

A Populist Manifesto: The Making of a New Majority

By Jack Newfield

“...When the white workingman bitched about street crime, he was called a Goldwaterite by liberals in the suburbs...”



think of myself as neither a liberal nor a member of the current New Left. I think of myself as a populist, part of a political tradition that stretches back from Dr. Martin Luther King and Ralph Nader to Estes Kefauver, to the early CIO, to the muckrakers, to “prairie avenger” William Jennings Bryan, to Susan Anthony and Thomas Jefferson. I think of myself as part of a political school based on two old and simple goals: the more equal distribution of wealth and income, and the decentralization of power to ensure more citizen participation in making decisions.

I guess I have been working toward a populist stance at least since we made “participatory democracy” the central idea of the *Port Huron Statement*, the founding manifesto of Students for a Democratic Society, drafted in 1962. I continued to think of myself as a populist as I followed Robert Kennedy through the steel mills of Gary, Indiana, in 1968, and watched those tough Wallace voters transfer their trust to an earthy enemy of hunger and war. I felt the effort last year to save 69 homes in Corona was a pure populist cause—working-class Italians against Lindsay’s experts, the notion of community participation pitted against an abstract conception of progress.

Consensus liberals, the “problem solvers” like Humphrey, Brooke, Javits, Muskie, Tunney, Stevenson, and Rockefeller, seem to me fatally flawed by their lack of nerve and will, by their lingering faith in centralized bureaucracy, by their complicity in the Vietnam holocaust and in the perpetuation of the cold-warrior mentality, by their lack of original ideas, and by their failure to make important headway on any problems

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when last in power. On issues like the withdrawal of troops from Europe, conspiracy laws, and tax reform, liberalism has become indistinguishable from Nixonian conservatism.

The New Politics constituency appears limited to the white middle class, excessively preoccupied by nuances of style, and personality, and uninterested in working-class discontents. They suffer from issue nymphomania, racing from gay liberation one week to fighting over an unimportant district leadership on the West Side of Manhattan the next. They shirk the hard labor of doing coherent institutional and economic analysis without which they cannot get to the root of things.

The New Left, in its Weathermen, Panther and Yippie incarnations, seems anti-democratic, terroristic, dogmatic, stoned on rhetoric and badly disconnected from everyday reality.

Of all the political traditions of redemption available to us, populism seems best to synthesize the root need to redistribute wealth and the commitment to broaden democratic participation, a synthesis that could unite the poor and almost-poor with the young into a new majority for justice.

So the thesis of this essay is that America is ripe for a new urban populist politics, that daily life for millions of white workingmen has become a pain, and that contrary to Kevin Phillips and Richard Scammon, they are now open to anti-establishment alternatives to Wallace and Procaccino.

Since 1952, since Adlai Stevenson's time, the Democratic Party has slowly abandoned the needs of the white working class, the factory worker, the small farmer, the sanitationman, the millions who earn between \$6,000 and \$10,000 a year with their hands and suffer the boredom of drudgery.

With the honorable exception of Estes Kefauver, who broke his heart trying to teach his party the economic facts of life in the U.S., Democratic politicians aspiring to be President during the 1950s broke with the tradition of Roosevelt and Truman and stopped making bread-and-butter issues—jobs, housing, corporate price-fixing, tax evasion by the rich—the point of their politics. At the same time, academics like professors Daniel Bell and Seymour M. Lipset authored popular obituaries for radicalism. Everything important was solved, they announced, and predicted an optimistic future in which the only disputes

would be over means, not ends.

Satisfaction bordering on smugness became the mood of the liberal, middle-class world. The writers and thinkers turned away from the old economic concerns of the 1950s to take up essentially sociological and cultural questions like affluence, suburbia, status anxiety and the role of art in a mass culture. The best-selling books of this period were Daniel Bell's *The End of Ideology*; Vance Packard's *The Status Seekers*; David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* and William H. Whyte's *The Organization Man*.

Then came the revival of insurgent politics during the 1960s. But the power-liberals, the Bundys and the McNamaras and the Rostows and the Moynihans, made two large errors. First, accepting the end-of-ideology theory of the fifties, they tended to see social problems in terms of efficient management, rather than as a function of unequal wealth. A technocrat elite from Harvard and RAND were recruited to Camelot as the new "problem solvers." Vietnam is their monument.

