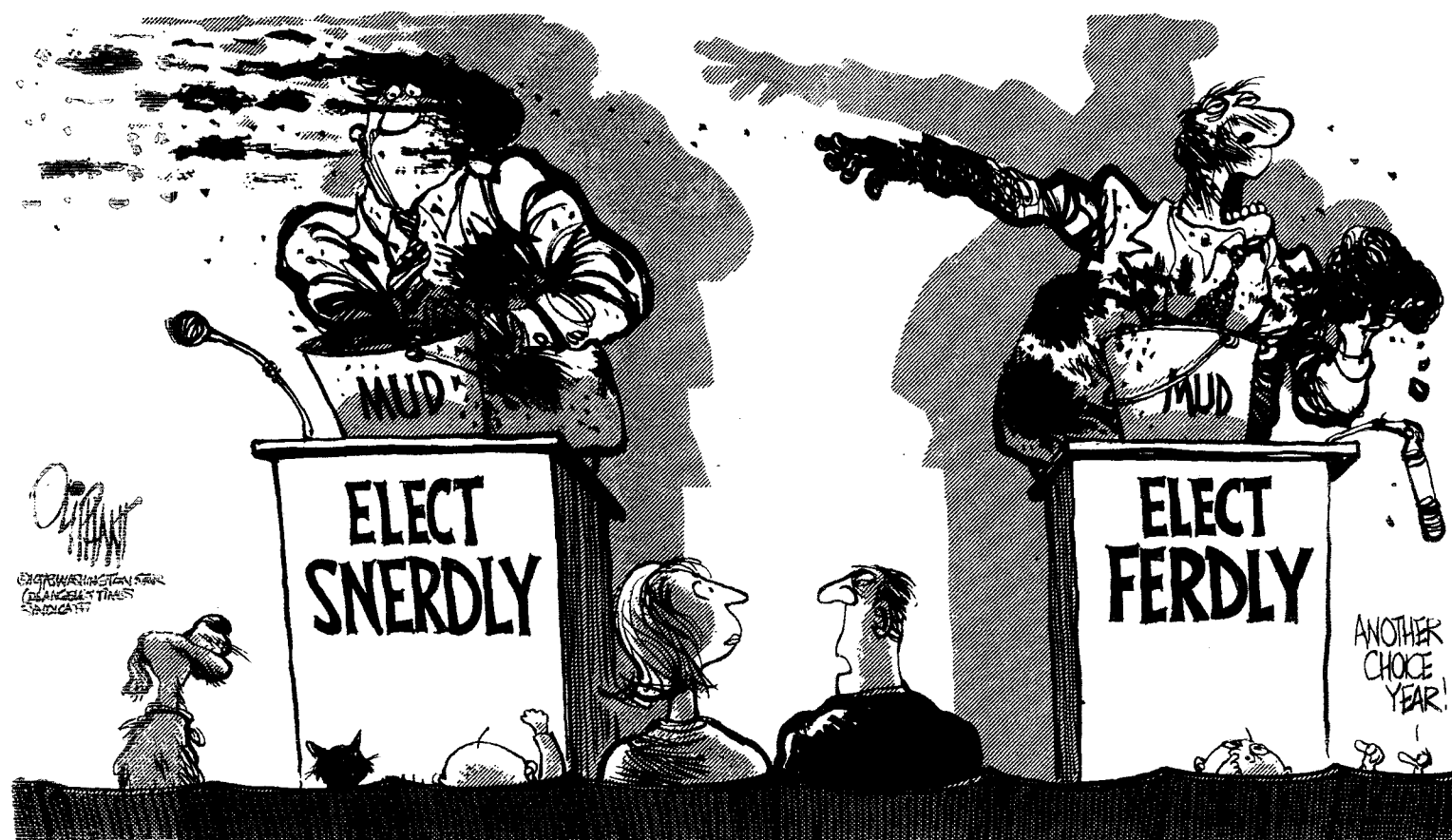


IN THESE TIMES

## EDITORIAL



'SNERDLY IS A PLAYBOY INCOMPETENT, BUT FERVENTLY IN FAVOR OF TAX-CUTTING, AND FERDLY IS A BRIBE-TAKING CROOK, BUT FERVENTLY IN FAVOR OF TAX-CUTTING--AND THAT'S ALL I'VE HEARD SO FAR!'

## Johnson, Nixon, and now Carter

Once again, a loyal, "stable" ally, cast in the role of a "regional" counter-revolutionary policeman, has been overtaken by revolution and anti-American movements.

