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Newsletter of

THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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Edited by MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Elections '73: where do we go from here?

New Jersey—Unlike most of the people I know, I was for Brendan Byrne way back during the primary fights with Anne Klein, the *de facto* legatee of last year's McGovern campaign. I feared that Klein's emphatic stance on social issues would be rejected, as McGovern's were, by New Jersey voters. Byrne impressed me as a Democrat who could win. Watergate only added to his margin.

The Byrne strategy was to push Sandman far to the right and stake out the votes of trade unionists and Republican-oriented suburbanites. Labor worked hard for Byrne. I got two pieces of literature from George Meany, reminding me as a fellow trade unionist that Sandman was no friend of labor (this from the same Meany who was "neutral" against McGovern a year earlier).

Now that he's elected, with a Democratic legislature to boot, I'm a little bit worried about Byrne. I'm fairly sure that he'll stay honest, but what about his ideology? What is his program?

In pushing Sandman further right, Byrne made compromises on vital issues like the death penalty, abortion, and progressive taxation. Yet many of his key campaign aides, notably Dick Leone and Joel Jacobson, have strong democratic Left credentials, dating back to the defunct NDC. The Left doesn't own Byrne, to be sure. But no other group, like the building trades or the county-urban bosses, owns him either. In this situation, the democratic Left has an opportunity to get recognition as a vital component of the state administration.

How seriously Byrne takes the Left may well be revealed by the way he deals with Anne Klein, who hopes to be a key member of the Administration.

—Michael H. Ebner

New Jersey—The state Democratic Party stands reasonably well united in victory after years out of power. Of course, there's some jockeying over patronage plums, and the airways to Arizona, where Governor-elect Byrne is vacationing, are packed with the Party faithful eager to receive their rewards.

Byrne left his options open during the campaign—so much so that he remains a puzzle to most Democratic pols. In the tradition of Jersey City reform boss Paul Jordan, Byrne carefully cultivated a non-political image.

But when he takes office in January, Byrne's administration will have to deal with real environmental and economic problems. If Byrne doesn't—or can't—exercise leadership, if he doesn't make painful choices, Democratic unity will crumble and New Jersey will lose its desperately needed chance to regulate and plan its economic development. The energy crisis might actually help. Byrne can blame the difficult adjustments to economic sanity on the shortages

rather than on such whipping boys as the progressive income tax or environmentalism.

—Ray Willis

Massachusetts—Liberals here fared poorly in the municipal elections. In Lynn, the city machine took back the mayoralty, and defeated progressive City Councillors. The election there saw the stunning defeat of the working class reform organization which has ruled Lynn for the last four years.

In Boston, the results were depressing. Louise Day Hicks rode back to her seat on the City Council, with more votes than any other candidate. The other vacancy on the City Council was filled by a young man whose most notable political quality is his name: James Michael Connolly. He exploited the similarity to late Mayor and Governor James Michael Curley for all it was worth.

The reform Democrats in Cambridge managed to win a couple of seats on the school committee, but the "regulars" consolidated their hold on the City Council.

Overall, it was a fine day for the machine Democrats.

—Ben Ross

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California—Governor Ronald Reagan's political temperature, inflamed of late by an acute case of Presidential fever, dropped several noticeable degrees on November 6. Just under half of the state's registered voters turned out to defeat his much touted "Tax Expenditure Limitation" initiative by a 54 to 46 per cent margin.

The Reagan proposal, popularly known as Proposition One, would have limited state spending, not at a 9 billion dollar level, by imposing a descending ceiling on the ratio of state taxes to total state personal income. Currently, 8.3 per cent of the state's personal income is taken in state taxes; Proposition One would have trimmed one-tenth of one per cent from that rate annually until 1990 when state spending would be set at 7 per cent of

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Walking the picket line

Steeling an election?

The United States Labor Department is filing a suit to overturn what it claims was a rigged election for the leadership of District 31 of the United Steel Workers last February.

In that election Ed Sadlowski challenged Sam Evett, the anointed successor of retiring Director Joseph Germano who had ruled since the steel union first came to Chicago and Gary.

Evett, an old Mine Workers' official transplanted to the CIO in the early days by John L. Lewis, had a lot going for him. He had been Germano's assistant director for the thirty-seven years of the district's existence and was known around the district. In those 37 years, there had never been a contest for the district leadership. But the Labor Department, after a thorough investigation, decided that some of Evett's advantages constituted unfair election practices. Among other things, the Labor Department charges that Evett supporters stuffed ballot boxes and denied voting rights to union members. Union staff and money were also employed illegally in Evett's behalf, according to the Labor Department.

With all of that, Sadlowski was narrowly defeated. By the official count, he won 48 per cent of the vote. A thirty-five year old international representative who came up through the ranks, Sadlowski ran a campaign on straight union issues: grievances, pensions and the right of the rank-and-file to vote on contracts. He also struck a responsive chord with his slogan "elect a steel worker," a direct slap at Evett's lack of experience in the steel mills.

Sادلowski now wants to make sure that the Labor Department follows through, and that new and fair elections are held. He is seeking a court order requiring the federal government to supervise the new elections. To fight the court battles, he has enlisted Joe Rauh and Chip Yablonski, the legal team which fought the long battle to democratize the Mine Workers.

There are no neutrals there

As its nickname indicates, "Bloody Harlan" County Kentucky has never been an easy mark for union organizers. But the United Mine Workers are back there

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Opposition to Shanker

Albert Shanker's elevation to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO met with some unlikely opposition from already seated Executive Council members.

According to *John Herling's Labor Letter*, Paul Hall, a leader in Labor for Nixon, led the fight against seating Shanker. He was joined by Joe Beirne of the Communications Workers; Paul Jennings of the IUE; Floyd Smith of the Machinists; C. L. Dennis of the Railway Clerks; Jerry Wurf of State, County and Municipal Employees; Peter Bommarito of the Rubber Workers; and Al Gropiron of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Frederick O'Neal of Actors' Equity abstained.