The second blunder of the sixties, which I did not fully understand at the time, was the misconception of the domestic crisis as one of color and not of class. Instead of fashioning agencies and programs that helped everyone, black and white, programs like national health insurance, or a \$2.50 minimum wage law, or income guarantees, or tax reform that benefited blue-collar families, or creating more jobs . . . instead, the liberals put their energies into marginal programs aimed at blacks and paid for by the middle class; programs like school busing, and civilian review boards, and something LBJ called "an unconditional war to abolish poverty."

But it turned out to be something less. It turned out to be a patronage hustle for sociologists and consultants and a few black political operators. And it did not touch, much less fundamentally change, the lives of the black underclass.

But it did help generate what we would come to call the backlash, because there were no OEO programs in Corona or Bay Ridge, no storefronts offering legal services in Youngstown, no big grants to save decaying white neighborhoods in Hoboken or South Boston.

I cannot recall either Johnson in 1964 or Humphrey in 1968 campaigning on any positive or original ideas that might excite the almost-poor work-

ers, whose votes they took for granted. I can remember LBJ warning that Goldwater would drag us into a war in Asia; and Humphrey talking tough about crime and trying to please everyone on Vietnam. In 1970, the Democrats ran against Herbert Hoover, which was progress.

In contrast, George Wallace recently has been sounding like William Jennings Bryan as he attacks concentrated wealth in his speeches. "The present tax laws," he said in May, "were written to protect the Rockefellers, the Fords, the Carnegies, and the Mellons. The tax-exempt foundations these families have set up are unfair . . . the average workingman is tired of the Internal Revenue Service snooping in every item of his business."

The Kerner Commission Report in 1968 declared "white racism" was the heart of the matter. At the same time the banks and *Fortune* magazine's 500 leading corporations and the utilities and the insurance companies and the oil and pharmaceutical industries continued to make generous profits. But white workers were finding themselves unemployed, laid-off, powerless, worried about crime, unable to pay the hospital bills, unable to send their children to college, breathing poisoned air, working in unsafe and unhealthy conditions in mines, factories and construction sites, and furious about taxes and inflation.

From 1960 to 1968 liberal Democrats governed the country. But nothing basic got done to make life decisively better for the white workingman. When he bitched about street crime, he was called a Goldwaterite by liberals who felt secure in the suburbs behind high fences and expensive locks. When he complained about his daughter being bused, he was called a racist by liberals who could afford to send their own children to private schools. Meanwhile, the liberal elite repeated their little Polish jokes at Yale and on the Vineyard, and they cheered when Eugene McCarthy reminded them in Oregon that the educated people voted for him and the uneducated people voted for Robert Kennedy.

Liberal hypocrisy created a lot of Wallace votes in 1968.

The current economic system in America can fairly be described as socialism for the rich and capitalism for the poor.

There are ample funds for highways, farm subsidies (\$10 billion last year),

DIG BUSINESS

EXPRESS COMPANIES

FARMS

LEGISLATURES

CHAIN STORES

ELEVATORS

FACTORIES

THE WORKERS

ROADS

RAIL

TELE

GRAPH

PHONE

BETTER
REGULATION

VOTES

AFTER ART YOUNG'S
CARTOON "TIME TO BUTCHER"

John and David '71

“...There were no OEO programs in Corona or Bay Ridge, no storefront legal aid in Youngstown, no grants for Hoboken...”

Albany Malls, World Trade Centers, and \$80 billion each year for the Pentagon, which, in turn, takes care of the RAND Corporation and the General Dynamics Corporation. There are oil depletion allowances, untaxed Swiss bank accounts, federal regulatory agencies dominated by the corporations they are supposed to watch, and tax-free foundations. Over 300 Americans with incomes of more than \$200,000 paid no income tax at all for 1970, according to Congressman Henry Reuss of Wisconsin. Governor Ronald Reagan paid not one cent in state tax last year, although he drew from the state \$76,500 in salary and perquisites. This year the Congress voted \$200 million in subsidies to shipbuilders, while it refused to appropriate \$5 million to prevent and treat lead poisoning in slum children.