Once again, as the Carter administration's response to the Iranian people's revolt against Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi's autocracy shows, the American foreign policy establishment is defining the "national interest" as requiring support for an autocrat against democratic revolution.

What genuine American national interest would be threatened by a victory for democracy in Iran?

Would oil stop flowing? No. A democratic Iran would be no less interested than the shah in trading its oil for western technology, goods and services. Continued American attempts to keep the shah in power can only make Iranians more bitter toward the U.S. and incite recurrent upheavals that will disrupt the flow of oil and raise its price.

Would Iran become a "satellite" of the Soviet Union? No. Despite scare headlines, no responsible observer believes the Soviets have anything to do with the present revolt. The administration concedes as much.

On the contrary, the Soviet government, and more recently the Chinese government, have cultivated cozy relations with the shah. Except for the tiny and uninfluential Tudeh (Communist) party, Iranian opposition forces—from the National Front of Karim Sanjabi to the Moslem movement of Ayatollah Khomeini to "Marxist-Leninists" in the underground—are unanimously opposed to Soviet influence, as well as American.

Would a democratic Iran become a military threat to its neighbors? The U.S., through massive arms sales, has already made it such a threat. Along with demands for a parliamentary democracy, release of political prisoners, and social justice, one of the chief objectives of the Iranian opposition is to stop the squandering of billions of oil dollars on arms and their allocation instead to economic development and a more equitable distribution of income among the people.

American government support for the shah means imposing a regime resting on military force; a regime that has systematically suppressed popular liberties, out-

lawed all political parties except the shah's, banished religious leaders, jailed and tortured opponents, censored and banned the press and outlawed independent trade unions and strikes.

This is the regime installed by the CIA and American oil companies in 1953-54, in a coup against the National Front government of Mohammed Mossadegh, which had sought to establish parliamentary democracy and to use Iran's oil wealth for peaceful development.

Since then the shah has depended on American advisers to train his army and his secret police (SAVAK), and on American arms to suppress his opponents. He has turned control of Iran's economy over to multinational corporations like Exxon, General Motors, Bell, Xerox, B.F. Goodrich, Reynolds Metals, Caterpillar, Continental Telephone, and to the thin stratum of Iranian businessmen and bureaucrats tied into the corporate largesse.

Is it any wonder, then, that the Iranian democratic movements—whether Moslem, liberal, or Marxist—identify the shah's autocracy with American imperialism?

As a candidate, President Carter denounced huge American arms contracts with Iran (estimated at about \$20 billion since 1972). After his election he emphasized the primacy of morality and human rights in American foreign policy. Yet as President, he has continued the arms sales, appointed another CIA covert operations expert, William Sullivan, to succeed the CIA's Richard Helms as American ambassador in Tehran, proclaimed the shah America's loyal ally, "beloved of his people," and now declares full American support for the autocrat against the Iranian people. Shades of John Foster Dulles awarding medals to Cuba's Batista and the Dominican Republic's Trujillo in the 1950s, and Lyndon Johnson's dubbing Vietnam's Diem "the Churchill of Southeast Asia" in the 1960s.

The U.S.-Iran connection typifies the way in which the relations established by the American government with most other developing countries remain frozen in the imperial and anti-democratic mold of "cold war" diplomacy. At first justified on the grounds of "containing" international communism, it is now little more than a transparent cover for multinational corporate *realpolitik*.

Support of regimes like the shah's has nothing to do with the American people's real interests, which are to encourage democracy and self-determination among the nations, to establish friendly relations and foster trade and cooperation with other peoples, and to secure their respect for an American commitment to social justice and human rights.

Carter's policy in Iran serves none of these interests. It makes a mockery of American human rights professions. Again, it identifies the American people with reaction against the national and democratic aspirations of people in de-

veloping countries. And Carter's policy could lead to another Vietnam-type adventure. American intervention in Vietnam began with far fewer than the 40,000 American "advisers," technicians, and business executives now in Iran, and far less military material than is now in the shah's hands.

If the President will not stop this pro-shah policy, then as with Angola, Congress should be pressured to require him to do so. That may not be in the interests of the big corporations operating in Iran, but it would serve the real interests of the American people. ■

## Still waiting for lefty

Whatever trends may be discerned from the 1978 elections, one indisputably stands out from all the others: continuing massive voter abstention.

Voter participation has been declining since 1960 in spite of the enfranchisement of blacks and of 18-21 year-olds since then. Of the over 150 million Americans eligible to vote, about one-half turned out in the presidential election of 1976, and less than two-fifths in the election this year.

