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Sound the Alarm!

A short pamphlet by Gus Hall documenting the ultra-Right threat in the 1984 elections (see our Editorial Comment) is available for mass distribution. To obtain the pamphlet in quantity, contact the Hall-Davis Campaign Committee, 239 W. 23, NYC 10011, 924-3935.

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Editorial

Comment

Reaganism and

Four years of reactionary Reaganism came home to roost at the Dallas roadshow.

During the Reagan years ultra-Right, fascist-tinged foundations, think tanks, PACs, lobbying and research groups, magazines, bulletins and studies have mushroomed. They have become the dominant influence in the Reagan Administration.

The Republican Convention was the conduit, the vehicle that brought together the new, unified and well-heeled power of all the ultra-Right forces in our country. From beginning to end it was saturated with war-mongering, anti-Sovietism and anti-Communist rhetoric.

Not only was the convention dominated by ultra-Right personalities — Goldwater, Kirkpatrick, Tower, Kemp, Buckley, Thurmond, Helms, Falwell and the like, but it was staffed and run by ultra-Right organizations like the Heritage Foundation, the Hudson and Hoover Institutes, conservative PACs and the Moral Majority. These ultra-Right personalities and outfits are creating the atmosphere in which fascist ideas germinate and grow. Their function is to inject fascist-tinged concepts into the mainstream.

These are the forces that took over the Republican Convention, the Republican Party and its electoral machinery. They include the religious fanatics of the so-called New Right such as Falwell and Swaggert. They also include the ultra-Right wing of the Pentagon-military-industrial complex. To this cabal has been added the power of the major mass media, which have collapsed into the ultra-Right camp, giving them a national platform and wide publicity.

The most reactionary platform in history

This was the first convention in the history of the Republican Party at which the liberals were totally closed out, swamped and silenced.

All these far-Right politics and policies are

Extremism— a New Threat

reflected, in concentrated form, in the platform adopted by the Republican party convention. It is the most war-oriented, anti-labor, racist platform in the history of U.S. politics. It reflects the extreme Right's absolute control over every aspect of the convention.

This is the ominous danger that came to light at the convention — the emergence of an interlocking, coordinated network of fully mobilized, disciplined, sophisticated and well-financed ultra-Right and fascist forces.

All the Right-wing sectors of our society came together and "came out" at this convention, welded into a unified, strong and politically active reactionary power bloc.

These forces are very careful not to appear openly anti-democratic, but their statements, actions and slogans are deeply anti-democratic. Their anti-democratic aims are carefully camouflaged behind acceptable American traditions and history. For example, they hide behind such American values as family, work, patriotism, freedom, religion and common sense. This makes them even more dangerous.

These new developments are a direct threat, a challenge to all our democratic rights and institutions. Neither fascism nor an ultra-Right takeover of our country is imminent, nor are they inevitable. But we must not underestimate this new danger.

Realignment of forces

American history shows that once the American people grasp the meaning of these developments; once they clearly see the ominous signs; once they sense the threat to their democratic rights, they will not only reject this trend, but move to completely reverse the direction of development of our country. This means rejection of Reaganism and all the Reaganites.

These new developments call for a reexamination of the "lesser of two evils." In light of the

present situation, one can not reduce the 1984 electoral struggle to a Reagan vs. Mondale contest. The important thing is the lineup of forces behind the candidates. New developments are propelling a realignment of political forces.

The dominant forces around Reagan are ultra-Right, fascist-tinged forces. If Reagan is re-elected, these are the forces that will determine the nature and direction of politics and policies in a second Reagan term. New and ominous is the influence that would be wielded by fascist-thinking elements in the ultra-Right organizations. They are anti-democratic, anti-labor, racist and anti-Semitic in the extreme.

A realignment is also taking place on the other side. The trade unions have stepped up their activities, and reiterated and reinforced their anti-Reagan positions. The leaders in the Afro-American community have responded by solidly lining up with the Anti-Reagan Front. The peace movement, the women's, youth, seniors' and other people's movements and democratic forces are part of the Anti-Reagan Front. John Anderson's endorsement of Mondale/Ferraro reflects the realignment of independent forces. The Democratic governors and mayors have also lined up in the all-people's anti-Reagan camp.

Challenge of the century

This new moment calls for stepping up the pace of activity, accelerating the Communist election campaign, which brings clarity and understanding to millions, building the all people's front and mobilizing people to register and vote.

In this election, the American people are facing their greatest challenge of the century. The outcome will determine whether the forces of peace, jobs, equality and democracy will win over the forces of war, unemployment, racism and reaction.

Structural Roots of the Crisis in Steel

GUS HALL

When you don't feel well, as a rule the doctors say, "It's something that is making the rounds." After a week or so, they will say, "It's the flu or some bug." But if the illness persists after a prescribed period of rest, aspirin and fluids, if the condition becomes chronic, then the doctors should look for more serious problems, for systemic or structural causes.

Some ten years ago, the U.S. steel industry began to show signs of fatigue and other symptoms of illness. Most economic doctors said it was suffering from some bug that cyclically made the rounds.

But the closing of plants continued. The number of unemployed steelworkers kept growing. It soon became obvious that the problems were not only cyclical, but were much more basic. Because of this, quick fixes and quack capitalist cures had no effect.

Steelworkers were forced to take huge wage cuts. These and other concessions were supposed to cure the illness. But they did not *because the causes of the ills of the steel industry are chronic and structural.*

Now it is impossible for anyone to deny that the steel industry is chronically and structurally sick. Even the injection of billions of dollars of military orders year after year has not revived the industry.

It is true that plastics, aluminum and other lighter materials have taken over part of the steel market. But the substitution of new materials for steel does not by itself explain the depth of the crisis.

Technological backwardness of the U.S. steel industry is also a factor. But the real question is, why has the new technology bypassed the U.S. steel complex?

Problems similar to those of the U.S. steel

industry appear in other major capitalist countries. But nowhere else are they as devastating as in the United States.

To cure a chronic illness, it is first necessary to diagnose its cause. The cause of the steel industry's crisis can be found in the triple-layered economic crisis that is, to one degree or another, affecting the whole capitalist system. The effects of these crises on the steel industry are more critical than in other industries because it was already structurally weak.

The steel industry is hurt by the general crisis of world capitalism, including the fact that the U.S. accounts for a steadily declining slice of the world industrial production pie. Likewise, the U.S. steel industry's share of world steel production is shrinking.

Many economic problems of the past decade have, of course, been aggravated by back-to-back cyclical crises. But the fact that the current economic upturn has largely bypassed the steel industry is proof positive that this is not only a cyclical crisis.

Cyclical and momentary developments aggravate the plight of steelworkers. But the most serious factor creating chronically depressed conditions for steelworkers and steel communities has been and is the structural crisis.

The closed steel plants that stretch from Buffalo to Cleveland to Youngstown, from Pittsburgh to Gary and Chicago and all the way to the West Coast; the resulting ruined industrial communities; the long lines of permanently unemployed steelworkers; the evictions; the welfare and soup lines, are living testimony to the human devastation wreaked by the structural crisis.

The crisis factors

The structural crisis is caused by the coincidence of a number of crisis factors which have been incubating in the bowels of capitalism in its present, decaying stage.

Gus Hall was a founding member of the United Steelworkers of America, and a leader of the Little Steel Strike in Warren, Ohio (1937). He is presently general secretary and Presidential candidate of the Communist Party, USA.

It is aggravated by a slowdown in the rate of capital investment in domestic basic industries. Capital investments have shifted to industries promising quick and huge returns.

It is accentuated by the flight of capital, particularly capital which was formerly invested in basic production facilities, to low-wage, higher-profit regions. As a result, during the past ten years or so the rate of growth of industry has been greater in many developing countries than in the U.S. Their steel-producing capacity has been growing. But the market which these countries provide for the output of our industries is being strangled by high interest payments on an \$800 billion foreign debt, owed mainly to U.S. banks.

That current technology requires a huge capital investment to be integrated into the production process deepens structural problems. In many cases, a new technology can be introduced only into completely new industrial complexes.

The policies of the Reagan Administration, which are the policies of state monopoly capitalism, greatly add to the structural crisis. On the one hand, Reagan's tax policies make it profitable to shut down older plants, while tax-free policies in the developing countries make it profitable to build new plants there.

On the other hand, state monopoly capitalism shovels tens of billions of dollars of government money into military-related industries, providing capital for new technology and plants in war industries. The hog's share of government money for research and development also goes to war-related industries. It is the policy of both Big Business and the government to let the basic steelmaking process fade away on the domestic scene.

The rise of conglomerates and transnationals is also making the structural crisis more acute and negatively affecting the steel industry. In fact, there are no longer any major U.S. steel corporations that produce only steel. All steel corporations are either heavily involved in other lines of production or are owned by conglomerates that are, in some cases, in dozens of other lines of production.

Also, all U.S. steel corporations are, in one

way or another, tied into one or another of the transnational octopuses. Thus, within the conglomerates, the steel industry's investment capital needs and the rate of profit it yields are measured against other industries owned by the conglomerates.

Within the transnational corporations, the investments and profits of the U.S. steel industry are measured against the profits of steel industries owned by the transnationals in other countries.

In sum, capital investment in the basic part of the steel-making industry, reflecting the drive for maximum profit, has shifted to areas where wages are low, corporate taxes do not exist and iron ore and energy resources are cheaper. Thus, the structural crisis reflects shifts, processes and crises of the capitalist system. It reflects the present stage of monopolization and concentration of capital.

The conglomerates and transnational complexes now provide the most convenient structures for obtaining maximum profits. They provide an avenue to redirect capital investments from one industry to another, from one country to another. Thus there is an uneven development of the structural crisis in the capitalist world.

New economic fires

Further feeding the flames of structural crisis are new economic fires smoldering just beneath the surface. The following figures demonstrate that the economic crisis is passing over into entirely new dimensions:

- a 1984 trade deficit of \$130 billion, which more than doubles the high-water mark of all previous trade deficits;
- a \$1½ trillion federal government debt, rising at the rate of \$200 billion per year;
- \$120 billion in annual interest payments on the national debt;
- \$850 billion in Reagan-corporate wage cuts and \$130 billion in cuts in social welfare programs;
- a \$230 billion farm debt — an all-time high;
- a \$350 billion annual military budget;
- \$1 trillion in debt which working people

owe in installment payments and mortgages, plus hundreds of billions of dollars they have to pay in interest charges;

- \$800 billion Third World countries have borrowed, mainly from U.S. banks, plus \$60 billion they have to pay annually in interest.

On these debts alone, loan-shark banks collect \$1 trillion a year in interest payments.

The cumulative effects of these new economic facts are increasingly affecting the entire economic scene. They affect the course of the economic cycle, putting obstacles in the way of upturns and deepening the structural crisis.

The structural crisis, the new eruption of financial crisis and the smoldering economic figures, taken together, foreshadow a rocky road ahead.

The structural crisis & racism

The structural crisis is adding a new dimension to the ravaging effects of racism.

Because the sick industries and devastated communities have large numbers of Afro-American and other discriminated-against workers, the racist impact is severe.

Because the economic upturn is bypassing these industries and communities, the economic recovery also follows the racist path of discrimination.

Because the economic upturn is limited and spotty, it does not reach the last-to-be-hired and first-to-be-fired workers. It is an unmitigated Reagan lie that the economic upturn is providing more jobs for Afro-Americans than other sectors of the population.

Together, the structural crisis and the limitations of the economic upturn are adding a new economic dimension to racism. The full meaning of the Supreme Court's racist decision to destroy the very concept of affirmative action, especially for laid-off workers, is glaring when placed in the framework of the effects of the structural crisis — where the last-to-be-hired are the first to be fired.

Among the long-laid-off victims of the structural crisis there is a growing sense of hopelessness. For a while there were some illusions that making "concessions" to company demands could be a way to get back to work.

But that illusion is being destroyed.

Concessions in wages and work rules have not resulted in new jobs for steelworkers. The huge tax giveaways to the corporations by the Reagan Administration have not reopened a single closed steel plant, or opened any new ones.

The overpraised worker-ownership schemes, like that at Wierton Steel, have resulted in even bigger wage cuts and huge interest payments on bank loans. Such schemes as Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) are not viable, long-range solutions to the structural crisis afflicting the steel industry.

The import-export crisis

The structural crisis in steel is also related to the import-export crisis, which affects the whole working class. This crisis has grown to the point where it is a major factor creating unemployment and generating pressures for wage cuts.

The import-export crisis is fed by new aspects of imperialism, including high debts and interest rates that are strangling the economies of developing countries.

As conditions for loans, U.S. banks dictate wage cuts, price reductions and cuts in economic and social programs, imposing severe austerity and poverty on the working people of the debtor nations. Then the bloodthirsty transnationals move in to take advantage of the high-profit, low-wage conditions. This is creating a new level of crisis in the developing countries.

U.S. finance capital has been investing in new steel mills in South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa. By superexploiting steelworkers in those countries they increase their profits immensely.

The import-export crisis has created a dilemma for working-class internationalism. The solution can not be at the expense of the working class of any country. As much as possible, the solution must be at the expense of the common enemy, the transnationals and corporations that are creating the dilemma.

Why not a law that requires U.S. banks and corporations to invest five dollars in domestic industry for every dollar they invest in a corresponding foreign industry?

Why not tax the superprofits from foreign investments?

Why not a law, based on human and working-class rights, that restricts transnational imports? Bar imports from countries where trade unions are outlawed, trade union leaders are murdered and jailed, where racist violence exists, where there are no minimum wage standards.

There is internationalization of capital. Why not a struggle for internationalization of labor? Why not international labor contracts covering all plants and subsidiaries owned by a single transnational corporation or funded by a bank or financial institution? The labor contract would include affirmative action clauses to wipe out wage and all other inequalities, both at home and abroad.

Therefore, the question is not whether to regulate foreign trade, but how to regulate it and in whose interest. Present regulations are all to the advantage of the most powerful monopoly groups and pro-war forces

The cure for structural crisis

To solve the structural crisis in steel there must be structural changes in class, social and economic relationships.

