

POLITICAL AFFAIRS Oct 1977 \$1.00

political affairs

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

VOL. LVI, No. 10

OCTOBER 1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>George Meyers</i> Unity: The Road Ahead for U.S. Workers	3
<i>D. Donati</i> A Time for Reveille	9
<i>Communist Party, USA</i> Labor: One Voice for One Fight	13
<i>Edward Boorstein</i> U.S. Economy: Problems of Declining Maneuverability	15
<i>Simon Gerson</i> On Building a Mass, Anti-Monopoly Party	22
<i>Central Committee, CPUSA</i> 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution	27
<i>Michael Zagarell</i> "Total Propaganda" and the Class Struggle	35

Cover: Labor's legendary heroes. John Henry—
steeldriver; Paul Bunyan—lumberjack.

Political Affairs is published monthly by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc. at 235 West 23 Street, New York, New York 10011, to whom all orders, subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be addressed. Subscription rates: \$10 for one year; \$5 for six months; foreign subscriptions, including Canada, \$11 for one year; single issues, \$1. Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, New York.

From the Editors to You. . . .

There is growing resistance by the U.S. working class to the continued worsening of living standards resulting from the chronic economic crises of U.S. capitalism and the monopoly anti-popular offensive. This resistance is reflected in part in the mounting challenge to the policies of the employers and their agents in the labor movement, the Meany bureaucrats. An integral part of revitalization of the labor movement is the advancement of labor unity on the basis of a program of progressive, militant trade unionism.

In the interest of helping to stimulate discussion of the vital question of labor unity, this issue of *Political Affairs* features two articles on the subject by George Meyers and D. Donati, and the Labor Day statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, "Labor—One Voice for One Fight."

We invite our readers, friends, and other trade unionists and interested people to submit their responses and experiences on this subject for publication. Constructive differing opinions advanced in the interest of further clarifying and enhancing labor unity and militant trade unionism are welcome. Manuscripts should be typewritten, double-spaced, and should not exceed 2,000 words in length.

In order to make this discussion available to the widest possible audience, bundle orders of the October Political Affairs are available at the special rate of 5 copies for \$3.00 and 10 copies for \$5.00

* * * *

Welcome new readers and subscribers.

We are encouraged by the response to our special offer for new subscribers (see back cover) which has netted to date over 100 new subscribers. In addition a number of new commercial outlets for *Political Affairs* have been established at newstands and bookstores.

We plan in the future to continue our efforts to fashion a more attractive, popular journal, reflecting the high standards of *Political Affairs* contents.

We welcome your opinions, suggestions and comments on these changes. Let's make it a collective undertaking. Please continue to popularize and circulate *Political Affairs* among your friends. Why not put *Political Affairs* on your holiday season gift list for friends and libraries in your local community and educational institutions.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Gus Hall, *Editor*
Barry Cohen, *Associate Editor*
Joseph Brandt, *Managing Editor*

James E. Jackson
Daniel Mason
Daniel Rubin
Betty Smith

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Unity: the Road Ahead for U.S. Workers

GEORGE MEYERS

Unity is the primary, the indispensable weapon of struggle for the working class. It must be strong enough to overcome the power big business gets from its control of the economy, the state, military, mass media, the police, courts, banks, the two-party system, the colleges. (Gus Hall, *World Magazine*, 9/3/77.)

“Left-Center unity” is a form of the united front, at the point at which the united front exists—a form which unites Communists, socialists, independent-minded workers and progressives in solidarity—and based on a program of defending the fundamental rights of the working class at the point of production, and the country at large. (Henry Winston, *Political Affairs*, July-August, 1977.)

The big corporations in the United States are solidly united in a carefully orchestrated campaign designed to maximize profits at the expense of the living standards of U.S. workers.

This insidious drive is led by the organized might of monopoly capital—the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the newly spawned Business Round Table, composed of the top executives of the nation’s 168 largest corporations.

Against this gang-up stands a poorly organized, divided trade union movement whose dominant leadership is wedded to the bourgeois ideology of “class partnership.” Politically, it is virtually impotent. As a result, the wealthy are lining their pockets with unprecedented profits at the very moment almost 20 per cent of the productive capacity of our country lies idle.

Mass unemployment continues to fester as the major problem facing the working class. Contrary to doctored government figures, fifteen to twenty million workers are without jobs much of the time. Millions of young workers have never had a job. Millions of older workers are permanently laid off. For both, prospects for a job at a living wage are very dim.

In New York City, 74 per cent of young white workers, and an even more outrageous 87 per cent of young Black and Puerto Rican workers between the ages of 16 and 19 years live in forced idleness. What is

the government’s answer to this criminal situation? Stop publishing job statistics for New York City!

Unemployment is a doubly heavy burden on Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other specially oppressed minority workers, and on women workers. Here, the evil effects of racism and discrimination are most clearly revealed in all their ugliness and brutality. There can be no equality, no human rights, for anyone, without a full-time job at decent pay and with decent working conditions.

The corporations combine the threat of unemployment with the “foreign imports” scare to attempt to frighten workers with jobs into accepting more speedup, heavier work loads and inadequate wage increases. Big outfits like Cadillac in Detroit and Ford Motor Co. in Cleveland have drawn thousands of job-hungry unemployed workers to their plant gates by announcing they are taking job applications, even though jobs are non-existent. Such sleazy tactics are then used against workers on the job. “If you don’t like your job, get out. There are plenty outside waiting to grab it.”

Plaintive cries for welfare reform are heard everywhere. President Carter raises this question every time some one mentions unemployment in his presence, or inquires as to his banker friend, Bert Lance. The implication always is that the unemployed would not work if they had jobs. Yet, even the rumor of job openings, no matter how few, brings massive line-ups of unemployed, hoping against hope

they will be among the lucky ones to get hired.

According to AFL-CIO economists, one out of nine full time workers—working at least 40 hours per week, 52 weeks per year—receive below poverty wages. As a result, they are forced to turn to public assistance in one form or another to keep a roof over their heads and put food on the family table. In this way, public welfare is used to subsidize low-wage employers, just as it is used to enrich greedy landlords and doctors. Basic welfare reform requires a decent job at a minimum wage of \$5.00 per hour for all who are able and willing to work.

As a result of widespread big business propaganda, there are a great many people both at home and abroad who believe that unemployment insurance has taken care of the problem in the United States, and even that most unemployed workers draw up to 95 per cent of their past wages. The cruel facts are that only slightly over three million unemployed workers draw any compensation whatsoever, and a relative handful of these receive supplemental unemployment benefits as a result of trade union pressure.

The Department of Labor admits there are 1,650,000 Black workers unemployed, with twice the unemployment rate of whites. The Urban League has shown that actually twice this number of Black workers are unemployed. But at the same time, the Department of Labor admits to 6,926,000 white workers without jobs. Isn't it obvious from even these figures that unemployment is a drastic, immediate problem for *both* Black and white workers, and that a successful fight for jobs requires a *united* working class and trade union movement, of Black, Brown and white, male and female!

Crisis of Meanyism

Since the formation of the AFL-CIO in 1955, the percentage of workers organized has consistently declined. In 1955 it was 27.7 per cent of the work force—low enough. Today it is down to 21.6 per cent. About 14 million workers are members of AFL-CIO affiliates. Another 5 million are in independent unions such as the Teamsters, National Education Association (NEA), the United Automobile Workers (UAW), United Electrical Workers (UE) and others. This is out of total work force now estimated at 95 million. Recently, the Department of Labor announced the loss of another 767,000 union members in the last two years, 400,000 of them women workers.

This dangerous decline and stagnation is only partially due to the loss of jobs. It is also caused by a widespread ruling class campaign of strike-breaking and union-busting. Well financed Right wing organizations have mushroomed from coast to coast—the National Right to Work Committee, the John Birch Society, Young Americans for Freedom, the Heritage Foundation, the Committee to Defeat the Union Bosses' Candidates, and so on. Each has three things in common. Red-baiting, racism and anti-unionism.

However, the refusal of the AFL-CIO leadership to launch a militant, united organizing drive in the South or anywhere else is the fundamental problem that must be overcome. George Meany has made it very clear that organizing the unorganized has a very low priority with him. "We're doing all right," brags Mr. Meany. The so-called "labor law reform bill" now being projected by the Carter Administration with the endorsement of the AFL-CIO is no answer to anything, except to cover Carter's renegeing on campaign promises to labor. What is needed, first of all, is a reversal of present AFL-CIO do-nothing policy so that a united trade union drive to organize can be developed, particularly in the South, where anti-unionism is dramatized by the fact that only one out of six new General Motors plants in that section of the country is unionized. The percentage is even worse for General Electric, Westinghouse and other multinational giants.

Only a militant, firmly united labor movement can smash the massive anti-labor, anti-people offensive launched by the U.S. monopolies on the political front. A tremendous expenditure of time and money by the AFL-CIO and a number of unaffiliated unions during the last elections on behalf of the Democratic Party was an important factor in the election of President Carter and a Democratic House and Senate. Yet, the trade union movement remains virtually impotent, suffering one sickening defeat after another, on such issues as the \$3.00 minimum wage, repeal of Taft-Hartley, and even passage of the common situs picketing bill. Rosy pre-election promises by Carter to organized labor are broken and unfulfilled. Both houses of the Democratic Congress are at the service of big capital.

Yet, Meany continues his championship of the monopolies. As recently as June 1977 in the magazine *Management World* he declared that "The free enterprise system has no stronger supporter than the

American labor movement." He went on to proclaim support for the "right of return on invested capital." While expressing shock at "how little businessmen know or understand about the trade union movement," he expressed his own understanding of the "free enterprise" system with the following: "we expect opposition from employers who have, after all, a natural stake in minimizing wages and fringe benefits in order to maximize profits and dividends."

At this writing, the UAW membership is debating whether or not to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO. The top leadership is divided 18 for, 3 against. The rank and file is also divided, many being repelled by the racist, no-struggle policies of the Meany leadership. The progressive-led Auto Workers Action Caucus supports reaffiliation within the framework of struggle for a fighting program to organize the unorganized, a shorter work week, affirmative action, support of detente and trade with the socialist countries, and so on.

Unity and Program

The position of the Communist Party is for maximum unity of the trade union movement. We believe that the trade unions can best fulfill their role as mass organizations of the working class if they are united in one body, working for a common program. This means not only affiliation of the UAW, but of the Teamsters, NEA, UE, United Mine Workers and West Coast Longshoremens. The Labor Day statement of the Communist Party, "Labor—One Voice For One Fight," deals with this point as follows:

With labor united in one organization, the process of consolidation already in progress could proceed more vigorously. Fragmented, competing unions only play into the hands of such anti-labor corporations as duPont, General Electric and others.

Is unity, in itself, enough? To return to the AFL-CIO accepting the pro-corporation, non-working-class, pro-military policies expressed by its top officers; the racist, elitist craft mentality of the building trades leaders; and the divisive machinations of Right social democracy would not only be an error—it would be a disaster!

The mass media works to present George Meany as a tough fighter for the workers. But his history is of one sorry retreat and blunder after another. His position of "class partnership" at a time when the

crisis of capitalism continues to deepen could not dictate otherwise. Policies of class collaboration, even when dressed up in the false rhetoric of Right social democracy are no longer adequate, even to "hold the line," let alone advance. That is why the rank and file of labor is shifting to policies of class struggle trade unionism, and is beginning to develop leaders who support its militant concepts.

Meany continued in this same vein in his recent Labor Day Message. "Labor Day has become a family day. It is a leisurely day when most workers rest, content with the knowledge that the labor movement has become accepted as an institution in American society," he pontificates, and goes on to say that AFL-CIO members know their employers recognize their right to form a union and that "For the most part, their employers treat them as equal and meet them over the collective bargaining table to resolve mutual problems . . . It's a good system. It's democracy in action."

Tell that to the farm workers, to the textile workers at J.P. Stevens, Deering Milliken, Haines and the rest of the textile industry, which remains almost completely unorganized to this very day. Tell it to the 50 million unorganized workers, South *and* North. To the embattled coal miners, fighting deadly black lung conditions; to steel, auto and electrical workers in their never-ending challenge to killing speedup drives.

Does George Meany represent the real face of organized labor? Of the membership of the AFL-CIO? Of course not! The press eternally presenting this hollow caricature of Labor as Mr. Labor, himself, doesn't make it so.

The true measure of organized labor is to be taken in the powerful rank-and-file movements in such basic industries as steel, mining, auto, rubber, transportation—not to forget postal workers, teachers, and other white collar workers.

This is where the unity of the working class, Black and white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and other minorities—women and men—young workers and seniors—is being forged in the day in, day out battles against the big corporations.

Who doesn't know of the tremendous contribution the rank and file workers in basic steel have made to the whole working class? Their struggles against class collaboration policies in the top leadership. Their intense opposition to a cheap contract that was shoved down their throats along with a continuation

of the disastrous, no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement." And now, nearly 20,000 iron ore miners, members of USWA, are out on strike despite that very same "no-strike" agreement.

Then there are those front line fighters of the working class, the coal miners. Up against huge conglomerate corporations, led by U.S. Steel, who are out to wreck their union; stuck with a divided and often ineffective leadership; attacked from the rear by ultra-Left phonies, yet they continue to find their bearings and move relentlessly forward.

Sparked by the Black caucus movement, the production workers in the auto industry are asserting themselves at the policy-making levels of the UAW. They are demanding a more militant position against forced overtime and speedup, for a shorter work week, for an end to the racist practices of the vicious auto trust.

It is such movements as these that are striking the most effective blows for militant trade union policies, for democratic trade unionism, and against the divisive, big business policies of racism and discrimination. Their mighty efforts are making a powerful impact on the whole structure of organized labor, from the local union level right into the inner sanctum of the AFL-CIO Executive Council itself.

Emergence of Center Forces

For the first time since its formation, an effective opposition to the Meany leadership's reactionary policies has developed at top levels of the AFL-CIO. Meany is fooling fewer and fewer trade unionists, who see his blustering positions on important trade union questions quickly subside in retreat, and his belligerent support of every single warmongering scheme of the Pentagon and the CIA come to the front. Trade union leaders are remarking that if Meany spent as much time and energy fighting for the shorter work week (to which the AFL-CIO is committed) as he does fighting detente, there would be far less unemployment in the U.S. today.

A number of AFL-CIO unions have joined with such independent unions as the UAW and the NEA to lobby for reduction of the military budget. In the past they have refused to support such political deals as the Meany leadership's phony "neutrality" policy that helped re-elect Richard Nixon, and its support of warhawk Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson in the last Democratic presidential primaries.

Leaders of these unions have spoken out in favor of

detente and trade with the Soviet Union. In general, they favor affirmative action programs, which the racist leadership of the AFL-CIO and the Right social democrats contemptuously refer to as "reverse discrimination." For instance, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, (AFSCME) has presented a brief before the Supreme Court in favor of affirmative action in the Bakke case, while the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), led by Right social democrats, has filed a brief with just the opposite position.

