small contributing factor in that change. ■

*Jim Gorman is pastor of a church in Chicago and chair of the DSOC Religion and Socialism Commission.*

# Anticorporate Strategies

By Maxine Phillips

**F**OR SEVERAL MONTHS DSOC members have been working on anticorporate activities around Big Business Day. They range from a major educational conference in New York City to a Corporate Hall of Shame in Detroit, to an outdoor fair and corporate roast in St. Louis and teach-ins at several campuses. Now that April 17 is almost here, DEMOCRATIC LEFT went to BBD Director Mike Schippiani to ask, "Will there be life in the anti-corporate campaign after April 17?"

D.L.: *What effect will the actions have after the day is over?*

SCHIPPANI: We see April 17 as the kick-off of a decade-long campaign. There will be a major Constitutional Convention on the Giant Corporation in Washington, D.C. at which shadow boards for 10 major corporations will be named. These "boards" are in reality coalitions of various groups, whose representatives will sit on them. Over the next few years they will follow "their" corporation, looking at its investment policies, labor practices, social responsibility. In effect, these boards will be models for ways in which the public can be involved in over-

seeing the corporations.

D.L.: *As socialists, we in DSOC participate in liberal coalitions, but our long range goal remains the basic transformation of society. Does this coalition offer possibilities for structural change?*

SCHIPPANI: Two major changes would be public control over investment and increased public and employee representation on corporate boards. We're kidding ourselves if we think that either goal can be reached in the near future. However, I could see the shadow board for Duke Power Company, for instance, getting more and more interested in public power, perhaps organizing to bring about investment in solar power. Even if we had actual union and public representation on corporate boards right now, their numbers would be small. The shadow board points the way, though, to the possibilities that such representation would open up.

D.L.: *This coalition includes groups ranging from churches and feminist groups to the Building Trades Council of the AFL-CIO to the national network of Public Interest Research Groups. Is it realistic to expect that it will be able to maintain the momentum for a decade-long anticorporate campaign? The defeat*

*on labor law reform two years ago would seem to indicate that the troops just aren't there for the ambitious undertaking you describe.*

SCHIPPANI: It's true that every group comes into a coalition with its own agenda. We've been pleased by the breadth of the coalition. It includes people who normally wouldn't consider themselves allies—small shareholders, Southern Baptists, trade unionists, academics, right-to-lifers, feminists. At the moment there is no mass movement against corporate power. But the potential is there. If we can keep the energy of the groups now in the coalition and draw more in, we could build that movement. One very important point here is that within this coalition the labor movement can link up with others so that it can win future battles. This builds a constituency that will receive an ongoing education about crucial issues. This is a time when the anti-corporate campaign has to attack on all fronts. The corporations haven't been shy about attacking us for years. Recently, the Chamber of Commerce issued a special report to its members telling them to counter-organize against Big Business Day. We plan to be in this fight for a long time. ■

# On Not 'Breaking Away'

By Dorothee Sölle and Jim Wallace

**B**REAKING AWAY IS A MOVIE that mirrors the wishes and fears of Americans at the end of the seventies yet subtly manipulates them in a nostalgia for the imagined simplicity and cleanness of the fifties. Most of our friends loved the film; most of us were warmed by the endearing treatment of life in a small university town in the Midwest. The camera gently plays across the faces of lower middle class youths and adults with easy good humor. It has the ambivalent quality of the heroic myth about ordinary young people as we know it from Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn.

The film's hero, Dave, has recently graduated from high school, and is now, along with his three buddies, without a job. All four are hanging around at the end of the summer without hope of entering the local state university which they see as being only for rich kids. What we liked about the film was the hero's disarming enthusiasm for life, his naive purity of love and his giving himself to whatever he does: bicycle racing, wooing a beautiful girl on the campus and even selling his father's used cars. Through his bicycle racing he falls in love with Italian life: its food (which the father disgustedly describes as all ending with "ini"), its music (even the arias of Puccini), its language (which he diligently learns and brokenly speaks from a phrase book), and its family life (which seems to him to be much more intense and caring than his own experience of family ties in America).