As long as the steel industry remains in private, corporate hands and is operated for corporate profits there is no future for the basic steel industry or for most U.S. steelworkers.

Structural changes must start with public takeover. Public takeover would lay the basis for removing the transnationals, conglomerates and corporate monopolies from positions of ownership, power and influence over the running of the steel industry.

Steel mills can be taken over and publicly operated through the exercise of eminent domain. This is the right of government to take over a facility of any kind whenever it is necessary for the public welfare.

Structural changes must include the establishment of a six-hour day with no cut in pay. They must include industry and plant-wide affirmative action programs. They must do away with all wage differentials — North-South, racial and male-female.

This kind of fundamental change must also include the establishment of a democratic structure of ownership and operation. Under public ownership, representatives of the union and the community must be involved in the management of industry.

The U.S. steel industry would have to operate at 100 per cent of capacity for the next 20 years to provide the steel needed to repair and rebuild the infrastructure of our cities. It is estimated that this would require about *one billion tons* of steel!

There is also a huge potential overseas market for U.S. steel. This market could be tapped through an expansion in trade in steel and products which contain steel with the Soviet Union (which currently produced twice the tonnage of steel as the United States) and other socialist countries.

Also, fair prices and honest trade deals can open up large-scale exports to developing countries which have thrown off the Wall Street exploiters and are rebuilding their economies.

Thus, if steel is produced for people's needs instead of for corporate profits, the demand for steel can be endless.

Opening these markets requires a foreign policy of peace, not confrontation. To open closed steel plants and modernize our antiquated steel industry we must implement an industrial policy that forces the transnationals and monopolies to stop their investment boycott against the U.S. steel industry. It requires a labor policy that rejects union-busting and the squeezing of concessions from workers to line the pockets of corporations with profits.

All this requires getting Reagan and the Reaganites out of the White House and Congress in November.

As the Communist Party's Presidential candidate, former steelworker and life-long trade unionist, we say a fundamental solution to the crisis in steel, as well as the structural crisis of the whole economy — a solution in the interest of workers and their families — can only be started with the end of Reaganism and Reaganomics. We must begin by turning our country's foreign and domestic policy around by 180 degrees.

A Strategy That Can Win

SCOTT MARSHALL

Election Day, November 6, 1984, is a watershed date for industrial workers in the United States, and for all working people. History will record either that Ronald Reagan was dumped or that he was given four more years to terrorize the world. Working-class history will also record that the 1984 presidential election had direct bearing on the future of industrial workers, steel and auto workers in particular.

The cover of the March 1984 issue of *Solidarity*, the United Auto Workers' (UAW) monthly magazine, puts the situation graphically and well. The cover cartoon shows UAW members on one side of the bargaining table. On the other side are auto bosses, bonus and dividend checks sticking out of their pockets. Behind them stands Reagan, hands on their shoulders, ready to back their attacks on auto workers in the '84 negotiations.

Ronald Reagan has become Big Business' number one union-buster. He has made it plain for all to see that the power of the government is on the side of the bosses. Reagan has the "distinction" of representing the most openly racist and rabidly anti-labor sections of monopoly capital.

The Reagan Administration has practiced direct intervention against labor, exemplified in the busting of the Air Traffic Controllers Organization and the current attacks on the postal workers' unions. Equally fundamental is the Administration's efforts to undermine the legal basis for trade unionism and collective bargaining. Reagan's stacking of the Supreme Court with Right-wing, anti-labor justices and his pro-company appointments to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) have rolled back labor relations almost to the days when unions were banned as "conspiracies to raise wages."

Scott Marshall is secretary of the Labor Commission of the Communist Party, USA.

Part and parcel of this anti-labor offensive is Reagan's attack on programs of affirmative action to overcome discrimination on the basis of race and sex. Reagan has dismantled years of hard-won affirmative action programs. His Supreme Court appointees have led the pack in undermining the legal basis for affirmative action. More than any modern president, his public appeals have been openly racist.

The racial strategy of the Administration, the Supreme Court decisions, the virtual destruction of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, have all clearly focused on dividing the labor movement. Every major test case on affirmative action has involved unions. And every case has been framed to pit Black against white workers; no case has raised unfair company practices as the main issue.

Reagan has done much more than attack unions head on. All his economic and foreign policies are aimed against working people, at home and abroad. The Reagan Administration's attacks on labor, on Black and other minority people, on youth and women, are designed to place the crisis of capitalism on the backs of the people while bolstering profits. According to Reaganism, profits are also government's "bottom line."

New economic challenges to labor

One of the most important features of the current economic situation is what is widely termed the *structural crisis*. Many factors contribute to the structural crisis. Widespread use of microelectronic chips and robot technologies are making sweeping changes in basic industries, eliminating both skilled and production line jobs. This is especially apparent in mini-mill production of steel and in the use of robots in auto.

At the same time, the unprecedentedly rapid military buildup, particularly of military

hardware, creates an artificial, unbalanced and wasteful demand for technologies and materials connected to production of "state of the art" weapons. This distorts economic priorities and has a generally harmful impact on basic industries in the U.S. Plastics and light metals (which substitute for steel), electronic gadgetry and petrochemical products are in growing demand by the military industrial complex, while the demand for steel to rebuild our highways, transportation systems, bridges and crumbling cities falls off dramatically. This artificially restricted demand for steel leads to underutilization of capacity and failure to modernize steel production methods and so sets the stage for steel companies to close plants. Technological backwardness leads to still more plant closings, in a vicious cycle.

Reagan's foreign policy is tailor-made to protect the interests of U.S.-based transnationals. It supports Right-wing police states which guarantee corporations a union-free environment, low wages and a high return on investment. It is therefore a foreign policy that guarantees that U.S. auto and steel workers will continue to suffer the effects of the structural crisis. While General Motors, Ford and Chrysler announce major new production deals in South Korea, Mexico and elsewhere, the giant auto and steel companies continue to shut down plants in the U.S.

There are other evidences of structural crisis in basic industry. For instance, each business cycle leaves more steel and auto workers permanently unemployed. Meanwhile, the giant steel and auto companies are continuing to diversify, to merge, and to engage in financial wheeling and dealing which diverts capital from basic industry. Mergers always mean closing of facilities, elimination of productive capacity and, the bottom line, fewer jobs.

The Reaganites want us to believe that workers displaced by plant closings are simply changing jobs, moving into the high tech and service industries. A few widely, but incompletely, publicized incidents illustrate the mythical character of the "high-tech job revolution."

When Reagan toured a computer school in

Pittsburgh, an ex-steelworker there handed him a resume. Reagan made national headlines by finding the man a job at Radio Shack. It was not widely reported that he quit the job a few months later because he couldn't support his family on less than half of what he had made as a steelworker.

Or consider the example of the group of congressmen, calling themselves the Atari Democrats, who proclaimed high tech industries the wave of the future. Then Atari moved to Taiwan.

The scientific and technological revolution taking place under the control of capital compels organized workers to find new ways to defend themselves. All trade unionists, and particularly the Left, have to take a new look at how to fight under conditions of structural crisis in industry. A dwindling number in the labor movement still hold to the illusion that concessions and givebacks save jobs. Those who advocate such policies are increasingly isolated. The most difficult question being wrestled with is not whether, but *how to* fight back. There is a great deal of searching discussion about a wider strategy for the labor movement.

New thinking in labor

The labor press clearly reflects some of the new thinking. Despite Lane Kirkland's continued cold-war rhetoric, the *AFL-CIO News* has recently printed more factual stories about the struggle of metalworkers in West Germany for a shorter work week, reflected more strikes and other struggles and vented less anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism. This trend is even more pronounced in other labor journals. Beyond reporting strike struggles, much of the labor press has a new militant and partisan tone, reflecting Leftward trends. Many union papers outside of the steel industry have taken up the cause of the copper strikers in Arizona, a first step in rebuilding labor solidarity.

The anti-Reagan tenor of the labor press is another example of this trend. Many articles do not simply list the Reagan Administration's crimes against working people, but make class analyses of Reagan's policies. They speak of the

"adversarial relations" between workers and corporations, and draw conclusions about the role of the government in the class struggle.

Many union research departments are producing wonderful material. They are not only producing factual material exposing the monopolies at home, but are also beginning to dig into the activities of the transnationals, a first step towards revealing the role of U.S. imperialism.

There are other examples. There is a growing call for affirmative action, even from within the American Federation of Teachers. Nineteen or more international unions are on record for a nuclear freeze. An even broader range of international and local unions have become active in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America. Many of these unions have organized fact-finding tours to El Salvador and Nicaragua and followed these with organized speaking tours and film showings about their findings. This kind of union activity is opening many eyes to the role of U.S. imperialism, another step in the direction of labor internationalism. It is the role of the Left to further develop these trends.

All these developments are reflected among steel and auto workers. Many local union officers go far beyond the advanced positions taken by their internationals. Local presidents and officers are among those most consistently and firmly rejecting class collaboration. Again, the main task for Left forces is to help answer the question of "how to."

Every one of these developments accentuates the crying need for a program for industry, particularly "smoke stack" industry, which offers a real way out of the crisis, a program which can be the basis for wide trade union unity. As militant trade union consciousness emerges among widening circles, including union leadership, it becomes more imperative for the Left to play its historic role. That role is, in part, to put advanced program on the agenda for serious discussion, and to help launch initiatives which develop trade union consciousness into class consciousness.

We have to look for long-range solutions to the problems faced by auto and steel workers

while fighting for immediate needs. Because the present intensified attacks on workers have deep roots in long-term structural problems, they require a broader labor strategy in response.

Elements of a fighting program

This broader strategy must include a fight for *massive public works projects*. The country needs steel to rebuild bridges, highways and cities. We need to convert much of present war production to rebuilding our nation's mass transit systems—buses, trains and subways, and to solving the severe shortage of housing for young families. Such massive rebuilding projects would put hundreds of thousands of people back to work.

What is the obstacle to implementing such a policy? It is the opposition of the military-industrial complex, of General Motors, U.S. Steel and of Big Business in general, and their ardent political representatives, the Reaganites. They have different priorities. For them profits come before the country's needs and profits come before concern for jobs. It is their morality that Reaganism expresses.

The selfish policies of a tiny handful of people who own controlling interests in the industrial monopolies and banks stand squarely in the way of the needs of the country. Their policies have run our basic industries into the ground while raking off big returns for the owners. Their strategy is to give precedence to the transnational plunder of workers in various parts of the world over reinvestment in the domestic steel and auto industries.

This plunderous strategy of the monopolies puts before the entire labor movement the question of *public ownership of the basic industries*. Both public ownership and the taking over of private property to serve a public purpose through the right of eminent domain are long-established American traditions. Both have been used successfully on occasion to protect the public good from private greed. Both have been the labor and progressive people's movements' answer to problems in the past. The Tennessee Valley Authority and the great

electrification projects in the Western states are good examples.

Public ownership of the steel and auto industries would necessarily have particular features in each case. Since the steel industry is the core of the entire complex of metal-working industries, and since the basic steel industry is being rapidly dismantled under private ownership, it is appropriate to demand that the entire industry come under public ownership. Only ownership and operation of the steel industry by a public National Steel Authority can safeguard the future of this vital industry and protect the interests of the workers in the steel-making communities, the public and the other industries which depend on steel.

This does not at all mean that one should reject efforts by individual locals, like the steelworker Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago, to compel state and local governments to use their powers of eminent domain to stop specific plant shutdowns. But Left and progressive workers must raise the question of a comprehensive government takeover as the only effective way to prevent the near complete loss of steel jobs in the U.S.

Experience teaches us that there is public ownership and there is public ownership. Employee stock ownership is not public ownership. For the most part, it has been a way for companies to dump crumbling and decayed plants on workers. It has been a convenient way for the companies and the banks to continue milking plants which are in decline, while avoiding social and legal responsibilities. Public ownership should apply to the entire industry, and not just to those plants which have ceased to be sufficiently profitable to interest their private owners. The government and taxpayers musn't be a dumping ground for used-up mills.

Further, public ownership must include democratic controls. No representatives of the old owners or of the banks should sit on a National Steel Authority board. The NSA board must include steel union representation to guarantee union working conditions and wages.

In auto, while the ultimate question is the same, it might make sense to tackle public own-

ership on a company- by-company basis. For example, a government takeover of Chrysler rather than a bailout would have been a logical first step. The bailout undermined union wages and conditions for tens of thousands of workers, put millions of tax dollars into private pockets, and helped Chrysler to join the transnational club by building new plants in Mexico.

The peculiarities of public ownership in auto would partly be shaped by the fact that these are among the biggest of the transnationals. General Motors has income and production greater than that of a majority of the world's nations, and operates in dozens of countries. Public ownership of these transnationals would provide a solid restraint on their ability to shift production to other countries.

Public ownership is most clearly tied to *economic conversion* for the public good in the case of military production. In these industries, considering the tremendous volume of tax dollars involved, the case for public ownership is even clearer. Instead of wasteful military spending, public ownership would redirect our tax money for the needs of the country. It would also make the world a safer place.

Another key element of a broader strategy for labor is the fight for the *shorter work week*. Shorter hours is the correct answer to automation and modernization. The six-hour day in basic steel would mean adding a new shift to twenty-four-hour operations. An across-the-board cut in the work week of one hour would produce two million jobs in the U.S.

The fight for the shorter work week is on the agenda throughout the developed capitalist world. Shorter hours is part of a basic response to the structural crisis of capitalism. In 1886, Samuel Gompers, later president of the American Federation of Labor, said, "So long as there is one person seeking work and can not find it, the hours of labor are too long." May Day of 1986 is the centennial of the launching of the national eight-hour day fight. In preparation for that anniversary, we may well repeat what Gompers said.

Not only the metal workers in West Germany, but the labor movements of many other

capitalist countries have put shorter hours on the front burner as a solution to unemployment and the decline of employment in basic industry. The Canadian Labor Congress voted at its last convention to make the fight for shorter hours a priority issue.