Such unions include the Machinists, whose 52 year old newly elected president, William Winpisinger, strongly opposes many of Meany's positions; AFSCME: Graphic Arts; the Meat Packers; Communications Workers; International Union of Electrical Workers; and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. These AFL-CIO affiliates work closely with the UAW, the NEA and the United Mine Workers, and, on occasion, with the West Coast Longshore and Warehouse Workers. (See Jan. *PA*, George Meyers, "Ferment in Organized Labor.")

Then there is the influential Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) headed by such leaders as William Lucy, Secty. Treas. of AFSCME and the militant vice president of the Meat Packers, Charles Hayes. The Coalition of Labor Women (CLUW) that emerged out of the historical struggle of women workers for full equality has also played a generally progressive role.

A number of trade union leaders have emerged who are challenging the official AFL-CIO leadership on important questions. One is the above mentioned William Winpisinger. Both he and Douglas Frazer, head of the UAW, have publicly called on Meany to resign. Both have openly challenged the official AFL-CIO policy opposing exchanges with Soviet trade unionists and those from other socialist countries. Both strongly favor remaining in the ILO.

Winpisinger is quoted as follows: "I'm not one of those who sees a Communist under every bush, every flowerpot, or lurking behind every tree . . . I go to international forums where Communist countries have delegations, including the Soviet Union. I haven't walked away from these sessions with the itch . . . and I probably don't give them the itch either." AFSCME President Jerry Wurf is a frequent opponent of conservative Executive Council resolutions. The Balanoff-Sadlowski forces of District 31 of the Steelworkers sharply oppose the sell-out policies of I.W. Abel.

The fight for wage increases, jobs and the shorter work week, a national health act, adequate funds for schools, housing and other social needs, is rapidly being joined with the fight to reverse AFL-CIO opposition to detente, improved relations with the socialist countries, and a reduction in the military budget.

Here is a quote from a yet unpublished letter making the rounds. It is directed to an important Congressional leader and signed by the president of an important AFL-CIO union which, to my knowledge, has never openly differed with AFL-CIO policy.

We conclude that there is no reason not to cut many, many billions from [Carter's] proposed defense budget in order to fund a massive jobs program, adequate social welfare and, in the near future, a health insurance law and the rebuilding of the social security fund.

The letter urges a meeting of "many large organizations whose vital interests, and defense of the peoples' interests cannot be provided unless there is a massive cut in the proposed defense budget."

Some time ago, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), publisher of the excellent rank-and-file paper, *Labor Today*, invited a delegation of Soviet trade unionists to visit our country. The State Department and the Immigration Department were most reluctant to establish such a precedent. No Soviet trade union delegation has ever been granted visas in the sixty years of the Soviet Union's existence, even though there have been many U.S. trade union delegations welcomed as visitors and guests of the Soviet trade unions.

In spite of the bitter opposition of the AFL-CIO, a number of top trade union leaders were involved in the broad struggle that resulted in the State Department granting visas to these four Soviet workers. It is seen as a historic breakthrough in the building of international trade union cooperation and a real contribution to the struggle for detente and peaceful relations between our two countries.

Some Lessons of History

The most significant advance ever made by organized labor in our country came with the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). For the first time, the basic workers in steel, auto and rubber were organized. Industrial

unionism was consolidated in mining, electrical, meat packing and a number of other industries. The backward concepts of narrow craft unionism were broken once and for all. This greatly strengthened the entire labor movement, including the old AFL. The influx of Black workers greatly stimulated the struggle against racism with CIO unions backing fair employment practices.

The organization of the workers in basic industry gave the working class the kind of powerful clout it lacked in the past. This sparked a democratic upsurge in all parts of the country. It forced many New Deal reforms even in the face of the most intense opposition from the big corporations. One of the most important was the Wagner Act—the National Labor Relations Act—which for the first time gave official recognition to the right of workers to organize into unions of their own choosing. This act has been badly battered by ruling class assaults such as the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Bill. Its restoration as originally enacted needs to be on the early agenda of a united trade union movement. The present fakery of Carter's "labor law reform" is no answer.

When the history of the 1930s is properly written, it will show that the anti-fascist movements of the working class, under the leadership of the CIO, and under the influence of the Communist Party, USA, brought our country into World War II on the side of anti-fascism. If it had been left to the dominant section of U.S. Big Business—the duPonts, Henry Ford, the Mellons, Standard Oil, General Motors, General Electric, and many others who had close working relations with the Hitler regime, that is where we would have been. We should never forget this, and we should never let the ruling class forget it.

The tremendous movements that developed with the building of the CIO were possible only because of the unity of the Left and Center forces in the trade union movement. How this developed is a study in itself. But then, as today, the Left was composed of militant rank-and-file workers, the Communists, Left Socialists and other progressives. The Left emerged out of the rank-and-file movements for industrial unionism that predated the CIO—that provided the foundation on which the CIO was built. Today, the rank-and-file movements have emerged out of bitter struggles of workers who were forced to find new forms to combat the attacks of the corporations and at the point of production the

decline of the trade union movement—and particularly the shop steward system—following the virtual destruction of the Left in the trade unions during the Cold War and the onslaught of McCarthyism. The rebuilding of a viable, militant shop steward system is also on the agenda of a united trade union movement.

In the 1930s, the Center was composed of those trade union leaders who were deeply dissatisfied with the stagnant, company-union minded AFL leadership. Among these were John L. Lewis, who saw the need to organize the workers in steel and the other basic industries into industrial unions if the United Mine Workers was to survive. With him were Sidney Hillman, Charles P. Howard and other more advanced labor thinkers. Some, like David Dubinsky, tried to keep a foot in both camps.

During World War II, the united Left and Center forces in Labor made a magnificent contribution in helping to unite the nation against the threat of Hitlerism. Forced to fight for the rights of its members against a cynical, profit-hungry ruling class at the same time, it gave the workers a sense of perspective regarding the deep meaning of the world-shaking anti-fascist struggle. It was a staunch champion of the closest U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

The Left-Center coalition came out of the war with banners flying high. Its unity was vividly demonstrated in the united strike struggles of 1945-46, when UE, the UAW, and the Steel Workers shut down these three basic industries and wrung concessions that benefitted all U.S. workers.

But Left-Center unity was one of the first victims of the Cold War. General Electric made things “perfectly clear” when it declared the problem facing the United States (meaning the U.S. monopolies) was two-fold, “The Soviet Union abroad—organized labor at home.”

In conjunction with a vicious attack on our recent ally, the Soviet Union, a tremendous red-baiting drive was launched against the trade union movement. Widespread circulation was given to the false charge that the “Communists control the unions.” This accompanied an in-depth campaign to equate Communism with treason. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed. One of its chief selling points was a clause (since declared unconstitutional) outlawing the right of Communists to be elected to union office. Trade union leaders from the local union level to the very top were forced to demean themselves by signing affidavits denying Communist Party membership or

adherence, under threat of five year prison sentences.

At first, the Left and Center remained firm in the face of this vicious anti-labor onslaught. Then the Center began wavering. It finally collapsed with CIO President Phillip Murray leading an ignominious retreat.

With the Left temporarily prostrate, the Center turned to Right-wing elements in the trade union movement. Instead of an ally of the Left, the Center became captive of the Right. Crass class collaboration became the official policy of the newly-formed AFL-CIO. The first official act of its newly elected president, George Meany, was his address to an NAM Convention where he confided to this anti-democratic gang of business cut-throats that he had never led a strike, or even walked a picket line.

Today, a Center has emerged as a result of sharp dissatisfaction with the status quo position of the Meany leadership. It rejects the close ties with the anti-labor military industrial complex and the CIA. It sees the need for alliances with other sections of the population . . . movements for Black liberation, women's equality, protection of the ecology, a greater degree of political independence, and other questions.

The need to rebuild the Left-Center coalition that led to labor's advances in the 1930's is again a historic necessity in the trade union movement. One great lesson of the 1930's is that this Left-Center coalition can *not* develop—repeat, *not*, unless it includes the Communists. This means, among other things, a fight to end, once and for all, the disgraceful, undemocratic anti-Communist clauses that befoul the AFL-CIO Constitution and that of most of its affiliates. Such clauses exist in virtually no other country except those where the unions are under the control of military dictatorships. It is not enough to say, “we won't enforce them.” As long as they are on the books, they are a threat to democratic trade unionism.

There is every reason to view the developments in our trade union movement with confidence and optimism. Attempts by the U.S. monopolies and their collaborators in trade union leadership to isolate the U.S. workers from the tremendous struggles of their brothers and sisters in other countries will never succeed.

Trade union unity in the struggle against the voracious multi-national corporations, both at home and abroad, is a growing fact of life, dictated by the pressing needs of the times in which we live. □

A Time for Reveille

D. DONATI

The capitalist press often and fondly quotes Meany's statement "Ideology is bunk." This is a code phrase signifying that working class ideology, that is, socialism, is nonsense. The top AFL-CIO bureaucrats cover their monopoly collaboration with their vaunted pragmatism, the down-to-earth practicality that is judged by results.

Some years back, Sam Gompers, asked what the labor movement wanted, answered, "More." In 1955 in *Fortune* magazine Meany wrote, "Our goals as trade unionists are modest, for we do not seek to recast American society in any particular doctrinaire or ideological image. We seek an ever-rising standard of living."

Let us, therefore, examine the record and judge these "pragmatists" by their objectives as they have articulated them and assess the results by their standards. The relative prosperity of the post World War II years has vanished. In good years and bad, the workers' share of the wealth produced gets smaller. The boom, bust and recovery cycles have become shorter, the recessions more frequent, deeper and longer.

Since 1965, U.S. workers have been the victims of a stagnating or lowering standard of living. They are prey to artificially rigged shortages, lower real wages, higher prices, staggering debts, massive unemployment, racism and discrimination. The fabled myth that U.S. workers enjoy the world's highest standards no longer can be maintained.

Gross weekly earnings in constant 1967 dollars (adjusted for inflation) in non-agricultural private employment averaged \$103.39 in 1968 and \$103.40 in 1976. This one cent increase in eight years is no misprint. It's part of the unvarnished truth published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In fact, taking into account rising federal, state and local taxes and distortions in the consumer price index, the situation is even more bleak. In this period, productivity per man hour rose about 20 per cent. In relative and absolute terms, therefore, the bottom line shows a substantial loss for U.S. workers.

The average wages of workers in Western Europe and Japan have risen much faster than in the U.S. They have offset inflation and they participate

partially in the rising productivity. Social legislation and what we call fringe benefits are more advanced in those countries. Living standards have risen and in several of these countries have caught up with or surpassed U.S. standards. Although the needs of the workers of these countries are far from satisfied, their unions have unquestionably done a better job than their U.S. counterparts.

Growing labor unity is a factor in the generally superior performance of the European, Japanese and other trade unions. Old religious and political differences play a diminishing role in the affairs of European workers. Christians, Socialists and Communists work, march, demonstrate and strike together to promote their common interests. Total unity has not year been achieved but success encourages further unity.

One of the ways in which class collaboration is fostered is to deny the existence of classes. Phil Murray used to babble about the mutuality of interests of industry and labor. If there are no classes, then there is no need for struggle. I. W. Abel took the logical next step: his Experimental Negotiating Agreement with basic steel outlaws strikes. Shanker, of the teachers' union, never one to be outdone in the race to retreat, proposed abandoning collective bargaining for binding arbitration.

Meany has never been burdened with the problems of collective bargaining nor has he ever been involved in organizing workers. It is understandable, therefore, why he has never been directly involved with strikes. These mundane trade union affairs are peripheral to the greater service to the employers he fulfills with distinction. He was and is a glorified lobbyist, a political fixer. He once traded votes for small political favors for his cronies in the trade union bureaucracy. Now he delivers labor and the favors are for the monopolies and the government they control.

Meany and American Imperialism

No ordinary journeyman, Meany renders his yeoman service with the consummate pride of a skilled craftsman. The link that binds him to big business is a mutually obsessive hatred for communism. The

formula is well known. Communism is the mortal enemy of capitalism; capitalism is free enterprise, which is equated with freedom. An alliance against a common foe, therefore, is not collaboration, it is "patriotism." This pugnacious cold warrior fancies himself the leader of a praetorian guard in a beleaguered fortress America, beating back the "communist hordes" who are hammering at the gates. He imparts a sense of strength and security like the Maginot Line.

Among the more open links of the Meany clique to the military-industrial complex are ties through the Committee to Prevent the Present Danger, the Atlantic Council, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Trilateral Commission and the Congressional hawks led by Jackson and Vanik. J. Edgar Hoover, who admired Meany, supplied him with FBI dossiers on personnel.

In 1967, antiwar unionists held a National Labor Leadership Conference for Peace. Based on a trumped-up report given to him by the FBI, Meany charged that the conference had been planned in Hanoi and that the resolution it adopted had been previously published in the *Worker*. Emil Mazey, UAW international secretary treasurer and one of the leaders of the conference, wrote to Meany, ". . . that is impossible, of course, because the resolution was not printed in that [the *Worker*] or any other paper before it was passed. Nor can I believe that you really thought that a group had gone to Hanoi to plan the meeting. If you had, you doubtless would have named the persons involved . . . your conduct in this matter raises serious questions as to your personal integrity and your capacity to lead in the American labor movement. The technique of the big lie, the use of character assassination, and the suppression of dissent must not become the hallmark of the American labor movement."

Meany's ties with the CIA have been well documented, but to this day he denies them. According to Thomas W. Braden, who ran the CIA's division of international activities, some \$2,000,000 a year were funneled through the AFL and its agents Jay Lovestone, Irving Brown in Europe, Richard Deverall in the Far East and Serafino Romualdi in South America. The purpose was to split and weaken the unions that were reviving after the war and to create unions friendly to U.S. foreign policies.

Joseph C. Goulden, in his biography of Meany, relates, "Meany was no arm-chair anti-communist.

The AFL's most spectacular foreign venture during the 1950's—one run in conjunction with the CIA—was toppling a freely elected Guatemalan government." (*Meany, The Unchallenged Strong Man of American Labor*, Atheneum, 1972.) This was direct aid to the United Fruit Co. (a Grace operation) whose properties had been nationalized. J. Peter Grace reciprocated. He became the chairman of the AFL-CIO sponsored and CIA and big business-financed American Institute for Free Labor Development. Along with Grace was Berent Friele of the Rockefeller interests, who became the vice-chairman of AIFLD. "Well, we gave a lot of thought to this," Meany said of the business involvement. "The executive council (AFL-CIO) finally decided unanimously that we should bring American business into this institution on the theory that they should have the same stake . . . in the building of free societies in Latin America as we do." This is the kind of rhetoric that covered the activities which helped pave the way for reactionary military dictatorships in most of Latin America.