These elements of a foreign culture are used by the director, Peter Yates, as symbols of a young man's search for identity. "Breaking away" means leaving the inherited world of hamburgers and milkshakes and, at least for a while, looking for a different way of life. The filmmaker raises these hopes for a new identity, and then disillusiones the boy through an unscrupulous Italian bicycle team, leading him and us back to the virtues of American Life.



Released by 20th Century-Fox

*“We are shown a man estranged from his job and his family and a woman imprisoned in the myth of the feminine role . . . what we are given could be better entitled 'sticking in.'”*

The qualities of the hero are so appealing that we easily forget his comrades who in the beginning of the movie seem to be as important as he is. Yates selects from the collective hero of four young jobless boys the young, sweet, innocent one instead of the angry, tough former high school quarterback whose hopes have been raised through his athletic prowess only to be frustrated. This boy passionately insists on the gang's sticking together rather than taking meaningless jobs. In his character there is the potential for a better film; one that values solidarity over individual achievement. But the filmmaker has this bitter young man fail in his struggle against class and generation conflicts. In our culture he is not the kind of boy people want their sons to grow up to be. David's three friends are used to support his heroic bicycle racing victory, but then, in the last scene, they disappear. The American dream is again individually fulfilled by David's "making

it." He enters college and his friends are heard from no more. Brecht put it well in the *Threepenny Opera*:

*And some are in the dark  
and the others are in the light  
Only those in the light we see  
those in the dark we don't.*

Parallel to Yates's treatment of the gang of boys, David's family conflicts are powerfully presented and sentimentally solved. His father is introduced as a former stonemason who, along with the fathers of the other three boys, had loved his work during the construction of the university. But when we meet him, he is an overfed, imaginationless, sexless, used car salesman. David's mother is a warm-hearted housewife with all the qualities of femininity: she protects her husband, consoles her son, attempts to bring a little romance into this boring marriage. Although there is ample cause for a woman's suffering and conflict in her role,

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# Socialists Moved Ahead But Liberals Took Canada

By Eric Lee

**T**HIS IS NOT THE TIME IN CANADA for pessimism. I leave that to Mr. Clark. . . . Far from it—now is the time, surely, as a people to grab hold. Now is the time to say yes, we can do it, but do it *ourselves*." With those words, spoken to hundreds of supporters in Ottawa in early January, Ed Broadbent set the tone for the New Democratic Party's (NDP) 1980 campaign. Six weeks later, Canadians responded by giving the New Democrats more votes and more seats in the House of Commons than ever before.

Early in the campaign, the NDP leader declared that energy was "the number one subject matter in this campaign." The New Democrats called for an expansion of Petrocan, the federally-owned oil and gas corporation, into the largest energy company in Canada. Aiming to break the power of foreign-based multinationals, Broadbent told voters of his vision of Petrocan gas stations from coast-to-coast, each gas pump decorated with a maple leaf. The NDP called for a federal commission to control oil company prices and profits, and demanded a halt to exporting energy resources from Western Canada to the U.S. while the Atlantic provinces were importing Middle Eastern oil at OPEC prices.

The NDP made the call for a national industrial strategy—a plan to develop Canada from a resource-based economy into a modern industrial manufacturing economy—a central plank in its campaign. Broadbent declared that Canada could become the "Scandinavia of North America" in furniture production, could build a first-rate deep sea fleet for commerce, could set up a fish marketing board to rescue the fishing industry in the troubled Maritime provinces. Every resource Canada exports, Broadbent points out, represents an average loss of six jobs in that industry.



The party also emphasized its traditional bread-and-butter issues: inflation and unemployment. It proposed price controls to curb inflation and massive government spending to lower the unemployment rate, which is significantly higher in Canada than in the U.S. The NDP campaign also targeted a whole range of social issues, including women's rights, pensions, Native peoples' issues, and environmental concerns.