Clearly, some of those unionists are politically hostile to Shanker; others are rankled that the president of an international is being bypassed in favor of a vice-president and local leader. At least one of the dissenters was unhappy that Shanker is a prominent member of a non-union collective bargaining association, the National Education Association. All went against Meany's wishes in opposing Shanker, and that, Herling tells us, is virtually unprecedented.

—J.C.

trying to win back some contracts that were lost during Tony Boyle's reign as union president. And while there has been no bloodshed, the miners are finding resistance to a real union running almost as strong as it did in the bad old days of song.

Since the strike against the Eastover Mining Company at Brookside and Bailey's Creek, Kentucky began on August 1, the miners have had to confront an enormously rich company determined to avoid unionization. Eastover is a subsidiary of Duke Power Company, a North Carolina utility dependent on eastern Kentucky coal to generate electricity. Duke has brought in strikebreakers to keep the mines running and obtained a court injunction to prevent United Mine Workers' picketing.

The international union and the striking miners, however, are fighting back. When the anti-picketing injunction resulted in arrests, the wives of the jailed strikers took over the picket lines. With the arrest of the wives and even the children of the striking miners, community sentiment swung dramatically in favor of the unionization effort. Local and state politicians have sided with the UMW, and law enforcement officials have been careful not to provoke violence.

Meanwhile, the international is fighting to get the federal government to protect the lives and safety of the strikebreakers. There are, says the UMW, at least ten major safety violations in the Eastover mines. All have been cited by federal officials, but month after month, Duke Power has been granted "additional time" to correct the hazards. About ten days work in the mines would be enough to make them safe,

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AFL-CIO convention notebook

By DAVID SELDEN

This year's AFL-CIO convention included a number of events and incidents of interest to liberals and radicals.

Let me comment on a few.

- The turn-about of the AFL-CIO on the Equal Rights Amendment. Months prior to the convention, representatives of the International Union of Electrical Workers, the Newspaper Guild, American Federation of Teachers, Communications Workers, and a few others with large numbers of women in their memberships began a cooperative action to turn the AFL-CIO position around. Several weeks before the convention it became known that George Meany was ready to approve ERA; once the word was passed the rest was easy.

The unions which induced Meany and the AFL-CIO to change can generally be classified as liberal. Some of them were also in Labor for Peace—needless to say, not an AFL-CIO project. If a liberal bloc should ever be formed within the AFL-CIO—none is in the offing at the moment—these unions would certainly be included.

- Three new AFL-CIO vice presidents: Al Shanker of the Teachers, Sol Stetin of the Textile Workers, and Joe Tonelli, of the new, merged Paper workers. The trio runs the political gamut: Tonelli endorsed Nixon, Shanker stayed neutral, and Stetin campaigned actively for McGovern. Stetin and Tonelli were chosen unanimously for nomination by the Executive Council; Shanker was elected 18-8 with one abstention. There appeared to be no consistent unifying rationale among Shanker's opponents.

I found the choice of speakers at the convention interesting. Senator Jackson was paired with Senator Kennedy, and some people think this might be the AFL-CIO dream ticket for the Democratic Party in 1976. Both performed well, of course, and both were well received by the convention. But neither seemed to have the eloquence of a Jack Kennedy or an Adlai Stevenson.

Can a vice presidential candidate (Kennedy) who was at least halfway liberal on the war take the curse off a presidential running mate (Jackson) who was gung-ho all the way?

One interesting aspect of the convention, which could have a bearing on whether 1976 is merely a repeat of the unfortunate 1968 election or whether an effort will be made to prevent a left-wing defection, was the convention's treatment of intellectuals. Two days before the AFL-CIO convention was opened, the Council of AFL-CIO Unions for Professional Employees (CUP) was held. CUP (formerly SPACE) was formed to make the AFL-CIO interest in professionals more visible and to augment efforts to organize these elusive workers. After six years of effort, the

David Selden was a Teachers' union delegate to the AFL-CIO Convention.

Council is a going thing. Although not yet a full-fledged department, it will move into new headquarters in the new AFL-CIO building at the start of next year.

While "professional" is not exactly synonymous with "intellectual" there certainly is a great deal of overlap. It was with some surprise, therefore, that the delegates heard Mr. Meany single out intellectuals for special attack in his keynote speech. The keynoter was a spotty speech and it was probably written by more than one person. Its condemnation of Nixon was superb, but it was amusing to hear Meany forsake a section calling for a phony kind of oratorical bravura and revert to his own plainspoken style.

The attack on intellectuals was probably written by Mr. Meany's assistant in charge of right-wing socialists, Tom Kahn. The passage was qualified by such perfunctory disclaimers as "some intellectuals . . ." and "there are those who . . .", but its meaning was clear: smart-ass McGovernites, peaceniks, left-wing professors and liberals are not going to tell the American workingman what to do.

The reorganization of the federation is obviously going to change things quite a bit. It was agreed to offer the new post of Director of Organization to William J. Usery of the Federal Mediation Service. The director will be the third-ranking man in the AFL-CIO, just behind Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland. Usery, should he take the job, is something of a question mark. On the one hand, he's a nice guy, but he was a high Labor Dept. official under George Schultz and Peter Brennan. In that capacity, he lobbied furiously to line unions up behind the Committee to Re-elect the President. Very possibly, Usery will have moved the federation to the right within three or four years. □

Picket line . . .

(Continued from page 2)

according to the union. Quoting from the Federal Health and Safety Act of 1969, union officials are calling on the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration to close the mines until the hazardous conditions are corrected. "No one, union man or strike-breaker, should be forced by Duke Power to risk his life for higher company profits" says the *Mine Workers' Journal* in summing up the request.

The Mine Workers' leadership is investing heavily in the Harlan County organizing drive. Strike benefits run \$100 a week plus medical insurance for men with families. That kind of money won't be available for every organizing campaign, but as union Vice President Mike Trbovich has pointed out, the Eastover miners can be the cornerstone to organizing the 13,000 non-UMW miners in eastern Kentucky. And for the Miller-Trbovich-Patrick leadership, that's an important goal. □

Izzy

By PETE HAMILL

"I tell you, I really have so much fun, I ought to be arrested."—I.F. Stone.