Meanwhile, the myth of affluence fostered in the fifties has been shattered. More than 25 million American citizens are living in poverty, according to the Department of Labor's own statistics, and estimates by Michael Harrington and others run as high as 40 million. In New York City alone, more than a million people today live on welfare. More than 60 per cent of white families in New York City earn less than \$9,400 a year.

On May 7 of this year the Census Bureau reported that the number of poor people in the nation increased last year for the first time in a decade. Two-thirds of the total are white. Another 7 million white families earn between \$5,000 and \$7,000 a year, just above the welfare level. And this is before taxes.

(It must be noted, however, that while one in ten whites lived in poverty, one out of every three blacks was below the poverty line of \$4,000 a year for a family of four.)

Another recent Census Bureau study showed that the purchasing power of the typical American family did not increase last year, for the first time in a decade.

These two indexes, coupled with the inexorable rise in unemployment, suggest to me that populism is again on the agenda of domestic politics.

(The Harris Poll of July 1, 1971, revealed that 62 per cent of white people held the view that “the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer.”)

What might a modern populist movement sound like? What would be its analysis and its priorities? Let's look at a half-dozen issues, six critical domestic problems, and consider specific programs and remedies.

I—Redistribution of wealth and income.

First some boring but obligatory data. According to Gus Tyler's excellent paper “The White Worker,” the bottom fifth of the nation's families in 1968 received 5.7 per cent of the country's income; the top fifth received 40.6 per cent.

This maldistribution has been getting worse, not better. In 1949, Tyler says, the richest 1 per cent of the nation owned 21 per cent of the wealth. In 1956, this rose to 26 per cent. Today the top 1 per cent own more than 37 per cent of all the wealth.

So the first plank in my populist platform would be a demand for radical restructuring of all our tax laws. Currently, the poor and the middle class pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes than do the richest 1 per cent of the population. This system not only perpetrates the inequities, but helps make the white middle class conservative, since they are in fact paying more than their fair share of the bill for welfare, open admissions and other programs they oppose.

The super-rich manage to get richer through many complex exemptions, loopholes, and privileges written into the existing tax laws—capital gains, unreported dividends and interest, expense account gimmicks, sacred cow tax shelters for churches and other institutions, depletion allowances and import quotas. Most giant oil companies pay less than 6 per cent in taxes on their billions in profits, thanks to depletion allowances.

The remedies seem self-evident. Close the loopholes, tax church and foundation property and incomes, end the oil and gas depletion allowance, greatly increase the taxes of the super-rich on inheritances, property, estates, stock transfers, bank and insurance company assets. Concentrations of wealth should not be passed along from generation to generation, to people who have never had to work for their millions, but scream about putting the “welfare chisler” to work.

Again, let me stress I am talking about ending the monopoly the rich have on socialism. The wealthiest citizens, the biggest foundations and the most monopolistic corporations must be made to pay their share. I am in favor of lowering taxes on the policeman from Queens, and the dock worker from Brooklyn, because only on fairness can we build a new majority for justice.

The Liberals at Home—Too Little

A few months ago John Kenneth Galbraith was possessed by a radical idea. The Democratic Policy Council, he thought, should actually have a policy. So along with the Reverend Joe Duffey, Curtis Gans and Gloria Steinem, Galbraith drafted a position paper for the council's approval.

The paper was unique in that it was specific. Among other things, it recommended the abolition of oil depletion allowances and other glaring tax inequities. It urged the “nationalization of the large specialized weapons firms.” And it advocated “a system of family income guarantees.”

But the Policy Council is dominated by Washington lawyers—“locusts who invade the Democratic Party”—in Galbraith's phrase. So the paper was studied, debated, discussed, praised—and finally ignored.

“Nobody wanted to be seen voting against it,” Galbraith says, “so it was just postponed and tabled. Hubert even wanted to appoint a committee to study it.”

The major advocate of the Policy Council's not having a policy was Harry McPherson, who was supposed to be one of the last liberals in LBJ's Alamo. Galbraith's notions were so specific, he argued, that they should be voted on only by experts.

Like Rusk? Like Bundy? Like Rostow? Like Moynihan?

Galbraith, however, plans to persist in asking the Democratic Party to define itself before the next national election.

“The Democrats want to get back into office without ever differentiating their economic policies from Nixon's,” Galbraith says. “If that happens, then we'll just come back to power and put Rusk and Douglas Dillon right back in the Cabinet. That just won't do.”