But the election was not destined to be a breakthrough for the party. True, Canadian voters had had enough of Joe Clark and his minority Conservative government. But autumn 1979 polls indicated strong support for a stable, majority Liberal government. The situation was in one sense analogous to the 1974 elections: voters wanted a strong and stable government. In that bout, the NDP vote fell by more than a quarter million and 17 seats were lost, including that of Party Leader David Lewis.

This time, the election results seemed at first to be a replay of 1974. In every part of Canada except Alberta, the Conservatives collapsed like a house of cards, losing nearly 30 seats nationally. A Liberal sweep began in the Atlantic provinces, picked up steam in Quebec, raced through Ontario and didn't stop till it reached Manitoba. In Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, the NDP lost its only two seats east of Ontario. The loss of Fouse Faour's seat in Newfoundland was especially bitter—he had won it by over 7,000 votes last year; he lost it by 3,360 this time—a massive shift among the electorate.

Three veteran NDP Members of Parliament were defeated in Ontario, including John Rodriguez, a leader of the party's left caucus. But two victories—in Toronto and Hamilton—left the Ontario NDP with a net loss of only one seat. After an early scare in the election returns, final tallies showed Ed Broadbent winning his seat in Oshawa by a 12,000 vote margin.

## Gains in West

The Liberal juggernaut came to a full stop at the Manitoba border. The Liberals won only two seats in the West, losing their Vancouver Centre seat in British Columbia. The *New York Times* reported that the Conservatives retained

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# WHAT'S LEFT TO READ

By Ronald Radosh

*Labor History*, Fall 1979, Vol. 20, No. 4; \$16 per year, \$4.75 per single copy. c/o Bobst Library, Tamiment Institute, New York University, 70 Washington Sq. South, New York City, N.Y. 10012.

**T**HERE HAS BEEN SOMETHING OF A TENDENCY, RECENTLY, to both eulogize and romanticize the Communists of the 1930s and '40s, as if they were the *only* radicals involved in organizing and trying to create a socialist consciousness. It is refreshing to find a corrective in the excellent article by historian Roy Rosenzweig, "Socialism in Our Time": The Socialist Party and the Unemployed, 1929-1936," in the current *Labor History*.

Starting with a picture of the New York City Washington Heights branch of the Socialist Party (SP) and the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL), Rosenzweig shows how their effort to build a local Unemployed League was seen both as a "chance to win specific, immediate improvements in the living conditions of the unemployed," as well as an "opportunity to attract the jobless to the Socialist cause." After 1932, it was Socialists who played a major role and provided the leadership for locally based unemployment groups. Unlike the Communists, they tried to "impart to these groups an underlying vision of a new social order."

The Socialist activity spread through the nation. In the Midwest, Workers' Committees formed by Socialists stopped evictions, got people onto relief rolls and interfered with bureaucratic mistreatment. And when thousands of young people came into the movement to work in Norman Thomas' 1932 campaign, that recruitment "provided the impetus for a great expansion of Socialist efforts to mobilize the jobless." The Socialist Party also began successfully, in some areas, to work with blacks. Unemployed League organizers worked in the black community in Baltimore. Urging black and white unity, and holding a "fierce commitment to anti-lynching legislation," they attracted some two to three thousand black members to their ranks, thereby building an integrated organization in racist Baltimore—no small achievement! Rosenzweig writes:

Under this Socialist leadership with its flexible combination of immediate needs and socialist vision the unemployed movement achieved some significant victories. It won relief adjustments, blocked evictions, secured high relief rates . . . and propagandized for unemployment insurance. It also raised the political and social consciousness of its members.

Eventually, these burgeoning movements affiliated with the Work Projects Administration, and workers offered their support to both New Deal relief measures and to F. D. R. the man. Viewing the federal government as their patron, Rosenzweig writes, many saw less need for continued militant activity. Moreover, the new Communist line affected strategy, and soon the CP became the dominant force in the movement. A newly merged Worker's Alliance—with both Socialists and CPers in leadership, operated "within the confines of Popular Front Americanism and New Deal liberalism."