There is a movie playing over at the First Av. Screening Room that should be shown in all the journalism schools, and the law schools, and perhaps even before the assembled houses of Congress. The movie is called "I.F. Stone's Weekly" and it's about an American who will never have to apologize for the life he chose to lead or what he did with his talent and his skill. I mean, of course, Mr. Izzy Stone.

"Now, in the job of covering a Capitol," Stone says, right at the top of the picture, "there are really certain basic assumptions you have to operate on. The first is that every government is run by liars, and nothing they say should be believed. That's a *prima facie* assumption, unless proven to the contrary. Secondly, a government always reveals a good deal, if you take the trouble to really study what it says."

That is pure Izzy Stone. He doesn't believe governments, but he also sits down and reads what they have to say. It is something he has spent his life doing. In the Thirties, he worked at the New York Post, writing editorials, practicing the craft he started working at when he was 14 years old. He moved on to PM, the Compass, the Star, and when the last of these folded on Election Night, 1952, Izzy went into business for himself. He started I.F. Stone's Weekly, with a circulation of 5300; it was the worst of the McCarthy days, but Izzy was doing what he does best.

"You know," Izzy says in this film, "when I started out I had two disadvantages, one physical, and one political. The physical disadvantage was that about 1937, I went to a doctor and he told me I was going deaf, and for a long time, I was deaf. As a result, I couldn't go to hearings, and I got the habit of going around the next morning and reading the transcript for myself.

"Secondly, since I was starting in a very hostile atmosphere, and people didn't believe what I was saying, and I had no inside information—and if I did have nobody would believe it—I had to present my material in a form that was documented from the government's own sources."

For 19 years he attacked the Cold Warriors, the racists, the liars in government, the people who were transforming America into a militarist nation, embarked on an imperialist course that would do the country no good. Few people listened; even at the peak of the Vietnam War, I.F. Stone's Weekly (later a bi-weekly) sold no more than 70,000 copies, a fraction of the readership of such thinkers as say, William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

It was Izzy Stone who busted the lie about what happened in Tonkin Gulf, and in the film we see Lyndon Johnson, Robert MacNamara and the rest of them retailing what they knew were lies, and when Johnson

signs the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, getting us into full-scale war in Vietnam, even William Fullbright is there, accepting the dirty pen from Johnson. By 1965, even the Washington establishment reporters were reading the weekly. (Random House has just issued a handsome anthology called "The I.F. Stone Weekly Reader," edited by Neil Middleton; it's a fine collection.)

"I told my wife years ago," Stone says, taking a drink at a party, "I said, 'Honey, I'm going to graduate from a pariah to a character, and then if I last long enough, I'll be regarded as a national institution.' They'll say, 'why of course, it's a free country: look at Izzy, look at Izzy Stone!'"

Izzy was, of course, right. He is now an institution. He doesn't write the weekly anymore; he does his long pieces for the New York Review. He is also beginning to receive the honors from the university, and there is a marvelous section of the film where Stone receives the George Polk Award. And he reminds everyone who George Polk was, and how he died.

"George Polk was one of those few American journalists who was not afraid to see beyond the murk of the Cold War to the agony and struggle of the Greek people. And he was murdered; he was the 'Z' of the 40s, murdered by the Greek police. . . ."

There is another brief interview with a man named Al Bernstein, a former official of the Union of Public Workers, which was driven out of business by the witch hunters in the 50s. He expresses his thanks and debt to Izzie Stone for keeping it all alive in the dark years. Then there is an interview with Al Bernstein's young son, who is a reporter. His son's name is Carl. All last year, he worked with a guy named Robert Woodward and busted open an entire government. I'd like to think he learned something of his craft from Izzy.

"People call me an investigative reporter," Izzy says. "I'm not really concerned with exposing or investigation, I've done some of that. What I've really been trying, very hard—it's nothing sensational and it's hard to put in a headline—is to understand more thoughtfully and to help others to understand.

"And to express it with some grace, and with some effort at beauty. I've always dreamed of an issue that'll be like a soufflé, erudite, and urbane, and witty and graceful, take all the junk of the news and make it sing, make poetry out of it."

Izzy comes closer to that goal than any of us. Go see the film, and then read the books, and you'll know what I mean. □

The New York Post rejected this article when Pete Hamill submitted it. We are proud and happy to print it with the author's permission.

—Editor

A special four page supplement

A labor program for the energy crisis

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

The key to meeting the current energy crisis—in the short run as well as in the long run—is public energy. That is already implicit in the positions of the AFL-CIO, the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Auto Workers (UAW). And it is specifically recognized in a remarkable amendment to the Oil and Gas Regulatory Act of 1973 which is sponsored by Senators Stevenson, Abourezk, Hart, Kennedy, McGovern, Metcalf, and Mondale.

Let me address myself particularly to the labor movement, the largest, best organized force that has concerned itself with this issue. Its members are the ones who, along with the unorganized poor, will suffer most if America deals with the energy crisis by having the Government subsidize the corporations which got us into this mess in the first place.

General Motors has already announced the "furloughing" of 80,000 workers in 16 plants; the airlines are laying off pilots, flight attendants and stewardesses, and will be reducing their maintenance crews. In all of this, as Frank Wallick put it in the UAW Washington Report, there is "not one word about how to get equality of sacrifice. The blame for our mess lies at the White House doorstep."

Indeed, under the cover of the energy crisis, the Nixon Administration is in the process of passing the oil corporations' legislative program—the destruction of environmental standards, Federal money to promote private technology, instant nuclear power—into law. Governor Love, director of Nixon's Energy Policy Office, told the Finance Subcommittee that he favored higher oil prices to encourage the industry to explore and produce—but did not mention that such a policy would be a discriminatory rationing program aimed at the non-rich majority of America. And Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton has announced leases of Federal oil shale land to the very private sector which, twenty years ago, blocked the development of oil shale technology because they feared it would interfere with their profits.

The jobs, taxes and well-being of working people of America are on the line.

Nixon's lie

Watergate is not the only issue about which President Nixon has lied. Energy is another.