International Trade Union Relations

In the older empires, the Bible moved in with the flag of the aggressive imperial powers. As these empires crumbled in the post-World War II years and newly independent nations changed the map of the world, the U.S. moved in with its banks, transnational corporations, the AFL-CIO, the CIA and military bases that girdled the globe. However, the new nations did not cast off the yoke of the older colonialism to be exploited by neocolonialism. In countless struggles, the workers isolated and defeated the agents of AIFLD in South America and its counterpart African-American Labor Center.

Meanwhile, in Western Europe and Japan the capitalist economies had expanded and were successfully competing for world markets and resources. The social-democrats who dominate the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and occupy administrative positions in many of these governments resented and opposed Meany's efforts to subject the ICFTU to reactionary U.S. foreign policies. Out-manuevered and unable to impose his will, Meany pulled the AFL-CIO out of the ICFTU.

In the International Labor Organization (ILO), Meany's efforts to isolate the Soviet Union and other socialist countries succeeded only in isolating the U.S. delegation. During the entire 25 year reign of

George Meany, not one convention approved by the ILO has been ratified by the U.S. Rebuffed, Meany has been threatening to secede from the ILO. He finally won Kissinger's support for the required two-year notice to withdraw. The effective date will be November 1977. Strong support in the U.S. for the ILO indicates that a formula that will reverse this action and save face for Meany is being worked out.

Despite the great damage done and its lingering effects, Meany's exertions to subvert the trade unions of the world, to promote the policies of the anti-Soviet, pro-war reactionary interests of the U.S. military-industrial complex have been a miserable failure. A failure that has not gone unnoticed in U.S. trade union circles. It is manifested in the increasing shrillness of Meany's anti-Communist hysteria as he strives to keep in line the pragmatic bureaucrats who nervously fear an impending debacle at home.

Political Setbacks

The political philosophy of the AFL-CIO is also pragmatic: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." Fearing strikes and other mass actions of the huge membership they nominally head, they have engaged in a futile pursuit of legislative and administrative favors from congressmen and presidents they helped to elect. The role relegated to the membership is to cast their votes and contribute money to promising politicians who almost invariably suffer a lapse of memory once elected. Meany once called for a veto-proof congress. Such congresses have been elected, but at the moment of truth the labor bills are defeated or pigeon-holed. The clobbering of the Common Situs Picketing Bill reflects the organizational decline of the construction unions, reveals the bankruptcy of Meany's policies, and more importantly the reluctance of a crisis-ridden system to grant even the minor concessions that would make Meany and his bureaucratic clique look good.

Meany sloughed off the defeat as a tactical setback, but it is the inevitable rotten fruit of his basic policy of working with the corporate trusts against the "common enemy"—Communism. His fellow bureaucrats are as anti-Communist as he. However, as pragmatic labor politicians, they expect rewards for services rendered. A rude awakening is taking place. Division and dissent is developing in the once monolithic AFL-CIO Executive Council. An emerging Center group is challenging Meany and his policies, as his once solid conservative base erodes.

To contain the growing criticism, Meany has resorted to a dual maneuver. He has laced his administrative set-up with Right-wing social democrats. They provide a steady stream of reformist rhetoric, air some of labor's grievances and propose programs devoid of any measures to implement them.

Meany meanwhile co-chairs seven trade union chiefs in a top level industry-labor conference set up at President Carter's request. This new device for diluting labor's demands is coordinated by John T. Dunlop, Secretary of Labor in the Ford Administration. The industry co-chairman is Reginald Jones, chairman of the board of labor-hating General Electric. Among the other industry members are Irving S. Shapiro, chairman of the unorganized du Pont Chemical Co.; Edgar B. Speer, chairman of the U.S. Steel Corp.; and the heads of General Motors, Citicorp, the Bechtel Group and Sears Roebuck. The latter three are also anti-union and unorganized.

Shapiro is also chairman of the Business Roundtable, made up of 160 top-ranking corporate executives. The Roundtable has joined with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers in a task force designed to oppose the passage of labor and social legislation. Thus industry presents an aggressive united front. The AFL-CIO, spurning mass membership action, relies on Meany to sweet-talk these corporate vultures into making concessions that they have publicly announced they will fight.

This conference cooked-up the proposal on the Minimum Wage Bill President Carter announced he would support. Meany's weak explanation for his surrender: "It's the best we can get." On the agenda of the conference is a set of guidelines to control wages. For more than 30 years Meany has participated in similar behind-the-scenes quasi-governmental programs. They have spawned wage guidelines, wage freezes and wage controls. They are now discussing self-imposed "wage and price constraints."

Growing Differences

Needless to say, apprehension and dismay in the upper echelons of the AFL-CIO are nurturing criticism and opposition. This is voiced in growing demands that Meany retire because of his age. It isn't Meany's age, but his policies that are a detriment to the unity, growth and progress of the U.S. labor movement. But Meany does not retire and the FBI

dossiers he maintains on his peers and the funds at his disposal keeps the opposition in line. He has no fear of being removed and ignores those who ask him to step down.

Time, however, will not be kind to Meany and his fellow collaborators. Encouraged by his do-nothing, no struggle policies, the monopolies are counter-attacking labor's positions all along the line. They are determined to unload on the workers a greater share of the burden of the crisis they have created. They are plotting new austerity programs for the people.

As the pressure increases, the resistance of the workers grows. In hundreds of mines, factories and government agencies, they are striking, slowing down and calling in sick. These actions, once largely defensive, as the workers struggled to preserve previous gains, are becoming increasingly aggressive as the workers fight to recoup losses. Regardless of the outcome of these conflicts, as they expand and intensify, workers learn the true nature of their enemies, the monopolies. In the heat of class battles, their organizations and tactics are tempered and their leaders are tried and tested.

The bureaucrats abhor struggle, but because of their waning influence and authority they can not prevent or control the actions of the membership. Their posturing becomes increasingly irrelevant to the workers' struggles. As their ability to restrain the workers declines, their value to the bosses diminishes and the crumbs they get can not sustain them.

The construction unions that reared and pushed Meany to the top and blindly supported his reactionary moves are his major victims. For the first time in decades, the open shop threatens their existence. The past strength of the building trades unions was based on an arrangement with the contractors' associations. The associations granted the unions closed shops with hiring hall privileges provided the unions withheld their labor from contractors who were kept out of the associations. It was a mutually beneficial arrangement as long as they could control the apprentice training programs that discriminatorily restricted Blacks and Hispanics.

However, as these minorities became established in the inner cities, hundreds of thousands of minority youth were trained in vocational high schools. Barred from the unions, the unorganized pool of skilled labor was drawn on by contractors outside the associations. They successfully grabbed a growing share of the dwindling available work. To survive, the association contractors went "double breasted." That

is, they set up dummy corporations and submitted two bids, one on an organized basis, the other on a low-cost unorganized basis. The result, fewer union jobs for union members. A declining number are protected by the gutted Bacon Davis Act, but for more than half, it means unemployment or jobs at non-union sub-standard wages and conditions. For all contractors it's a bonanza. They can cut wages and hike prices. They never had it so good and will fight to keep it that way.

The leadership role exercised by the trade unions in domestic and international affairs in the 1930's and 40's was terminated when the split in the Left-Center forces resulted in the expulsion of the Communists and Left progressives. Increasingly isolated, the AFL-CIO has become the target of anti-labor legislation, hostile court and administrative rulings. Meany and his cronies continue to hobnob with the monopolists and their political agents who bitterly resist new organization, which has failed to offset the losses from automation, plant closings and relocation, sub-contracting and company-inspired decertifications.

Needed: A New Unity

As the relative decline of the membership retrogresses to absolute losses, Meany is casting around for new alliances while clinging to the old. Recent gestures of the AFL-CIO to the leadership of the Black movement are welcome, even though belated.

However, the hopes fostered by these alliances are illusory, if not deceptive. As long as the Meany clique maintains its ties to the military-industrial complex and engages in behind-the-scenes maneuvers with Big Business, these alliances serve only to delude the membership and check the rising revolt in the leadership. Can anyone believe that an alliance of the oppressed led by Meany will prosper while the oppressors also have an alliance with Meany?

There is little opposition, often verbal support and sometimes financial backing by Meany to some of the ambitious programs adopted by a number of unions because he knows they aren't going anywhere as long as the AFL-CIO continues to support the Pentagon. As Meany sees it, war is the surest way to create jobs, tighten the labor market and provide the leverage that temporarily strengthens the bargaining position of the labor bureaucrats. However, his inflexible anti-Soviet line is stirring up opposition from those corporations and unions that benefit from U.S.-USSR trade and all the progressive forces who prefer

peace and life to war and death.

The resistance to Meany's policies both within and outside the labor movement is growing. The defeats he has sustained are harbingers of worse to come. The harm done to the movement is no skin off his hard nose. He hobbles to a different tune. It is not that Meany blows an uncertain trumpet. His bugle blows only retreat, surrender and taps at a time when labor needs a reveille. The time has come for Meany and his policies to go. They are an obstacle to the unity and vigor of the labor movement.

There is only one working class. It can prosper only

Labor—One Voice for One Fight

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

The debate now being waged in the United Auto Workers as to whether or not to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO has again focused attention on the historic question of labor unity. This debate has spread far beyond the ranks of the UAW and even beyond the trade union movement. As workers and trade unionists, we Communists wish to enter this vital discussion.

The crying need of organized labor today is unity—unity behind a fighting program to take on the big corporations that are ripping us off; unity that effectively challenges the massive anti-labor offensive driving down the living standards of working people, thrusting them deeper into debt while the pockets of the wealthy are being lined with unprecedented high profits.

Those ancient enemies of the working class, the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, have joined with the recently formed Business Round Table in organizing a far-flung task force to fight the trade union movement. The Business Round Table, chaired by the head of the notoriously anti-labor du Pont Chemical colossus, is made up of the top executives of the nation's 160 largest corporations.

These three centers of pious reaction subcontract their dirtiest jobs to such outfits as the National Right to Work Committee, the John Birch Society, the Committee to Defeat the Union Bosses' Candidates, Young Americans for Freedom and the Heritage Foundation. Also, the Ku Klux Klan is being revived as part of the racist offensive used by the monopoly

if there is one trade union movement that embraces all workers regardless of age, skill, sex, race, color, creed, national origin and political beliefs. The AFL-CIO and coal miners, the auto workers, teamsters, west coast longshoremen, the United Electrical Workers and the NEA teachers need each other to stop and beat back the forces of reaction that threaten them and the nation's democratic institutions. They all need the dedication, dynamism and direction that distinguish Communists all over the world. □

corporations to divide the workers. They are being helped in this by the mass media, which is giving the Klan widespread publicity everywhere its venomous head pops up. This most blatant racist outfit is another wedge in the "differential" game. The monopolies profit handsomely from the North-South differential, the Black-white differential, the male-female differential, the junior-senior differential in wages, job and contract conditions.

Wage and job conditions which are anchored on the lower foundations being imposed on the victims of racism and discrimination drag down the level for all workers. Thus, only a unified fight of all workers for equal wage, contract and hiring conditions can protect and advance the interests of all workers. This fight for unity is essential to improving the quality of life for working people and their families in the communities as well.

The Nixonized Supreme Court issues one verdict after another attacking the rights of Black and other minorities, women, trade unions and even children. Once outlawed, strike-breaking injunctions are now a daily occurrence, and union busting has been refined to an exact science.

The Carter Administration has callously turned its back on pre-election pledges to labor. Now the President tries to cover his tracks with a promise of token labor reforms that leaves the Taft-Hartley Act with its "Right to Work" Section 14B intact.

Rank-and-file workers have proven time after time their willingness and ability to take on big business. They demand honest, militant leadership. A united

labor movement with a fighting program can quickly establish itself as the leading progressive force in the nation's economic and political life. That is why we Communists favor and work for a unified AFL-CIO that would include not only the United Auto Workers, but the United Electrical Workers, the United Mine Workers, the Wet Coast Longshore and Warehouse Workers, the Teamsters and the National Education Association, all under one roof.

The question of unity is not an abstract question, however. The struggle for unity is the struggle to change the pro-company policies of George Meany, to replace them with trade union policies that will mobilize the AFL-CIO on behalf of the needs of all working people.

The infusion of nearly five million organized workers into the AFL-CIO, united around a program of action to protect and promote the economic and political interests of working people can provide the strength and inspiration that will bring many millions of the underpaid and overworked unorganized into the trade union movement, especially Black, Hispanic and women workers whom the Meanyites have ignored.

With labor united in one organization, the process of consolidation already in progress could proceed more vigorously. Fragmented, competing unions only play into the hands of such anti-labor corporations as du Pont, General Electric and many others.

In the decisive metal working industry, at least a dozen unions have substantial membership. The rivalry this promotes hurts them all. With the interests of the members a basic concern, there should be no obstacle to a tightly knit metal workers' federation, following the pattern set by unions in most other countries.

For a strong labor movement, the democratic rights of the membership need to be protected. The right of the members to ratify all contracts, to call and terminate strikes, must be constitutionally guaranteed. Any restrictions on the right of members to elect officers of their own choice must be eliminated. This includes:

- The removal of the notorious "anti-Communist clause" that disgraces the AFL-CIO Constitution, and of many of its affiliates.
- The removal of discriminatory structures and practices in any way impeding the rights of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other minorities, and those of women and young trade unionists.
- To promote the integrity of the labor movement.

Participation of trade union officials in such corporate institutions as the Trilateral Commission, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Atlantic Council and the pro-war Committee to Prevent the Present Danger needs to be terminated.

- To abolish the quasi-official Dunlop Committee, co-chaired by AFL-CIO President George Meany and Reginald Jones, chairman of General Electric. It short circuits collective bargaining and disarms the unions for mass action on behalf of labor legislation. Rather, the interests of organized labor can best be served by uniting with other progressive forces in the nation, the Black and Hispanic movements, students and intellectuals, the mass movements for civil rights, decent jobs, women's equality, peace, improved education, health, consumer protection, the ecology.

- To abolish the involvement of the AFL-CIO in the CIA machinations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Such anti-labor, anti-democratic actions should be replaced with a program of international cooperation with trade unions of all countries in the fight against the multinational corporations.

On this Labor Day 1977 the Communist Party U.S.A. strongly urges all its members and our many progressive friends in the trade unions and rank-and-file movements to work together with all others committed to the fight for maximum unity of the trade union movement in its titanic struggle against the giant corporate interests.



Solidarity, June 30, 1977 - **Labor United Packs a Mighty Wallop**

We project this program as one around which the Left and Center forces in the organized labor movement can re-unite:

- **ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED.** A united, coordinated AFL-CIO drive to organize the

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

unorganized, especially in the South.

- **RESTORE THE WAGNER ACT.** Repeal Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin. Defeat all proposed anti-labor laws. Outlaw anti-labor injunctions.