Rosenzweig argues that the old Socialists' failure to real-

ize their dream is no reason to forget the solid, if limited, achievements they scored. He chastises our own generation of democratic socialists as well, for failing to give attention to the struggles of our ancestors, and for concentrating solely on studies of Norman Thomas and of faction fights among the leadership. The result of that he terms "a serious distortion of the past."

■ ■ ■

*Radical America*, Vol. 14, No. 1, \$2.00 per issue, \$10 per year, 38 Union Square, Somerville, Mass. 02143.

In an important article, *Hungary 1956: The Anatomy of a Political Revolution*, Agnes Heller and Ferenc Feher—two Hungarian exiles who were students and political allies of the late Georg Lukács, as well as young activists in the Hungarian Revolution—argue that the revolt was a classic political revolution that held lessons "especially important for socialists."

A political revolt is a crisis "caused by the loss of legitimacy of a tyrannical regime," rather than by external factors such as a war. That revolt against tyranny which Lukács thought would purify socialism "from Stalinist dirt . . . within a year," produced the leadership of Imre Nagy, a man they see as having transcended his own CP base to stand firmly for a view "that political pluralism and independence from the Soviet Union could be compatible with fundamental socialist values and ideas." This is a stand which the authors see as the start of the "long and tortuous story of Eurocommunism."

The Hungarian Revolution created a new institution, they note, workers' councils in factories, schools, offices and other workplaces, and their direct democracy was the reaffirmation of the century-old "recurring ideal of every true socialist movement."

Had it won, they argue, a coalition of "socialists, social democrats and peasant deputies," in alliance with the councils, would have created a democratic socialism, a form of direct democracy in the factories combined with a new representative political system. Instead it was crushed by Soviet arms. Yet, they admit, whether the outcome of the Revolution would have been authentic socialism—Trotsky's desired second revolution—was only problematic. The masses were building institutions which pointed towards a possible socialist future, as well as creating safeguards against a conservative dictatorship. They wanted primarily to destroy an existing tyranny.

Admitting that the populace "did not fight for any specific social formation," they argue that the Revolution must leave open the field of alternatives for an emancipated society. The Hungarian Revolution held out two alternatives—democracy or conservative dictatorship—not, as the imported Stalinist regime argued, dictatorship or socialism. The militants who fought were neither doctrinaire nor "interested in a genuine socialist revolution," but rather in democracy, "whose 'classless' character was a source of ridicule for all the high priests of various socialist doctrines." Their view, forcefully expressed, is that socialists should support any revolt for democracy—regardless of its outcome—and try to advance socialist concepts within the terrain of the struggle. ■

# ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

**T**HE UNSHAKABLE KATHARINE SMITH: AT 87, SHE'S Still a Social Activist." That five-page story, with a color cover photo, about one of DSOC's oldest active members, appeared last month in *Newsday's* magazine, *LI*. Katharine transformed her home in Massapequa, L.I. eight years ago into PeaceSmith House, a meeting place for nuclear power protesters, farm union supporters, advocates of publicly-owned utilities, opponents of racism, backers of socialism, the Long Island Progressive Coalition, and followers of other progressive causes. *Newsday* describes her as the "rock-hard, heart-soft glue that holds it together." Almost 40 years ago, when such actions were not popular, she lived in a biracial cooperative in Harlem. Her backyard was the scene of numerous summer picnics for Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party. She helped run a coop store in Hempstead. Last year she stood in the rain at Shoreham to oppose the nuclear power plant being built there. "At an age when most people are happy just to be alive," says *Newsday*, "her interest in world affairs and in making the world a better place to live is undiminished."

DSOCER GERRY COHEN, TWO-TIME CITY COUNCIL MEMBER in Chapel Hill, N.C., ran a strong campaign but was beaten in the nonpartisan mayoralty race by a liberal Democrat who polled 2,025 votes to Cohen's 1,510. Appointed to fill Cohen's council seat was DSOCer Joe Herzenberg.

A NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE OF THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT (NAM) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) has been meeting to explore differences and similarities and to consider ways and means of working together for democratic socialism. Both are active in such coalitions as the Progressive Alliance, Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition and Big Business Day. NAM and DSOC have called on their locals to get to know each other and try to start joint work where possible. In San Francisco, both campaigned in the successful city council race of DSOCer Harry Britt, and are working together against Carter's draft registration drive and on tax reform referenda. . . . Detroit has established a jointly-sponsored Socialist School. . . . The NAM and DSOC locals in Madison, Wis. merged into the Democratic Socialist Alliance, affiliated to both national groups. . . . A jointly-sponsored debate on electoral activities was held in New York City, with Michael Harrington and Stanley Aronowitz talking to 400 at Columbia University, and a joint meeting is planned for April to discuss reports on the DSOC-NAM negotiating committee meetings. . . . NAM and DSOC's Health Commission staffed a joint literature table at the American Public Health Association Conference in December. . . . Joint meetings and activities are also taking place in Champaign-Urbana, Ill., St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Long Island.

WHEN UNIONS FIGHT TO GIVE AWAY MONEY, THAT'S UNUSUAL. But the Public Broadcasting Service has turned thumbs down on labor money for a project, "Made in U.S.A.," which would include ten movie-length TV films on the history of American workers and the labor movement. The producers, Public Forum Productions and WGBH-TV in Boston, hoped

to raise \$4 million of the total \$15 million budget from unions, with most money to come from the National Endowment for the Humanities. PBS scotched the deal, prohibiting support from companies or organizations having a "direct interest in a program's subject matter." PBS was not so pure when it gave its blessing to the business-oriented "Free To Choose" series with Milton Friedman, champion of free-market capitalism. That series, which received \$2.4 million in financing from such corporate giants as General Motors, W. R. Grace, General Mills, Pepsico and the National Federation of Independent Business, was promoted as "the first major effort in an overall campaign" to promote free enterprise unhampered by government.

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER, AGENDA, IS BEING published by Harvard-Radcliffe students. The 25 staff members, a "democratic collective" providing "socialist analysis on current issues," encourage participation by women and minorities in the paper. For more info, write Perry Mehrling, 91 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

AN IMPORTANT SPONSOR OF BIG BUSINESS DAY IS TIMOTHY Smith, executive director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a coalition of 14 of the largest U.S. Protestant denominations and about 180 Catholic orders and dioceses. The Center, now ten years old, puts the mouth of the church where its money is, forcing moral and social issues on corporate America. Smith says that church money in pension funds and other investments adds up to more than \$55 billion. The center's main tool is the shareholder resolution, but it is not afraid to demonstrate, as it recently did against infant formula manufacturers, including Nestle and Bristol-Meyers.

This year, Center-affiliated church groups plan to propose 104 resolutions to 81 companies. The subjects range from advancing equal employment opportunity, bank redlining, plant closings, nuclear energy, pollution from chemical companies, genetic hazards in the workplace and links to the military. ■ *Items of interest for this column may be sent to Harry Fleischman at the DSOC National Office. Nancy Kleniewski, whose Socialist Notes used to appear in this space, will continue to write about DSOC activities across the country on a more occasional basis.*

## DEMOCRATIC AGENDA

CYNTHIA WARD HAS BEEN APPOINTED COORDINATOR OF THE DEMOCRATIC AGENDA 1980 project. Cynthia was formerly the head of the DSOC Youth Section, and now serves as a member of the National Executive Committee. She worked as an aide to the president of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, where she is studying for a Ph.D. in American History.

She will be active in coordinating testimony and appearances at the Democratic Party platform hearings in Washington and around the country; in organizing delegates, Platform Committee members, and party activists around the DEMOCRATIC AGENDA Platform, and in planning a major DEMOCRATIC AGENDA event at the Democratic Party Convention in New York City August 11-14.