At his November 18th press conference in Florida, Nixon said of the energy crisis: "I saw this coming and you know why I saw it coming? Not because of the Mid-East or the Alaska pipeline and the rest, but because this world with all of its problems is getting richer." And on November 8th, in his energy message, the President claimed: "We are running out of energy today because our economy has grown enormously and because in prosperity what were once considered luxuries are now considered necessities."

This is a blatant attempt to shift the blame from the Nixon Administration and the oil corporations it serves so well, onto the consumer. It is, on the public record, false.

Perhaps the best single statement on the problem was made by Arnold Miller, president of the UMW, last April:

"... we face an energy crisis today because government has failed to develop a national approach to our energy needs, but has instead allowed corporate interests to develop and supply the nation's energy in accordance with their instinct for profits alone. As a result we have become heavily dependent on unstable foreign sources of oil; we have failed to develop effective research to utilize our vast reserves of high sulfur underground coal; we have promoted a lop-sided commitment to the development of nuclear power which has consistently failed to develop its promised rewards; and we have permitted major oil interests to develop monopoly control of the major sources of energy on which we depend as a nation."

Let me simply add a few footnotes to Miller's excellent analysis. In 1959, President Eisenhower ordered

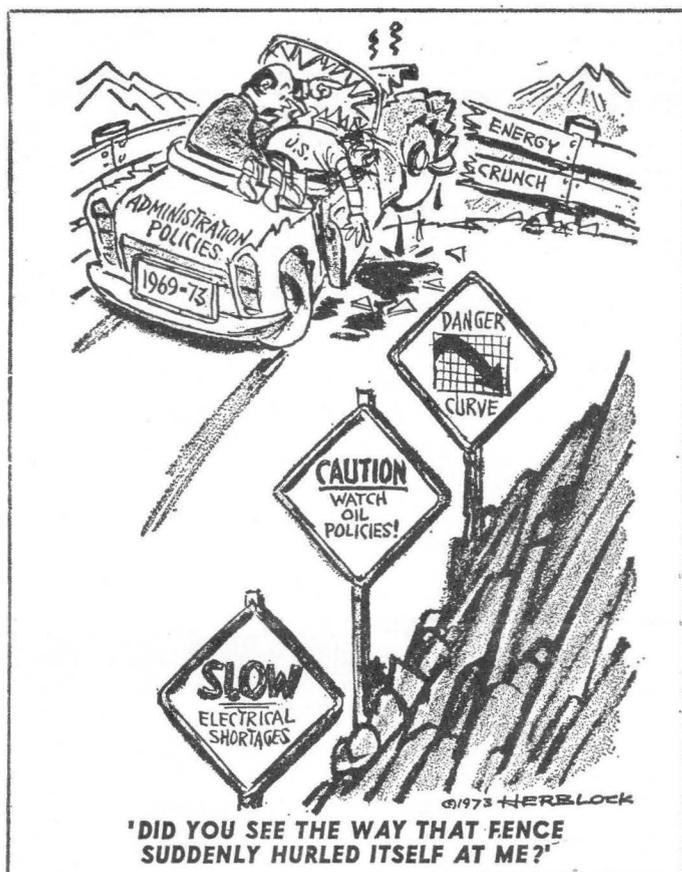
The oil companies took their super profits and let the public be damned

quotas on oil imports. That encouraged the industry to use up continental American reserves and thus made our present pinch more severe; it also meant that the consumer had to pay a higher price because of a government-encouraged monopoly. Professor M. A. Adelman of M.I.T. estimates that in the early '60's such practices were costing the American consumer \$4 billion a year.

We pursued this monopolistic, anti-consumer policy ostensibly in the name of national defense. In fact, as is now painfully clear, the companies simply took their billions in super-profits and let the public—and the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines—be damned.

In 1970, this policy was so obviously counterproductive that Nixon's own Task Force on Oil Import Control advised him to scrap the quotas. The President, who now claims that he saw this crisis coming, *refused* and listened to the profitable advice of the oil companies for two more years, until the crisis burst upon the public.

In dealing with the government, the oil companies were capable of either exaggerating or underestimating, depending on which would be more profitable, the extent of the shortage. In fact, the companies lied both ways to different government agencies. As late as the fall of 1972, the oil companies were assuring the Office of Emergency Preparedness that no shortage existed.



Thus, there was no need to revise oil import policy. At the same time, according to the testimony of an official of the Federal Trade Commission, Gulf, Union Oil of California and Continental Oil had submitted figures on their reserves "significantly lower" than the figures they were using for their own internal planning. That tactic was employed to justify higher prices and to avoid possible anti-trust action.

Finally, if Nixon saw the crisis coming, why did he cut \$8-10 million for the development of technology to reduce sulfur emissions from the 1974 Budget? And why did he impound \$20 million of the money that Congress voted for energy research?

At every point, Nixon played the corporate game, which was directed against the needs of the American people. After having paid at least \$4 billion a year for publicly supported monopolistic practices in the oil industry, all in the name of national defense, we find ourselves without fuel. What then should we do?

First, there should be a National Energy Planning Council. This has already been proposed by both the AFL-CIO and the Mineworkers. The NEPC should be heavily weighted with environmentalists, consumer advocates and with trade unionists—especially those like the Mine Workers and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, from the energy industry itself. The oil companies should be required to deal with the Council at arm's length, as appellants. We can no longer put foxes on the committee charged with the security of the henhouse.

The NEPC should develop an integrated national energy policy and present it to Congress for debate.

Secondly, there is urgent and immediate need for a number of measures (many of them proposed by George Meany) to safeguard workers and consumers right now. They include:

- a crash research and development program, along lines proposed by the Mineworkers, to turn abundant high-sulfur coal into environmentally benign energy;
- opposition to the stripmining of the West by private interests;
- full utilization of the present mining resources of America which exist in some of our most poverty-stricken regions;
- free mass transit within cities and between cities, as proposed by the AFL-CIO Convention in October, with massive funding from the Highway Trust Fund and other Federal sources;
- legislation providing worker and union participation in any decisions affecting employment;
- specific aids, including extended and improved unemployment compensation, for those hit by the emergency;
- a special utilities tax, imposed on those utilities allowed to relax the environmental standards. The tax should be based on the degree to which environmental standards are being violated. Thus, if Consolidated Edison were to begin burning high sulfur coal, the government would tax Con Ed on the amount of sulfur in the coal, making it highly unprofitable to defile the air in New York City;

- export controls that require the licensing of all exports of energy fuels;

- defeat of proposals to deregulate natural gas;

- rationing, if necessary, on the basis of need, not taxation or high prices which would strike at the poor and working people;

- elimination of the depletion allowance and of tax credits on foreign operations of the American companies.