- **FOR JOBS—A 30-HOUR WEEK WITH NO CUT IN PAY.** Support all economic and political struggles for a shorter work week. Abolish forced overtime. End speed-up.

- **UNITE THE WORKING CLASS.** End the evil of "Last hired, first fired." Affirmative action programs for every industry. Eliminate racist and discriminatory seniority practices at company expense.

- **PASSAGE OF A WOMEN'S BILL OF RIGHTS.** Help solve the special problems of working women.

- **A DECENT EDUCATION,** adequate training and socially useful jobs for all young workers.

- **ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR RETIRED AND DISABLED WORKERS.**

- **TAX REFORM.** Tax all multinational profits. No tax on family income below \$25,000. Outlaw the sales tax.

- **ROLL BACK PRICES.** Curb monopoly profiteering. Place all utility and energy corporations under public ownership with democratic controls.

- **POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.** Break with the two parties controlled by big business.

The struggle to win such a program is coupled with the struggle to handcuff the military-industrial complex, to stop the production of the neutron bomb and all other weapons of mass destruction. It means a fight against the pro-war, pro-imperialist policies of

the Meany leadership. The mighty strength of the trade union movement must be exerted in the interests of peace, international relaxation of tensions, detente and trade with all socialist countries on an equal basis—especially mutually arrived at agreement with the Soviet Union on disarmament. Slashing the military budget in itself will provide billions for jobs for the millions of unemployed. World peace will provide the framework for a peaceful life without the fear of mass destruction. That is the fruit of a united struggle by the trade union movement around a positive, militant program.

The combination of forces to accomplish the reunification of the trade union movement on the basis of fighting for such a program is already in the process of development. It includes the growing forces in the AFL-CIO who seek the ouster of the Meany clique, forces who were in the front lines of the struggle to build the CIO, and the new militant Left and progressive forces based in the rank-and-file movements who are fueling and propelling the mounting labor upsurge against the monopolies. This combination of Left-Center forces is already gathering the strength to put the AFL-CIO at the head of the struggle for peace, democracy and economic security.

We call on all workers to close ranks to help build that combination, to fight racism and poverty in behalf of the common aspiration of the people of all lands. **WE PLEDGE OUR TOTAL UNWAVERING SUPPORT IN THAT EFFORT.** □

U.S. Economy: Problems of Declining Maneuverability

EDWARD BOORSTEIN

The last recession was the longest and deepest of the postwar years. After more than two years of "recovery," the economy is anything but recovered. And the prospects for the next five years, even as embellished in the official Carter Administration pronouncements, are terrible. Why this persistently bad performance? The answer lies in a deep-seated phenomenon—a decline in the economic maneuverability of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

The U.S. economy is suffering simultaneously from high unemployment, balance of trade and

payment deficits and inflation. State monopoly capitalism's remedies for payments deficits and inflation are contradictory to its remedies for unemployment. The situation is equivalent to a person suffering from two diseases such that the medicines for each aggravate the other.

A progressive government could fight the different problems simultaneously. It could attack the payments deficits by dismantling military bases abroad and prohibiting the flow of investments to foreign countries. It could attack the inflation by slashing

military expenditures and hiking taxes on the monopolies and the rich. The sums that could be saved by such actions would be enough both to curb payments deficits and inflation and to provide financing to create necessary jobs.

But of course a government representing the monopolies doesn't want to fight payments deficits and inflation by such methods. Its method is to place the cost of the fight on the people. It uses several different weapons. Sometimes it tries to fight payments deficits by currency devaluation—which means an increase in import prices and in the cost of living. Sometimes it tries to fight inflation by wage-price controls—controls managed so that they fall more heavily on wages than on prices. But its most basic weapon against both payments deficits and inflation is to restrain the growth of the money supply and “slow down” the economy—which means holding down production and causing unemployment. This method is supposed to get at the fundamentals of the problems. As the *Wall Street Journal* (6/27/77) puts it: “If fewer dollars are created, each of them will be worth more at home and abroad.”

It is the unwillingness of state monopoly capitalism to solve the problems at its own expense that creates the contradiction between the methods for fighting payments deficit and inflation and those for fighting unemployment. But given that unwillingness, the contradiction is real. The growth of payments deficits and inflation lessens the ability of the U.S. government to deal with unemployment.

The payments deficits and inflation are not accidental phenomena. They are tied to the decline in the world position of U.S. imperialism since World War II.



Fred Ellis

The Balance of Trade and Payments

It is a commonplace that U.S. imperialism came out of World War II riding high. The U.S. economy was unscathed, enriched by the war; the economies of

the other major industrial countries were severely damaged, in need of reconstruction. The United States enjoyed export markets in which there was virtually no competition and ran large balance of trade and payments surpluses. The other main capitalist countries—England, France, West Germany, etc.—lacked sufficient dollars to buy what they needed to feed their people and reconstruct their economies. The capitalist world outside the United States suffered from a “dollar shortage.” The dollar was the most valuable currency.

The American economy seemed to enjoy almost limitless possibilities. The United States mounted a Marshall Plan to transfer dollars to capitalist Western Europe. It was able to take on the Korean War and to inflict an enormously costly arms race on the Soviet Union, which had lost so much in the war against fascism. Its corporations were able to transfer billions of dollars abroad and acquire strategic positions in the economies of foreign countries.

Internally, the American economy was working about as well as a capitalist economy can be expected to work. There was, of course, the inevitable up and down cycle in economic activity, the inevitable unemployment. Workers and many others found it impossible to make ends meet. Black and other minority groups suffered discrimination in jobs, housing—everything. But the economic situation was far better than before 1940, and broad sectors of the population were buying goods they had not been able to acquire during the Depression and World War.

The gigantic economic and military strength of the United States were reflected of course in its international position. It was able to lead in the formation of a military coalition directed against the Soviet Union, to channel economic reconstruction in the other capitalist countries along lines that were to its liking, to exert a dominant influence on the international economic institutions that grew up after the war. For example, the international monetary system for the capitalist world set up at Bretton Woods in 1944 was largely a creation of the United States.

Even at the height of U.S. power, it was clear to those who understood Lenin's law of the uneven development of capitalism that the unusual postwar situation could not last. Western Europe and Japan were bound—as Stalin put it in 1952—“to get on their feet again.” Other factors besides recuperation from the war also came into play. The U.S. monopolies,

through their investments and through licensing arrangements, were making massive transfers of technology to the other main capitalist countries. The United States was deliberately setting out to build up the economies of West Germany and Japan to serve as bastions of capitalism in Europe and Asia. The economic growth of these two countries was further helped by restrictions on their rearming, which left them for some time free of military expenditures and their restraining effect on growth. Even after these countries began to rearm, their per capita military burdens remained far smaller than the enormous one of the United States.

By the second half of the 1950s, signs of basic changes in the United States' international economic position began to appear. The United States began to run balance of payments deficits and the dollar shortage gave way to an excess of dollars. U.S. gold reserves shrank as other countries exchanged many of their dollars into gold and withdrew it from the United States. The dollar became weaker. In 1960 a dollar crisis flared up—the first of many. Some countries, notably West Germany, were being flooded with more dollars than they cared to hold. The United States had to exert political pressure on such countries to make them refrain from converting as many of their dollars into gold as they would have liked to.

The weakening of the dollar was only getting under way. Most countries of Western Europe, especially West Germany, would become even fiercer competitors of the United States in the world market. Japan was entering a period of rapid growth from which it too would emerge as a major competitor. Not only did these countries vie with the United States for export markets, but they invaded the United States internal market with Volkswagens, Datsuns, Toyotas, television sets, radios, cameras, and many other goods.

Other dollar crises followed that in 1960. They were met with a series of baling-wire patchups—so-called Swap Agreements, Roosa Bonds, a General Agreement to Borrow—all of which were arrangements in one form or another to lend the United States money for shoring up the dollar. But the objections to the United States flooding the world with dollars through payments deficits, even to the use of the dollar as a reserve currency, were growing. France, the Netherlands and Belgium, which had meekly kept their foreign exchange reserves in dollars during the Marshall Plan days, now held their main

reserves in gold. France, through de Gaulle and others, spoke out openly against the monetary imperialism of the United States. For a foreign country to accumulate dollar reserves is equivalent to its lending money to—to its financing—the United States. Why, asked de Gaulle, should France help finance U.S. policies in which it had no voice and with which it disagreed? Why should it help finance the takeover of French businesses by U.S. corporations or the escalation of the war in Indochina?

The Vietnam War exacerbated the dollar problem. Financed by budget deficits, it set off an upsurge of inflation in the United States which soon gathered great momentum. This inflation not only wreaked great hardship on the American people, but helped worsen the payments deficit by reducing the competitiveness of U.S. exports and increasing the U.S. demand for imports. The war also caused a sharp increase in the already large U.S. government expenditure of dollars abroad. The average balance of payments deficit during 1967-1970 was almost three times as large as during 1965-66.

There was now a glut of dollars on the world's money markets. The dollar reserves of a number of countries soared to levels well beyond what they considered desirable. When Central Banks buy dollars they issue their own currency in exchange, so that a large increase in dollar reserves means a blow-up of domestic money supplies and the feeding of inflation. Besides the Central Bank dollar holdings, there also grew up a large pool of so-called Eurodollars—dollars held by private institutions and individuals in Europe and elsewhere outside the United States. These dollars are outside the control of the monetary authorities of the different European countries. They can flow in speculative waves from one country to another at the whim of the private holders, often frustrating the attempts of the monetary authorities to control the money supply. By pumping dollars abroad through its payments deficits, the United States was exporting inflation to the rest of the capitalist world on a grand scale.

The United States took some minor measures to contain the deficit. But against the impact of ever fiercer foreign competition, war-induced inflation, and gigantic military expenditures abroad, they were of little avail. In 1971, the U.S. trade balance moved into deficit—for the first time this century. Before 1971, the trade balance had been one of the positive parts of the balance of payments—surpluses in trade helped offset deficits in other parts. Now the switch

from trade surplus to trade deficit, on top of the outflow of dollars resulting from military expenditures abroad and foreign investments, caused the deficit in the overall balance of payments to skyrocket. In 1971 and again in 1973, a weakening dollar plunged the capitalist world into crises which resulted in the breakdown of the postwar monetary system created at Bretton Woods. The convertibility of the dollar into gold was suspended and it was devalued twice. The system under which different currencies were maintained at fixed parities was replaced by one in which they were to "float" against each other.

But the story isn't over. In October 1973, the countries belonging to OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) began a series of massive increases in the price of crude oil. The price was \$2.53 a barrel when the first increase took place; it is now \$13.25. The OPEC action reflects another aspect of the weakened position of U.S. imperialism. It would have been impossible twenty years ago when the correlation of forces in the world was different.

The increase in oil prices struck another heavy blow at the U.S. balance of trade and payments. The United States has been growing increasingly dependent on imported oil. Imports were 5 million barrels a day in 1972. They are now running at 8.5 million, over 40 per cent of total requirements. They will reach \$40 billion this year, about \$30 billion of the increase being due to the rise in price.

The effect of the oil price increase on the U.S. balance of payments has been mitigated by the flow of oil dollars from several Arab countries back to the United States into bank deposits and security investments and in military and other purchases. Were it not for this "re-cycling" of oil dollars, the United States balance of payments and the international monetary system of the capitalist world would be in an impossible position. The re-cycling has thus far staved off the possible crisis, but left the U.S. balance of payments dependent on a continuing flow of dollars from Arab investors. Many things can happen which could upset the arrangement. For example, the investors might, because of fears of a decline in the value of the dollar, transfer large amounts of funds into some other currency in which they have greater faith.

The U.S. and capitalist world financial system is also open to crisis in another way. The balance of payments of many underdeveloped countries have been severely hurt by the increase in oil prices, and

these countries have had to borrow heavily. U.S. banks, serving as intermediaries between these deficit countries and the surplus OPEC countries, have been the main lenders. A debate has been going on in leading U.S. financial circles whether the soaring debt has not reached dangerous levels. According to the *New York Times* (6/17/77), Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns sees "the debts pile up with no end in sight" and is "wondering how it will all end." Other bankers argue that so long as the gross national product of the borrowing countries continues to grow, they will be able to service the debt. But it is precisely the question whether this growth will be interrupted that worries Burns. According to the *Times*, he thinks "A major risk . . . is that the international credit structure would be especially vulnerable if the world economy were again to experience a recession on the scale of the one from which we are now emerging." (*New York Times*, 5/30/77.)

This year U.S. trade and payments are in deep deficit. The trade deficit—the excess of merchandise imports over exports—reached a record \$12.6 billion during the first six months. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal has predicted that the deficit for the year will be over \$25 billion. With the deficit, the dollar has been declining sharply in relation to the yen, the Deutsche mark, and the other major capitalist currencies.

Government spokesmen give two main reasons for the deficit. One is of course the problem of oil. The other is that the United States has been recovering faster from the recession than most other capitalist countries and this has boosted its imports while limiting export growth. High U.S. officials have been exhorting the other capitalist countries, especially West Germany and Japan, to expand more quickly. But so far this has not happened. Frank Weill, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, seems to think that even if it did happen it still wouldn't solve the problem. He has been saying that "it could take us a decade or more to get back into sustainable equilibrium." (*Wall Street Journal*, 7/28/77.)

Inflation

The United States came out of World War II with a strong inflation. Between 1945 and 1948, the Consumer Price Index rose at what then seemed like tremendous rates—8.5 per cent in 1946, 14.4 per cent in 1947, 7.7 per cent in 1948. But the war-strength-

ened U.S. economy was beginning to pour out a flood of civilian goods—90 per cent more in 1948 than in 1939. With the aid of this flood and a recession in 1949, the inflation was brought under control—the Consumer Price Index declined that year.

Inflation flared up again with the Korean War. The Consumer Price Index rose by 8 per cent in 1951. But in 1955, it again declined.

For the next ten years prices were comparatively stable. This was especially so during the years 1960-1965. The Consumer Price Index rose an average of 1.3 per cent per year during this period.

Then came the escalation of the war in Vietnam. The Consumer Price Index rose by 3 per cent in 1967, 4 per cent in 1968, 5 per cent in 1969, and 6 per cent in 1970. The inflation exacerbated the financial problems and general crisis faced by most large American cities. It worked great hardship on millions of Americans dependent on fixed incomes. It cut into the earnings of the working class.

In 1969, soon after Nixon took office, the government applied the classical bourgeois remedy—the remedy which tries to control inflation at the expense of the people. It applied a “tight monetary policy,” a restriction on credit and the growth of the money supply. A sharp recession followed.

But the tight monetary policy and recession didn't solve the problem. The government succeeded in reducing the growth of the Consumer Price Index to 4 per cent in 1971. But a presidential election was approaching in 1972 and Nixon did not want to face it with recession and high unemployment. The political limits of a tight monetary policy had been reached. In 1971, with inflation still going strong, monetary policy was eased.