The crisis in basic industries has an extra harsh effect on Afro-American, Mexican-American, Chicano, Asian and other minority workers. The last-hired, first-fired syndrome means these workers are displaced far out of proportion to their numbers. The devastation in these communities is also multiplied, considering that basic-industry employment is among the best-paying available to minority workers.

Therefore, an *affirmative action approach* is essential to a broader strategy for the labor movement. Affirmative action must speak to the urgent need of these communities for jobs. Affirmative action must be seen in the deeds, not just the words, of a labor movement striving for class unity. And affirmative action must be fought for in ways that place the responsibility for racist discrimination on the corporations which have used it as a tool for super exploitation and division in the working class. We have to avoid the trap of fighting over ever smaller pieces of the pie. We have to fight for a larger slice for the whole working class, while making it policy that gains will be distributed on an affirmative action basis.

There is a need for the greatest possible *united action of the unions* in the steel and auto industries in order to put any elements of a broader strategy into action. Similarly, there is a crying need for closer practical unity with workers in the other metal working industries—machinists, electrical workers, aircraft and so on. And there are good reasons for looking at coal miners in the same light. Much of the coal industry is owned by the steel (and/or oil) monopolies. There is a long and proud history of mutual support and solidarity between steelworkers and coal miners in this country to build on.

The experience of labor movements in many other countries, particularly in Europe, has proven the value of *metal-working feder-*

ations that unite and coordinate struggles of the various metal unions. These are the industries which face the worst effects of the structural crisis of capitalism and the greatest cyclical fluctuations. They are the most monopoly-dominated. They face the concerted union-busting efforts of the ruling class and their servants, the Reaganites.

A U.S. metal working federation could take very specific steps towards united bargaining that would greatly strengthen the member unions. For instance, there is the question of a *common contract expiration*. It is clearly the policy of the auto and steel corporations to split up the workers and destroy coordinated bargaining. They have succeeded in splitting off Chrysler workers (as part of the biggest concession package in the history of auto). Following the same pattern in steel, National and Wheeling Pittsburg have been split off. The mining companies are striving to accomplish the same divisions among coal miners. The only winning response from labor is more coordination and higher levels of united bargaining. It is an ABC of trade unionism that labor fights for unity; the companies try to split the workers up.

It is important to note that the USWA, the UAW and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) are presently members of the International Metal Working Federation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Thus the three cornerstones of a U.S. metal workers' federation already have world ties and first-hand experience in that direction.

Of course there is a real need for unions to *expand international labor ties*. The logical first step is greater contact and cooperation with metal unions in other countries dealing with the same transnational corporations. A case in point is General Motors. Recently several unions in South America and Central America met, with the help of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), to map out common strategy against General Motors. They called on their members to support the contract demands of the UAW in the 1984 negotiations and initiated a post card campaign in solidarity with the UAW demands.

Real international ties have to be built on common struggles and common class interests. Labor unity can not be achieved so long as red-baiting splits the world labor movement. Refusing to develop contacts and working relations with unions and metal federations affiliated with the WFTU is playing the transnationals' game. They are delighted with any policy or tactic that keeps workers in different countries divided. What they fear most is genuine trade union internationalism.

Another aspect of expanding international labor ties is the exchange of bargaining experiences, "how to" and other information. The recent strike of West German metal workers for a shorter work week inspired workers throughout the world. There is also the strike of the British miners, which is a model of militancy and

solidarity in the face of the Thatcher government's strikebreaking onslaught.

Defeat Reagan: the first step

A broader strategy for labor must be placed in the context of the next few months. The first step is the all-out mobilization to defeat Ronald Reagan. Maintaining the political momentum that has been built by labor so far in this campaign and continued development of political independence are the key ingredients. The struggle against Reaganism has opened the eyes and minds of thousands of workers. In this struggle, the Left has demonstrated its role as a legitimate part of the labor front. Failure to defeat Reagan will not only strengthen the grip of the corporations on the government, it will imperil the future of humankind.

Communists and Steelworkers— A Look at History

HERB KAYE

In the book *Labor and Steel* (International Publishers, 1933), Horace B. Davis describes the life of a steelworker in the company town of Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, 20 miles south of Pittsburgh on the Ohio river, as it was 50 years ago.

The worker is never allowed to forget that J&L (Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.) [now LTV Steel], is his boss. The J&L whistle wakes him in the morning; he spends his days at the J&L plant; the chances are that he lives in a house that was built by the J&L-controlled Land Co. and pays his bills to the same. When his savings have been eaten up . . . he will have to trade at the J&L store, which grants him credit. No movie will be shown, no teacher will be employed who says anything against the company.

Even more than in most company towns, J&L makes persistent efforts to control the votes of its workers, locally and nationally. At election time, workers' party candidates and their active supporters are driven out of town.

Davis tells how in the elections of 1928 a number of Communist workers were tarred and feathered and run out of town. Others who remained were spied on by company police, who raided their meetings. Three workers arrested in these raids were convicted on frameup charges of sedition and sentenced to long prison terms. Milan Resetar, victim of "company justice," died in jail. Communist election leaflets could only be distributed by being dropped from an airplane. Campaigning, even for the Democratic Party, was cause for firing. This was the kind of company-inspired terror that prevailed in almost every steel town when, in 1936, the CIO launched its historic drive to organize the steel industry.

Herb Kaye, a former steelworker and teamster, writes frequently on labor developments for the *Daily World*.

To break through against these formidable odds required people who had been tested under fire, knew how to operate under the repressive conditions of the open shop, and understood why it was so urgent to organize the basic industries of the U.S.

Though a staunch defender of the capitalist system throughout his life, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mineworkers Union and then chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), was astute enough to recognize that Communist organizers well met the qualifications needed to organize the open shop fortress of the steel industry.

Lewis met with William Z. Foster, leader and inspirer of the biggest effort to organize steel up to that point, and chairman of the CPUSA from 1930 to 1960. Foster had pioneered the organization of steel with a campaign during and immediately after World War I. The National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers which Foster headed, an ad hoc federation of some two dozen unions with jurisdiction in the industry, won the support of the AFL-CIO for an all-out organizing drive.

That drive brought hundreds of thousands of workers into the federated crafts. On September 22, 1919, a strike of 365,000 steel industry workers began; it ended on January 8, 1920. Though this first coordinated national drive was crushed by the full force of the Steel Trust and the government, it planted seeds for a harvest nearly twenty years later. Foster wrote a book, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*, analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of that struggle. The lessons learned and the personnel trained in leading it became important assets in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC-CIO) drive of the 1930s.

Following the meeting between Foster and Lewis, some 60 Communist organizers were included among the SWOC field organizers.

There were others, too. Lewis' own organization, the United Mine Workers, provided a strong core of dedicated organizers. Militants like Leo Kryzky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers also played key roles.

TO BREAK THROUGH in a plant like Aliquippa, you needed someone like Ben Careathers. He was one of a core of Communist leaders and activists who had been shaped and hardened by years of struggle in the unemployed movement.

As a leader of the Unemployed Councils in Pittsburgh, Careathers, a tall Black Communist, had become a legend among the poor and the dispossessed, both Black and white, for his courage and resourcefulness in getting evicted families back into their homes and winning cash relief for the hungry.

The tale is still told in Pittsburgh's Hill District of the time Ben Careathers picked up a cop who was trying to stop the unemployed from returning a family to their apartment, and threw him bodily out of the house.

Careathers volunteered to go into Aliquippa to organize steelworkers.

He went to the bars and pool halls where Black steelworkers congregated. At first he met skepticism about the seriousness of the organizing drive. However, the ice was broken after one worker asked him if the Communists involved in the drive were the same people who were fighting for the nine Black youths being legally lynched on a rape charge down in Scottsboro, Alabama. When Careathers said they were and that he himself was a Communist, the pledge cards for the CIO began rolling in.

A few weeks later, Careathers walked into SWOC leader Phil Murray's office in the Grant Building in Pittsburgh and dumped a box of several hundred pledge cards on his desk. Murray couldn't believe his eyes. He quickly called in SWOC organizers from other offices to show them that "it could be done."

Among other Communists who showed that "it could be done" were Alfredo DeAvila, Joe Weber, Mario Monzardo and Jesse Reece in the Chicago area, Tony Salopek in Duquesne,

Joe Dallet and Joe Baron in McKeesport, and Gus Hall in Warren-Youngstown, Ohio.

Most of them had been active in the Unemployed Councils. Typical of these was DeAvila's Council No. 10, which served as a social club and took care of unemployed cases at the Relief Offices. The club lasted a few years and was a training ground for a number of Mexican-American workers who later distinguished themselves in organizing CIO unions, mainly in steel and packinghouse. Avila himself became the first Mexican-American organizer for SWOC.

Gus Hall later recalled ("Thirty Years of Struggle in Steel," *Political Affairs*, September 1949) that during this period Foster "gave personal leadership to the drive. He spent many days and nights in meetings with those directly involved in the campaign. He met with Communists and non-Communists in the staff and leadership of the SWOC. . . . The campaign very closely followed the proposals made by Foster in his pamphlets." These pamphlets, which were virtually organizing manuals, included: *Unionizing Steel*, *Organizing Methods in the Steel Industry*, *What Means a Strike in Steel?* and an introduction to Dave Doran's *Get Wise—Organize: What Every Young Steel Worker Should Know*.

ORGANIZING STEEL, however, required much more than signing up steelworkers. The workers were from communities all around the mills, largely areas where others of their nationality lived and went to church. In these communities large fraternal organizations had emerged, some under Communist leadership, like the International Workers Order. The IWO provided low cost medical and death insurance. Its progressive leaders also made their members aware of the crucial issues of the time.

In the Black community, Ben Careathers again played a decisive role. He arranged a conference of major Black organizations in the Midwest area to rally support for organizing Black steelworkers into the CIO.

The activities of the Communist Party in organizing basic industries were spurred by the Open Letter to its membership adopted by the

Extraordinary National Conference of the CPUSA, held in New York City, July 7-10, 1933.

The Open Letter declared that the working class would be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital only if it was headed by a Communist Party closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers.

By 1935, Central Committee member Jack Stachel, in a report discussing the work of Party shop clubs (then called nuclei) was able to say, "Maximum attention to these 500 nuclei, these hundred or more nuclei in the factories of 2,000 workers or more, that is the important immediate job for us."

The Communist shop clubs he spoke about were organizing centers that educated, mobilized and gave leadership in the struggles of the workers against the employers' ruthless drive to cut wages, speed up work, eliminate jobs and perpetuate discrimination against Black and other minority workers. At the same time, the shop clubs linked the economic struggles of the workers to the need to stop fascism, which had come to power in Germany, Italy and Japan and which had many sympathizers among Big Business circles in the U.S.

A key factor in projecting the policies of the Communist Party shop club among large numbers of workers in industry was the publication of shop papers attuned to the special problems and needs of each shop. They had names like *Sparrows Point Steelworker*, *P&W Miner*, *Voice of the Rubber Worker* and *Allis-Chalmers Worker*.

The shop papers breathed the workers' resistance to company exploitation. An issue of *Ford Worker* reported:

Five hundred men laid off—the rest working three days a week, and more thrown out every day. That is the way things are at Ford now. Five hundred men locked out of the shop, thrown into the streets, increasing the number of millions of unemployed. The rest of us making wages for three days a week. With the army of pushers on our backs, taking advantage of the situation to abuse us more than humans can stand. Only the Communist Party tells the workers to do some-

thing—to fight for unemployment insurance, to fight against evictions of workers from their homes, to demand work or wages, to refuse to starve.

An article in a 1937 issue of the *Party Organizer*, an inner-Party publication reporting on building the Party in the shops, described the work of Party Unit [club] B in one of the big mills in South Chicago.

Unit B has been instrumental in issuing a printed shop bulletin for several months. The bulletin is attractive, interesting and concrete. The workers read it eagerly. It is distributed inside the mill and at the gates. The bulletin has increased the prestige of the Party in the mill and has been a factor allaying the red scare.

As a result of correct work in the company union, an independent union was formed about a year ago. Following this, Unit B was organized.

At the last election of department representatives in the company union, the independent union put up an almost complete slate. The majority of this slate was elected. The leading company agents were defeated because of effective struggle led by the Unit in exposing the role of the company union.

When the drive to organize steel began, the unit began work inside the mills and in the independent union for support to the CIO.

Opposition in the independent union to the AFL was overcome, and the Union voted to secure a charter from the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers.

There is hardly a steel area in the country where the same kind of nitty gritty, indispensable organizing work by the Communist Party, conducted through its shop and community clubs and the mass organizations it influenced, was not intimately involved in organizing steelworkers into the CIO.

One memorable chapter in the Communist Party's role in organizing steel was written by Gus Hall, presently general secretary of the CPUSA and its candidate for President.

Hall had been a timber worker and iron miner on the Minnesota Mesabi Range. His pro-

ven organizing abilities led to his being placed in charge of the steel organizing drive in the Warren-Youngstown area of Ohio, a position he held throughout the Little Steel Strike of 1937.

The infamous Memorial Day Massacre took place during the Little Steel Strike. It happened at the South Chicago mill of Republic Steel. Company police fired on a peaceful strike picketline, killing ten workers, among them three Communists.

The steel companies organized a frameup of Hall during the strike, charging him with plotting to dynamite a mill. The frameup fell through, however, and Hall went on to lead the consolidation of the Steelworkers Union in the Mahoning Valley.

IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD, as the drive of U.S. imperialism for world domination unfolded, it brought with it a fierce anti-Communist drive. Communists and others who would not knuckle under to cold-war policies in the Steel Union came under sharp attack and were driven from office in many locals.

Although harassed in the plants by company agents, confronted by stool pigeons at "Unamerican Committee" hearings and denied their rights to union leadership, Communist steelworkers held their ground and continued to battle the steel companies.

The Communist Party has continued to devote itself to finding answers to the problems of the growing crisis in the steel industry. Its members strive to unite workers and their allies in democratic action around a program of struggle against the plunder of Big Business. Its proposals have been outlined in many articles appearing in steel editions of the *Daily World*. Some of these proposals have turned up in local or national union publications.