These proposals are straightforward and to the point. One demand raised by George Meany is more complicated and deserves some explanation. "Corporations which receive windfall profits out of this emergency," Meany wrote Senator Jackson, "should be subject to an excess profits tax." That, of course, is simple justice. The problem is that the oil industry—abetted, as usual, by the Government—is the champion tax evader in the United States. It pays, tax expert Philip Stern tells us, 5 per cent corporate taxes; other corporations average 40 per cent. And it has already rigged its books so that its profits seem lower than those of the rest of U.S. industry. Therefore, the demand for an excess profits tax has to be expanded to include public investigation of the accounting practices of the industry. This could be a priority job for the Energy Council.

And Senator Mondale's amendment to the National Energy Emergency Act of 1973 must be made law. Mondale proposes that the President be required, if he decrees rationing, to "submit a system of price controls for any fuel which he deems it necessary to

ration; . . . future price increases would be allowed in amounts no greater than the extent of cost increases actually incurred." This might help to cut off profiteering at its source.

Toward public energy

These are some short run proposals to deal with the disastrous private domination of the nation's energy resources and the government's energy policy. For the long run, there must be a public energy alternative.

The reactionaries and the oil companies also favor a vastly increased Federal role. They want the government to subsidize the private malefactors who brought us to our present crisis. For the labor movement, federal intervention must be a step toward democratic and social planning of our energy policy.

The Right's program for energy development calls for the federal government to make massive investments in the development of new energy sources and then turn those resources and their profits over to the oil companies. As Senator Jackson's Interior Committee reported last March, in the energy development field, "the degree of risk of loss of investment is high, and the availability of risk capital is limited." That's why Nixon has advocated an energy authority in his proposed Department of National Resources. He wants a \$10 billion research and development program to socialize the risks while keeping the profit private.

The AFL-CIO and the UMW have opposed this approach, insisting that there be Tennessee Valley Authority-type development corporations which remain in public hands even after they accomplish their initial work. Stevenson's amendment to the Oil and Gas Regulatory Act is remarkable on precisely this point. It can—and should—provide a national focus for everyone concerned with the energy issue.

The U.S. Geological Survey, Stevenson notes, tells us that there are almost 500 billion barrels of oil and 2400 trillion cubic feet of natural gas in proven, additional and undiscovered American reserves, onshore and offshore. Of this staggering total, somewhere between 50 to 75 per cent are already federally owned. "In other words," Stevenson told the Senate, "the bulk of our vast domestic oil and gas resources are public resources. They are owned by the people. They should be developed by the people."

Therefore, Stevenson and his colleagues propose a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation that would "develop publicly owned oil and gas resources on federal lands to satisfy national energy needs rather than to maximize private sector profits."

The Stevenson approach meets one of the major corporate arguments head-on. In justifying their incredible profits—Exxon's third quarter earnings in 1973 were 80 per cent higher than in 1972, Gulf's were up 91 per cent, Mobil's 84 per cent and Royal Dutch Shell's (which has American participation) 274 per cent—the companies claim they need such bonanzas in order to finance new investments. The Chase Manhattan Bank, for instance, says that the industry will need \$1 trillion between now and 1985 (\$600 billion

for new investment, \$400 billion to maintain on-going operations). Therefore Chase (David Rockefeller is the President) wants the industry to double its profit margins of recent years.

But if, as Senator Stevenson proposes, the Government develops the resources on Federally owned land—and in the sea—then it would be the government which would make the investment decisions and finance them out of the publicly owned profits. The development of oil shale in the West is now economically feasible. A carefully worked out, TVA-type approach to that resource would not only respect the environment (by developing the field as a whole and according to a plan) but it could reinvest the gains in more and cheaper energy. Right now, 80 per cent of the investment in new energy sources comes from the retained profits of the private sector. That means that a

An odd couple

"The National Petroleum Council," the *New York Times* recently reported, is "an industry group that advises the President." The Council has officials of the Interior Department on its committees, which is a fine way to promote cooperation.

In the 1950s, there was a government program to produce oil from shale and coal. When the Eisenhower Administration came in, the Interior Department proposed to close down the shale project at Rifle, Colorado. The Department also asked the National Petroleum Council for its "advice"—which was, not surprisingly, that the government should close down research in an energy source which was competitive with the companies. As the *Denver Post* put it on October 5th, 1954, "If a jury of railroad presidents was asked to decide whether the trucking industry should be allowed to use public highways, there would not be much doubt what the verdict would be."

On November 28th, 1973, when Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton announced the leasing of Federal oil shale land to private interests, who was one of his chief advisors? Mr. Andrew Avarmides, deputy director of the National Petroleum Council. Avarmides was rather pessimistic with regard to Nixon's projections about energy "independence" by 1980. And he was not sanguine about shale oil either, commenting "It would take until 1985 or 1990 to make a significant contribution, say an equivalency of 250,000 barrels of oil a day." Avarmides did not mention the fact that it was his own organization which had labored mightily to keep the United States from developing shale technology twenty years ago.

An odd couple: the United States government and the National Petroleum Council. Would it be so bad if a National Energy Policy Council actually represented the people?

public energy approach would not lead us into another service-oriented, deficit-ridden public authority. In fact, beyond the initial investment to set it up, a public energy authority would not burden the tax payer at all.

Finally, a National Energy Policy Council could take a look at corporate wastefulness in related sectors of the economy. Take the huge, energy-swilling automobile as a case in point. In January, 1949, the UAW told the auto companies that there would be a growing demand for small cars and urged that they be produced. But the industry, which has higher profit returns than U.S. manufacturing in general because of these behemoths, waited until 1970 to market the Vega and the Pinto. One result of not listening to the UAW is that American cars are twice as heavy as, and consume twice the gas of, European autos. That is a major reason why our energy consumption is three times that of Europe. Attacking this problem intelligently—and socially—as the UAW understood a quarter century ago, could benefit American workers as well as the public and the environment.