Still Nixon couldn't just ignore the inflation. He needed a method that offered hope of containing it while still leaving the government free to pump up the money supply and expand the economy for the election. So he turned to wage and price controls, despite his long-standing dislike for them.

For a year or so, the controls resulted in a small reduction in the rate of price increase. Then, with an expansion in economic activity, a boom in world commodity markets, and the devaluation of the dollar in February 1973, the inflation accelerated again. The working class was worse off than ever. Here is what a publication of conservative central bankers, the *Annual Report* of the Bank for International Settlements, says: “The price regula-

tions imposed under the Economic Stabilization Act were not very effective. . . . even though the wage aspects of the policy were not subject to serious challenge. . . . First year pay increases under the new contracts in 1973 averaged less than 6 per cent, the lowest figure in several years. . . . By contrast, consumer prices in December 1973 were nearly 9 per cent and food prices alone 20 per cent higher than twelve months before.” (Bank for International Settlements, *44th Annual Report*, Basle, 6/10/74, p. 38.)

The government dismantled the controls in early 1974—they had served their purpose and the monopolies didn't want even mild controls on their prices. Strong inflationary pressures had built up during the period of controls. The money supply had been pumped up. The devaluation of the dollar had boosted the price of imports. There was the raising of international oil prices and the price gouging by the U.S. oil monopolies. The elimination of controls worked like the release of a compressed spring. As the government did away with controls, it went back to a restrictive monetary policy hoping that this—its preferred means—would restrain the inflation. What happened instead was a combination of double-digit inflation plus the longest and deepest recession of the postwar period.

The Consumer Price Index jumped by 11 per cent in 1974 and 9 per cent in 1975. Workers' wages did not keep up with the surge in prices. Average real hourly earnings over the two year period dropped by 3 per cent, average real weekly earnings by 7 per cent. Elderly people dependent on social security, pensions, savings, etc. were hurt even more. The downturn which accompanied the galloping prices lasted 19 months. The gross national product fell by 7 per cent instead of 1 to 3 per cent as in previous postwar recessions. Industrial production sank by 14 per cent. Unemployment, even according to the official figures which grossly understate it, soared to 9 per cent.

It is a sign of the strength of the inflation that even this powerful recession did not bring it under control. The best that could be done was to reduce the increase in the Consumer Price Index to 5.8 per cent in 1976—not as bad as double-digit, but still dangerous. In the first quarter of 1977, the increase flared up again to an annual rate of 8.5 per cent.

At the same time, the recovery from the recession has been weak in relation to the decline that preceded it—“disappointing” is the word used in a

Congressional Budget Office study. "By the sixth quarter of the recovery, output (real GNP) was only 2.4 percent above its previous peak level. Normally the economy has been 6 to 9 percent above its previous peak by the sixth quarter of recovery." (*The Disappointing Recovery*, 1/11/77, pp. 1, 3.) The study talks about an "output gap" of 5 per cent below normal—which means, given the current capacity of the U.S. economy, a loss of \$100 billion per year. The study also asserts that the output gap has caused the unemployment rate to be more than two percentage points higher than at a comparable stage in any of the previous postwar recoveries. In more simple terms: twenty seven months after the recovery began, unemployment is still 7 per cent.

Current Policies and Prospects

The problems of balance of payments and inflation are both now deeply imbedded in the U.S. economy. Neither will go away quickly.

The balance of payments problem has been following a pattern since 1960 of becoming acute, then easing, then becoming acute again. But latent or acute, the problem has been there and getting worse. So long as the United States does not take fundamental remedial action, the problem will remain. Fundamental action means slashing the arms budget, dismantling foreign bases, lifting restrictions on trade with socialist countries, prohibiting the monopolies from transferring dollars abroad for investment.

The factors which have been causing a worsening of the U.S. balance of payments are by no means played out. International competition will get fiercer yet. The OPEC countries will again jack up the price of oil—if the dollar in which they get paid keeps declining and the inflation in the United States and other capitalistic countries keeps boosting the prices of the goods they buy, they will have a good reason to impose a large price increase. The prices of other commodity imports from the underdeveloped countries may also be increased. These countries are demanding a change in economic relationships with the developed capitalist countries.

The government has been working feverishly on an energy law through which it hopes eventually to restrain the swelling oil import bill. But here again it is tied up in a tangle of contradictions. It isn't thinking of attacking the problem by stopping the oil guzzling of the Pentagon. It wants to conserve oil at the expense of the civilian economy. But the

American economy has been built to depend on an irrational, wasteful use of oil. Tied to such use is one of the country's most important industries—the auto industry. There are limits to how fast and how far the government can cut down civilian oil use without causing economic disturbances. Many bourgeois experts think the government will be doing well if it can keep this import bill from being larger in 1985 than it is today.

Some elements of the government—Treasury, for example—have tended to play down the gigantic trade deficit building up this year. Treasury is not altogether displeased with the drop in the value of the dollar that has accompanied the deficit—a cheaper dollar increases the competitiveness of American exports and may slow down the troublesome imports from Japan. But there are others who feel differently. The Bank for International Settlements says: "While in present circumstances such a deficit contributes to world recovery and facilitates the adjustment process elsewhere, it is to no one's interest that it should reach excessive proportions or become lasting." (*47th Annual Report*, Basle, 6/13/77, p. 4.) The Bank's position is understandable. It represents West Germany and other European countries that would be further flooded with excessive dollars if the deficit continues.

Federal Reserve Chairman Burns and the *Wall Street Journal* also disagree with Treasury. A declining dollar, they say, raises import costs and spurs inflation. They are, on this negative point, right. A "floating," declining dollar is no automatic solution to the deficit. It can perhaps work with small transitory deficits. But the government would face great problems if it tried to allow the dollar to drop enough to compensate for a large and persistent deficit. The trouble with the position of Burns and the *Journal* lies not in their criticism, but in what they themselves propose—the old standard remedy, a tighter monetary policy which means slowing down the recovery.

Treasury hopes that the deficit can be controlled by a limited acceptable decline in the dollar and a faster recovery in the other capitalist countries, which would cause them to import more from the United States. But if the deficit persists, Treasury will be forced to move closer to Burns' position. Already the trade and payments deficits are causing U.S. policymakers to keep the recovery from proceeding "too fast." If the deficits persist or worsen, their effect will be even stronger.

Now to the inflation which is obviously still going strong. This year the increase in the Consumer Price Index will be higher than last year—something like one per cent higher. The government's own mid-year projections show an increase in 1979 of 5.9 per cent—about the same as in 1976. For as late as 1982, the government assumes the index will rise by 4.3 per cent. Even this slow, painful progress is precarious. Many things—the effects of a drought on agricultural prices, a boom in international commodity markets, etc.—could shoot the rate of increase upward again.

The government says that it wants to bring the inflation under control and—with one qualification—we can believe it. It doesn't want the class it represents to pay the costs, but it does want to get rid of the problem. The monopolies and their government representatives have seen that uncontrolled inflation is not good for their overall class interests. It raises export prices and weakens U.S. competitiveness in foreign markets. It interferes with the working of many financial mechanisms—the social security system, city budgets, etc.—creating difficulties. It causes discontent among wide sectors of the people. It tends to accelerate, and can easily get out of hand and help shake the whole system.

So the government has worked out a strategy for dealing with the problem of unemployment combined with inflation. The recovery from the recession must be handled cautiously, carefully. It must not be allowed to develop too rapidly. In the words of various reports, it must be "moderate, but sustained." Economic activity must be expanded, but the expansion must "be compatible with a further reduction in the rate of inflation."

What does this strategy mean? It means that the growth of production will be held in check and that *at best* unemployment will decline only slowly. It means that for the next several years *at least* unemployment will be deliberately kept at an outrageously high level.

The government's own figures show what we can expect. The President's Mid-Session Review of the Budget projects an average unemployment rate of 5.7 per cent in 1979 and 5.2 per cent as late as 1980. The Report's figures imply an average unemployment rate of well over 6 per cent in 1978.

What do these pretty little government figures mean if one corrects for their inadequacies? An official rate of 6 per cent in 1978 would mean a true rate, taking into account those who are not looking for work because they have no hope of finding it, of

over 10 per cent. It would mean Black unemployment of 20 per cent. It would mean a continuation of astronomical unemployment—60 per cent and in the central cities 70 to 80 per cent—among Black and other minority teenagers.

To boot, the government's figures are optimistic. By the end of 1978, the current recovery will be over three and one half years old. Only one previous postwar recovery lasted longer than this. The last recession started with an (official) unemployment rate of 4.6 per cent. What will happen if the next one starts in 1978 with an initial rate of over 6 per cent?

Some Implications

The relatively high growth rates which the U.S. economy enjoyed during the 1960s are now gone—for some time at least. This has great significance for many things—for example, the economic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The decade from 1973 to 1983 will see a fundamental change in the relative strengths of the Soviet and U.S. economies.

A lower growth rate will of course sharpen problems in the United States. Some members of the ruling class are concerned with what may happen. Kissinger said in a recent speech that "the next decade will determine whether the industrial democracies will be able to manage their economic policies and keep social peace in the face of probably lower long-term growth rate in the 1980s." ("The Future of Business and the International Environment," address at Center for Strategic and International Studies, 6/28/77.)

State monopoly capitalism's problems have grown more numerous and stronger. As always, it tries to place the burden of solving its problems on the backs of the people. Only now, because the problems are more acute, the burdens are heavier. We can expect rough going in the years ahead.

Insofar as the problems besetting the economy have become deeper and more comprehensive, so also must the solutions—even the immediate solutions—we fight for. We must educate people away from the Keynesian philosophy that there is a simple solution to recession and unemployment—government spending. As the ruling class itself recognizes, the Keynesian philosophy is bankrupt. It won't work when there is not only unemployment but a balance of payments deficit and inflation.

We must fight for an end to unemployment, but at

the same time for an end to the depreciating dollar and inflation. We must work harder to make clear the really simple connections between our swollen military expenditures and the mess the country is in—how foreign bases mean a weaker dollar, higher prices, and policies that lead to unemployment; how military expenditures bring about inflation, recession, and unemployment. We must fight for measures to speed recovery, put our youth to work, create full employment, but we must couple them with measures to get rid of foreign bases, slash military expenditures, reform the tax structure.

We must bring home a simple truth—the problems are now so big and tangled that the typical, partial bourgeois measures that gave a degree of relief in the past will no longer work. Unless comprehensive action is taken, the mess will only get worse.

This situation is creating increasingly favorable conditions for building a people's coalition against the monopoly-militarist-imperialist combine. The combination of unemployment and inflation means a broadening of the issues on which to fight, a

broadening of the sectors of the population that can be reached. The great majority of our people—all but the monopolies and their few cohorts—are hurt hard by unemployment, inflation, or both, and the many evils that they bring with them. Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other minorities, the poor, the elderly, and the working class are suffering the most. But many others are suffering also—municipal employees whose salaries are frozen despite the continuing price rise; young professors laid off because inflation has robbed their universities of funds with which to pay them; families, even those with “decent” incomes, facing astronomical medical bills; people living in cities, large parts of which, such as the East Bronx, look like bombed-out Berlin just after the Second World War.

With the U.S. economy facing a number of years of low growth—and perhaps much worse—the bankruptcy of the Republican and Democratic parties in the face of the problems is becoming clearer to more and more people. Great opportunities and challenges for a people's movement lie ahead. □

On Building A Mass Anti-Monopoly Party*

SI GERSON

Evidence of the growing mass disgust with the two-party system of U.S. capitalism is to be found everywhere in the nation. What is lacking is sustained work for a broad, viable electoral alternative. It is to these questions that these remarks are addressed.

Comrade Gus Hall analyzed some of the elements indicating a mass breakaway from the old parties in his report to the post-election November 1976 meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. (See “The 1976 Elections — Mandate for Struggle,” pp. 13-14.) He then said:

The idea of a new, mass people's party received a positive response whenever it was discussed during the past campaign. It is an idea on the minds of millions. The time has come to stop just talking about it, and to begin to bring together those forces which are ready to take some initiatives in this direction. Frankly, it has reached a point where the support for this idea cannot be

further measured until it is tried out. If there is no initiative now, it is possible to miss a historic opportunity.

Growing Disaffection

Is there an objective basis for initiatives in the direction of a new, mass anti-monopoly party?

Nationally, it is increasingly obvious that despite President Jimmy Carter's standing in the polls, there is a swelling current of disenchantment with him, particularly among those who voted for him as “the lesser evil” and whose expectations he aroused. Evidence on this score piles up daily:

- In the ranks of organized labor there developed early considerable criticism of the Carter Administration's refusal to support its demand for a \$3 hourly minimum wage and of Carter's miserly counter-proposals.

Similarly, many trade unionists are bitter about the Administration's failure to make real efforts to win passage of the situs picketing bill, long a demand of the building trades unions. Further, there is

*Adapted (and updated) from remarks delivered to a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee and National Council, May 30, 1977.

considerable resentment at the Administration for putting on ice any repealer of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley law, which legalizes the so-called right-to-work law, the notorious measure used, particularly in the South, to strangle the union shop and, indeed, union organization. This resentment continues to exist in the labor movement, notwithstanding the maneuvering of AFL-CIO President George Meany to patch up matters with Carter. If anything, the placid acceptance by Carter of a high level of unemployment for years to come has solidified a critical attitude toward him in labor's ranks. The issue of jobs has become the number one question for organized labor, as it has for unorganized workers. Even Meany, feeling the pressure from the ranks, has had to attack Carter publicly for stressing "balancing the budget" as against jobs for the jobless.

• In the Black people's movement there is a tidal wave of discontent with the Carter Administration. It reached something of a peak in late August with an extraordinary "summit meeting" of representatives of 15 leading organizations of Black people, including the Congressional Black Caucus. Earlier, there were expressions of criticism at the NAACP national convention by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; by the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, head of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), and by others.

But the summit session had a qualitatively new character. There was an evident shattering of illusions and the emergence of a common strategy for a counter-offensive against what the Rev. Jackson called "the callous neglect" by the Carter Administration of the Blacks and the poor generally. The central aim, the summit agreed, was the fight for jobs, for a full employment policy, with special emphasis on jobs for the Black youth, among whom unemployment ranges up to 86 per cent, according to some estimates.

This criticism of Carter from wide sections of the Black community, cutting across ideological and organization lines, is tinged with a special bitterness. The Black people feel — and this is supported by the election figures — that they, plus some sections of labor, provided the margin of Carter's narrow election victory over Republican Gerald Ford. There is a deep feeling that Carter betrayed his campaign promises, especially in respect to the bread-and-butter issues. Significantly, Carter, who earlier had referred to Jordan's criticism as "demagogic,"

talked differently after the summit meeting. The White House response, according to Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, "ought to be moderate and responsible." Subsequently, Carter met with the House Black Caucus.

