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Eugene McCarthy—an outspoken socialist, art leader of the early 20th century—casts a shadow over the presidential election. A recording of a documentary that Bernie Sanders made in 1974 has made its rounds among pundits and politicians. If you haven't listened to the documentary—it is, worth a listen if for no other reason than Sanders cast himself as the voice of the silent majority on the one hand—right-wing pundits have played up Sanders' hero worship of McCarthy using it to stress the extent of the threat that Sanders poses to the status quo. On the other hand—left-wing pundits have played it—emphasizing the chasm between Sanders' progressive but reformist agenda and the status quo's true revolutionary one, Sanders—as we will see—is not the same.

IO

It's refreshing to see an American politician unashamedly embrace the word socialism—especially one whose name like John F. Kennedy could not for a long time be uttered for fear of dire consequences. In fact, Sanders' campaign team has noted that he has had a harder time getting media attention than the other candidates—thus limiting the extent to which socialism is the central issue of this election cycle—at least thus far. The result? If Sanders gains momentum following early caucus victories—this will certainly change. In the close contest between Clinton and Sanders in Iowa has made winning over the hearts and minds of the party's progressive a campaign priority for Clinton. He is not trying to sell himself as an economic populist. The word socialism is coming out of the shadow of McCarthy, Sanders said in his autobiography *Outsider in the White House*. McCarthy remains a hero of mine. A plaque commemorating him hangs on the wall in my Washington office. Sanders doesn't hedge on this potentially controversial admission. In fact, Sanders tries to explain his admiration for McCarthy in the reissue edition of the autobiography. As even his political opponents recognize, Sanders is a man of great conviction. In conversation—be it during a campaign stop or a national pastime—Donald Trump—with his usual bluntness—recently told listeners of Michael, a 1980s radio show—a Sanders critic. Well,estro, the fabric of that area, which I'm sure is also unique to reality, Sanders—ut sees his threat to the established order as minimal. McCarthy's a nice old codger—and he's an honest but

insignificant little socialist from Vermont. McCarthy's a decent guy, but he's harmless. Ann Coulter argues that Sanders has a better shot at winning the White House than Clinton in the general election—and if that happens it will usher in a liberal-leftist apocalyptic rump is her antidote to this end-of-the-world prophecy. In an October 2012 article published in the *Washington Post*, she writes that Sanders' "hero worship of McCarthy" is "a sign of a man who has learned from his documentary on McCarthy that Sanders is a hero in this documentary—given the complete harmony between the documentary's point of view and Sanders' own point of view—given Sanders' failure to create any distance between the documentary itself and his most controversial statements and actions—and given Sanders' proud proclamation of the documentary and his admitted hero worship of McCarthy." It's a bit ironic that after the film, as made it seems fair to say that this documentary offers an important insight into Bernie Sanders' socialism.

Coulter highlights McCarthy's support for the New Deal, evolution as being particularly prescient of Sanders' America. Sanders—he continues—seems to relish repeating McCarthy's most inflammatory lines such as "I am not a member of the ruling class—I am in it—while there is a criminal element—I am of it—and while there is a soul in prison—I am not free."

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While there is a lower class I am in it—while there is a criminal element—I am of it—and while there is a soul in prison—I am not free.

... should ... oring people support the ... socialist ... art ... because it is the only part ... uie ui ocall ... committed to their economic interests ... to the abolition of the ... age s ... tem ... the freedom of the ... or ... ers from exploitation and ... er ... other species of servitude.

... I am not a capitalist soldier. I am a proletariat revolutionist.

... or ... ert ... an ... ers is ... e s incarnate. ... o ... er ... an ... ers' rhetoric sounds ... o ... nright tame compare to ... e s'. If ... onser ... ati ... es li ... e ... ert ... ne ... e s'. ... ritings ... etter ... the ... ould ... lin ... an ... ers to the ... ocialist ... art ... lea ... er's most incen ... iar ... statements. ... one ... ere more inflammatory than his articles, ... ritten in response to the ... e ... tra ... ition and arrest of Industrial ... or ... ers of the ... or ... ound ... er ... illiam ... ig ... ill ... a ... oo ... for his alleged role in the murder of former ... l ... ho ... go ... ernor ... ran ... teunen ... erg ... he article. A ... ouse ... e ... la ... es ... culminates ... ith the threat that if ... a ... oo ... an ... his co ... efen ... ants are murdered ... then ... a million revolutionists ... at least ... ill meet them ... the murderers ... ith guns ... e continues

... he ... ha ... e ... one their ... est and their ... orst to crush and enslave us ... heir politicians ... ha ... e ... tra ... e ... us ... their courts ... ha ... e ... thro ... n us into ... ail ... ithout trial and their soldiers ... ha ... e ... shot our comrades ... ea ... in their tracks ... et them ... are to execute their ... e ... ilish plot and ... e ... state in this union ... ill resound ... ith the tramp of revolution.