All these questions must be made political. As this

energy crisis deepens, the American people must be educated to the truth: that it is the Nixon Administration and the oil companies which brought us into crisis; that they both propose to solve the emergency by placing the blame and the burden on the consumer and by socializing the risks and privatizing the profits of a new technology.

The programmatic alternative is public energy. The political alternative is a massive coalition, with the trade unionists playing a decisive role, which will sweep the Congress in 1974 and capture the White House in 1976.

In 1968 and in 1972, the war in Vietnam and related issues split the liberal-labor coalition to Nixon's advantage. In 1974 and 1976, the energy crisis could reunite that coalition against the common enemy, the corporate-government alliance which manufactured the energy crisis.

Nixon lied on Watergate, yes; and that was bad enough. But Nixon is lying to us on energy right now and that could have even more disastrous consequences than Watergate. That fact has to be made a basic political issues in this country. □

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Partylines: a Democratic Party roundup

"While the regulars are threatening to ignore the 1972 Convention mandate and the reformers are threatening to take the Party into a court battle and the press is drawing the wrong conclusions on who's who, some of the substantive disagreements on the [Mikulski] Commission seem to be melting into the possibilities for a compromise."—from the Sept. 1973 NEWSLETTER

Well, it happened. Maybe. At its October 27 meeting, the Democratic Party Commission on Delegate Selection and Party Structure approved compromise guidelines for delegate selection for the 1976 Convention unanimously. But there may be a hitch.

The guidelines seem quite reasonable. By outlawing quotas, the Commission may have buried that bugaboo once and for all. At the same time, the guidelines require that state parties adopt affirmative action plans. All the processes in the delegate selection process must be out in the open, and every step must be publicized. Slate-making is allowed, but no slate can claim to be the official Democratic slate and no slate can take a privileged position on the ballot. Every candidate for delegate must be listed by Presidential preference or as having no preference. And the state's delegation must reflect the will of the voters on Presidential preference, with no winner-take-all systems. On non-controversial subjects, the unit rule remains buried, and state parties are forbidden to exclude anyone on the basis of race, sex or economic status.

There are some problems. Unless a state party fails to submit an acceptable program of affirmative action, the burden of proof, in any challenge, rests on the challenger. The Coalition for a Democratic Majority got its way, at least partly; now 25 per cent of a state's delegation can be chosen by the state committee, just the proportion CDM lobbied for last spring. But there are conditions. The state committee must be geographically representative, must have no members elected before 1974 and must choose delegates reflecting the Presidential preferences of the voters.

On the whole the guidelines are fair and enforceable. They are almost certainly not the guidelines that any single group in the Party would have chosen on its own. But they were adopted unanimously.

Now the hitch. The labor regulars on the Commission voted for the guidelines on the Commission while making it clear that they have reservations which will be raised when the guidelines are reviewed by the National Committee. AFL-CIO COPE Director Alexander Barkan and DNC Chairman Robert Strauss both made it clear months ago that they consider the Commission's work reviewable. The Commission majority, led by Chairwoman Barbara Mikulski, disagrees. They argue that the Commission is a creature of the Convention, not of the Democratic National Committee. Since the Convention mandated its work,

they argue, Commission decisions can only be overturned by another Convention. Barkan and Strauss contend that the DNC has authority in the Party between Conventions and has the authority to review the work of the Mikulski Commission or anyone else. The counsel to the DNC agrees with the Strauss-Barkan view, and it is almost certain that the DNC will review the guidelines.

In reviewing the guidelines, no one's interest will be served by all out factional war. The reformers have given a little (on the use of quota language, on the challenge process, on the percentage of at-large delegates). If the regulars and the COPE forces can give as much, then, perhaps, the Party can end the internal battles of 1968 and 1972 and enter the Congressional races in 1974 unified and open.

So the Mikulski Commission has issued what looks like a good report, and if the DNC doesn't get nasty, there will be unity in the battered Democratic ranks. Right? Wrong! Even before the Commission on Delegate Selection was through with its recommendations, a fight was brewing over who'd be in charge of enforcing them. Strauss publicly indicated that he leans toward former New York Mayor Robert Wagner, while Mikulski insists that she is best qualified to enforce the rules at the '76 Convention. This looks like another regulars vs. reformers battle, and one that won't be resolved until early 1976.

Chartering the course

A 1974 interim Convention on a Party Charter is planned after the Congressional elections next year. The exact date and the city have not been chosen, but should be announced by the beginning of February. The Charter Commission, under the direction of former North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford, has been laying the groundwork for this project.

Despite some early warnings from Evans and Novak that Sanford and his Commission staff were "left ideologues" out to "Europeanize" the Democratic Party, the Commission has done its work quietly and cautiously. At its summer meeting in Fort Collins, Colorado, the Commission recommended:

- a post election date for the Convention. Some Democrats were afraid that a pre-election Convention would divide the Party, and possibly be the kind of alienating show that the 1972 Miami Convention turned out to be.

- a Convention limited to the Charter. At the 1972 Convention, the idea was broached of making the 1974 parley an "issues convention," to discuss the Party's position on a range of subjects. The Commission ruled that the interim convention should be limited to Charter issues.

On the latter point, the DNC, at its October 26-27 Louisville meeting, was more bold than the Commission with its left wing ideologues. The DNC ruled that, with its approval, non-Charter issues could be added to the agenda.

The Charter Commission now returns to its work of reviewing the sundry proposals for a Party Charter. It will report to the DNC early in the new year.

Jimmy Higgins Reports . . .

IMPEACHMENT TALK is still in the air, although impeachment has taken a back seat to the energy crisis in recent weeks. House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill, for instance, has told constituents that Nixon won't last another twelve months in office. O'Neill told organizers of an independent impeachment petition drive in his liberal Massachusetts district that the House Judiciary Committee would report out a bill of impeachment in April or May and that the votes are there to impeach and convict if Nixon does not resign. Unopposed in his last election, O'Neill has been under fire in Cambridge and Boston for his failure to take the lead on impeachment. His outspoken stance in recent weeks follows a petition drive in his district gathering over 20,000 signatures in less than two weeks.