## AWAY, from page 11

she is portrayed as if the women's movement had never occurred. We are skillfully shown a man estranged from his job and his family and a woman imprisoned in the myth of the feminine role. Rather than changing their frozen situation, these parents are apparently reconciled to it by the innocent goodness and warmth of their son. If we can trust again in American family life, we are told, we don't need any social change. Although "breaking away" from the given patterns of life would seem to promise personal growth and social change, what we are given could be better entitled "sticking in" these patterns, e.g. family bonds, sexual roles and meaningless work.

The nostalgic world of the fifties that this movie yearns for is free of politics, of sex, hard generation conflicts and of labor struggles, not to mention drug problems, racism and sexism. It is an ode to the lost virtues of the Midwest. It has been called "the most authentic American film of the year." Indeed. ■

*Theologian and poet Dorothee Sölle teaches each winter semester at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Jim Wallace teaches engineering science, is chair of the Washington, D.C./Maryland local, and a member of the National Executive Committee.*

# CLASSIFIED

Conference sponsored by DSOC Boston Youth Section. **STUDENTS AGAINST CORPORATE POWER: STUDENT ACTIVISM IN THE '80s.** April 18-20. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Speakers: Michael Harrington, Stanley Aronowitz, Ruth Jordan, Noam Chomsky. For information, call Boston DSOC, 617-426-9026. \$4 in advance, \$5 at the door.

**FOOD MONITOR** covers all aspects of who controls our food resources. In Issue #16, read "The Creation of Agricultural Dependence in Puerto Rico," "COIN's Analysis on Food Inflation," and Jim Chapin on U.S. Public Opinion and World Hunger. Publisher, Jack Clark. Subscription \$10/year to World Hunger Year, P.O. Box 1975D, Garden City, NY 11530.

**STOP THE ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE** Join Citizens for Space Demilitarization — membership \$5, or send S.A.S.E. for newsletter "Space For All People," featuring article by William Winpisinger on Solar Power Satellites and military conversion. CSFD, 1476 California #9, San Francisco, CA 94109.

## CANADA, from page 12

their hold on the West. That is simply not true. Where the Liberals stopped, the NDP advanced. In Manitoba, the New Democrats picked up two new seats. In Saskatchewan, they won two more. In what British Columbia NDP Leader Dave Barrett called a "sweet victory," the NDP picked up four new seats there. The party held its one seat in the Northwest Territories, and came within a hair's breadth of taking the other seat there. West of Ontario, the NDP gained eight new seats and held on to *every seat* it had won in May 1979 and after.

By the time the final results were in, the NDP had won 32 seats and 19.8 percent of the vote (compared to 17.9 percent in May 1979). More than two million Canadians had defied the Liberal landslide and given a democratic socialist party its largest vote in the political history of this continent.

There was even good news for the NDP in Quebec. Although Broadbent rarely visited the province, and the NDP had never won a federal seat there, more than a quarter million Québécois voted NDP, over 9 percent of the vote (compared to 5 percent in May). Of 73 contested districts, the NDP placed second in 35. Nevertheless, it remains quite weak in Quebec. In seven Quebec districts, the Parti Rhinoceros, which mocks the election process, outpolled the New Demo-

crats. Nowhere in Quebec did the NDP come close to winning a seat.

In some ways, the NDP's political future is bleak. Trudeau will likely remain Prime Minister with his comfortable majority for the next five years. The NDP caucus in the House of Commons, larger than ever before, will not be able to play the balance-of-power role it had hoped for this time. With the referendum on sovereignty-association for Quebec now at the center of attention in Ca-

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*“As Ed Broadbent has put it, the Conservatives were simply Liberals in a hurry.”*

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nadian politics, the NDP remains unable to influence the vote there. In Quebec, and on the federal level, the NDP seems destined to play, at least for the next few years, the role of a minor party.