• Among liberal Democrats there is also disillusionment, reflected most clearly by the sharply critical speech of Senator George McGovern at this year's convention of Americans for Democratic Action. McGovern and other liberal Democrats are attacking Carter not only for renegeing on his campaign pledges but also for refusing to fight for his own measures when the political going gets rough. For example, the Administration sponsored a universal voter registration measure, the effect of which would be to simplify procedures, thus increasing the number of people who actually vote. (Such a law is on the statute books of Minnesota and Wisconsin and has in fact raised the total percentage of voters beyond that of the other states.) However, the Administration backed away from its own bill, a simple democratic measure, after the Republican high command and some Southern Democratic Senators emitted a few growls.

Neutron Bomb and L'Affair Lance

Likewise, criticism of Carter's betrayal of his pledge to cut the military budget has surfaced along with expressions of outrage at the proposal to build the neutron bomb ("spare the property and kill the people"). The giant American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers (AFSCME), which supported him in the 1976 campaign, waged an effective drive against the B-1 bomber, undoubtedly a factor in the decision to halt it. Opposition to the neutron bomb is widespread, even in circles which rarely speak up on such questions. Thus, for instance, the National Coalition of American Nuns, according to the lay Catholic magazine *Commonweal* (8/19/77), wrote Carter:

The USSR accuses the United States of defying our human rights code by developing the neutron bomb . . . We must agree in this one instance with the Russians. The neutron bomb cannot be developed in isolation from history. If we develop it, we will use it; or someone with whom we share the bomb will use it. And if it is ever used, all of us without exception will be the losers.

Nor does this exhaust the issues around which there is discontent. Carter's stalling on a national

health bill has evoked criticism among people who were his 1976 supporters. And even his high-pressure "human rights" campaign has met with considerable skepticism, with more than one commentator noting acidly that Carter exempts such tyrannies as South Korea and Iran for reasons of alleged "national security."

Beyond these clearly defined groupings of labor, the Black people's organizations and liberal Democrats, the Bert Lance scandal has set off widespread comment about "cronyism" in the White House. Carter's defense of his old Georgia pal and appointee to the key post of director of the Office of Management and Budget in the face of the evidence of the latter's financial shenanigans as banker-politician drew attacks from many quarters, including some old southern supporters. The sharp contrast between Carter's sanctimonious pre-election preachments and his behavior in L'Affaire Lance is widely noted. Some columnists have even hinted that Carter's election campaign may have been partially financed through Lance's curious fiscal didoes.

Not all the discontent is aimed at Washington, however. In city after city there are local struggles around cutbacks of social services, layoffs of municipal workers and the perennial City Hall scandals. New York City is the most dramatic example, but the situation is virtually epidemic since the urban areas have borne the main shock of the banker and monopoly drive to lower the living standards of the people.

Developments Toward Independence

How is all this affecting the electoral process?

It has been noted for some time that there has been a steady alienation of the electorate from the process. Nearly half the eligible voters did not participate in the 1976 elections (less than 54 per cent) and the curve has been generally downward since 1960 when about 60 per cent voted in the presidential elections.

Nor is 1977 showing much change, judging by the municipal primaries which with rare exceptions — New York City — continued to indicate wide disinterest in the selection of candidates by the old parties.

Among those who do take part in the electoral process there is mounting evidence of independence from the two old parties. For example, of 2,150 candidates whose names appeared on a primary and/or a general election ballot for the House of Representatives or Senate in 1976, 13 per cent (about

280) were independents, that is, they ran either without a party designation or as minor party candidates. (By no means, however, should all these be regarded as progressive candidates. Some of these "independents" were clearly ultra-Rightists.)

Independence among the registered voters, in the sense of non-affiliation with either of the two old parties, continues to grow. The New York State Board of Elections reported recently that the number of independents had passed beyond the 1 million mark for the first time in the state's history. In varying degree, the same trend is apparent in other states.

But this phenomenon, while reflecting a lack of enthusiasm for either old party, is not yet true independence, that is, a break with the two old parties. Most of those who decline to enroll themselves as either Republicans or Democrats are generally "swing" voters. They say they vote "the candidate, not the party." Frequently, it means shuttling between the two old parties and "splitting" their tickets between candidates of both.

Evidence of this shuttling was seen even in the first months of the Carter Administration. In the special election in Washington State's 7th Congressional District to replace Rep. Brock Adams, a Democrat appointed Secretary of Transportation, a Republican won in this traditionally Democratic area. Reportedly, Carter's threat of a gasoline tax was a major issue in the election. Most of the voters, reflecting a widespread anti-monopoly mood, regarded the tax as a ripoff designed to benefit the oil trusts and voted accordingly. They switched to the GOP to register their protest, apparently because they saw no viable alternative. (Significantly, the three byelections since Carter's inauguration in January have all seen Democratic candidates defeated, the last being in a rock-ribbed Democratic district in Louisiana.)

What can be expected in the organized labor movement in respect to political action?

Within the labor movement some degree of change can be anticipated, particularly if the United Auto Workers union votes to re-affiliate to the AFL-CIO. The UAW and the new leadership of the Machinists union, together with the Communication Workers, AFSCME and the other unions which opposed George Meany's "neutrality" in the Nixon-McGovern race of 1972 (and even formed their own committee) will tend to group together again. These unions tend

to be critical of the Carter Administration. Some see the necessity of forming a political pressure bloc. But it will be a bloc within the general administration orbit, a bloc to the Left of Meany and the Administration, designed largely to offset pressures from the Right. It should have a limited usefulness in checking anti-labor legislation and advancing social welfare and civil rights measures and perhaps even supporting some liberal moves in foreign policy.

But, soberly viewed, all this is a considerable way from a new people's anti-monopoly party, although it cannot be ruled out that one or another labor leader, under pressure from the rank and file, may become associated with a movement for a mass people's party.

It must be concluded at this moment that while there is considerable ferment in the country and disenchantment with the two old parties, this does not yet spell out a solid national movement for a new mass, anti-monopoly party. There are a few local coalitions that are promising but a *national* movement along these lines does not exist today. In this respect the situation is considerably different than that preceding the 1948 election when the Progressive Party fielded a third party presidential ticket headed by Henry Wallace. In late 1946 and throughout 1947 there was active agitation and organization on a nation-wide scale for such a national ticket, all of it laying the groundwork for the 1948 presidential campaign. In the 1976 election campaign the question of building a mass anti-monopoly party was raised in the speeches of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, the Communist candidates for President and Vice President, respectively. While mass reaction was friendly to the idea, few public figures other than Hall and Tyner chose to discuss the question.

Needed: Ongoing Grassroots Work

Clearly, ferment and disenchantment may create a political climate in which a new mass party can be built but no more than that. The actual process — and the term *process* must be stressed — by which such a party will be built in the U.S. is exceedingly complex. It of course requires constant agitation for such a party but it will not be built by ringing rhetoric calling for masses of voters to leave the two old parties.

Experience over the years demonstrates that effective third parties grow out of mass movements on great social issues. Thus, the Republican party of the mid-19th century arose out of the struggle around



For Peace, Jobs, Equality

chattel slavery. The LaFollette presidential candidacy of 1924 on the Progressive Party line had as its basis the struggle of the trade union movement against the post-World War I anti-labor drive, as well as the revolt of the small farmers against monopoly. The Progressive Party of 1948 arose primarily in the struggle against the cold war.

From this it follows that a new mass people's party can arise today only through the participation of masses in the main economic and political struggles of the day — for jobs and wage increases, against monopoly prices and extortionate utility rates, for rent control and public housing, against cutbacks of social services, against the swollen military budget and for nuclear disarmament. A special element of today's struggle must be the fight against pervasive racism and the systematic effort to destroy the gains made in the civil rights battles of the '60s. The totality of all this is a many-sided struggle against monopoly capital.

But even participation in struggle, while basic, is of itself not enough. Millions have participated in economic and political struggles in the past but have not drawn the conclusion of the need for a break with the two-party system. In short, there is nothing

automatic about the birth of a new mass united front anti-monopoly party. The *conscious* element is decisive, given the movement of millions in struggle.

What is required is concrete work for such a party on many levels, starting at the grassroots with legislative and political activity that stems from and is fused with the struggles around day-to-day issues. This work — on a 365-days-a-year basis — must have as one of its major objectives the building of independent coalition movements around labor candidates, Black candidates, candidates of other national groups, women candidates, youth candidates — in short, candidates standing on a platform of united anti-monopoly struggle. There will be no mass anti-monopoly party in the field in the 1980 presidential elections unless solid grassroots bases are built in 1977, 1978 and 1979.

United Front Approach

It is true that only a relative minority of those involved in grassroots coalitions will have the outlook of a formal breakaway from the two old parties. Many will retain some old party ties. Many will continue to participate in old party primaries even as they express increasing independence on issues and help to build independent movements. That means that the forces committed to seeking a genuine political alternative cannot ignore the old party primaries. These primaries can sometimes become the arenas of struggle around issues that are part of the process of building a new anti-monopoly party.

It should be remembered that progressive congressmen like John Conyers and Ron Dellums, for example, while taking advanced positions and increasingly associating themselves with independent forces, still feel it necessary to use the Democratic Party locally as a political vehicle. Nor can we forget political history. The late Vito Marcantonio, probably the most progressive congressman of this century, began as a Republican and used the Republican ballot line as a vehicle. At the same time he was building up an independent apparatus and advancing an independent progressive program, remaining a nominal Republican until the American Labor Party of the 1930's developed as a balance-of-power party in New York State.

There will undoubtedly be similar developments along the road to a new mass people's party today. Committed third party forces may find themselves in grassroots political coalitions with supporters of Jimmy Carter. They may find themselves working for

independent local candidates who on a national level back the Carter Administration. This is an inevitable element of any genuine mass united front anti-monopoly movement.

This was the case in the superb Mark Allen campaign in Berkeley last Spring, a non-partisan election for local office in which a splendid united front of struggle was built, a united front in which the non-Communist participants (the majority) were regarded — and felt themselves — as equals in the united front. Great credit goes to those who understood and correctly applied these united front policies, particularly to Mark Allen, a candidate in the great tradition of Communist Councilmen Pete Cacchione and Ben Davis, and also to the leadership of the California Communist Party.

On a somewhat different level is New York, where the Coalition for Independent Politics is slowly building a movement that includes people who are prepared to accept a progressive program but still regard the Democratic primary as an indispensable element of their campaigns. And in Connecticut, a citizens' group for independent political action, including labor people, Black leaders and community activists, has been convoked.

Similar situations exist, perhaps only in embryo, in other areas. Tactical elements will vary from state to state but the essential strategic task remains the same — the gathering of the forces moving in the direction of independent progressive political action.

But perhaps a word of warning would not be out of order. Day-to-day organization is required but it must be pervaded by the underlying concept that the building of an effective anti-monopoly movement and party is the next great task on the agenda of the working class and its allies. It is a historic struggle for democracy and will be bitterly resisted by the ruling class. It is a massive undertaking, greater even than the battle for the organization of the unorganized workers into industrial unions in the 30s and 40s. Already we see efforts in some states to tighten further the already restrictive election laws and limit access to the ballot for independents and minority parties.

But a mighty people's movement can overcome these obstacles. Uniting the great majority who are the victims of monopoly capital, it can sweep aside the ruling class barriers and move towards the formation of a mass anti-monopoly people's party that will effectively challenge the two old parties of capitalism. □



Sixtieth Anniversary of the October Revolution

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPUSA

Sixty years ago, the Russian working class, led by the great Bolshevik Party of Communists, rallied the downtrodden multi-national peoples and the impoverished peasants for their victorious assault on capitalism. Together, they raised a mighty fist and smashed the rotten old order to bits, as the only way to guarantee the people's immediate demands for "Peace, Land and Bread." Thus began, as Lenin's genius foresaw, the most thorough, ongoing, worldwide revolutionary process in history. Its inevitable results can only be the end of the capitalist system and peace, socialism and finally, communism everywhere on our planet.

The impact of this Great October Socialist Revolution on friend and foe alike was unprecedented.

U.S. and world imperialist circles "greeted" this epochal event with ignorance, ferocious hysteria, support to the counter-revolution and military invasion. But all their invading armies failed to "put humpty-dumpty together again."

Six months after November 1917, *The New York Times* wrote disdainfully: "Russia is simply a geographical concept and will never be anything more. Her powers of cohesion, organization and restoration are gone forever." No doubt, the arrogant *Times* has learned a thing or two about socialist power in the last sixty years, but this does not stop it from expressing new stupidities and miscalculations to this very hour. As the major monopoly anti-Soviet press in the world, the *Times* exemplifies the dangerous blind conceit of every exploiting class which is doomed by history.

In contrast, toiling humanity saw November 7th as the *real* beginning of the fulfillment of all their aspirations. They greeted it with a thunderous hurrah! Socialist Russia was protected by an unprecedented wave of working-class internationalism and acts of solidarity.

Workers in the United States and throughout the world sent material aid and organized demonstrations and strikes against the imperialist blockades and interventions. Already in 1906, the great vision of W.E.B. Du Bois cried out to Black Americans: "Courage, brothers. The battle for humanity is not lost or losing . . . The Slav is rising in his might. . . ." After the Revolution, the mood of exaltation and militancy felt by all advanced U.S. workers was expressed in the stirring words of Eugene V. Debs when he declared that "from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, I am a Bolshevik, and proud of it."

For sixty years, the mouthpieces of monopoly capitalism—from hired venal politicians to hired subservient scribes—have been slandering the world-transforming significance of the October Revolution. Their lies have done and continue to do great harm. But history has proven that it is as difficult for them to blot out the truth as it is to blot out the sun. Today, more peoples, organizations and governments celebrate the anniversary of the first socialist revolution than any other event in history. And each year their numbers grow, a continuous testimony to the incomparable contribution of the October Revolution for the liberation of all exploited and oppressed peoples and to the building of a new world free of war and want.

Among the many treasures of the U.S. working class is John Reed's classic, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Lenin recommended this book "unreservedly" to the workers of the world as "a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the proletarian revolution." In 1977, this great work is read by millions of workers in dozens of languages all over the world. October 20, 1977, is the 90th anniversary of the birth of John Reed, a founding member of the Communist Party, USA. To honor his memory and

share in his triumph, thousands of young workers in our land should read his book and relive in its pages the incredible excitement and heroic deeds of those remarkable days which changed the world forever.

II

Revolutions, Marx wrote, are the great engines of social progress; difficult and awesome dramas filled with glory and tragedy. All revolutions before October 1917 meant that the working and peasant population who did the main fighting and dying exchanged one set of exploiting masters for another.

The first American Revolution of 1776 and the second, the Civil War in 1861, achieved many important democratic aims. Because they took place in an earlier period, the people could not shake off the chains of capitalist exploitation.