More extended analyses of steel problems have appeared from time to time in *Political Affairs*, and in many pamphlets published by the Communist Party. These include *Steel Labor's Road* by Jim West, 1953; *The Battle In Steel*, Anton Krchmarek, 1960; *It Takes A Fight To Win*, Gus Hall, 1972; *Class Struggle In Steel*, Art

Shields, 1976; *Shake Out In Steel*, Rick Nagin, 1978; *Act Now Before Its Too Late*, Gus Hall, 1983.

Through all these writings and publications the consistent stress has been on the need for struggle against the steel companies as the workers' enemy, and warnings against all forms of labor-management "harmony" as deadly to the workers' interests.

Equally vital has been the emphasis on the need for the strongest unity of Black and white steelworkers as the cornerstone of workers' strength. This has been implemented by fighting racism in all its forms, advancing the fight for Black representation at all levels of union leadership, and pressing for strong affirmative action programs.

Also included have been stress on the fight for the shorter work week with no cut in pay, international workers' solidarity in fighting the multinational corporations, and the nationalization of the steel industry under democratic controls as a major step to counteract the continued liquidation of the steel industry in the U.S.

This last point has been advanced as a major concept in recent years in speeches by Gus Hall in every steel center in the nation. It has gradually been winning acceptance among steelworkers and even among some legislators.

Recently the state of Illinois entered a court action, together with community groups and the USWA, to stop U.S. Steel Corp. from closing its South Works mill in South Chicago. Despite setbacks in court decisions, the fight for the public interest against the steel monopolies is continuing.

This fight was effectively advanced in the course of two mass public rallies held this past year in the shadow of USS's Big Mill, at which Gus Hall spoke to hundreds about the urgent need for nationalization of steel.

The record of the past 55 years of Communist Party involvement in the struggles of the steelworkers for a better life is a proud and honorable one. Steelworkers can be confident that the coming period will see a worthy extension of that tradition.

On the Shop Floor

WORKERS' ROUNDTABLE

Political Affairs recently invited a group of Communist shopworkers together to help launch a new feature of this magazine—"On the Shop Floor." The purpose of this department will be to focus on problems of the class struggle precisely where the confrontation of capital and labor is sharpest.

This month we feature a roundtable discussion among steel and metal workers from the Chicago vicinity. Among the participants in the discussion were workers from Bethlehem and Inland steel companies, General Motors Electromotive, as well as from the recently-closed South Works plant of U.S. Steel and Wisconsin Steel.

PA: Can we begin by discussing the role of Communists and of Party clubs in industry in handling problems on the shop floor? What issues are taken up? What kinds of initiatives are taken?

Rachel: I was in the Party club at South Works steel. One problem which we tackled was women not having enough washrooms, and the ones there were being dirty. What we did about this was pretty much the standard response we had on many issues.

We wrote articles about the problem for the rank-and-file newsletter in the plant. In fact, a special issue of it was put out at all the gates. Then we got together as many people to talk about it as were interested . . . we had a meeting . . . got everybody to come to a union meeting . . . had a demonstration at the plant gate . . . handbills. You know, a lot of publicity, trying to embarrass the company.

Another issue I think our club did good work on was the tremendously high rate of harassment of Black and Mexican workers—firings or disciplines. A comrade who agreed to research the subject found out that 90 per cent of disciplines and firings were of Black and Mexican workers. This was written up in a union newspaper column, and we raised the issue in every forum that was available. It was even put on our list of grievances. While I don't believe

that this succeeded in stopping the harassment, it did have some effect, including making other workers—including white workers—aware of it, when they really hadn't been before.

Charles: There was a shop club where I worked until a few years ago—as a matter of fact two shop clubs, because there were two plants. All the members worked in that particular shop. One was a fabrication plant and the other was an assembly and machine shop. This, by the way, was where locomotives were manufactured.

The shop clubs related their activities to their shop, the problems that existed where they worked. We issued a shop paper regularly—a Communist shop paper—and I also issued a newsletter periodically in my own name, usually starting with the immediate problems the workers faced and then moving on to broader issues like the 30 hour week, the peace issue, and so on.

The shop clubs met regularly once every two weeks and held joint meetings once every two months.

These clubs had a long history of struggle. They were very active in strikes that took place. Especially memorable was the strike that took place in 1945-46 against General Motors. It was actually a joint electrical-auto-steel strike, the biggest in the history of our country. The club

was very active in support of the strike—organizing soup kitchens, going around collecting food from all the wholesalers and so forth. At that time there was no such thing as strike benefits. Survival in the strike was based on what you could scramble around yourself.

Three of the shop club members were also members of the strike committee. They played a special role, bringing ideas into the strike committee on how to conduct the strike. We presented the idea of speaking to other organizations to win their support; we presented the idea of making collections of food from all the stores, especially from the wholesale district, collecting bushels of whatever it took to make soup—that was really our special relationship to the strike committee.

We did not have open meetings so much as recruiting meetings. That way we were able to recruit—not that many, but we did recruit some additional members.

Howie: Recently there was a layoff in my shop, the first real layoff in 50 years. That shows how deep the recession was. The way they did it was a little odd.

First they called a bunch of people into the office and said to them, "I'm sorry, but you're going to be laid off—there's no work for you to do, blah, blah, blah." And they let them go, just like that.

Then a foreman called in Dave (a comrade) and said, "Come here for a minute. Look, we're going to have you stay here. We have some work for you. You'll be doing the same work." Obviously they had tried to skip past a Black worker who had more seniority.

I remember he walked back from this meeting with the foreman and we talked for about a minute. Then he went over and told Willie, the guy who was bypassed, about it, and then they both went back to the foreman again. Dave asked him to repeat to him what he said before. The word of this spread like wildfire around the plant.

And then within the next day we made up a leaflet about racism, asking questions about the way layoffs were conducted. Dave passed

out the leaflets the next morning. The whole place was bubbling.

There was a union meeting the next day and it drew out some 35 people from the plant to the union meeting. This was something new in our local; very seldom were there 35 or 40 people at union meetings. They actually had to call a special meeting before the regular meeting to discuss this thing with the shop workers.

This whole incident put a lot of pressure on the company, made them much more wary of the old methods, of attempts to use racism. And of course what the company was doing was also against the union, violated seniority and the contract.

It really was a perfect way of showing how you could key in on an issue and make it a big issue for the whole shop. It also showed something about how Communists approach problems on the spot, refusing to let their own immediate personal interest to be played off against the bigger interests of the workers and the union.

That's how a Communist really does act, raising issues in the shop that make a difference.

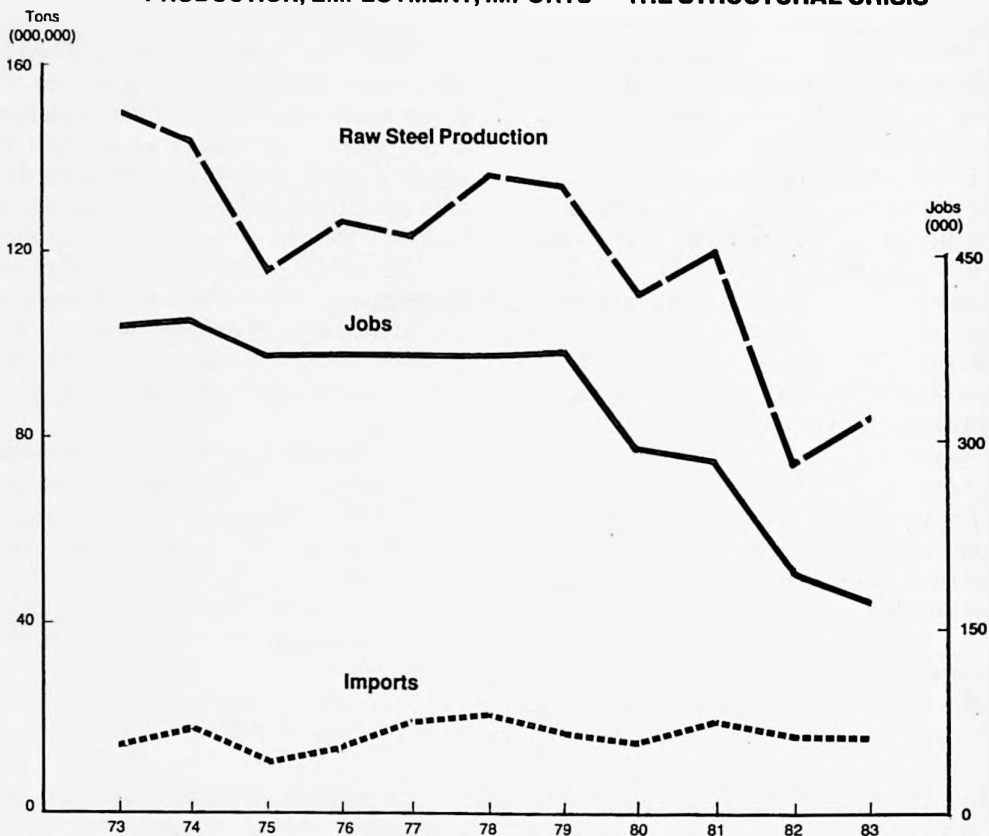
The shop committee (it was three guys, all of whom were white) at that time was furious about the whole affair; they were furious with Dave, really talked about how to get him. But within the year that whole shop committee was thrown out of office. The new shop committee that replaced them was an integrated committee, Black, white and Latin. That was the first time we had that kind of united committee.

PA: Can you say something about the function of the Party club?

John: Well, a lot of times shop clubs turn around problems in the plant and how you approach them. What is the proper way to organize to resolve a particular problem?

Our Steel Club also goes into issues that affect all steel workers; for example, the recent election. We discussed how we could make sure that candidates addressed themselves to the issues that affected steel workers—more ad-

PRODUCTION, EMPLOYMENT, IMPORTS — THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS



U.S. steel production plunged 44 per cent over the last decade, little affected by imports, which remained stable. Steelworker employment fell 57 per cent, and failed to advance even during periods of rising production.

SOURCE: American Iron and Steel Institute *Annual Reports*

HOW TO CREATE JOBS FOR STEELWORKERS

INCREASED TRADE¹



PUBLIC WORKS²



SHORTER WORKWEEK³



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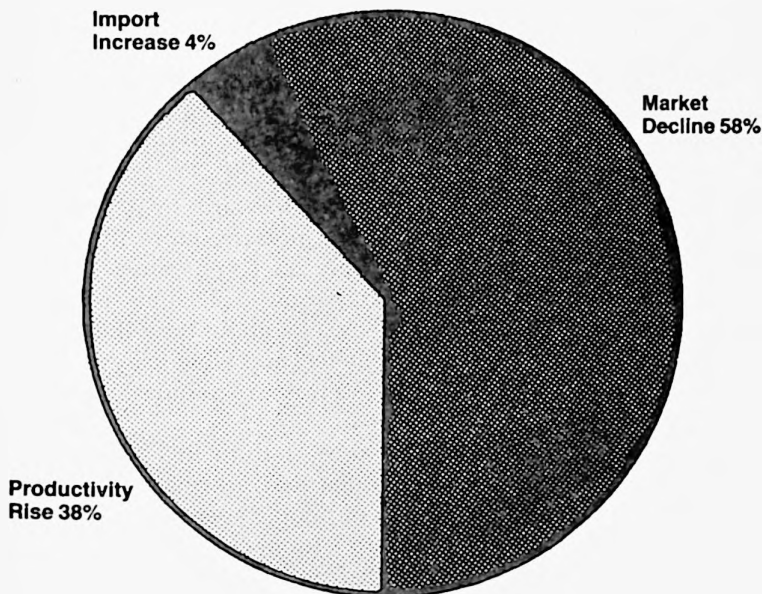
(1) Long-term trade agreements with socialist and developing countries for export of 10,000,000 tons of fabricated metal products per year. (Includes jobs in fabricating sector.)

(2) Based on \$60 billion/year public works and reconstruction program.

(3) Reduce workweek in basic steel production to 32 hours.

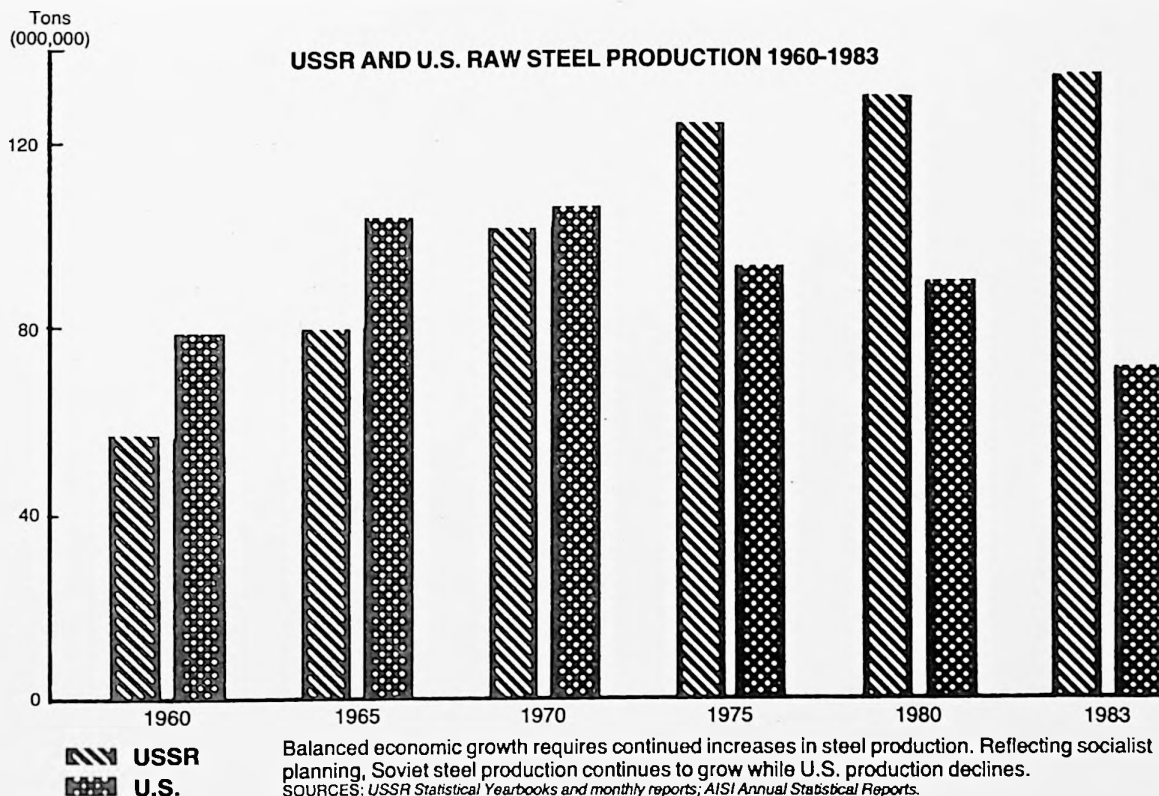
Calculated from data in American Iron and Steel Institute *Annual Statistical Reports*.