But this is not the case in provincial politics. The NDP is one seat away from being the Official Opposition in the Provincial Parliament in Ontario. Polls show the NDP likely to return to power in British Columbia in the next election—with the B.C. Social Credit government tainted with its own mini-"Watergate" scandal. The federal results in Manitoba give evidence of a strong NDP that can win the next provincial election.

In bringing Trudeau back to power, the Canadian people lost this election. Over the next five years, they are likely to see the Liberals implement the very policies that brought down the Conservative government. As Ed Broadbent has put it, the Conservatives were simply Liberals in a hurry. But the Canadian people have gained something that their American neighbors might envy: the largest socialist caucus ever to sit in a national parliament on this continent. I would predict that when Trudeau calls the next federal elections, he will find the New Democrats in power not only in Saskatchewan, but in B.C. and Manitoba. As the results of this election have shown, the real opposition in Canada will not be the "Official Opposition" Conservatives; the real opposition to Trudeau will be Ed Broadbent and the NDP. ■

*Eric Lee worked for six weeks in the NDP campaign in Toronto.*

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# JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS

**AMERICA'S ELDERLY, CAN WE AFFORD THEM?—**That rather startling question was posed recently by *Forbes* (February 18). The piece argues that the picture of elderly poor people is a myth and that demand for further federal spending to serve the unmet needs of the elderly is uncalled for. Several cases are presented of retired people living well, and the specter of the young and unemployed rising in revolt against the elderly retired is raised. Programmatically, the piece opposes further indexing of Social Security payments, sneers at the need for home heating fuel subsidies and favors the pre-Depression palliative: people should save more for retirement. Are there no limits on the new social meanness?

**RAMBLINGS ON THE PRIMARY TRAIL—**Many things wrong with this year's Presidential primaries, but one thing is right: turnout is way up. In Iowa, for example, Ted Kennedy's losing vote was just 4000 shy of total 1976 turnout; in Maine the caucus participation increased five times over 1976 turnout; and primary voting in New Hampshire was up 25 percent. Although the numbers have not meant a left upsurge, the increased participation can help repoliticize our national debate. . . . The press has been playing up Kennedy's big defeats (Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire), but as of early March, the delegate count is relatively close, 55 for Carter, 37 for Kennedy. It could be a long, hard-fought primary season leading up to a convention where the outcome is uncertain. Industrial states loom as the crucial test for Kennedy.

**LOOK, MA, NO INVISIBLE HAND—**Why does inflation persist? In its March 3 cover story on inflation, *Newsweek* stated clearly and concisely one of the recurring explanations: "By most accounts, inflation perpetuates itself by forcing Americans to look out for their individual interests and pass

the costs on to others." *Newsweek* goes on to quote Lane Kirkland unfavorably for saying that the AFL-CIO does not intend to "preside for long over the continuing reduction in the real income of American workers" (presumably, in *Newsweek's* view, workers should show patriotic fervor in presiding over the decline of workers' living standards). Of course, the social justification of capitalism for the last 200 years has been precisely that it maximizes the social good by encouraging individuals to "look out for their individual interests." If Adam Smith's Invisible Hand (which reconciled these individually selfish decisions with the larger social good) is no longer there, why do we still rely on a system of private decision-making at all? We can hardly wait for the next installment of Michael Novak's corporate-sponsored apologies (three pages in the same issue of *Newsweek* paid for by SmithKline Corporation) for an answer.

**HOW BUSINESS REGULATES GOVERNMENT—**That's the title of the introductory chapter and the theme of *The Corporate Lobbies*, a study written by Mark Green and Andrew Buchsbaum for Big Business Day. The report examines the structure and activities of the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Roundtable complete with case studies on the Federal Consumer Protection Agency and labor law reform. As Green points out in the introduction, there are 15,000 business lobbyists operating in Washington with a budget of \$2 billion annually. That's about 30 corporate lobbyists per member and more than 1000 times the \$3 million yearly spent by public interest lobbies. And yet, the business community is dissatisfied. As one representative of the National Association of Manufacturers complained, "Legislators have tended to be more receptive to the public interest than they have been to business."

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