The Great October Socialist Revolution differed from all previous revolutions in character, tasks and aims. It set a new direction for human society and opened endless horizons for creative human development. For the first time, a non-exploitive class came to power—the working class, led by the Communist Party. It laid the foundations for the most advanced economic system yet seen—socialism. Based on advanced democracy for its working and farming population, it built a totally new socialist society. As the famed U.S. journalist Lincoln Steffens said when he returned from a visit in 1919, “I have seen the future, and it works.”

The 1917 Revolution enormously accelerated the people's democratic struggles on all continents. Hundreds of millions of all oppressed classes and nations were inspired to join the fight for their own national and social emancipation. It demonstrated, said Lenin, that the working class “is the vanguard class of all the oppressed, the focus and center of all the aspirations of all the oppressed for emancipation.” The sixty years of Soviet socialist practice and the world developments it engendered confirm over and over again that the working class is the main social force of this epoch. It stands front and center on the stage of history.

When the *Communist Manifesto* was published in 1848 the working class was just beginning to “feel its oats” and numbered a mere ten million. Yet Marx and Engels defined it as the only growing, consistent-

ly revolutionary class in modern society, historically destined to liberate and lead humanity to the summit of communism. Today, the world working class numbers in the hundreds of millions and is still growing. Since the October Revolution, the enormous labor and struggles of the working class have scattered to the winds one false theory after another which tried to deny its role as the leading class for social progress.

In recent years the working class led the broad popular movements which overthrew fascism in Portugal, Greece and Spain. In Italy and France the working class leads the great battles against monopoly capitalist rule. And in the newly liberated, developing countries, as Agostinho Neto recently said, “Only the working class, allied with the peasantry, is in a position to rally around it all revolutionaries and progressive people to forge genuine national unity” against imperialism and for radical social progress.

“The working class is moving more forcefully to assume the leading role history has assigned to it. . . . Correspondingly to the level of the developments in the U.S., our working class is in step with this historic trend.” (Gus Hall, *The Crisis of U.S. Capitalism and the Fight-Back*). Indeed, only our multiracial working class can unite and lead the broad-based anti-monopoly spirit and actions that are surfacing throughout our country. Only our working class and its organizations can shape an independent all-round program to rescue the entire nation from the crisis-ridden swamp into which the profit-greedy monopolies and their two-party politicians have plunged us.

The Great October Socialist Revolution shattered the myth that capitalism is eternal. It showed that capitalism, with all its unresolvable horrors and ills, is a system without a future, that its days are numbered. Since the October Revolution, capitalism has been in a stage of general crisis, enmeshed in depressions, wars and revolutions. Today, the crises confronting monopoly capitalism threaten such incalculable disasters for human life on earth that the change to socialism has become an urgent necessity. Indeed, the emergence of new socialist states in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas confirms that the movement toward socialism, which the October Revolution initiated, is an objective law-governed process. It may be delayed or temporarily detoured, as in Chile, but it cannot be stopped. *The Communist genie is out of the bottle and there is no force on earth that can put it back.*

III

To live in a peaceful world is the most fundamental and precious human right.

The world's peoples remember that only the leading capitalist nation, the USA, has unleashed atomic bombs upon another people. In today's world of nuclear bombs and new weapons of annihilation, the securing of disarmament and world peace is the central concern of all peoples.

The Soviet Union was born in the flames of the first imperialist World War as the standard-bearer of peaceful coexistence. For 60 years it has persistently shown that peaceful coexistence is the only alternative to monopoly capitalism's rapacious wars and threats of nuclear annihilation. Therefore, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, even in the most difficult moments, has always upheld the supreme interests of the world working class and the security of all peoples. No other nation in history has worked with such consistency and concreteness for world peace.

From Lenin's famous "Decree on Peace" of November 8, 1917, to the inspiring foreign-policy programs of the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU; from the Treaty of Rappallo, the treaties at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam to the series of present European treaties; from the Genoa Conference in the twenties to the European Security Conference in Helsinki—at all times, the offspring of the October Revolution has been the most determined, steadfast champion of peace, freedom and social progress for all peoples.

In the last three decades, the Soviet Union has offered the world community more than 70 proposals to strengthen peaceful coexistence and cooperation among all nations. "No country," said Leonid Brezhnev earlier this year at Tula, "has ever offered mankind such a comprehensive, concrete and realistic program for lessening and fully eliminating the danger of a new war as was done by the Soviet Union."

Sixty years of Soviet socialist practice have demonstrated again and again that its struggle for peace is not, and never was, a tactic, or a ruse to beguile and catch its opponents off guard. On the contrary, *peace, which benefits all peoples without exception, is fundamental to the very nature and needs of socialism. There are no military-industrial complexes thirsting for super-profits in the first land of socialism!* The Soviet Union needs peace to enrich

the lives of its peoples and to continue building the foundations for communism. For sixty years the Soviet Union has propagated, demonstrated and confirmed that socialism and peace are an inseparable unity. *Not only does socialism need peace, but peace, in order to develop and become ever more stable, also needs socialism.*

No one can deny that since the Great October Socialist Revolution enormous radical changes have taken place in the world arena, in concepts of relations between states, in all forms of diplomacy. Imperialism can no longer deceive the peoples with secret treaties or secret preparations for war. Soviet leadership in exposing the South African government's "secret" preparations for a nuclear bomb test is a recent example.

But sixty years of Soviet power have illustrated that socialism is *the most open society in history*. It discusses its foreign policy as a part of its successive five-year plans, which are published in tens of millions of copies and regularly evaluated and checked up on in full view of the peoples of the world.

Capitalist countries, especially the USA, are shaken by one scandal after another of armaments profiteering, bribery, war plots, CIA-mercenaries, and wide-spread repression in efforts to weaken or halt the national independence of other peoples and plunder their resources.

If, for the 32 years since the end of World War II, humanity has been spared a cataclysmic nuclear war, it is in large measure due to the herculean efforts of the Soviet Union to constantly mobilize world public opinion to safeguard and strengthen global peace.

Today, *world public opinion*, expressed in activities of the broadest united forms—one of which is the World Peace Council—has become a powerful social force: vigilant, firm and untiring in struggles against the threat of world wars, against all kinds of imperialist aggressions and local wars. Hundreds of millions are "building the peace, building a new world, fighting to eliminate all the suffering, the hunger and poverty, the exploitation and oppression which has been [their] lot" for centuries. (Ramesh Chandra, President of the World Peace Council.)

In sixty years the Soviet Union has grown into an enormous power that cannot be hoodwinked, bullied or blackmailed, politically, economically or militarily. That is why the Carter-Brzezinski-Jackson proposals, designed to "out-manuever" the Soviet Union at the SALT talks, in the Middle East, on trade, and in other matters are doomed to failure.

But the Soviet Union never throws its weight around, never threatens war. "*On behalf of the Party and the entire people,*" declared Leonid Brezhnev, "*I declare that our country will never embark on the road to aggression, will never raise the sword against other nations.*" In the Soviet Union, war propaganda is outlawed and punishable as a crime against socialism and all peoples. It is impossible to find maps, drawings or writings in the USSR that calculate how many millions of Americans will die and how many U.S. cities will be destroyed if nuclear "Plan A" or "Plan B" is used, as is often and so cynically and inhumanly done by monopoly computers in our country. No U.S. visitors, on any level, can honestly report that they heard advocacy of war from government or Party officials or from any Soviet citizen. The new Soviet Constitution embodies the peace policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government, including all ten principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

In recent years the progress toward detente and victories against imperialism and for national liberation in Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America, have brought great optimism and confidence for peace into the international climate. But reducing the dangers of world nuclear war does not mean they are ended; possibilities are not yet iron-clad guarantees.

It has become clear that the new U.S.-based tactic of human rights demagoguery is anti-Sovietism that is a cover for a new round of the arms race being launched by the Carter Administration. The present moment confirms what has been true for sixty years—*official anti-Sovietism, anywhere and always, is directed against peace.* And those honest peace partisans who permit themselves to be drawn into the sewer of anti-Sovietism only willy-nilly help divide and harm the great cause they seek to champion.

The decision to produce cruise missiles and the threat to deploy neutron bombs in Europe violate the Helsinki agreements and greatly increase the war danger. This is the real face of Carter's "humanism" and his "born again" morality. But these decisions can be reversed; practical steps for disarmament can be won. "*The war hawks,*" said Gus Hall, "*always dominate U.S. government policy when the people are silent. But they do not have a mass base. They do not represent the mood or the will of the people of our country. Mass actions can influence government policy toward peace and detente. . . . Mass actions*

can bring about serious negotiations that will put an end to the nuclear arms race."

Since the appearance of U.S. imperialism with the conquest of Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other territory at the end of the 19th century, no U.S. administration has supported a revolutionary development anywhere in the world. Despite the fact that it was defeated in Southeast Asia, and is forced to accept socialist Cuba, U.S. monopoly capitalism is the largest exploiter and oppressor of peoples in the world. In order to maintain its super-profits, it has made mutual alliances with brutal fascist regimes wherever they exist.

In contrast, since the October Revolution, the Soviet Union has never failed to support any genuine struggle for liberation—in whatever form the oppressed peoples decided to make their fight. Its moral and material commitment to the people's struggles everywhere has been decisive to help change the balance of forces against the common enemy, imperialism. This support has never been a tactic for momentary narrow interests. For the whole sixty years of Soviet power it has been a selfless, unwavering policy that arises from the very nature of socialism. The unprecedented equality and unity of the 15 Soviet Republics and more than 100 nationalities within the USSR are its cornerstone.

Advanced socialist society, in which the working class is the leading force in the struggle for communist ideals, has eliminated all antagonistic contradictions between classes, social groups, nations and nationalities. The world historic significance of this achievement can hardly be overstated. Its meaning for our own multiracial, multinational population is immense. Only a socialist United States can finally end the class, racial, national and cultural and other forms of monopoly-inflicted oppression and division so as to achieve in time a genuine democracy of equal peoples in the United States.

Thirty-two years ago, the Soviet people, making unparalleled sacrifices, smashed the fascist shock-troops of world imperialism and achieved an epoch-making victory. In this terrible ordeal, they not only defended their own freedom but made the decisive contribution in saving the peoples of the whole world from fascist enslavement. This action and the consequences from the way the war was fought and won, weakened imperialism and opened the flood-gates to the people's struggles for social and national liberation.

A great socialist commonwealth of nations arose, whose united policies and actions have made them the most effective and influential force in world politics.

At the same time, hundreds of millions of enslaved colonial peoples struck sledge-hammer blows at imperialist rule, achieved political independence, and opened new paths to radical social progress. *The destruction of the old imperialist colonial order is one of the greatest advances for human rights in history.*

In the developed capitalist countries the inevitability of socialism arises from the insoluble contradictions in their powerful capitalist production and distribution system, created in part from generations of colonial robbery. In the newly liberated underdeveloped lands, the legacy of imperialism is such that only socialism offers them the path and the concrete assistance for ending centuries of economic and social backwardness. Thus the alliance between the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states, the national liberation movement, and the working class of the developed capitalist countries arises as a natural objective necessity for mutual interests.

More than five decades ago, Lenin wrote: "In the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will play a much more revolutionary part than we expect."

The Soviet Union actively supports the fight of all oppressed peoples against national and colonial oppression. In 1960, the United Nations adopted the "Declaration of the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples" and in 1961, the "Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination." Both were Soviet initiatives. In 1973, the proposal by the socialist and a group of Afro-Asian countries, the "Program for the Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racist Discrimination," was adopted by the General Assembly.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU, before one of the greatest gatherings in history of representatives from governments and Communist and democratic parties, emphasized "*as crucial the international task of completely eliminating all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, infringement of the equality and independence of peoples, and all seats of colonialism and racism.*"

The historic victories of the revolutionary peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, which had the sympathy, diplomatic and concrete material support of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist nations, raised the alliance of socialism and national liberation in Africa to a new level.

Vast regions of Africa are ablaze with battle. Denied even the most elementary human rights, the peoples of fascist apartheid South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia are developing successful armed struggle to ring down the final curtain on the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. The fact that Southern Africa is one of the hottest spots on the planet, wrote Brezhnev in his message to the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid, held in Lagos, Nigeria, in August, is "*the fault of the racists and their imperialist benefactors.*" The government and peoples of the Soviet Union "*condemn the criminal policy pursued by the racist regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia*" and come out for "*the isolation and boycott of these regimes,*" for their complete eradication.

The Soviet Union, using every form and forum, has helped raise the fight against racism, one of the world historic central tasks in the fight for human rights, to its highest levels ever. This great battle is having profound effects on all class forces and social strata in the United States.

U.S. imperialism is desperately maneuvering to hold back the doom of its racist allies. The main tactic of the Carter Administration is to set up conditions that will guarantee the profits of the white capitalist minority and preserve imperialism's huge stake in Africa. They call for "peaceful solutions" and the disarming of the liberation fighters. Meanwhile, they are beefing up the military might of the racist oppressors who terrorize and murder the people and commit armed aggression against neighboring sovereign states.

The peoples of Southern Africa are not willing to accept the solution of U.S. "new South" leaders, Black or white. They want the immediate total dismantling of the entire apartheid, racist system. They want to decide their own destiny. The steadfast support of the Soviet Union, of the multiracial working people of the United States, of the millions of progressive peoples throughout the world are the guarantees that the agony of the embattled peoples in Southern Africa will end and their heroic struggle will be crowned with complete victory.

A starving, ignorant peasant in filthy rags—such was one of the classic images of old Russia in U.S. folklore before 1917. And the truth of this image was reinforced by the millions who fled this backwardness, its poverty and pogroms, to seek a new life on our shores.

The Great October Socialist Revolution rescued the multinational Soviet peoples from centuries of poverty, illiteracy, superstition and squalor. All the social ills which plague even the most advanced capitalist countries—poverty, substantial permanent unemployment, inflation, racism and national oppression, wretched housing in crisis-ridden cities, unreachable medical care, and the sharp, alarming increases in violence and moral degradation—have been eliminated forever from Soviet life. Sixty years of socialist practice have produced rates of progress in all areas of life that have no equal in history. A few figures will illustrate this unparalleled breathtaking advance:

*Before the Revolution, old Russia supplied 4 per cent of world production. Today the Soviet Union produces over 20 per cent of a vastly greater world total. The quantity of two and a half days of 1977 production equals the output of the entire year 1913, and its quality and variety are infinitely superior.

*Almost all cities in the Soviet Union have been rebuilt and numerous great new modern cities have arisen, including those across the vast expanses of Siberia; housing construction is colossal and more new housing is turned over to tenants every two years than all that Russian cities had before the Revolution; rents, including utilities, are no more than 4 per cent of income.