In effect, the American political system is an affair of a minority of citizens, not of majority rule. And the minority is heavily weighted toward higher incomes and strong stakes in the status quo.

The American electorate does not represent a cross-section of the American people. For this reason, and for others such as the power of wealth in choosing candidates and defining issues, Americans cannot be said to be self-governing. Or, in the words of the distinguished political scientist E.E. Schattschneider, we are a *semi-sovereign* people, if that.

It is no coincidence that voter disgust and abstention has gone along with the disintegration of corporate liberalism (See John Judis' *Inside Story*, page 2), and the absence of a clear democratic left alternative in the electoral arena. This has given the right a clear field to define the issues. But voter disgust and abstention clearly indicates that millions of Americans view a choice between obsolescent liberalism and right-wing reaction as no choice at all.

It is significant that in areas like Missouri, Michigan, Philadelphia and Seattle, where labor and the left forcefully entered the electoral arena to defeat right-to-work and conservative tax initiatives or to stop anti-labor or racist politicians, people came out to vote against the right in large numbers.

Americans are, as the polls reveal, watching and waiting for a political movement that offers viable programs for dealing with inflation, unemployment, taxes, political and economic democratization—programs that only a democratic left can offer. But that means a left that is not afraid to challenge the sanctities of the "free market" with programs for a socially responsible economy under democratic rather than corporate control.

In reviewing Arthur T. Hadley's *The Empty Polling Booth* (*Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 27), former American Political Science Association president Austin Ranney concurred in Hadley's view that the millions of nonvoters are "a kind of political Vesuvius...if they are ever massively activated...they might precipitate radical and dangerous change." A candid acknowledgement of the basic conflict between the corporate order and democracy. While such change *would* be dangerous to big business and the right, voter abstention poses a clear and present danger to the prospects of democracy. Which is the greater danger? A democratic left can give the American people the chance to choose. ■

# LETTERS

## CHILD CARE

THE RED CENT COLLECTIVE'S REVIEW article on *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure*, overlooks the implications of the erosion of a current child care system with a unique history and still-interesting social possibilities.

Public support for pre-school programs began with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. President Johnson's anti-poverty bill, the first legislative response with dollars to the civil rights movement's generalized demands for equality, included two notions:

1. The creation of instrumentalities independent of local government and other established institutions, with the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor, for sponsoring anti-poverty services and otherwise promoting institutional changes.

2. On the basis of a "deficit model" of minority family dysfunctionality, children of the poor required or deserved a "Head Start," a pre-school experience to compensate for the absent virtues that the middle class child derived from their stable, in-house, two-parent, pre-school experience.

The coupling of these two notions resulted in the development nationally of Head Start programs, some full-day, thereby also providing "day care" to enable single mothers of young children to seek employment.

What also resulted was the beginning of institutionalized community-controlled child care programs, which to varying degrees adopted progressive agendas—including promoting social change through organizing Head Start parents as a political force or as militant confrontationists, requiring parent involvement in pre-school curriculum, staff selection and location, which some hoped would later lead to militant constituencies for responsiveness to parents and children by public schools.

Head Start was defined as an experimental, not a universal program.

Amendments to the Social Security Act in the late 1960s enabled states to expand day care services to "present, past, and potential (emphasis added)" public assistance recipients. Community development advocates and some progressive or ambitious state officials recognized here an opportunity at least to secure federal funds for social programs, with consequent expansion of child day care, frequently under community auspices.

The only significant legislation of the 1970s that built on the ethic of delivery of services under community-based, non-governmental, auspices and that explicitly related delivery of services to community development and implicitly to

enhancement of minority and poor people's power was the Child Development Act of 1971.

Federal expenditures for child day care have increased dramatically during the past decade despite President Nixon's extravagant pro-family rhetoric ("Sovietization of American Children") when he vetoed the bill. But, as directed by Russell Long, powerful Senate Finance Committee chairman, the expansion has been through the state welfare apparatus rather than directly from the federal government to local non-governmental community bodies. Nonetheless, community rather than government sponsorship is the rule rather than the exception.

—Robert L. Bender  
Plainfield, N.J.

## WINNERS AND LOSERS

THE LETTER FROM CAROL AND MICHAEL Kort (*ITT*, Oct. 25) provides the *ITT* reader with an anecdotal, personal account concerning the value of fetal monitoring. But the message, that fetal monitoring saves children's lives when applied to low-risk births, has no scientific basis.