WHY STEEL EMPLOYMENT DECLINED 1973-1983



Steel production worker employment fell by three-fifths between 1973 and 1983. A steeply falling market and rising productivity with no corresponding shortening of the work week accounted for 96 per cent of the job losses.

Calculated from data in American Iron and Steel Institute *Annual Statistical Reports*.



vanced issues.

For people to become class conscious, to become Communists, they have to see how forces outside of the plant have an affect on their lives; not just in the plant, but in the communities, in the world.

People tend not to look beyond their jobs. I think in this period, now that the steel industry is slipping down the tubes, people are starting to look a little further and are starting to say, "There's got to be something that's going to straighten this mess out." As this happens some of the people that are presently presently active on one issue or another but not in the Party will realize the need to have a more organized, collective approach to problems. They'll begin to see the need for a working-class party.

Charlie: I want to backtrack for a minute on a couple of interesting developments that took place at General Motors. First, let me say that as far as the Communist shop paper at General Motors, one thousand copies were distributed. This was as many as it was possible to distribute hand-to-hand. But distributing hand-to-hand, especially by myself and a couple of others, had quite an impact in that shop.

Another very dramatic thing that took place in the 1945-46 strike was—and this was on the initiative of Communists—to organize a demonstration of the veterans of the Second World War. All the vets dressed in uniform and marched together as part of the picket line in front of the plant. That was a very dramatic operation. It even made the community press in the area.

Let me say something else about our approach to the problems of workers on the shop floor. We had what they called group grievances, grievances signed not just by the person who's grieved, but by 30 or 40 or sometimes 50 workers, to back up our petition. That was a very effective way of fighting grievances—that was really a method developed by the Communists in the shop.

PA: What other methods of struggle can be emphasized on a day-to-day basis?

Dave: I'd like to say something about the way Howie works. It seems that on every issue that comes up he figures out some way to do something. You need to take up a collection from these guys, to get them to sign this petition or do something. That's truly how you're going to raise their level of attention and understanding and commitment.

It's a big step forward to get people involved even if it's nothing more than giving a quarter or a dime for some cause. I think we could talk about some collections we've taken and it would say a lot about how the people we work with really feel and what they're willing to do, if they have a way to do something.

Howie: You know I think it's funny because sometimes things that are matters of life and death to a lot of people seem so abstract in the news. I take up a lot of collections and I think I learn as much from it as the people I talk to about the issues. After a while it becomes an accepted thing. I've noticed that this way of expressing solidarity with other workers is just becoming standard. Recently, for the first time, we had an official shop collection for the Phelps Dodge copper strikers. We'd go around and give a dollar each. We got over a hundred dollars. The thing is, it makes the people really relate to the things that are going on and it gives you a sense of being together and of being able to do something about what's happening.

I think you've got to really be keyed in on what's happening each day and make the most out of each issue, really organizing on each thing that comes up in the shop. The things we do as Communists are the most important things we can achieve. Otherwise the main result of your work every day will just be to make the company richer.

I don't think that anything would be more frustrating than to work in a shop and not be able to talk to people about the big issues and what the real possibilities are. People are taken up in problems of day-to-day existence. They talk about shop issues, kids, neighborhoods. And no matter what you talk about, the answers could be so much bigger.

PA: John, could you comment on the struggle around the 1984 elections? What contributions is the Party in industry currently able to make in it?

John: We are backing the formation and work of "Dump Reagan" committees—T-shirts, buttons, posters, leaflets, rallies and so on. We also think it is crucial to unite the forces of labor, including Black workers, and the Black community. The potential for this unity is there, but there are a number of initiatives which we have taken recently to help to bring it into being.

In fact, my local has played an important role in this. The Hatcher forces in Gary and Bill Andrews, the Black president of the largest steel worker local in the country, have been involved in approaching Democratic officials and labor forces statewide to achieve this. If these forces are split it will be impossible for the Democrats to have a chance of carrying the state.

At the same time, we are active carrying on a petition campaign to get Gus [Hall] and Angela [Davis] on the ballot.

PA: How would you assess the attitude of the workers in the steel industry today in relation to the election?

John: A lot of people who said they voted for Reagan last time aren't voting for him this time. I think the biggest problem isn't in the steel industry. I think the people who vote for Reagan are not so much in steel as in surrounding communities.

Another problem is overcoming apathy and defeatism. We ran into a problem in Gary just recently where a lack of mobilization of people to vote cost Katy Hall her seat in Congress. We see that as an indicator that some special organization has to be done to get people out to vote.

PA: It is said that the biggest lie of the twentieth century is the distorted image anti-Communists give of Communists. Charles, you have worked and been active and been known as a Communist over a long period of time in the same shop. What do you think was the

image of Communists in the minds of most of your fellow workers?

Charles: I think that because they saw and knew a live Communist, anti-Communism didn't have the same hold that it otherwise would have had. They recognized that a Communist is a fighter and when they had problems they couldn't solve themselves they would come to me and want to know, "What shall we do about this?"

Let me give you an example. During the McCarthy period I was called before the House UnAmerican Activities Committee. I wondered what kind of a reception I was going to get back in the shop, because the newspapers widely publicized my appearance. But I got only about three negative reactions to the fact that I appeared before that committee. As for everybody else, what really impressed them was the fact that I didn't answer about 59 questions. The fact that I simply refused to answer those questions—they were amazed by that.

Claude: There are many different levels of understanding of what the Communist Party is. There are some people who will not vote for you and who will even bait you, but when they get in trouble they'll come to you. "How can I get the union to deal with this grievance?" And it's not just grievances. "They're trying to build a housing project right next to us. What can we do about it?" They may come to you on all sorts of things you don't necessarily agree with, because they see Party members as problem solvers.

We try to show through our activity that the company does not hold all the cards and can be challenged on things. For example, there was an instance where Rachel was stopped from passing the paper out at the plant parking lot. She went to court. There was a landmark ruling, workers had the right to pass out material. This had a big impact at the plant.

Rachel: We shouldn't look at it as the normal thing to not be able to talk to people about what we stand for, what we want to see. The normal

thing should be, "Well, I'm a Communist. And it's the most important thing in my life so why shouldn't the people whom I'm trying to influence know about it?"

To the extent that it's possible, this should be our approach. I don't mean walking around wearing a badge or something. But why not bring in a handful of *Daily Worlds* and give them to people? Why not write a shop paper and hand it to people and say, "I wrote this"?

When we had the last *Daily World* subscription drive I just went through my phone book and called up a lot of people and asked, "Why don't you subscribe?" And almost everybody I asked did. Actually, nobody just told me "no." It was interesting when, later, we had a demonstration in support of the Phelps-Dodge strike. I went through my phone book again to call people. All the people who had *Daily World* subscriptions knew where I was at. I didn't have to explain to them, "There is a strike. . ." and so on and so forth. But the people who didn't have subscriptions I had to really talk to.

Rachel, you had raised the question before that workers have an image of Communists anyhow, if not our image, then one they got elsewhere. What do you think is that image and what is the reality you would want to convey?

Rachel: It really bothers me that most people haven't even a faintly accurate picture of what the Party is. Perhaps they think that being a Communist is a state of mind, or a commitment, but they don't see it as an organization that does things.

To confuse matters further, we had dozens and dozens of ultra-Leftists, members of little splinter groups, who were very vocal and obnoxious. This was also confusing to people. It

may make them think that there are all kinds of Communists and radicals, some are good, some are bad, some are nice, some are obnoxious.

I think it's important wherever possible to have a shop paper which will make people aware of the Party and what it really thinks about things.

One interesting thing I've noticed about workers—I guess it's true of all people—they are likely to have three or four opinions on any particular topic. And depending on the conversation, on the angle the subject comes up, one or the other opinion is going to come out. It's because most people don't have a unified ideology and way of looking at the world.

So on the one hand they have been told and may believe Communists could invade America and destroy their living standards, and on the other hand they think that Communists are militant and radicals and we do need somebody like that, even though we don't agree with them, to shake things up. And then again they think they're these dirty hippies. The same person might think a little bit of all these things.

What they really don't think, though, is that these are people who have an organized group, who are members of a party of the working class. I don't think they know Communists are people like themselves, but who have a scientific outlook about society, or understand what that could mean.

And that's the idea I'd like to get across to people. First of all, this is an organized group of the working class that is interested in furthering the welfare of the working class. Secondly, it is something they can fit into—that goes along with their life, that could be part of their life. It's not something strange. It's something that honest people can think about in terms of their own life, and want to join us.

Labor Speaks Out for Peace

BEN RISKIN

Many significant changes are taking place throughout the U.S. labor movement. New currents are in motion. One area of marked change is in the fight for peace.

Two key issues underlie these significant changes — the pervasive and well-grounded fear of nuclear annihilation arising from Reagan's policies of nuclear buildup and confrontation; and the harmful impact on employment and wages — especially in the basic mass production industries — of the military buildup, expansionist policies of the transnational corporations and the structural problems of industry.

These two factors have combined to produce a new and widening involvement in foreign affairs by the labor movement and the forging of greater links between organized labor in the U.S. and labor movements abroad.

This new development has been noted in the peace movement. For example, the May 1984 *SANE World* states:

... many Americans have the misconception that all of labor is pro-military. But we are witnessing a shift toward peace throughout our society and the labor movement is no exception. On many fronts — the battle against the MX, the campaign for a nuclear freeze, the growing opposition to arms spending, the outcry over military intervention in Central America — unions are playing a strong role.

The entire issue of *SANE World* is devoted to the theme, "Building Bridges — Labor and the Peace Movement."

A co-chair of SANE, it will be remembered, is William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) — the largest union in war production industries. The other co-chair is Prof. Seymour Melman. Both

Ben Riskin is a veteran trade union activist and a former staff representative of the United Electrical Workers and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' unions.

Melman and the IAM have produced important studies demonstrating that production for peace provides more jobs than production for war. The findings of such studies provide a persuasive basis for a union leader like Winpisinger to talk to his membership about the need for economic conversion to production to meet the needs of our population — they show convincingly that peace coincides with economic security and a better life for workers.

"In the IAM," writes Winpisinger, "we'll keep working at it. The moral imperative is obvious. Economic conversion is the way to bring the workers along with us as we attempt to reverse the arms race and bring an end to the 'permanent war economy.'"

The IAM is not alone. Nineteen national labor organizations have endorsed a bilateral U.S.-Soviet freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

It is worth studying the list. It covers most of the largest unions in the nation — both in the AFL-CIO and unaffiliated. For example, in addition to the IAM, the list includes the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACTWU), the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) — largest union in the AFL-CIO as of their San Francisco convention in June 1984.

The second largest AFL-CIO union — with more than 1,000,000 members — the United Food and Commercial Workers, is also on the list.

The largest union in the nation, with 1,700,000 members — the National Education Association — is still another in the group.

Gone are the days of labor blacklisting labor — the West Coast Longshoremens' Union and the United Electrical Workers work here side by side with the Auto Workers, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), with its 850,000 members, the Communication Workers

(CWA), and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). These are a sample of the 19 organizations listed.*

But this merely scratches the surface.

Many national and international union conventions have been flooded with resolutions from the locals, echoing and supporting statements submitted by the top officers to the convention for approval.

AFSCME's 2,704 delegates, for example:

... recommended the union take the initiative in working toward peace and fighting for justice around the world in Nuclear Weapons Freeze, Defense Spending, Weapons Systems and the Arms Race, Peace in Central America, Human Rights and South Africa. (*Public Employee*, August 1984.)

Then, quoting from its Resolution on a Nuclear Weapons Freeze:

AFSCME calls upon the Congress to suspend funding for the testing of nuclear warheads and the testing and deployment of new nuclear ballistic missiles and anti-satellite weapons as long as the Soviet Union makes and implements the same commitment. This principle is embodied in the Arms Race Moratorium Act, and AFSCME hereby declares its support for that Act.

Again, the January 1984 issue of *The Service Employee*, organ of the 850,000-member Service Employees International Union, reports a

The 19 unions are: Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); American Federation of Teachers (AFT); Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU); Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); Communication Workers of America (CWA); International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM); International Chemical Workers Union (ICWU); International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC); National Education Association (NEA); National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; the Newspaper Guild; Screen Actors Guild (SAG); Service Employees International Union (SEIU); United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW); United Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers International Union (CLGAW); United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE); United Farm Workers (UFW); United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW).

statement adopted by the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET). (FIET is one of the oldest of the international trade secretariats, representing some eight million workers in 84 countries. Richard Cordtz represented SEIU at the FIET convention.)

According to the statement adopted by FIET, the billions spent on arms "constitute a serious obstacle to the world's economic health. . . . Resources being wasted on the worldwide acceleration of the arms race is adding significantly to the loss of jobs." Linking peace and jobs, the statement called for a shorter workweek without loss of pay and "called on governments to reduce their military budgets and put their resources into social programs leading to full employment."

Then the delegates "called on workers both East and West to participate in a worldwide campaign for *disarmament, detente and peace*. (my emphasis—BR).