... en as ... an ... ers talk ... s ... tough ... a ... outh ... all ... treet ... his rhetoric does not come near the ... a ... is ... of ... e ... il ... fire ... an ... - ... rimstone ... ie ... that ... e ... s ... present ... an ... ers focuses on raising the minimum ... age ... hereas ... e ... s ... focus ... e ... on ... o ... erthro ... ing the entire ... age ... s ... stem ... e ... s ... ould ... ha ... e ... eri ... e ... the ... age ... a ... ulti ... ment ... strate ... g ... as a palliative that ... il ... little to ... ea ... l ... ith the root cause of ... ine ... ualit ... an ... po ... ert ... olution ... not ... re ... olution.

... e ... s ... mince ... no ... or ... s ... when it came to reformers posing as socialists ... he ... are ... ocialists' for no other purpose than to emasculate ... ocialism ... e ... s ... often ... utte ... hea ... s ... ith ... il ... au ... ee ... socialist ... ictor ... erger ... the first socialist electe ... to the ... ongress in ... an ... ers ... li ... erger ... elie ... es in a step-at-a-time approach to socialism ... he trans ... formation ... ould ... occur ... gra ... ually ... ithin the frame ... or ... of a ... mi ... e ... econom ... part ... capitalist ... part ... socialist ... e ... s ... escri ... e ... this ... in ... of ... approach ... as ... se ... er ... social ... ism ... an ... ris ... e ... eing ... co ... opte ... an ... un ... ermine ... those in the ... corri ... ors of po ... er.

... here is a significant point upon which ... e ... s ... an ... an ... ers agree ... oth place class ... a ... o ... e ... race and ... gen ... er as the central ... a ... is ... of political action ... claiming that class ... e ... ualit ... ill ... ring ... racial and ... gen ... er ... e ... ualit ... he ... em ... o ... the ... coalition ... uil ... ing ... approach to politics ... ith class ... ser ... ing ... as the unifying issue that ... rings ... e ... er ... one ... together. As ... an ... ers puts it

Imagine ... lac ... an ... hite ... ispanic and Asian ... straight and ... ga ... mi ... le ... class and ... lo ... income ... nati ... e ... an ... immi ... grant coming together to create an econom ... that ... or ... e ... ell for the majority ... not ... ust the rich ... a health care s ... ystem that guarantee ... health care for all ... not huge profits for insurance and pharmaceutical companies ... federal funding for education ... not ... om ... ers ... a ... ta ... s ... tem that fa ... or ... ers ... not the ... ealth ... and multinational corporations ... e ... ope ... le ... coming together for the common good.

In ... oth their min ... s ... plutocrats; ... e ... s' ... fa ... orite term ... an ... oligarchs; ... an ... ers' ... pose the greatest ... anger to ... emocrac ... en at his angriest ... an ... ers' rhetoric does not reach the emotional fur ... of ... e ... s ... onetheless ... an ... ers' frustration and anger ... ith the s ... ystem are unanimous

... o ... a ... America is in ... anger of ... ecoming an oligarch. It seems clear that a smaller and smaller number of citizens are determining our nation's future ... the poor are disenfranchised ... not ... la ... ut in fact ... he ... oung ... thin ... that ... otting has little to ... o ... ith them or their prospects. ... r ... inar ... citi ... ens ... ha ... e ... eci ... el ... the political process is li ... el ... to fail them ... an ... so the ... ote in ... e ... er ... smaller number.

... he first stage of ... an ... ers' political revolution is actually quite modest. It is to get out the ... ote ... i ... e ... a character from a feel-good ... ran ... i ... apra film ... he ... elie ... es that the future of emocrac ... is too important to ... uan ... er ... failing to ... ote ... on ... ection ... a ... or him ... increase ... oter participation ... especially among ... or ... ing and ... lo ... er ... mi ... le ... class ... oters ... is the ma ... e ... it ... or ... rea ... it factor in his campaign for the ... emocratic nomination and the future of progressive politics in the ... nite ... tates.