—J.N.



Liberals

Edward Ford '71

II. Control of the giant corporations.

The biggest corporations have become too powerful, too rich, and are not accountable to anyone. General Motors' annual revenues last year, \$18.8 billion, were larger than the budgets of 100 countries in the world. Chase Manhattan Bank has \$25 billion in assets. Standard Oil has \$19 billion in assets.

The giant corporations help write the tax laws, dominate the regulatory agencies that are supposed to be the independent eyes of the consumers, and they elect senators and make Presidents. Between 1960 and 1970, corporate profits, after taxes, increased by 88 per cent.

These same corporations manufacture unsafe cars that kill people. They also pollute the air and water with carbon monoxide, mercury, lead, and other contaminants. They fix prices, manipulate our appetites, deceive us

in their advertisements, put poisonous chemical additives in our foods, ignore antitrust laws with constant mergers that eliminate competition, and continue to sell us badly made and overpriced products. "Crime in the suites," Ralph Nader calls it.

There are various ways to rectify this situation, some sounding conservative, some sounding radical.

First, I would ban all mergers by any of the 500 largest corporations, break up all existing oligopolies, and actually start putting corporate executives in jail whose companies break antitrust laws and pollute the environment.

Second, I would re-invigorate the federal regulatory agencies. I would make Robert Townsend chairman of the SEC; Nicholas Johnson chairman of the FCC; Bess Myerson chairman of the FDA; journalist James Ridgeway

chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, and Ralph Nader chief of the Justice Department's antitrust division. I would appoint Richard Ottinger and Pete Hamill to the state Public Service Commission. I'd also create a separate court to try business crimes committed in regulated industries.

Third, a good dose of workers' control is needed to democratize decision-making and make sure profits aren't the only corporate value. The staff of *Le Monde* in France and *Der Spiegel* in Germany now have a voice in editorial policy, and it has made for better publications. Worker councils in Yugoslavia seem to be successful. The only way to stop coal miners from dying of the black lung, and textile workers from suffering brown lung, is to empower them to allocate a certain amount of profit for the protection of their own safety and health.

“... Maldistribution of wealth in the U.S. is getting worse, not better. The top one per cent now own 37 per cent of the wealth ...”

And last, I would draft legislation to compel all corporations with Defense Department contracts to set aside 25 per cent of all profits for re-conversion planning. There is no reason why Republic and Grumman can't build housing. And no reason why aerospace and electronics workers should face unemployment if we finally end the endless war.

III. A constructive effort to reduce crime.

The right wing has grown fat on this issue. Careers have been made by politicians who act like they are running for sheriff of Tombstone.

This has happened partly because the liberals and the radicals have abdicated. The New Left has no program to combat crime. Students call cops “pigs” while they holler racist at anyone who calls a Vietnamese a “dink” or a “slope.”

The liberals ignored the very real problems of street crime. They called it a euphemism for racism, until crime became a menace in their own middle-class neighborhoods. Some ambitious liberal politicians behaved shamelessly, joining the mindless search for scapegoats. Hubert Humphrey came out against strict gun control legislation. So did Frank Church and Eugene McCarthy. Senator Tydings of Maryland introduced a preventive detention bill. Adlai Stevenson III named Thomas Foran, the enthusiastic prosecutor of the Chicago Eight, to be honorary chairman of his Senate campaign. John Tunney praised the FBI and damned permissiveness, pot, and pornography in dozens of campaign

speeches in California last autumn. Ed Muskie and Birch Bayh voted for a probably unconstitutional and definitely repressive anti-riot law.

But violent street crime continued to increase in the absence of any constructive legislation. In most places all that was done about crime by those in power was to add more policemen to the force. Policemen, however, do not actually prevent crime, as the “job action” by New York City's police earlier this year helped demonstrate. All they can do, most of the time, is make arrests, after the fact, which in turn only swamp the already inadequate courts and prisons which are underfunded by the law-and-order yahoos and are ignored by the press and reformers.