In a carefully done analysis of over 15,000 births, Neutra (*et al.*) were unable to show a benefit of fetal monitoring to the 76 percent of births that were lowest risk. Their data "suggest that there may be benefit from monitoring in the high risk groups." (*New England Journal of Medicine* 299:324-6)

The problem here is that a very costly bit of technology, the fetal monitor, has been introduced across the nation without any clear proof of its worth. Such technology often appears to be of benefit in isolated cases such as the Kort's. Anecdotal evidence is also used to support the opposite conclusion, that fetal monitors are dangerous.

The worth of such technology can be determined only by carefully designed clinical trials (human experimentation), on the basis of which the positive and negative effects of treatment can be assessed. Large clinical trials of fetal monitoring have not yet been done. Such trials are often avoided by the companies who make and profit from these machines.

The winners in all of this are the corporations who make these machines. The losers are the people who pay for health care.

—Susan Greene, R.N.  
Patrick Murray, M.D.  
Rand, W.Va.

## A WORD FOR EST

WE ENJOY THE PAPER IMMENSELY and want to acknowledge you for giving us a Marxist perspective that works.

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Our readers may have too high a level of consciousness. Many love the paper and savor the range of our articles. Others are outraged at some of the views put forth by various writers. But for us to survive we need our readers to have a lower level of consciousness. We need you to be sub-conscious.

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Re your review of the movie, *The Big Fix* (*ITT*, Nov. 1), we would like to make one minor suggestion that relates to the use of the "est" (best) logo. We are close friends of believers and have done the est training ourselves, so we are concerned about accurate representation at all times. Thus, we expect you, as a responsible publication, to utilize the facts accurately as Werner and "est" have received a lot of "bad publicity." Thus, the logo should appear in small case letters, since it really means "it is" in Latin and thus should have appeared in print as "est" rather than "EST." Werner was not allowed to register the corporate name under the Latin (and thus "foreign") name and so he devised "est" into "Erhard Seminars Training," which we assume is where you "borrowed" the capitalization from. Thank you for being. We love you.

—Angela & Ted Mohr  
San Francisco

## WHAT'S IT ALL MEAN, ALFIE?

WHAT DOES JOHN CONYERS MEAN when he says "prioritize"? When Piero Gleijeses says "immobilism," what does that mean? And "monetarist," what does that mean?

I have been getting your newspaper since January and have been pleased mightily to find the least possible amount of jargon in its columns. But I do think that for a paper committed so thoroughly to bringing sanity and humanity back into politics, your staff should also be committed to an easily readable style.

Again, I am not saying you don't have such a style. But it is always possible to improve it, and without stooping to kindergarten words.

—D. Alan Curry  
Dansville, N.Y.

## MOM DID IT

ZILLAH EISENSTEIN'S REVIEW OF Christopher Lasch's new book, *Haven in a Heartless World* (*ITT*, Oct. 25) omitted one major observation that cries

out from the book's premises.

Lasch—perhaps unconsciously—is singularly anti-feminist. Eisenstein focuses on his weak Marxism but the anti-feminism is equally evident. Throughout the pages, the transformation of the American family occurs through the agency of women as mothers and wives.

All the social science and social work expertise that Lasch blames for undermining parental (read paternal) authority is introduced into the *inner sancta* by Mom. Much of the mental illness of modern youth that Lasch discusses, relying heavily on Hendin's research, concerns males whose collapse is traceable to terrifying sexual images of their mothers.

Back in the 19th century, American women began their "progress" of emasculating males by exerting "civilizing control" over the wilder primitive urges of mates to create bourgeois morality. Their onward march has been ceaseless and its success results from (a) social scientists' studies and (b) Dad's desire to have peace at any price. By mid-20th century, America's Moms are transformed by Lasch into the Thurbér cartoon where a tiny male creeps into a house that has Mom encircling the chimney. Only the state is left to take over.

None of the above is stated explicitly—it merely glares between the lines. Among other issues that a study of the family might raise, particularly a study dealing with "disintegration," are the questions of wife and child abuse, marital rape and father-daughter incest. Their omission stands out as a sign of the incomplete perspective in this study. But a book that notes in passing that the first years of a rising divorce rate coincided with the first years of higher education for women—and clearly bemoans the coming of divorce—gives its author's intense biases away.

—Sandi E. Cooper  
New York

## CORRECTION

In last week's issue, the copyright by Pacific News Service on the article by Ervand Abrahamian on Iran was inadvertently omitted. We regret the error.

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