

IN SHORT

Holy moles?!

The United Methodist Church, one of the nation's biggest Christian denominations, is a tool of world communism, according to a nine-page article in the September/October issue of *Good News* magazine.

"How United Methodist Dollars Are Given to Marxist Causes" is based on a research paper by David Jessup, a lay member of the church. Jessup reports that the UMC has granted about \$442,000 to "outside political groups," and he runs down a list of recipient organizations as diverse as the National Congress of Black Lawyers, the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation and the American Indian Movement.

Sensing the start of a *Red Channels*-type witch hunt, a number of the alleged fellow travelers have insisted on their innocence. Donald L. Ranard, a former senior foreign service officer who now heads the Center for New International Policies, told the Methodist newsletter *Newscope*, "We're about as bona fide constitutionalist as you will find."

Others are hanging tough, like Timothy H. Smith, the director of the Interfaith Committee on Corporate Responsibility. Noting that Jessup belongs to the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, Smith finds it ironic that "many of the programs that Jessup blasts are actively allied with major trade unions who are working for a better environment for the American worker."

It will be hard for most groups to evade the wrath of *Good News*, since the magazine's editor has a definition of "Marxist" broad enough to include "the McGovern wing of the Democratic Party."

Balking Union

In California, a resolution by the Central Labor Council of the Santa Clara County AFL-CIO chapter has called on the AFL-CIO Executive Council to cut its ties to the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) program in El Salvador. The AIFLD, which has been linked to the CIA and to the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, hardly seems an ally of "free labor."

Air play's the thing

It looks like voters in 30 states and the District of Columbia—more than 70 percent of the electorate—will be free to vote for Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris come Nov. 4. Now the Citizens Party campaign is shifting its focus from ballot access to media access.

"Name recognition is our biggest problem," says Pam Weinstein, one of the campaign's two new full-time media coordinators who are attempting a cure for the nationwide "Barry Who?" epidemic. This involves hounding the networks—only CBS has shown a glimmer of interest—and "making all the right calls" to a generally unimaginative national press, Weinstein says.

Also in the works is a radio ad campaign, financed by the dues of more than 7,000 party members and returns from the party's successful direct-mail drive.

And then there are the minor victories: In response to requests for equal time, Maine's public TV station followed an airing of Reagan classic *Bedtime for Bonzo* with a rerun of Bill Moyers' profile of Commoner.

Name droppers

A name-recognition problem of another sort beset CBS News when an interoffice memo was leaked to *Variety* following the announced decision of correspondent Marvin Kalb to jump to NBC. Attributed to the CBS Washington news bureau, the memo was considered by some to be in the distinctive style of Kalb and his correspondent-brother Bernard. It reveals that the Kalbs' mother sold her sons' names to CBS in the '50s, giving the network "exclusive rights to the names Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kalb" for 99 years.

"Marvin Kalb," the memo continues, "may soon be assigned to another member of the CBS News family, perhaps a woman. It might be more contemporary. CBS News has not been informed of what name Mr. Kalb plans to use at NBC but according to [Washington news chief Bill] Leonard 'it won't be Marvin, and my lawyers say it can't be Kalb either.' Leonard would not comment on industry speculation that Marvin Kalb had been assigned the name Geraldo Rivera, which was reported purchased last year by NBC News prez Bill Small for a considerable sum."

Clip 'n' mail

Send news clips and other items of interest to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*. Roma Simon and Chuck Yerkes supplied some information for this column.

—Josh Kornbluth



Chicago schools tiptoe toward desegregation

Nineteen years after a group of southside Chicago parents first filed suit against the Board of Education charging deliberate segregation of the schools, the board agreed with the Justice Department on a very broad framework for producing a plan for system-wide desegregation of the city's schools to go into effect next fall.

The consent decree, signed as well by a liberal federal judge who will have authority to enforce it, must provide "the greatest practicable number of stably desegregated schools" but does not define what would qualify as desegregated. The plan must include some mandatory back-up to any combination of voluntary measures, which has long been a sticking point with many white parents and school officials. The possibility of metropolitan desegregation must also be investigated.