So the first step I would take to effectively reduce crime (short of eliminating poverty and heroin addiction) would be to give prison reform absolute priority. Eighty per cent of all crimes are committed by recidivists—by men and women who have been arrested before. Jails and penitentiaries are the places where we might actually rehabilitate the individual criminal. But our entire “correction” system is based on the Puritan concept of punishment rather than on rehabilitation. New York City last year spent less than 1 per cent of its \$840-million criminal justice budget on rehabilitation programs. Corrections Commissioner George McGrath requested less money for rehabilitation this year (\$3.2 million) than he asked for last year (\$3.5 million). His new budget sought \$2,000 for libraries, and \$200,000 for consultant fees.

Only through vocational training classes, job training and placement, psychiatric care, half-way houses, reading and writing classes, better probation, parole and work-release programs can we possibly prevent last year's mugger from becoming next week's murderer. We must stop treating criminals like garbage to be dumped as far away as possible, and then forgotten.

IV. Democratize the concentrations of power in the mass media.

This is a classic populist issue, but, as with crime, the left has abandoned it. Vice President Agnew seized on a legitimate injustice and distorted it, yet his essential point is correct: a handful of rich, white individuals do control all the mass media's outlets.

Among daily newspapers today, 1,483 cities have monopoly ownerships, and only 64 have competing ownerships. Only New York, Washington and Boston have three competing dailies. All news is transmitted through national monopolies, the telephone and telegraph systems. There are two centralized news services, and three television networks. In 90 cities, a single monopoly owns both the daily paper and the local television station.

Agnew delivered his fiercest attack on the *Times* and the *Washington Post* in Montgomery, Alabama, where there is a newspaper monopoly which he did not mention. He did not mention that the Newhouse chain owns dailies in Mobile and Huntsville, a television station, an FM station and an AM station in Birmingham, and a CATV franchise in Anniston (and 22 other papers around the country). Nor did Agnew refer to the conservative publishing empires of Hearst and Annenberg, or to the conservative media complex owned by the *Chicago Tribune* that includes the *Daily News* and WPIX in New York. And he neglected to mention Robert Wells, the owner of seven newspapers and four television stations, whom the President has just appointed to the FCC.

The usual liberal criticisms of television tend to concern content rather than access or ownership: less violence, less censorship, better children's programming, more muckraking specials like “The Selling of the Pentagon,” fewer reruns, and equal time provisions that help the Democrats, but not George Wallace or Tom Hayden.

A populist program to redeem television would be based on the concept that the airwaves are owned by the

The Liberals Abroad—Too Much

The Pentagon Papers add only a Balzac-like texture to our understanding of the corruption of liberals in power through the fifties and sixties. The wise men paraded through the pages of *The New York Times*—McNamara, Rusk, Taylor, Rostow, and the Bundy boys—were all appointed by John F. Kennedy, who also gave us Douglas Dillon, John Connally, and LBJ.

The charter for the Vietnam war can be found in JFK's Inaugural Address:

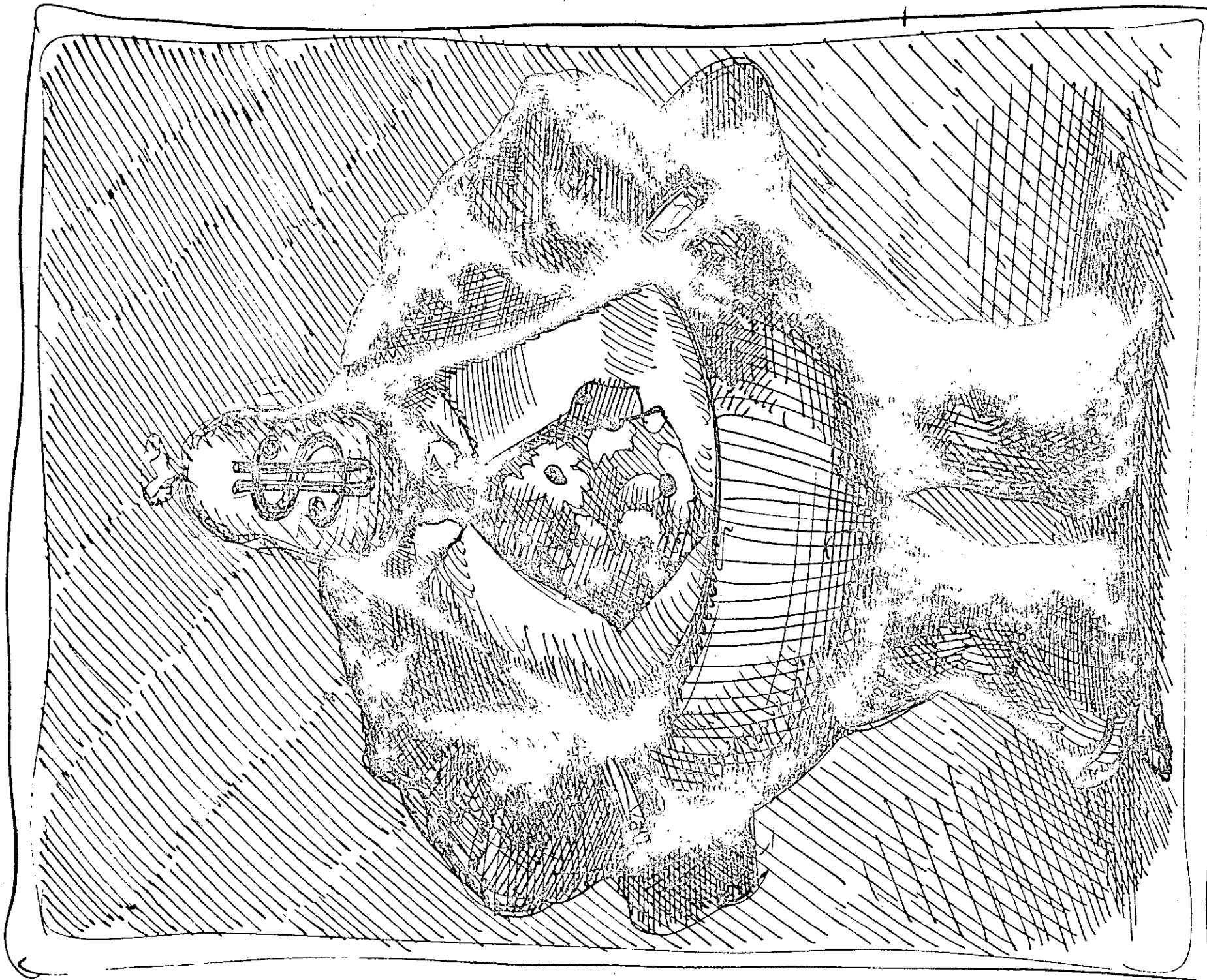
“Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

The basic lesson of the Pentagon Papers is that liberalism is no protection against murder and lying on a global scale. It merely provides more Orwellian rationalizations.

The final irony of the liberals' war is that we keep rewarding our war criminals: McNamara to the World Bank, Humphrey back in the Senate, Bundy on top of the Ford Foundation, Westmoreland to the Joint Chiefs.

The Berrigan brothers, of course, are safely in jail.

—J.N.



The "Brains" (after Mast)

John and Wood

"...The New Left has no program. Students holler "racist" at anyone who calls a Vietnamese a dink or a slope..."

people, not the corporate broadcasters or the corporate sponsors, and certainly not the government in power at the moment. NBC is just a trustee of the airwaves, GM just a renter of time.

First, we must decentralize ownership by using the antitrust laws to break up the conglomerates that dominate the media. RCA, a major Defense Department contractor, owns NBC, and owns Random House, which owns Pantheon and Knopf. CBS owns Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Columbia Records, Creative Playthings (toys) and the Yankees. The Times Mirror Company owns the *Los Angeles Times*, World Publishing Co., New American Library, *The Dallas Times Herald*, *Newsday* and some CATV franchises.

Citizens must have greater access to television. One way to do this would be to provide a free hour of prime television time every week to any organization of, say, 10,000 people. This would mean that the Fortune Society, block associations, women's groups, the PBA, Health-Pac and community organizations could prepare their own programs.

Other possible reforms: provide federal subsidies for community newspapers; give cable television franchises to indigenous community and civic groups, instead of to conglomerates backed by Time Inc. and Howard Hughes, as Lindsay has done in Manhattan; provide an hour of free air time each week for viewers to rebut or attack programming; require all television stations to make available free and equal time to all candidates during the election season, and refuse to sell time to candidates; develop a television equivalent of WBAI—a nonprofit, listener-owner channel; and perhaps most importantly, give television licenses to local stations owned by blacks, Indians, Eskimos, Polish-Americans, etc., since there are none operating today.