THAT PETITION DRIVE is typical of the many grass roots efforts for impeachment that have been occurring since the Cox dismissal. And national organizations continue to move. The AFL-CIO has issued an excellent pamphlet—"Why Nixon Must Be Impeached Now" (available from the AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington, D.C.). And the American Civil Liberties Union has issued a pamphlet on what the individual citizen can do (available for \$1 from the ACLU, 22 East 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10016). The December issue of the *Machinist* will have a front

page editorial by IAM President Floyd Smith on impeachment. And a Lawyers Committee to Preserve the Constitution has been formed by some pretty conservative Bar Association types. Their conservative solution—impeach Nixon.

A FORD IN OUR FUTURE—It certainly looks that way. The Senate has approved him, the House Judiciary Committee has sent his nomination "without obstruction" to the lower chamber as a whole. Objections to Ford so far have centered around his personal integrity and his intelligence. Except for a few lone voices, Joe Rauh and Don Fraser of ADA, Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, and, yes, George Meany, no one seems to care that our next President could be an honest, not too bright reactionary. His civil rights record is a disgrace (and remember his home city has a black mayor), and as Joe Rauh has noted, Ford voted against "food stamps, legal services and child care, higher minimum wages, Medicare, OEO, public works jobs, public housing and rent subsidies." Not exactly an inspiring record. Maybe, the people working for a 1974 Presidential election will save us from some of Ford's "better ideas."

IMPEACHMENT SLOGANS have been reappearing on lapel buttons and bumper stickers. Some of the more creative slogans we've seen—"Impeach the Tape

Crisis of the labor movement?

The crisis of the labor movement resolution presented to the AFL-CIO Convention by Jerry Wurf caused a real brouhaha. The resolutions committee recommended defeat of Wurf's call for a special commission on the labor movement's problems. The committee report also castigated the failures of the resolution and challenged Wurf's figures on union growth. According to the committee, the resolution failed to recognize "the struggle inherent in maintaining growth in the face of unemployment and major employment shifts." The resolution also took "insufficient notice of efforts to eliminate jurisdictional conflict." Its final recommendation was a ceremonial charge to the Executive Council to "continue and intensify their efforts to search out old and new solutions."

Wurf had earlier written an article for the *Washington Post* on the labor movement in which he put a lot of problems out front. For example, he noted labor's inability to beat back Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and the various assaults of the Nixon Administration. Comparing the European and American labor movements, he noted that the U.S., with 25 per cent of its workforce organized, is least

unionized of the industrialized Western nations.

In another comparison to European labor, Wurf decried the illogic of the labor movement's balkanization. There are some 113 international unions bargaining for one-fourth of the labor force here; in France, West Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, 16 unions represent as much as 65 per cent of the workers. The National Education Association was also favorably mentioned in Wurf's article, while he criticized the Federation Affiliate, the American Federation of Teachers.

At the Convention, AFT Vice President Albert Shanker took Wurf to task on that point, claiming that such criticism will hinder the organization of teachers. Shanker repeatedly referred to the NEA as a non-union organization even though he is an officer of it and his union is seeking an AFT-NEA merger. Shanker also drew applause for knocking Wurf's "lengthy criticism of the entire labor movement."

One labor movement veteran commented, "It sounded like 1935 with Hutcheson [the president of the Carpenters at the time] and Green [AFL president] dismissing the need to organize the industrial workers."



Worm”; “Four More Days”; and “Impeach the Cox Sacker.”

“STOP LIBERAL ARGUMENTS COLD” with recorded speeches by our Acting Attorney General Robert H. Bork. Bork, whose red beard and “mod” lifestyle have attracted more attention than his politics, is more than the “philosophical conservative” he has been portrayed as in the daily press. He is an activist reactionary with strong ties to the Goldwater wing of the Republican Party. The “stop liberal arguments cold” line is direct from a newspaper ad offering the arguments of Bork, Milton Friedman, Ernest van den Haag and other Right-wingers against pernicious liberal institutions like child labor laws, the minimum wage and public schools. Bork authored the American Enterprise Institute’s report on the legality of ending busing for integration by Presidential action. A founding member of the now defunct Free Society Association (a post-Goldwater ideological grouping), Bork has also been involved with the Mont Pelerin Society, an international association of right (far Right) thinking scholars.

POCKETING THE DIFFERENCE? — Some secret Nixon contributors were both embarrassed and irritated when their names recently surfaced. They really didn’t want to be known as bankrollers for CREEP. And they were reportedly irritated because at least some of them gave a good deal more in cold cash (no receipts, please) than they were listed as having given.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT ISN’T WORTH the powder to blow it to hell—so opined former McGovern campaign strategist, Fred Dutton, last year. Well, we’re not sure what the price of powder is, these days, but Dutton evidently considers “blowing the labor movement to hell,” (in the form of opposing a struggling union of Chicano clothing workers), worth the handsome salary Willie Farah is now reportedly paying him to handle public relations. Farah is the stubborn pants manufacturer who has imported strike breakers and consistently refused to deal with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the union chosen by workers at several of his plants. Now, according to a *Wall Street Journal* item, Dutton “will present Farah’s side of the strike.”

WAS MCGOVERN A SOCIALIST—is the question raised by an article in the October *Fortune* in “The Ominous Forces in World Socialism.” Comparing the McGovern movement to the resurgent left in the socialist parties of Europe and Japan, the author A. James Reichley comes to some interesting conclusions. An important difference according to Reichley is that “the McGovernites never developed the close ties with organized labor that are enjoyed by many of the new socialists.” The article goes on to discuss the West German *Jusos*, the British Labour Party left, Francois Mitterand and other socialist leaders and insurgents. Reichley speculates that “within ten years, we [the United States] will find ourselves a capitalist island in an international socialist sea.”