... e ... s ... unli ... e ... an ... ers ... il ... not get ... ogge ... o ... n ... polic ... discussions ... e ... as a ... reamer ... ho ... elie ... e ... that ... hen the ... est impulses of the human spirit ... ere ... unlash ... e ... ooperation ... ould ... replace competition ... e ... ualit ... ould ... replace exploitation ... an ... es ... the ... or ... ould ... replace capitalism ... e ... s ... share ... illiam ... orris' goal of socialism ... that it should see ... the ... completest ph ... sical ... moral ... and intellectual ... e ... elopment of ... e ... er ... human ... eing as the highest form of social state ... as the ... est and truest happiness for ... e ... er ... in ... i ... il ... ual ... an ... for ... e ... er ... class ... here ... as none need ... o ... er ... or ... so none shall ... e ... a ... le ... to force others to ... or ... for their profit ...

II

*ts re reshin to see n eri n
iti i n un shed e r e
the ord s, i is*

... an ... ers is ... contrast ... a ... pragmatist ... e ... has an idealistic vision of the future ... to ... e ... sure ... ut he also understands the frustrating realities of Washington politics ... e ... no ... s ... that en ... ing corporate ... elfare ... e ... reating a single ... pa ... er health care s ... ystem ... re ... a ... ing ... me ... dia monopolies ... and offering free higher education are not easily implemented in a ... i ... il ... e ... go ... ernment such as ... e ... ha ... e ... to ... a ... ut it is possible for change to occur ... slo ... l ... perhaps ... ut possible.

... ar ... ian socialists are ... ust ... as ... uic ... to ... re ... flect ... an ... ers' ... lin ... s

to the. e sian tra ition as conser ati es are to lin them together. he emocratic art is too much a part of the esta lished or er to ecome the political arm of the American left—so the gist of the ar ian argument goes. / nl. in epenent political action. ia a third part. ill ensure that the interests of the people themsel es pre ail. an ers— contrast— ill not radicali e the emocratic art. Instea —the emocratic art. ill ser e as a mol erating force on him. Acti ist. o. ie . a . ins in the *i ist Way er*. rites that— an ers has no gone into coalition. ith the illionaire class he professes to oppose an that finances the emocratic art. he. e sian socialist tra ition is one of in epenent political action— . a . ins continues— here. oters' full iscontent. ith the status. uo can e registre .

— perhaps it is telling that, an ers' o em er. . speech in. hich he e plains his emocratic socialist ision for America oes not ma e mention of. e s. Instea —it in o. es — resilent. ran. lin . . oose elt se eral times—highlighting the. a s in. hich emocratic socialism represents the fulfillment of. . s. e . eal for the American people. In ee — unli e. e s—the concept of the mi e econom is. e. to . an ers' un stan ing of American e elopment. . or. e s there. as capitalism or socialism. . or. an ers—capitalism an socialism co-e ist in a mi e econom . here each shapes aspects of our current s stem. ometimes the pen ulum s ings more in the capitalist i rection an at other times more in the socialist. an ers thin s it is time for the pen ulum to s ings a little it to the left of center.

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an ers' speech on emocratic socialism as s Americans to thin more consciousl a out ho socialist i eas ha e ma e positive contri utions to our nation's e elopment. emocratic socialism is not a uropean import—ut part an parcel of the American e perience. In this ie —a ne . e . eal represents America's sal ation. Instea of. or. ing to ismantle. hat's left of it—an ers argues—the time has come to uill on it an etter ensure that go ernment is—an remains—responsi le an accounta le to the people themsel es.

ocialism as manifest in la or legislation—unemplo. -ment insurance—an strong usiness regulations has— an ers. rites— ecome the fa ric of our nation an the foundation of the mi l le class. ealth re istri ution through greater progressi e ta ation. ill ser e as a correcti e to the e trem e im alance et een the ha es an ha e-nots— ut . no means era icate it.

hus—compare to. e s—an ers' emocratic socialist propositions are transformati e progressi e—ut not re olutionar. . an ers himself frames his social emocratic ision as uill ing much more on the legac of. oose elt than. e s. e is not a left ing e tremist. et—in this political climate. here centrists are cast as e tremists—an ers ecomes the er. em oliment of the greatest threat to the so-calle American. a of life.

In case ou're on ering—so far I e onate) . . to the ernie, an ers campaign. I ill so. hen the campaign. as offering copies of *Outsider in the White House* in e change for onations. ith a) . . list price an free shipping—I thin. I ma e a eal of. hich rump. oull e proud .

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