In short, create diversity through competition in programming and broad citizen participation.

V. Establish a system of national health insurance.

Only the very rich can buy satisfactory health care. The poor can't afford doctors, and every working class family knows that one serious illness can wipe out its savings.

New York City has a segregated two-class hospital system: private hospitals with modern technology and excellent care for the affluent, and dirty, rundown municipal hospitals for the poor.

Life should not be for sale. Medicaid

and Medicare have failed to remedy the inequities. They don't help the almost-poor, and they have inflated doctor and hospital costs. The chief beneficiaries of these programs have been the big pharmaceutical companies, the insurance companies like Blue Cross, and the hospital-supply companies—the medical-industrial complex. Last year, despite the economic chaos, the drug industry spent \$800 million on public relations and advertising and still showed a 10 per cent increase in profits.

The short-run answer is one class of medical care under national health insurance. A Harris poll in April showed that more than 60 per cent of the country wants it. And national health insurance would most directly help those families who are employed but don't qualify for Medicaid and can't afford private insurance.

Ted Kennedy has introduced, with fifteen co-sponsors, the 1971 Health Security Act (S3 and H.R. 22). This legislation would provide comprehensive protection for every citizen, including unlimited hospitalization, surgery, preventive and ambulatory care, unlimited nursing home care, comprehensive dental care for all children under fifteen, and cover the cost of all prescription drugs. These benefits would be financed under Social Security, with the employee contributing 1 per cent out of his salary, and the employer and the federal government each paying 3 per cent. (Nixon's proposals in the field would just amount to a windfall for the insurance industry.)

Until Kennedy's bill is enacted, the poor will get sick, the sick will get poor, and the medical-industrial complex will continue to get rich.

VI. Curb the power of the utilities.

Con Edison is a monopoly. In exchange for this special privilege the company provides its consumers with blackouts, brownouts, power cutbacks during the summer and pollution of the air and water. (Con Ed is responsible for 40 per cent of the sulphur dioxide we inhale.) It also provides rate increases, exaggerated bills, and shuts off service if you complain.

The New York Telephone Company is also a monopoly. For that special status the company gives consumers no dial tones, wrong numbers, busy signals for information operators, pay phones that don't function and don't return your dime, and exaggerated bills. It also demands cash deposits from poor people, cooperates with the FBI in

illegal taps on private citizens, spends millions each year for newspaper ads and public relations, doesn't answer letters of complaint, and bills customers for wrong numbers. The only stockholder in the New York Telephone Company is AT&T, one of the biggest Vietnam war contractors. Last year, despite deteriorating local service, the telephone company paid AT&T \$202.7 million in dividends. In February of this year the telephone company asked the PSC to approve a new 29 per cent rate increase.

The usual consumer tactics—writing letters to legislators, trying to reform the PSC, not paying bills—have been ineffective.

So the answer, then, is to go to the root of the problem and end their monopoly status.

The most realistic way to accomplish this would be to municipalize them. This is the way it works in Los Angeles, and their utility rates are about half of New York's. City ownership would also pinpoint accountability. The mayor would feel compelled to improve service because the voters would hold him responsible. With a private monopoly, there is no accountability or retribution for ineptness.

The programs suggested here are not meant as a fixed blueprint. They merely try to suggest redistribution of wealth and power as the pivot of social change.

These ideas will not prevail without considerable social conflict. Their implementation will not be guaranteed merely by electing a Good Guy to the White House in 1972. They can triumph only as part of a larger movement that transcends party and personality and doesn't wait for national elections to energize itself.

The purest avatars of the movement I am talking about are organizers like Ralph Nader, Cesar Chavez, Jesse Jackson and Saul Alinsky. But there are also politicians who have advocated populist programs in the last three years, and who have won elections; Governor Gilligan in Ohio; Senators like McGovern, Harris, Kennedy, Proxmire and Hughes; Congressmen like Wright Patman (when the Republicans are in power), Dellums, Abzug, Reuss, Badillo, Drinan and Conyers; municipal figures like Abrams and Kretchmer.

All I argue is that these ideas are politically feasible, and if translated into policy, they would help a majority of people live a more humane life. That is all politics can do.