The consent decree acknowledges that many black or other minority schools will remain little changed in a system that last year was 60 percent black, 17 percent Hispanic and 20 percent white. Those unaffected schools will be guaranteed some special compensatory programs and aid.

Chicago's school board, administrators and political figures have battled state and federal officials at every stage to avoid desegregating the nation's third largest school system, and in recent years have even continued to build new schools to maximize segregation rather than move toward integration.

Although the decree's guidelines are vague, a number of advocates of desegregation feel that the agreement is important as the first time the board has come up with a plan that covers the entire city. During the financial crisis of the past school year, an entirely new school board, with more blacks, a slightly more progressive cast and no die-hard

segregationists, was put in office.

But other desegregation advocates are more critical. The NAACP, irked that it was excluded from the negotiations, filed suit against the decree for failing to set standards of desegregation. And George Schmidt, president of a teachers' group that has strongly advocated desegregation, said, "There's nothing in there but good intentions. As yet there's no evidence that anything has changed."

Although Urban League education director Judson Hixson was pleased that the decree specified compensatory aid to the schools that will continue to be segregated (and nearly everyone acknowledges that it would be difficult and probably foolish to attempt uniform standards throughout the city), Civil Rights Commission researcher Gregory Squires is concerned that such aid "will officially certify those schools as inferior."

Although some critics accuse the Carter administration of striking a pre-election political deal to take the heat off Chicago, and suspect that the Board of Education will use the decree to continue stalling, Citizens School Committee executive director Hank Rubin thinks Chicago is finally on the way to desegregation through the decree. "The new ingredient is that there is now an institutionalized sanction," he said.

—David Moberg

OSHA fines California docs

In the largest single civil action ever taken against doctors in violation of state pesticide regulations, California's Occupational Safety and Health Administration has fined seven Kern County doctors

\$250 each for failing to report their treatment of 54 pesticide victims.

It was only the second reported case of a California fine levied on a physician for failing to comply with the 66-year-old state law that requires doctors to notify county health officials within 24 hours of any pesticide poisoning.

The poisoning occurred on June 20 when 54 Delano-area farm workers entered a grape field that had been sprayed with a miticide and sulphur. The suffered skin rashes, swelling and other irritation. County and state health officials did not learn of the poisoning for more than three weeks.

In the only previously reported case of a California doctor being fined for failing to report, a Madera physician was slapped with a similar penalty in 1977 but appealed and won. There are between 1,000 and 1,400 reported pesticide poisonings in California each year, but state health officials say the true number is far higher, possibly 50 times higher.

The doctors could have been fined up to \$500.

—George Thurlow

Residents battle planned pipeline

If a consortium of steel and construction firms has its way, work will begin next June on a steel pipeline that will span half the continent from Port Angeles, Wash., to Clearbrook, Minn. But a group of citizens at the West Coast end of the proposed \$1.6 billion pipeline is determined to prevent even a spadeful of dirt from being turned along the 1,500-mile route.

They charge that the project is motivated by presidential politics rather than the nation's energy needs. The Northern Tier Pipeline, named for the "tier" of five states it will traverse, was designated a priority energy project in January by President Carter. This eased federal permit and licensing procedures for the consortium.

Washington state coastal residents contend they are being asked to bear the environmental and economic costs for a project that cannot be justified except as an element of Jimmy Carter's re-election plans. U.S. Steel, a leading member of the consortium, has said that the pipeline will generate the largest single steel order in history—more than 700,000 tons.

Economic arguments for the project, other than to aid an ailing industry during an election year, are difficult to come by. Originally Northern Tier was proposed in the mid-'70s to ship surplus petroleum from the West Coast to the Midwest. With Alaskan production declining, the Department of Energy has acknowledged that it is impossible to tell whether a surplus will exist when the conduit comes on line. A DOE study labeled the project as unjustified in the absence of major new Alaskan finds.

An additional problem exists even if there is a West Coast surplus. Northern Tier will have the capacity to move 900,000 barrels of oil per day in a region DOE projects will need only 140,000 barrels by the year 2000. Washington citizens in No Oil Port Inc. and Save the Resources believe they can at least delay the project and force it to be scaled down to realistic dimensions.