But labor's involvement in peace activities is not confined to convention resolutions. Labor has been forming important alliances with the peace forces throughout the country. The Southern California Unions for Freeze, for example, produced 77 local union endorsements and obtained 308,000 signatures calling for a pro-freeze proposition on the state ballot.

This understanding of the need for labor to seek and promote alliances was underscored by Marc Stepp, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), and Executive Board member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, in his speech to the recent CBTU convention in Cincinnati. After describing the New Deal coalition which organized the mass production industries and created the movements which led to progressive social legislation despite the depression of the '30s, Stepp told the assembled union delegates:

Now, as then, we are going to have to build coalitions with many different organizations, including other unions, community groups, socialists and Communists . . . We need to unite on the ideas that are brought to the table.

Another example finds William H. Winn, international president, United Food and Commercial Workers (AFL-CIO), on the Board of Advisors of the Center for Defense Information, the director of which is Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRoque, U.S. Navy (ret.), an outstanding figure in the fight for peace.

The actions, coalition efforts and resolutions involving the national unions are paralleled at local levels as well. This was evident as far back as 1982, in the preparations for the enormous June 12 Rally for a Nuclear Freeze and Disarmament in New York City — which brought one million demonstrators to New York City. Twenty five New York unions representing a quarter of a million workers announced their support for the demonstration, pledged to rally maximum labor participation, and formed a steering committee to coordinate the action. This was a steering committee of top union leaders, not limited to rank-and-file activists. Just a few names will indicate the level of participation: Jacob Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and Victor Gottbaum, head of AFSCME District Council 37, largest union in the Big Apple, were joined by top leaders of CWA, CBTU, IAM, Dist. 65 UAW, United Storeworkers, Teamsters, United Food and Commercial Workers, Hospital Workers District 1199, Ironworkers, Coalition of Labor Union Women, New York State Nurses Association.

Out of this developed a New York Area Trade Union Committee on War, Nuclear Destruction and Military Spending, with leaders from TWU, ACTWU, Fur, AFSCME, OCAW, United Storeworkers, CLUW.

In Baltimore, Maryland, leading trade unionists formed a Labor Task Force of the Maryland Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Unions represented constituted the major labor organizations in that area — AFSCME, Steel, Teachers, Food & Commercial Workers, Hospital, Machinists, Furniture, Garment, Clothing, with officers from AFSCME, IAM and Teachers.

The activities of this group led directly to the unanimous adoption by the Baltimore,

Maryland, AFL-CIO Council (January 19, 1984) of a resolution calling on the U.S. "to immediately negotiate with the Soviet Union a mutually verifiable freeze on the testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons, and of missiles and aircraft designed to deliver them." Copies of the resolution were to be sent to the President, the Maryland Senators and Congressmen and to the press.

In Chicago, the Packinghouse Workers voted a similar resolution, "applauding their International Executive Board's endorsement of the call for an immediate U.S.-USSR mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons as an essential first step towards reducing the risk of nuclear war." Similar resolutions were adopted by Local 1256, United Steelworkers, in Duquesne, Pa., by the Bucks County Council (AFL-CIO), by the Ohio State Council of Machinists, by Local 1076, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Ohio, and by unions throughout the country in numbers too great to list.

The Pennsylvania AFL-CIO 25th Constitutional Convention unanimously adopted four resolutions for Jobs With Peace. It then launched a petition campaign to place the Jobs With Peace issue on the November ballot.

This groundswell explains why the AFL-CIO's 15th Constitutional Convention in Hollywood, California, last October had to amend its hard-line resolution on National Defense. The amendment read:

Among our membership, as in our society, a majority favor a verifiable bilateral nuclear freeze. Others are skeptical. But we are united in our conviction that the nuclear arms race must be halted and reversed, with radical reductions in the warhead stockpiles on both sides being the objective of arms control negotiations so that the nuclear balance, and thus deterrence, can be secured at much lower levels of potential destruction. (My emphasis—BR.)

Though by no means a model peace resolution, this means that the cold warriors have been forced to admit for the record that *the majority of the members of the labor movement, as*

well as the majority of all Americans, favor a nuclear freeze. It sets the basis for those representing this majority position to insist on bringing the full weight of the labor movement to bear on the side of peace.

One such move came when the presidents of 16 national unions formed the National Labor Committee in Support of Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador. A co-chair of the committee is Sec. Treas. Jack Sheinkman of ACTWU, who led a delegation of labor leaders to El Salvador to study conditions there at first hand. On its return to the U.S., the committee issued a devastating report to the people of our country exposing the role of the U.S. in that unhappy nation. In March 1964, Sheinkman spoke on the steps of the Capitol at a rally organized by the committee.

U.S. intervention and the threat of war in Central America has spurred great reaction among the trade unions. In the San Francisco Bay Area 19 labor organizations co-sponsored a tour of three high-ranking labor officials from Central America. During the tour, these guests spoke at scores of union halls, at the SEIU state convention, AFSCME state convention, the Alameda and Contra Costa labor councils. It is estimated that more than 1,500 Bay Area unionists met at various times with at least one of the Central American labor leaders.

An example of the strong feelings about this issue is the response to the naming of Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, to serve on the Kissinger Commission by Ronald Reagan. The commission was intended to produce a bipartisan whitewash of the Reagan Administration's policies in Central America. Kirkland had been attacking Reagan, calling for his defeat in 1984 and for united labor support of Walter Mondale, a position clearly at odds with the purpose and function of the Kissinger Commission.

Nineteen elected officers of AFL-CIO local unions in the Boston area joined in a statement dissociating themselves from Kirkland's participation in and endorsement of the Kissinger commission report. They condemned the report as increasing "the threat of even deeper in-

volvement in the war in Central America and the re-election prospects of Ronald Reagan."

The statement was released to the press on the letterhead of the United Steelworkers of America Local 2431, as reflecting "the growing opposition within the labor movement to current U.S. policies in Central America, and the resistance of an increasing number of unions to any AFL-CIO support for those policies."

Signatures on this statement, which was given to Kirkland directly, identified the signers as presidents or executive directors of 19 local unions affiliated with major international unions: three from Steel; three from Auto; three from SEIU; three from AFSCME; one from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; one from the Fall River Central Labor Council, and so on.

As the statement just cited exemplifies, in each and every case mentioned in this article, the unions relate their peace policy to the need to defeat Reagan and Reaganism in 1984.

This direct linkage — the fight for peace requires the defeat of Ronald Reagan — was put forth in June 1984, in a speech by William Wynn, president of the Food and Commercial Workers Union, at a conference on economic conversion to peacetime production held in Boston. Winpisinger and James Kane of UE were among the sponsors. Said Wynn:

The movement for peace can not grow sufficiently — in size, in organizational strength, in momentum — and achieve the goal we all hunger for, without the wholehearted, complete, unreserved support of the entire labor movement.

It is not enough to have the Bill Winpisingers (IAM) and the Bill Wynns, the Murray Finleys (Amalgamated Clothing) and the Gerry McEntees (AFSCME) — we need the entire labor movement . . . And we must reach out for their support.

The labor movement and the peace movement have not always been able to work together effectively. That's because people on both sides have sought to emphasize our differences rather than our agreements.

If we do that again in 1984, Reagan will win. The human race will . . . lose to the arms race.

Reaganism: A Threat to the Nation's Health

DAVID LAWRENCE

Arms makers and corporate profit takers are better off than they were four years ago while the elderly, the poor and their children, the long-term jobless and members of racial minority groups are worse off. The reason for both is Reaganomics.

The trillion-dollar Reagan armaments program threatens all life on earth in the years ahead while the slashes in social programs to pay for armaments have already impaired the health and jeopardized the lives of millions.

Let the record speak for itself.

• *Medicaid.* From his first days in office Reagan launched a massive attack on Medicaid. Since 1982 Medicaid cuts have totalled almost 5 billion dollars.

In the Administration's proposed budget for Fiscal Year 1985, an additional 3 per cent would be cut on top of the current 4.5 per cent reduction in Medicaid payments to states. This would result in \$567 million less in federal Medicaid payments. The slash in federal matching funds will force the states to cut back their own Medicaid expenditures, provide fewer services or reduce the number of program eligibles. More than half the states have already reduced their minimal service package as a result of Reagan's four-year attack on Medicaid.

Reagan's plans for the next four years call for more billions in Medicare cuts and mandatory co-payments by elderly, disabled and low-income families for hospital and doctor visits. These increased out-of-pocket expenses will hurt those depending on Supplementary Security Income (SSI), Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), working poor families and elderly and disabled pensioners with incomes slightly above welfare levels. These co-payments will cost them \$270 million in FY 1985 alone.

• *Medicare.* This program is already flawed by the absence of any coverage for drugs, vision

and dental care and its restricted preventive and long-term care. The Reagan program calls for undermining Medicare by cutting its FY 1985 budget allocation by \$1.05 billion, raising the cost to those receiving Medicare by over \$4 billion over the three years beginning in 1985.

Further, the Reaganites propose to delay Medicare payments to the first day of the month after the beneficiary reaches the age of 65. This represents a slash of \$265 million in FY 1985 and \$910 million over the next three years in government Medicare spending. This proposal hits hardest those with least protection. It is also a trial balloon for raising the age of eligibility still further.

These and other Reagan strategies clearly move in the direction of a return to the primitive custom of ushering the elderly into early graves. Ancient societies of scarcity moved the elderly to isolated areas where, deprived of food and shelter, they awaited death. For barbaric Reaganism, the elderly of the working class and oppressed minorities are a drag, a deadweight which must be eliminated.

• *Maternal and child health care.* Federal programs providing prenatal care have been cut over the past three years. Medicaid cuts have left many states unable or unwilling to care for low-income pregnant women. Twenty six states do not cover pregnant women or children in low-income two-parent families. Ten states do not cover first-time pregnant women. Forty four states report reductions in maternal and child health (MCH) prenatal and delivery services as a result of Reagan policies.

A life-saving nutrition program for women, infants and children (WIC) is headed for the Reagan axe in FY 1985 which will cut out 500,000 participants.

The administration's policies have curtailed the eligibility of low income women to receive prenatal visits. This results in sharp increases in

the infant mortality rate. While the national infant mortality rate continues a gradual decline, there is a marked rise in the infant death rate among the lowest income families. This is directly related to the Reaganite policies which cut off pregnant women from prenatal care in government and private institutions.

In South Carolina, mothers who received few or no prenatal visits had an infant death rate 600 per cent higher than those who had five or more visits. The University of Kentucky Medical Center refused care to 387 low-income pregnant women in 1982. The Humana-owned Lake Cumberland Medical Center in Kentucky denies pregnant women admission unless they pay a \$1,200 deposit. In Terrell County, Georgia, a private hospital regularly turns away women in labor. In that county the infant death rate is 66 per cent higher than the statewide average.

In New York City's central Harlem the infant mortality rate was 27.6 per thousand in 1982 compared to a national rate of 11.2.

The racist edge of national health care policies is especially evident in the death rate discrepancy between white and non-white babies. Nationally, Black babies die at double the rate of white babies. In Raleigh, N.C., the rate for Black babies is three times higher, while in Wilmington, Del., it is nearly six times higher. And in the nation's capital, where the Afro-American population is the majority, Black babies died at nearly four times the rate of white babies in 1982.

One in every five children lives in poverty today. This is three million more than only three years ago. Almost 40 per cent of the poor in the U.S. are children. Federal cuts under Reagan have left many children without health care. Fewer than half of all low-income-family children are fully immunized against preventable diseases. High blood lead levels are nine times more common among children in low-income families. Iron deficiency anemia is three times as common for children in low-income families.

The Reagan Administration proposes for FY 1985 sweeping changes in the AFDC program. These will result in the loss of AFDC benefits and Medicaid eligibility amounting to \$230 mil-

lion for poor women and children.

In the face of these facts, which spell death and illness for millions of infants and children, anguish and heartbreak for their parents, the Reaganite talk about "liberation of the unborn" and the "right to life" stands exposed as pious hypocrisy and callous demogogy.

This reveals the two Reagans: the stage Reagan reading his lines (and lies) about saving the lives of the unborn; and the real-life Reagan who cold-bloodedly wields the axe against programs which can really save lives of infants, children and mothers.

Occupational and environmental health

From the very beginning of his administration, Reagan attacked occupational and environmental health regulations in a variety of ways, with the aim of giving Big Business complete license to profits at the expense of workers and communities.

As early as November 1981 the American Public Health Association charged the Administration with "willingness to compromise public health in favor of economic interests." Among other things, it cited Reagan budget cuts resulting in 12,000 fewer federal and 22,600 fewer state inspections of workplace hazards, the closing of several area offices of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), the elimination of training programs, etc.

The war against health and safety on the job and in the environment was waged not only through budget cuts, but also by appointment of Right-wing clones to regulatory agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and OSHA, the courts and the National Labor Relations Board, who proceeded to mow down existing standards.

Reagan slashed the EPA operating budget from \$1.3 billion in FY 1981 to \$1.04 billion in FY 1983, a 20 per cent cut in funding before inflation is taken into account. In FY 1984 Reagan went for another cut of 9 per cent. Additional budget cuts of 38 per cent in construction grants for waste treatment facilities in 1983 seriously impaired that program. For FY 1984, he proposed that these funds be cut by another \$2.4

billion.

The American Environmental Safety Council (AESC) pointed out that the FY 1985 budget request for EPA was far less than the actual funding under the Carter Administration for FY 1981. *Nation's Health* wrote (March 1984): "Such cuts make carrying out the Agency's old responsibilities implausible . . . All the toxic statutes of 1976-1980 in theory should have been implemented in the early 1980s. Almost nothing has happened."

Other attacks on health care of the poor

In FY 1985 the Reagan Administration is out to cut \$3.7 billion from all domestic programs for low-income families. Since 1981, Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) has been cut by 10 per cent. Approximately 365,000 families have been cut off from AFDC and an additional 260,000 families had their benefits reduced. Reagan wants a further cut of 9 per cent in FY 1985.