WOMEN AT WORK are organizing in new ways and in impressive numbers. Recently, women in New York and Boston held organizing conferences to set up groups like Chicago’s Women Employed. There are hints that these fledgling groups may bargain collectively and become *de facto* unions for office workers. Official labor movement interest has been limited (though District 65 of the Distributive Workers co-sponsored the New York Conference), but women trade unionists may be a strong influence. A coalition of trade union women held a planning meeting in September in Chicago and is gearing for an East Coast conference of trade union women on December 8. Among the goals of the coalition—to reach out to unorganized women workers. The Philadelphia office of the Coalition is at 210 South 13th St.

WORKERS’ CONTROL is a hot topic in European politics, particularly where the social democrats are in power. Here, especially under Nixon, it hasn’t been such a hot item. But some people are coming together to talk about what industrial democracy in the form of self-management can mean for the United States. The conference, which was initiated by doctoral candidates studying the economics of labor-managed economies, is planned for January 12 and 13 in Boston. Conference director is Mary Van Sell, 196 Erie Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

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Elections...

(Continued from page 1)

personal income. The 0.1 per cent would continue to be shaved off that 7 per cent unless a two-thirds majority of the state legislature decided to forego the cut.

But given the unpopularity of taxes, the Reagan forces' 10-1 edge in financing and a special election (with its lower, ergo more conservative turnout), how can the defeat of Proposition One be explained?

We didn't see any groundswell of public support for higher taxes. Rather, the defects of Reagan's own campaign seem to account for the failure of the Proposition. Polls have shown that the Governor would probably fail in any attempt to either win re-election or challenge Democratic Senator Alan Cranston. Yet, the campaign linked the Proposition to Reagan personally, and the linkage to his 1976 Presidential hopes was obvious.

The issues involved here were also overly complex, and the voters showed their native shrewdness by rejecting a proposal they could not understand.

The political impact of this vote will be extensive. In addition to the Reagan setback, a unified Democratic State Central Committee led the public opposition. Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti (a probable gubernatorial candidate next year) tirelessly campaigned statewide against it, and (with an assist from former Governor Pat Brown) bested Reagan in a widely-viewed debate on public television's "The Advocates."

The tax fight is not over. One Assembly Republican leader will push a simplified version "that will wave a flag when spending gets too high," a description with much appeal. And John Burton, chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee and of the State Democratic Party, is proposing a liberal tax reform initiative for next year's election.

Burton's major reforms include: a \$6,000 income tax exemption for individuals, \$12,000 for couples; a cut in the state sales tax from 4 to 3 per cent; closing most tax shelters and loopholes; and large tax boosts for high income brackets, banks, insurance companies, and other corporations.

The Burton proposal has good prospects of major support from individuals in non-partisan groups, like the League of Women Voters and education groups, who came to understand this fall the possibilities of reforming state and local taxation. The Burton reforms, if adopted, would reintroduce income redistribution to the American political agenda—just two years after George McGovern's detractors celebrated its downfall.

—Craig Murphy
David Tam

New York—To me the election means we're entering the long winter of New York liberalism. Most liberals deserted the only genuine liberal in the election—Al Blumenthal. They expect to get something out of the Beame administration. I don't know what.

Even sadder is that only 41 per cent of the people voted—the smallest turnout in the city's history. People assumed Beame was going to win anyway and they were overwhelmed by international events, of course, but I also think the turnout represents the continuing decline of involvement in politics and I don't see anything on the horizon locally or nationally that will change that.

I'm most concerned about the effect on young people, those whose first vote was in '72, which was clearly a rigged election. Then they had a city election where Al Blumenthal couldn't force Beame into the open on any of the issues. I partly blame the press for that.

Issues were less important anyway because Nixon has brought politics down to the lowest common denominator, so people will settle for mere honesty. If a guy can serve out his term and not go to jail he's all right.

This country has always had these winters of liberalism and they've always been followed by spring but I don't see any signs of it—except maybe a crocus like Al Blumenthal. As for what liberals can do—the first thing to examine their consciences about what they've already done.

—Richard Wade

New York—Once the reformers had killed each other off, the election was over. Al Blumenthal was simply unable to capture people's imagination—which doesn't mean they're not interested in more liberal solutions. The mood of the Democrats was "safer with Beame" but not gung-ho for radical conservatism: Biaggi, for instance, went nowhere.

In a sense, Blumenthal was too sensible in talking about the facts of city financing—that is, that the city is dependent on the federal government. That fact makes municipal elections generally dull and Blumenthal didn't have the sparkle or the demagoguery to make this one interesting.

Besides, Watergate has focussed attention on corruption rather than the sober areas of policy; I notice it in myself. But I think the energy problems will mean fairly heavy unemployment in the next six to nine months. So far, no Democrat has been able to create a national campaign atmosphere, a systematic answer to the energy problem, maybe because no one's interested. It's all been "well, maybe we should have smaller car motors." Now rising prices when almost everyone's working is one thing, but unemployment is another, and when it comes it's going to return people very quickly to the issues.

—Gordon Haskell

Detroit—On January 1, Democratic State Senator Coleman A. Young, an experienced, progressive legislator, becomes this city's first black mayor, and a new charter takes effect, adding clout to the mayor's office, including firm control over the police.

Young's victory over former Police Commissioner John F. Nichols was unlike the election of black mayors in Atlanta and Los Angeles. Detroiters voted, as they have lived for more than a generation, black vs. white. Young picked up just enough of the "liberal" white vote to win in an election that brought out fewer than 55 per cent of the registered voters.

To the credit of both candidates, the campaign was relatively free of racial demagoguery. But if the choice had been made strictly on the basis of candidate qualification, Young would have won in a landslide.

The crisis in Detroit is economic. Whether Coleman Young, or any mayor, can reverse the flight of jobs and capital from Detroit is the question. The answer lies partly in Young's ability to unite the city on a common goal—the economic revitalization of Detroit.

For more than a generation, Detroit has been a colony of the auto industry—exploited ruthlessly by GM, Ford, Chrysler and their allies in the banking, real estate and business community.

The city has been stripped. No longer dependent on the city's labor pool, the decentralized auto industry is abandoning its colony. As the automakers leave, they are followed by other industry and business.

It's time that the auto industry put its money where its lip service is.

—Oscar Paskal