—David Mathiason

By John Judis

IN THE NATION

IT IS CONVENIENT TO ASSIGN candidates and political parties places on the right, left and center of the political spectrum. Ronald Reagan and the Republicans go somewhere between the right and the center; Jimmy Carter and the Democrats, along with independent John Anderson, occupy the center; and Barry Commoner and the Citizens Party belong to the left.

But Ed Clark and the Libertarian Party don't fit. Clark's economic philosophy makes Reagan look like a closet liberal. "My goal is not just to cut the fat, but to cut the lean," Clark says in describing his proposed \$200 billion in federal budget cuts. "It is to change the whole approach of solving social problems from a governmental approach to a voluntary, private sector approach."

Clark's proposed cuts would include not only the abolition of the departments of Energy and Education, but also the elimination of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration and the Federal Trade Commission.

But on many social and moral issues, Clark makes the vintage 1972 George McGovern Democrats look tame. Clark opposes any laws on drug use, prostitution, sexual behavior or abortion; and he opposes any restrictions on free speech, from censorship of pornography to the Kennedy-sponsored "Son of S.1." "The right place for paternalism—and maternalism—is in the home, not the government," Clark says.

And on defense and foreign policy, Clark's platform, largely drafted by former Institute for Policy Studies fellow Earl Ravenal, clearly resembles that of Commoner and the Citizens Party. The platform calls for the adoption of a "non-interventionist" foreign policy directed at defending the "lives and liberties" of Americans. It calls for disengagement from American alliances in Europe and the Mideast; political support for democratic rather than dictatorial regimes; free trade; unrestricted immigration; negotiated disarmament with the Soviet Union; an immediate \$50 billion cut in the defense budget; and the use of American weaponry only to defend American shores.

It might be expected that this hybrid of "left" and "right" would win little following for Clark and the Libertarians, but the contrary is the case. The Libertarians are the fastest growing party in the U.S. Besides Clark, they will be running over 500 local candidates for office. In Alaska, where they elected a state legislator in 1978, Clark could come in