The Administration wants to cut \$850 million in food assistance to low-income families in FY 1985, after reducing the food stamp program by \$2.5 billion in 1981 and 1982. The Women, Infant and Child program (WIC), providing supplemental food, would suffer a cut of \$217 million in the new Reagan budget, eliminating 500,000 participants from the program.

The class character of Reagan's war on the people's health is evident from the foregoing. Within that context, the sharpest edge of that attack is directed against oppressed minorities. The health of Blacks has been particularly adversely affected by the Reagan budget cuts. In the last three years, Medicaid has been cut by \$4 billion. One of four Afro-Americans is enrolled in Medicaid. Recent AFDC cuts of 13 per cent resulted in the loss of Medicaid eligibility for over 365,000 families. One in five Afro-Americans receives AFDC. Black babies die at twice the rate of white babies. Pregnant minority women depend heavily on the maternal and child health block grant, which has been reduced in 47 states.

The Hispanic population is very much dependent on federal programs which have been

slashed by the Reaganites. One study found that 62 per cent of poor and near-poor Hispanics are uninsured during all or part of each year. Programs serving the uninsured Hispanic population, such as community and Migrant Health Centers (MCH) have been cut in the last three years. The Administration aims to decrease tuberculosis state grants by \$5 million although the disease is on the rise in the Hispanic and other minority communities.

Targeted for deep cuts in FY 1985 is the Indian Health Service (IHS). These cuts would end the IHS Urban Health Service and funding for construction of health and sanitation facilities. They reduce by 50 per cent funding for IHS Preventive Health Service.

Cuts in occupational and environmental health programs have a disproportionate impact on minorities. The General Accounting Office found that 75 per cent of hazardous waste sites were in predominantly Black communities.

Under the Reagan Administration, civil rights enforcement in matters of health has been drastically reduced. The Health and Human Services (HSS) Office for civil rights has replaced an emphasis on enforcement with a "voluntary compliance" program. The office now reviews compliance with statutory standards for hospitals' care of Medicaid patients only once in three years. It has failed to address lack of hospital access for Southern Blacks.

Special problems of the uninsured

Approximately 40 million people in the United States lack full-time, year-round health insurance coverage. These include an estimated two million who are homeless.

In 1982, 300,000 families reported that someone in their family was refused medical care for financial reasons. Hospitals regularly turn away uninsured low-income patients. "Patient dumping," the transferring of low-income uninsured patients from one hospital, usually private, to another, usually public, is increasing in many communities, often as a direct result of Reaganomics. For example, during 1982 and 1983 there was a 500 per cent increase in the number of patients transferred to Chicago's

Cook County Hospital from private hospitals. During 1983, 7,100 sick people (an average of 19 per day) were sent by ambulance from the emergency rooms of other Chicago hospitals to Cook County Hospital.

The problem of the uninsured confronts the public hospitals with a crisis. A 1983 survey of public hospitals in seven large U.S. cities found that 76 per cent of the patients treated were unemployed. Half were using public hospitals for the first time. Many public hospitals without funds to provide care to the uninsured are reducing services or are being sold to for-profit hospital chains.

Health care—victim of militarism

There is an integral relationship between Reagan's war preparation policies and his systematic decimation of health care funding and programs. Tens of billions of dollars have been shifted from social programs, including health care, and poured into the Pentagon.

A number of health care organizations across the country spotted this aspect of Reaganism early on. For example, the Public Health Association of New York City passed a resolution in March of 1981 which contrasted Reagan's proposal for a \$53 billion increase in the military budget with his proposed huge cuts in Medicaid and in programs for school lunches, child nutrition and food stamps.

The American Public Health Association (APHA) in 1983 also called attention to the rapid rise in military spending at the expense of funding for public health.

Late in 1981, the APHA called on hospitals throughout the country not to participate in the

Reaganite "Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System" (CMCHS) of the Department of Defense, under which 50,000 civilian hospital beds were to be set aside for the treatment of military casualties in case of war overseas. This contingency plan showed that the Reagan Administration was actively preparing to wage war and, as the APHA pointed out, it anticipated an unprecedented number of casualties, fitting the military's description of a limited nuclear war. The APHA declared that participation in the CMCHS was tantamount to approval of preparation for nuclear war and of the concept that such a war can be limited in scope or that it is inevitable.

A large number of progressive health organizations have expressed antipathy to this program. Physicians for Social Responsibility has played a leading role in the national opposition to it. Eddie Ytuarte, spokesperson for Emergency Bilingual Health Services in San Francisco, voicing its opposition to this Reagan plan, declared, "It shows the government is preparing for war at the expense of the working class, and particularly minorities, in this country."

Horrendous as this Reagan record is, it still doesn't tell the whole story.

Reaganism makes humanity an endangered species.

Reaganism is dangerous to the health and safety of the working class and all oppressed minorities.

That is why organized labor and all oppressed people, family farmers and small business and professional people, are uniting in order to defeat Reagan and the Reaganites in the November election.

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How to Answer New Questions

KOMMUNIST EDITORS

Our time involves a serious intensification of the theoretical activity of the Party. It is no accident that the Twenty-Sixth Congress raised the matter of rewriting the Program, and linked that task to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee similarly emphasized the exceptional role the new wording of the Program will have in the theoretical, ideological and indeed the entire work of the Party. In this one must see a continuation of another important tradition dating back to Lenin — a tireless struggle against all the attempts to play down the role of revolutionary theory, against a narrow-minded, utilitarian and pragmatic attitude in dealing with the fundamental questions of Party activity.

Thus, way back at the turn of the century some Social Democratic figures clamored a lot about the need to get rid of "doctrinairism," of the "ossification of thought." They triumphantly repeated the famous dictum of Marx: "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs." Lenin exposed those high-sounding phrases as an effort to gain freedom "from all integral and pondered theory" and, under the guise of a theoretical renovation, implant "eclecticism and lack of principle." Behind the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement and the spread of Marxism, Lenin spotted a dangerous weakening of interest in theory. "Quite a number of people with very little, and even a total lack of theoretical training joined the movement because of its practical significance and its successes. . . ." He wrote, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea can not be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable

preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity" (Coll. Works, Vol. 5, p. 369).

Today, especially in a number of capitalist countries, one is bound to encounter similar disrespect for Marxist-Leninist theory even on the part of people lining up under revolutionary banners. There are still quite a few enthusiasts who "reject" the very principles of the scientific world outlook, giving as the reason their concern for freedom of criticism and the necessity of drawing closer to practice. They also reject "classical" Marxism, and would supersede it with a "relativist" variety without the "hateful" laws governing capitalist development. They would study each particular situation according to its own "theory." Concealed behind all this is an old ailment with which the Communist movement has long been familiar — underestimation of the contradictions of capitalism. This ailment sometimes results in a line which actually seeks reconciliation with the class enemy.

Yet life at each step provides evidence not of weakening, but of aggravating capitalist contradictions and not of prosperity and stabilization, but of the degradation of capitalism. Take, for example, the turn in capitalist economic development observable since the middle of the 1970s. There has been a steep decline in economic growth, the overall pace of technological progress has obviously slowed down and new advances in the field of robotics have only added to the rise in mass unemployment. We witness a new stage in the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, and this shows itself in many forms.

Cyclical production slumps have become significantly heavier during the last ten years. In their depth and time-span the crises of 1973-1975 and 1980-1982 were the biggest in the entire post-war period. Yet not so long ago many bourgeois economists asserted that crises in the

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capitalist economy had been overcome and that a cycle found expression only in reduced rates of production growth, and not in its absolute fall. Even among Marxists there were people who held that it was time to discontinue the theoretical elaboration of the Marxist theory of economic cycles and to focus scholarly attention on how socialism could draw upon the capitalist experience of state guidance and market economy. It was against this kind of supporters of "organized" capitalism that Lenin battled when working out the second program of the Party.

Another important feature of the current state of the capitalist economy is that its cyclical crises have become interlaced with structural, long-term crisis processes. Structural crises have affected, in particular, the major industries on which the growth of previous decades largely rested (the ferrous metals industry, cars and trucks, shipbuilding, textiles, chemicals and many others). Even such a science-intensive branch as electronics has not gone unscathed by crises.

Thus, capitalism is obviously not in a position to cope with the economic and social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution and to assure a crisis-free, harmonious development of the productive forces of society. The root cause of the main conflict between productive forces and production relations under capitalism is revealed in the current program of the Party: state-monopoly capitalism has its sharp edge directed against the interests of the working class and the mass of the people.

The reformist illusions of the 1950s and the 1960s were all built on one or another variant of the conception of a "general welfare state." They interpreted the expanding economic role of the bourgeois state as a transformation of capitalism into a mixed economy where the state is concerned equally with the interests of the opposed classes. The nationalized sector, anti-cycle regulation and the programming of the economy, as well as social insurance, were all seen as a proof of the ongoing metamorphosis into socialism.

Now that Reaganomics and Thatcherism —

open onslaught on the living standards and rights of working people under the flag of a "return" to free enterprise — dominate bourgeois economic policy and mass lockouts of workers occur even in countries with Social Democratic governments, illusions about "general welfare" have been dispelled. Yet there are people who still assert that state monopoly capitalism has brought about the reduction and gradual disappearance of the exploitation of labor. Even if the degree of exploitation does grow, they say, that is not always the case and there is hope that social partnership and parliamentary coalitions may re-engineer the machinery of the bourgeois state to operate in the interests of working people.

But the reality of capitalism easily refutes these groundless assertions. State-monopoly capitalism has greatly accelerated the concentration of production and capital and facilitated a wider monopolization of the economy, with the result that workers' exploitation has intensified both in industry and in the sphere of circulation. The increased level of organization of the working class has been countered by the monopolies' control of the means of production and of the commodity and labor markets. Any improvements in working conditions and job safety are won at the price of greater subjection of the employee to the dictates of the production process, of increasing the pace of work, diminishing its creative character and adding to its monotony and intensiveness. When scientific and technological progress enlarge the share of mental operations in the labor process, the intellectual abilities of employees become a new object of exploitation and an additional source of surplus value. Capitalism, moreover, has extended its domination to wholly new spheres of exploitation, such as educational and medical establishments and scientific laboratories. It has drawn into the process of exploitation new categories of production participants and is widely using novel, more subtle and artful, methods of exploitation.

Through hard struggles, workers are seeking to win and do win nominal wage increases, but the monopolies offset them by increasing

prices for goods. Thus, the process of exploitation, beginning within the capitalist enterprises, continues in the sphere of retail trade and services where the workers act as mass consumers. The mechanism of inflation has become one of the most potent means for the redistribution of national income in favor of the exploiting class. The state contributes to inflation by its policy of budget deficits, by the issue of depreciated money, by the maintenance of inflated prices for goods bought from the monopolies, and by wage freezes.

It is sometimes asked: "Isn't it true that wage workers in developed capitalist countries are now better off than half a century ago?" Or: "Hasn't the sphere of social insurance expanded; aren't there high unemployment benefits available, and so forth?" Yes, this is so, but it in no way abolishes the fact of the growth of exploitation and mass poverty. Of course, organized labor in these countries has succeeded in raising its level of material well-being by forcing the bourgeoisie to forego a part of the profit from production expansion and to make concessions in the field of social legislation. Involved also was the desire of the bourgeoisie to reduce the intensity of the class struggle, to abate mass unrest and to weaken the attractiveness of real socialism.

But not a single one of the concessions has been made without intense battles, without fierce attempts to divide the working class and to take away its gains at the first opportunity. Moreover, even the increased level of material well-being lags considerably behind the material and cultural requirements of workers under the scientific and technological revolution and, most importantly, behind the faster growing income and wealth of the exploiter classes. It is precisely these processes that Lenin had in mind when he noted that "poverty grows, not in the physical but in the social sense, i.e., in the sense of the disparity between the increasing level of consumption by the bourgeoisie and consumption by society as a whole, and the level of the living standards of the working people" (Coll. Works, Vol.4, p. 201).

Neither can it be forgotten that, as stressed

in the Leninist Program of the Party, there are lengthy periods of time when an absolute worsening of the material well-being of the workers occurs. Thus, for example, in the USA, according to the official data published in the Annual Report of the President, the level of real wages of industrial workers has dropped 15 per cent over the last ten years and now equals that of 1961 — before the beginning of the war in Vietnam. The rate of unemployment, which then stood at 6 per cent, has increased to 8-10 per cent. This the real result of the economic laws of capitalism and capitalist state strategy, and not the one depicted in the writings of the "loyalist" advocates of capitalism.

The present situation, compared with that when the Third Program of the Party was adopted, further reveals the seamy side of state monopoly capitalism, proves its anti-people nature and its basic incompatibility with the interests and needs of the workers. It shows that state monopoly capitalism is the main hindrance to human progress.

Before the Second World War there clearly appeared two directions in the evolution of state monopoly capitalism — its military-fascist variant, exemplified by Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan, and its bourgeois-reformist variant, present in Roosevelt's America. The emergence of these two directions was quite logical. They now appear in the class strategy of the imperialist powers as they confront the forces of democracy and socialism. One of these tendencies is the route of open militarism and violence; and the other route seeks accommodation to the realities of the general crisis of capitalism — the route noted at the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU.

What is new in the development of state monopoly capitalism over the last few decades is that its reactionary thrust has been significantly intensified. This is reflected in the political superstructure by a "conservative wave" which has brought Right-wing, war-hawkish and revanchist forces of monopoly capital to power in the USA, the FRG, Britain and Japan.

At the economic base the same tendency

has an objective foundation in the increased importance of the military-industrial complex and transnational corporations. The real danger of this will continue in the foreseeable future irrespective of specific political realignments that may take place in the bourgeois camp. This aspect of the matter calls for special attention in the theoretical investigations of modern capitalism, for to underestimate it or somehow to gloss over it is to be blind to the enormous danger hanging over both the working people in the capitalist states and the whole of mankind; it means failure to understand the objective foundation of the militaristic foreign policy of U.S. imperialism and NATO.