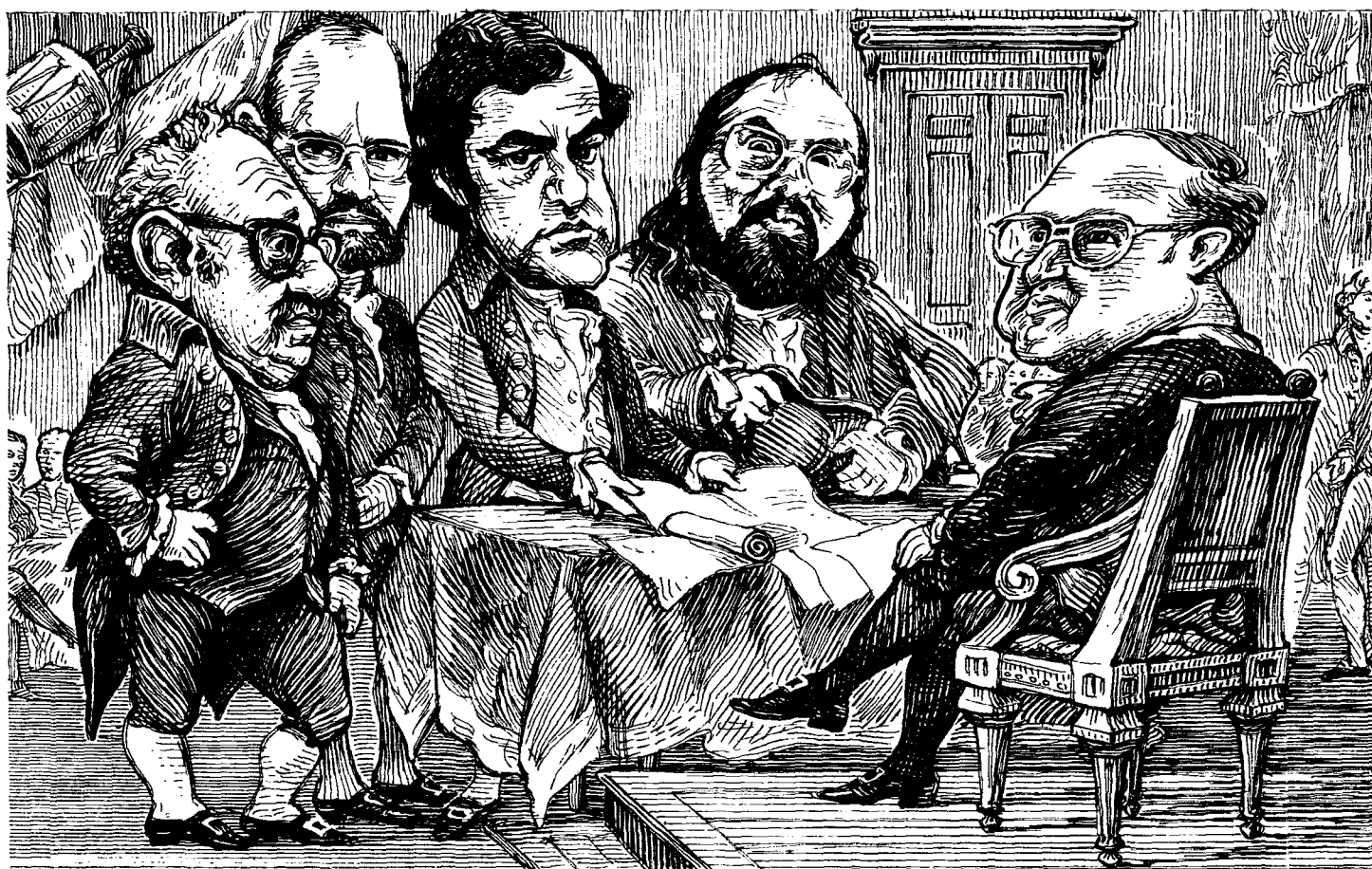
(Above) Leading lights of the Libertarian Party: Murray Rothbard, Israel Kirzner, Earl Ravenal, Roy Childs and Leonard Liggio; (below) 1980 presidential candidate Ed Clark.



second to Reagan. And nationwide he is expected easily to quintuple 1976 candidate Roger MacBride's 180,000 votes.

The Libertarians come out of the American right wing, which split after World War II into neo-feudal conservatives like Russell Kirk, zealous anti-Communists like Whittaker Chambers, and free-market libertarians like Frank Chodorov, Murray Rothbard, and Ayn Rand. The conservatives and the anti-Communists eventually united under the aegis of Goldwater Republicanism, but the libertarians drifted steadily away from the right-wing fold.

The libertarians' guiding principle was opposition to state power, whether it was used to collect taxes, assemble armies, or limit free expression, and support



POLITICS

Libertarians mix left, right

for the free market as the embodiment of human liberty. Seeing war as an outgrowth of state power—the "health of the state"—they opposed the Cold War and NATO. And they viewed the anti-Communist crusade as a threat to liberty. "The case against the Communists involves a principle that is of transcending importance," Chodorov wrote. "It is the right to be wrong."

During the '60s, some libertarians, led by Rothbard and Leonard Liggio, joined forces with the New Left in opposing the Vietnam War and in advocating a decentralized democracy. Before their formal break with the conservatives, libertarians even led chapters of the Young Americans for Freedom into the New Left's Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

The current Libertarian party, which was founded in 1972 in a Denver living room, includes the Rothbard-Liggio libertarians. Rothbard's *For a New Liberty*, written in 1973, remains the chief libertarian manifesto. But the party also includes two other groups.

Anarchists vs. minarchists.

Rothbard always occupied an extreme within libertarianism. Along with left-wing critics of the Cold War, he saw the U.S. and not the Soviet Union as the principal villain. At the same time, he has remained a full-fledged free-market anarchist, who believes that the entire state apparatus—from the police and the schools to the military and Social Security—should be placed on a private, voluntary basis. He opposes any system of compulsory taxation. In *For a New Liberty*, he even argues for privately-owned streets on which drivers would be required to pay tolls or possess a special license.