Several phases can be traced in the development of the military-industrial complex. When monopoly capitalism was still in the process of formation, military-industrial concerns were isolated, although very influential, deviations from the general rule. On the eve of the two world wars the munitions industry expanded primarily in connection with the aggressive plans of imperialist states that sought a re-partitioning of the world. It was not until after the Second World War, when the arms race was launched in the USA, Britain and some other countries, that arms manufacturing concerns became a more or less permanent component of peacetime capitalism. There was a concurrent permanent merger of these concerns with the top brass and the political machinery of the capitalist state. Thus, so to speak, until a certain point in time the military-industrial complex was on the fringe of the financial oligarchy and played only a subordinate role in the shaping of the general political strategy of imperialist states.

At the turn of the 'eighties, a new stage in its development began. First, the military-industrial complex changed from a subordinate force into a dominant one with its own clearly formulated economic and political program. In the economic sphere, that involved the ensuring of a steady modernization of the means of mass destruction, quite often to the detriment of the genuine interests of national security. The plans of an unabated arms race for a period of

decades worked out by the Reagan Administration provide a striking example of this. In the political realm they project the constant fanning of international tension, the whipping-up of war hysteria and the pursuit of an anti-Communist crusade.

Second, an intensive process of internationalization of the military-industrial complex is under way. Arms manufacturing is being boosted in West European countries, Japan, Israel, the Republic of South Africa and a number of other states. It intertwines with the military-political superstructure and the rise in the influence of militarism on politics. It grows rapidly, fed by capital investments from arms concerns of other countries which cooperate in the development and manufacture of new types of weapons and in a division of arms markets in third countries. The military constantly consolidate their position in the NATO organization. In this process some contradictions develop between the participants in the international alliance of warhawks and the death merchants. But on the main questions of the arms race, members of the evil league of sword and money bag hold a common position that is completely hostile to the policy of arms limitation, detente and the reduction of international tension.

The dominance of the military-industrial complex entails heavy consequences for the economy and the living standards of the masses. Arms spending grows systematically through cuts in social allocations and, in the long run, threatens a total destruction of the system of social insurance established as a result of workers' struggles. Large budget deficits keep fueling inflation and absorbing the resources for large capital investments. By siphoning off funds from the development of new peaceful technologies and new consumer goods and services, the military-industrial complex hampers the technological progress in general, dooms the economy to low growth rates and leads to mass unemployment and a curtailment of the real income of working people.

In the political field the dominance of the military-industrial complex nourishes the most extreme forces of reaction. Limiting the material

and cultural requirements of working people, restraining their mass discontent and suppressing the working-class and antiwar movements require methods of government that violate-bourgeois democracy. This means an intensification of control over minds, of the cult of violence and racism and of chauvinistic and military psychosis. As the experience of the 1930s teaches, in the conditions of mass social ferment and unemployment, the breeding ground for fascism may expand with extreme rapidity.

The influence of the military-industrial complex is explained, in particular, by its alliance with the most reactionary section of the transnational bourgeoisie. The growth of the importance of transnational corporations in the last few decades is a fact described in detail in literature. But just describing these corporations is not enough, It is important to move forward and show the role of transnational capital in the general system of modern capitalism.

It was Lenin who, criticizing Sokolnikov, pointed out the inadequacy of the statement made in the Party Program about the international interlacing of capitals. "Internationally organized associations of capitalists," he wrote, "existed *before* imperialism. Every joint-stock company with a membership of capitalists from various countries is an 'internationally organized association of capitalists.' The distinguishing feature of imperialism is *something quite different*, something which *did not exist* before the twentieth century — the economic partitioning of the world among international trusts. . ." (Coll. Works, Vol.26, p. 167).

Thus, international trusts did exist at the beginning of the twentieth century. What new features appear in their development as the century ends? First, the concentration of production reaches a qualitatively new international level at which the profitable manufacture of many kinds of products (especially high technology) often proves impossible without the merger of national monopolies into multinational ones. The international unification of concerns of different countries is dictated by production and market necessity and becomes an

inevitable response to it.

Transnational banks have also been rapidly growing since the end of the 1960s. Involved in this process are the largest banks of the world — American, West European and Japanese; these form transnational groups of financial capital and financial oligarchy. Mergers of international giants of industry and banking also take place.

In the situation where the power of monopolies has fused with the power of the state, the formation of transnational financial capital also affects state capitalism. Representatives of foreign, internationally intertwined capital penetrate the state machinery. The bankruptcy of the old methods of stimulating the economy induces attempts at coordinating economic policy (and now not within the comparatively narrow limits of regional blocs) and regulating reproduction on a transnational basis. All this provides compelling reasons for raising and studying the evolution of state monopoly capitalism.

Marxists have not the slightest doubt about the erroneous interpretation of this process in Kautsky's theory of "ultraimperialism." Lenin subjected that theory to scathing criticism. While not questioning the premise that the concentration of production tends to lead to a "worldwide trust," he strongly objected to 1) concluding from this that inter-imperialist contradictions would die away and 2) inferring that "super-imperialism" is eventually bound to develop a peaceful character.

The idea of a single "worldwide trust" continues to be a futile utopia in our time as well, even with the rapid growth of transnational financial capital. One must see that the unification of the imperialisms of different countries means, as Lenin stressed: a) joint struggle against socialism; b) joint struggle against the forces of national liberation; and c) the joint exploitation of developing countries. Modern transnational capitalism joins forces precisely for the achievement of these aims, which explains both the increased tendency of the last few years for "Atlantic solidarity"; and the attempts to strengthen the economic foundations of imperialist blocs.

Lenin proved that no unification of this

kind could eliminate contradictions between national imperialisms. Today's reality gives convincing proof of this. Inter-imperialist rivalry is intensifying on all the fronts: in trade and the export of capital, for the sources of raw materials and the spheres of capital investment, and around tariff, credit and currency policy. To the old forms of contradictions are now added new ones, connected with the conflict between the interests of the transnational financial oligarchy and the requirements of national state regulation.

This new set of contradictions is manifest primarily in the striving of American capital, acting through transnational monopolies and banks, to gain control over the economy of Western Europe, Japan and other regions. Beneath the slogan of the fight against transnational monopolies one can often discern growing resistance to U.S. interventionism, to its plans for economic subjection of not only developing, but also developed, countries. Many countries regard protection against transnational capital as a means of preserving their national sovereignty and independence. This is logical, since transnational financial capital is in principle incompatible with the national interests of any capitalist country, including the USA. Precisely because of its transnational character it acts against national interests in a particularly destructive manner. The transnational corporations shut down scores of supposedly unprofitable plants, eliminate hundreds of thousands of jobs and place whole areas of the advanced countries in danger of de-industrialization. Transnational military-industrial complexes, in supporting an unrestricted arms race, ignore both the considerations of national security and the interests of mankind, which has been seeking deliverance from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

Lenin was a thousand times right when he showed that, contrary to Kautsky, there was no peaceful imperialism. The ideology of social revenge — against real socialism, the newly-independent states, the workers of the capitalist countries themselves — binds transnational capital to the military-industrial complex.

The nature of imperialism is fixed; its interests are incompatible with the interests of mankind. The increasing relevance of these thoughts of Lenin must find reflection in our literature.

The relationship of forces between socialism and capitalism has substantially changed in the last few decades. World socialism has reached such a level that its existence as a system is not only guaranteed, but it is exerting an ever increasing influence on objective processes throughout the world, including its capitalist part.

Moreover, in the nuclear century the preservation of peace is a pivotal issue, without a correct understanding of which and without practical activity to achieve which we can not hope for successful development of the world revolutionary process, which is to take mankind to communism.

What, in these conditions, is the relationship between the inner contradictions of capitalism and the struggle between the two systems? There can be no place for uncertainties in the reply to this vital question.

In the first place, it must be stressed that what constitutes a source of war danger is not the struggle between the two systems and not socialism's historical advance, but imperialism and its intrinsic internal laws. Socialism does not need military expansionism; its general line is peaceful construction in the countries where it has won or where it is being built.

The idea of socialism inspires those who stand for a revolutionary transformation of society in the countries where capital still rules. This does not require any special arguments, but for the general public in the capitalist countries, which is being daily stupefied by the lies about a "Soviet military threat," the repetition of the truth about the peacefulness of socialism and the disclosure of this peacefulness by showing the concrete actions and initiatives of Soviet foreign policy are important political and ideological tasks.

That imperialism is the source of the nuclear threat, one would think, should be clear to

every Marxist. However again and again one has to refute the far-fetched and false allegations about the "equal responsibility" of imperialism and real socialism for the tension in international affairs.

The Soviet Union is not engaged in an "export of revolution" or interference in the affairs of other countries. Socialism can not be implanted from the outside; it grows only in the soil of the objective requirements of social development in each country. It arises inevitably as a result of the inner laws and contradictions of capitalism. The class struggle is exactly one of the most vivid and striking examples of these — antagonistic and irreconcilable — contradictions. No one can stop the class struggle so long as exploitative society exists. It would be absurd to demand or hope for that.

The Communists are for the class struggle so long as it is inevitable. They are also for peace. But peace too, and this each revolutionary knows very well, does not come without a struggle. Peace is not a thing to be asked for from the class enemy, who can only be forced to accept peace. An earnest of this is the strengthening of the forces of socialism and the confident strides of the world revolutionary process. The growth of the might of socialism, the unity of the socialist states, the increasing role of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the international Communist and working-class movement and the mass antiwar struggle of peoples are all real factors on which rests the Communists' faith in the possibility of safeguarding peace and curbing the forces of imperialism and war. The period of detente proved this. Behind the success of detente stood not only able diplomacy, but primarily the new relationship of forces between the two systems, including recognition by the main capitalist country of the existence of approximate military parity.

Yes, parity, and not the social status quo. If somebody thinks that peace and disarmament

are to be guaranteed by the observance of social equilibrium, he is deeply mistaken. First of all because imperialism itself has not renounced its attempts at export of counterrevolution and the restoration of capitalism. This is consistent with the nature of imperialism, with its striving for world rule, for the exploitation and suppression of the entire world. Reaction hates real socialism primarily because it is the main barrier to implementation of these imperialist plans.

In other words, the struggle for peace and socialism are indivisible. Communists are working to preserve human civilization, but they are also fighting against the oppression and exploitation of man by man. The system based on exploitation and oppression is precisely the one that gives rise to the threat of nuclear war.

Of course, there are politicians in the capitalist world today who understand the irreversibility of social changes in the world and are aware of the need and mutual advantage of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The existence of such forces opposed to the military-industrial complex was one of the factors contributing to a relaxation of international tension. As already noted, the present era has produced fascism and today's militarism, but it also produced the likes of Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy. It would be an illusion to believe that the Roosevelts and Kennedys of our time will become Communists or Socialists. But they do grasp the value of peaceful coexistence and the danger of political adventurism for both their own people and all mankind.

Realism in politics is an exceptionally important part of international relations. It does not annul, but, on the contrary, presupposes a serious and uncompromising ideological struggle with those who believe in the infinite future of capitalism. As for Communists, they are convinced that the future belongs to socialism because such is the course of history.

BOOK ENDS

How to Forge Labor Unity Against the Transnationals

FRED GABOURY

Labor Confronts the Transnationals, prepared by Labor Research Association, International Publishers, New York, 1984, 111 pp., paperback \$3.50.

In publishing *Labor Confronts the Transnationals*, Labor Research Association continues its fifty-year tradition of surveying trails that will, one day, become major thoroughfares of mass labor struggle.

This book is a compilation of the major papers presented at the Second International Conference on Trade Union Unity Against the Transnational Corporations jointly sponsored by the Trade Union Research Bureau of Vancouver, British Columbia, and Labor Research Association (October 1983). It shares information, experiences and ideas for developing trade union unity to defend the interests of workers in the face of a worldwide offensive masterminded by the handful of transnational corporations which dominate the economies and politics of the capitalist world.

Although the book holds special interest for trade unionists, it should also appeal to the broad spectrum of individuals and organizations who have come to understand the role of the transnational corporation and the need for a common strategy to struggle against them.

As Alain Stern, general secretary of the Trade Union International of workers in the metal industry, told the more than 250 delegates from 55 unions in 9 countries who attended last year's conference, "The transnationals have, until now, been able to do more or less as they please because they have not been confronted in a united way by workers and their trade unions."

Stern's speech is published in its entirety in *Labor Confronts the Transnationals*, as are the remarks of representatives of the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the United Nuclear Industry Workers of Mexico and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers of Great Britain.

From the keynote address of Ernest DeMaio (representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions to the United Nations) to the closing remarks by Rick Barry (president of the United Electrical Workers of Canada) this rather small book provides both compass and ammunition to those in the ranks of the labor movement who have, as the saying goes, "signed on for the duration."

Although easily read in an evening, *Labor Confronts the Transnationals* provides food for thought for struggles that may take years to bear fruit.

Fred Gaboury is editor of *Labor Today*, a 22-year-old, national, independent labor journal dealing with problems confronting the labor movement. (Monthly, \$5/year, 7917 S. Exchange, Chicago, IL 60617.)

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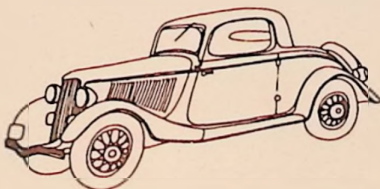
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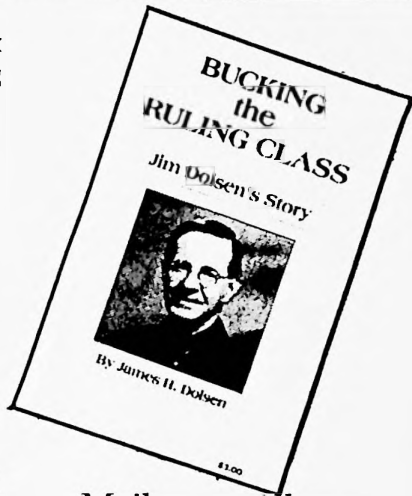
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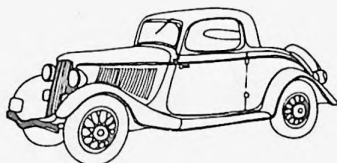
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