Other libertarians, some of whom come out of Ayn Rand's Objectivists, and who are currently grouped around the Santa Barbara magazine *Reason*, fancy themselves "minarchists" rather than anarchists. They believe in a limited government that excludes the modern welfare state, but includes defense, the highway system, and the local police. They also see the Soviet Union rather than the U.S. as the principal threat to world peace and confine their criticism of the American defense budget to the more colossal extravaganzas like the MX missile or the B-1 bomber. Political-

ly, many of them are erstwhile Republicans. The Hoover Institution's Thomas Moore, for instance, says that he will vote for Clark only if Reagan's victory looks certain.

There is another group of libertarians, who were attracted into the party by its support for gay rights and its opposition to the draft, as well as by its economic doctrine. They are Rothbardian anarchists and anti-Cold War revisionists. But unlike their elders, they are also militant foes of nuclear energy (which other libertarians oppose only in so far as it is government-subsidized); they firmly support the Equal Rights Amendment (which some other libertarians see as an infringement on the right to discriminate); and in the words of *Libertarian Review* executive editor Jeff Rigenbach, they tend to be "libertines" rather than simply libertarians when it comes to drugs and sex.

Many of these libertarians come out of Students for a Libertarian Society (which also has a "radical caucus"), and they read and write for Roy Childs Jr.'s *Libertarian Review*. Unlike the moderates, they would be inclined to vote for Commoner or Anderson before Reagan. "He's a monster," Childs says, "a social reactionary, an economic hypocrite and a warmonger."

Of all the libertarians, they are also the most open to the left. Rigenbach, for instance, acknowledges that a decentralized democratic socialism could qualify as a stateless society as long as its citizens were free to adopt a market system if they wished. The main objective, according to Rigenbach, is to "end coercion in human affairs and create a society in which people can live on a voluntary, cooperative basis."

Clark, an anti-trust lawyer for Atlantic Richfield in Los Angeles, was chosen as the party's candidate partly on the basis of his strong showing in the 1978 California gubernatorial race, when he polled 378,000 votes or 6 percent of the total. But he was also chosen because he was delicately poised between the "moderates" and the "extremists."

Clark opposes the Price-Anderson Act (which limits utility company liability for nuclear accidents), but takes no position on nuclear energy *per se*. "Only the market will tell," he says. Clark opposes laws on drugs or pornography, but in-

sists that "my wife and I are just as concerned about bad influences on our son as most parents are." He calls for eventual abolition of public schools, but limits his current proposals to a \$1,200 tax credit for parents who send their children to private schools. Clark supports the ERA and defends the right of gays to teach in public schools, but he adds that when public schools are abolished, parents will be free to select teachers on whatever basis they wish.

Only Clark's foreign policy, which is Rothbard refined by Ravenal, has seriously divided the party and led some libertarians like John Hospers, the 1972 presidential candidate, to dissociate themselves from Clark. "Some libertarians are much too willing to take chances with the security of the United States," Hospers remarked.

Philosophical limits.

Clark has already qualified for the ballot in all 50 states. The campaign projects a \$3.5 million campaign budget of which about \$500,000 will come from Clark's wealthy running mate Charles Koch, who was chosen for that reason.

The party's greatest appeal is among the white middle and upper middle classes in the West. It has no following among minorities or labor. But among its affluent supporters, it does appeal to a varied lot. In Clark's 1978 race, for instance, he got 13 percent of the vote in traditionally right-wing Bakersfield (where there are probably more John Birch Society members than Democrats), but he also did well among San Francisco gays and among Northern California suburban Independents and Democrats.

The Libertarian Party's appeal is necessarily limited by its economic philosophy, which in the short run makes it abhorrent to the poor and unemployed and in the long run will make it irrelevant to capitalism's growing difficulties.

Libertarians make one central assumption about the capitalist economy: if left to its own working, without government regulation and taxation, it would provide full employment, solve the "energy crisis" and, if sufficiently universalized, do away with war.

Clark claims that energy shortages are entirely "made in Washington" by government-induced inflation, price con-

Continued on page 22.