*In pre-revolutionary Russia, 75 per cent of all adults were illiterate. Today, literacy is universal. More than 93 million people are studying at all educational levels. One out of every four scientists in the world lives and works in the Soviet Union. Uzbekistan alone has more people with a higher education than all of old Russia; Tajikistan, proportionately, has three times as many students as Italy. Before the Revolution many nationalities were physically dying out, but today, the Central Asian Republics of the USSR have more doctors per 10,000 people than does the United States. Twice as many titles are published in the Soviet Union as in the United States, including the best of old and new U.S.

works which are translated into numerous languages and published in tens of millions of copies.

*More than 25 million people function in government and on committees related to governing activities. Tens of millions of Party and non-Party members of trade unions, farm collectives, schools, cultural and other people's organizations play a direct daily role in helping to organize economic, social, cultural and political life.

The Soviet Union is sixty years old, a brief historical period if compared to the 201 years of the USA. Yet its dramatic, unparalleled advances take on *even greater significance* when it is realized that some 20 of those 60 years were spent fighting invading armies imposed upon the Soviet people and on the subsequent recovery from war damage. *Thus, in about 40 years the Soviet peoples built a new economy and social life that is far superior to anything any capitalist nation has ever achieved, or can possibly achieve.*

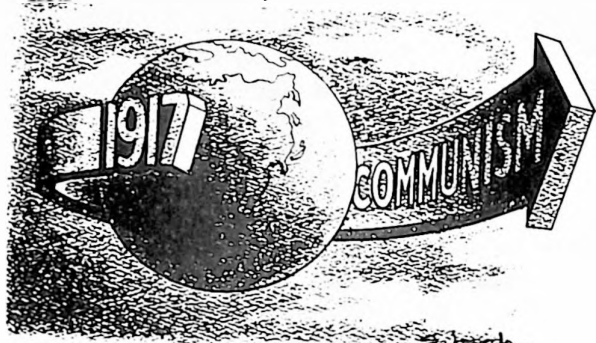
Today, when U.S. monopoly-dominated society is gripped by crises in every aspect of life, when the economy sputters in fits and starts—now up, now down—the planned Soviet economy, on the basis of the most modern scientific and technological achievements, has launched gigantic integrated programs which will further rapidly improve the lives of its peoples. The Soviet Union already outproduces the United States in oil, steel, iron, cement, diesel and electric locomotives, tractors, mineral fertilizer, cotton and many other goods.

But the Soviet Union is no superpower, nor are the Soviet people superhuman. Of course, like all working people, they labor long and hard for their achievements. *But as their sixty-year experience demonstrates, their "secret weapon" is a super system—socialism.*

The creative genius and talents of U.S. working people are world famous. Their enormous, honest labor is exploited by a small handful of huge monopolies in oil, steel, auto, utilities and other industries. These gigantic combines rule the roost and reap astronomical profits, while the living standards of city and rural working people steadily deteriorate. They are looking for a way out of their increasing disaster, and in the inspiring achievements of existing socialism they can find *a winner*. That is why the Soviet experience and socialism are lied about daily by the U.S. monopolies.

In the U.S. as well as everywhere in the world, there

can be no guarantee of human rights unless the material and cultural needs of working people, the overwhelming majority of humanity, are met and advanced. Viewed from the vantage point of the 60th anniversary, it is no exaggeration to state that sixty years of Soviet socialist power mark the greatest advance in the theory and practice of human rights in world history, rights which are being further enriched in meaning as the material and cultural base for communism gradually arises.



VI

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the sixty years since its victory have verified the great historical truths of Marxism-Leninism, the universal significance of the main scientific laws of socialist revolution and the building of a new society. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by Lenin's call to develop the science in all directions in order "to keep pace with life," has made extraordinarily rich, creative and continuous contributions to Marxism-Leninism.

Our age is the most revolutionary in history. Enormously new, complex and difficult problems are emerging from its tempestuous development. In this connection, a tremendous body of creative Marxist-Leninist literature has been produced from the experiences of various Communist parties throughout the world. These experiences confirm the need for all revolutionary parties of the working class to independently enrich and apply Marxist-Leninist theory with flexibility and optimism, to everywhere take into account the specific history, and concrete features of their own revolutionary process. At the same time, it is dangerous opportunism to use the specifics as a license to overthrow that which is universal in Marxism-Leninism. This often results in a misreading of the specifics as well and in severe setbacks for the working class. Loyalty to the verified truths of Marxism-Leninism is decisive for working-class victory.

The Soviet Union, with the CPSU in the vanguard, staunchly upholds the banner of Marxism-Leninism against the class treachery of Maoism and Trotskyism. The Soviet Union propels the world revolutionary movement forward at all times. In direct contrast, the Maoist policies, based on nationalism and goals of national hegemony, take on the counter-revolutionary aim of serving U.S. imperialism, especially in its attempts to perpetuate colonialism as in South Africa and Chile at the hands of the fascist butchers, Vorster and Pinochet.

No other school of thought can rival Marxism-Leninism in popularity, influence and historical importance. In a relatively short span of time, and particularly since the victory of the October Revolution, its ideas have spread across all continents, to every nook and cranny of the globe. In 1976, a UNESCO survey in 61 countries showed that Lenin's works outsold any other writings. There is no branch of social or natural science, of literature and art, which is not influenced by the dialectical and material principles, and the methodology of Marxism-Leninism.

Yet in the United States, fearful reactionary officialdom still treats Marxism-Leninism as an "imported, semi-legal doctrine," and many a teacher and worker have lost their livelihood for propagating this universal liberating science. Practically everything written by U.S. bourgeois historians, philosophers and sociologists in the last 60 years have been unadmitted "debates" with Marxism-Leninism.

However, know-nothingism and persecution cannot keep out truth. Lenin said, "Marxism is omnipotent because it is true," and history has confirmed this truth as consistent with developments everywhere in this world *without exception*. That is why, besides Communists, many new thousands of young workers and students in our country are buying and studying the great classics of Marxism-Leninism. One of the most difficult but necessary and urgent tasks facing U.S. Communists is to help these numbers multiply tenfold, particularly among workers. Marxism-Leninism is, above all, the science of the liberation of the working class, and experience proves that workers can learn to apply this invincible weapon to their daily struggles, and to establish socialism in the U.S.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, led by the Leninist party of a new type, broke the back of many capitalist reform parties and gave an enormous

impulse to the birth and development of working-class revolutionary parties.

But the Meanys and Shankers spread the venom of bourgeois and petty bourgeois opportunism in labor's ranks. They misdirect, weaken and divide the rank-and-file workers' fighting spirit and organization in the face of monopoly capitalism's offensive. Marxism-Leninism is a powerful antidote to this poison, but is not just another tool to help the workers. As the scientific generalization of the experience of the world working class, it is the supreme guide to forge class consciousness, clarity in strategy and tactics and increased fighting capacity for the daily battles against their class enemy on the production line and in their communities.

Just as no doctrine can rival Marxism-Leninism in influence and historical significance, so no political movement can rival the numbers and strength of the world's Communists. A mere handful when Marx and Engels worked with the Communist League, today they number more than 60 million organized activists in over 90 countries, and their ranks are rapidly growing. They are *the only* political trend with powerful forces in all three streams of the world revolutionary process—the socialist system of states, the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movements. The objective world revolutionary process is experiencing an extraordinary acceleration. The decisive subjective force urging on the march of history is the rapid growth of the ranks and influence of the world Communist movement.

The slanderous schemers in the service of imperialism have always sought to break the unity of the world Communist movement, and in particular, unity with the great Leninist party of the Soviet Union. So numerous are the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist think-tanks in the United States and throughout monopoly's dwindling world that it is proper to say that they constitute a new and unique "industry," employing tens of thousands of ideological hit-men.

The victory of the October Revolution, the sixty years of socialist growth and prestige, the invincible alliance of the three revolutionary forces of our epoch have added a completely new quality to the ideological struggle between the two systems.

Capitalism, on the historical defensive, is fighting for its life. Time is running out. Their last "ace in the hole" is to split and weaken the world Communist movement by nationalist appeals, by flattery and other false notions.

But there is not a single difficulty that arises between various Parties (mainly because of a wide variety of specific historical circumstances) that cannot be constructively solved by comradely discussion and voluntary united action on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. *Proletarian internationalism is the most important principle of the world Communist movement.* It is the steel in a Party's backbone, without which it may flop to the "Left" or to the Right.

The CPSU, the CPUSA and all Communist and workers' parties have arisen as categorical objective necessities. They are not the products of "smoke-filled" rooms, nor Madison Avenue blather. The problems that history has placed before humanity in this epoch of the world in transition from capitalism to socialism has called them forth to do their great and noble work.

For this reason, the CPUSA "has a unique role to play. It alone sees the need for a broad mass movement of the people and the possibilities for building such a movement. It alone understands the decisive role of the working class in the struggle ahead despite the present situation in most of the labor movement. And it sees the immediate struggle, not as an end to itself, but as the means by which to improve the lot of the masses today and lead to the kind of a popular movement that can curb monopoly power, nationalize the great industries, and move toward a socialist reorganization of society." (Henry Winston, address to the 21st National Convention, CPUSA.)

The CPUSA salutes the Soviet people, the Soviet government and the great CPSU on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. History placed before the multinational peoples of old Russia the incredibly difficult task of being the first to start the pioneering climb to the summit of communism. They are fulfilling their historical task with immeasurable honor. □

"Total Propaganda" and the Class Struggle

MICHAEL ZAGARELL

The following article was written as a result of a very rich discussion begun at a recent Mid-West press builders conference, examining the results of the 100 day *Daily World* drive in the early part of this year. During that conference a question was put to the gathering: "Why are many of our press builders reluctant to do face-to-face canvassing" for subscriptions, renewals and new readers?

The discussion which ensued centered on several problems, such as lack of confidence in working people, and lack of confidence in our own ideology.

This article is an attempt to probe some of these questions further, particularly the impact of ruling class propaganda on our own mass education efforts.

Elevated Role of Bourgeois Propaganda

Once again the working class movement in the U.S. is fighting to expand its press and mass educational work. More now than ever before, there is a deepening understanding among our own ranks that the class struggle cannot be advanced without a simultaneous advance of the ideological struggle.

For some time this too has been more than understood by the ruling class. For this reason, they have heavily developed their ideological apparatus. Social psychology, behavior modification, "crowd control," "opinion research," have all become fields of deep study for the ruling class.

In a sense, the appointment of the senior expert of propaganda work, Brzezinski, the co-option expert of the ruling class, testifies to the new techniques being employed by the ruling class and the role of spreading ideological confusion in this new strategy. Another signal of this course was sent only last month when President Carter announced that the U.S. Information Agency and State Department's Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs will be merged, thereby allowing greater coordination and heightening of U.S. propaganda efforts. While the new agency will remain under the State Department, it will have its own budget and administration, thus giving propaganda operations a greater role in U.S. foreign policy.

The heightened role of propaganda efforts domestically was also admitted in a recent publication of the

big business run Trilateral Commission. Says the Commission: "The most notable new source of national power in 1970 as compared to 1950 was the national media, meaning here the national TV networks, the national news magazines and the major newspapers with national reach such as the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*."* (*Crisis of Democracy; Report on the Governability of Democracies*, New York University Press, New York, 1975, p. 98.)

Further, states the commission report candidly, "To the extent that the United States was governed by anyone during the decades after World War II, it was governed by the President acting with the support and cooperation of key individuals and groups in the Executive Office, the federal bureaucracy, Congress, and the more important businesses, banks, law firms, foundations and the *media*." (Emphasis added. *Ibid.*, p. 92.)

It is interesting that the report would single out the year 1970 as an example of the changing role. Whether this year was picked purposefully or not by the big business strategists, the fact is that it was a specific turning point. While always an important weapon in imperialism's strategy, the beginning of this decade has marked the elevation of propaganda activities to the level of trump card in the battle between the classes.

Two New Developments

In 1970 two important developments took place which deeply effect our struggle today. The first of these was a court ruling, later upheld by the Supreme Court, radically expanding the rights of bourgeois papers to censor the news and lie. The second event was the passage of the Newspaper Preservation Act, which had nothing to do with preservation of newspapers, but which unleashed an incredible level of concentration in the field of mass media.

The first development stemmed from the struggle of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) to compel the two newspaper

*It is interesting to note that Secretary of State Vance, a past director of the Trilateral Commission, was also a member of the New York Times Corporation board.

companies that control the four daily papers of Chicago to report on a picket line in the city. After being refused by each newspaper, the union attempted to explain its picketline through a paid ad in the four papers. This, too, was rejected by the media magnates.

Then the union took the case to court, charging denial of its First Amendment rights. Confronted by a clear choice between freedom of the press for workers and freedom of the press for the ruling class, the court ruled for the latter.

The case was appealed to the Federal Court of Appeals, which upheld the lower court decision. The Supreme Court also let the lower court decision stand, refusing to hear a further appeal on the case. One of the most telling statements on the class nature of freedom of the press in the U.S. was made by Judge Castle of the Federal Court of Appeals, who said in his decision: "The union's right to free speech does not give it the right to make use of the defendants' printing presses and distribution systems without the defendant's consent." (Jerome A. Barron, *Freedom of the Press for Whom?*, Indiana University Press, 1975, pg. 20.)

This ruling, backed by the Supreme Court, in essence codifies the right of the media to censor and lie, under the slogan of "free press," thus expanding the political leverage of the press and through it the powers of the ruling class.

In 1970 Congress also passed the Newspaper Preservation Act. This law exempted the press from existing anti-monopoly regulations. The result has been one of the most rapid and complete concentrations of power in any industry in the nation. Of the 1,749 daily papers in existence in 1975, 1,000 of them were part of chains. 97 per cent of all dailies have a total monopoly in their own cities. 25 per cent of television stations are owned by papers. Three networks control programming on 1200 radio and television stations.

In addition, 1970 was an important year in the role of the press for another reason. Roughly speaking, this is the period when the Huston plan was being hatched. If we take into account that this plan for the coordination of intelligence services included coordination of covert operations in the media, then it is clear that this, too, was part of the growing concentration and coordination of propaganda in the U.S.

A "False Environment"

The heightened role of media in capitalism's world strategy was highlighted on June 8, 1977, when the International Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held another round of hearings on the communications industry and U.S. foreign policy. Among those testifying was William Colby, former head of the CIA. Admitted Colby, "With my background in intelligence, I obviously have an interest in the subject . . ." The main thrust of the hearings was to map out new plans for further concentrating and controlling methods of communications and to work out plans for making their use more effective in the underdeveloped nations.

There are presently 92 bills dealing with the press in Congress. Most of them continue to push in the direction of tightening control and concentration. Among them is a proposal long sought by the CIA and FBI for an official secrets act. Another proposal, which comes from the Carter Administration, would compel government employees to sign gag contracts. Such contracts would subject the books and articles of employees to open and direct censorship for at least four years after the signing.

In short, the period beginning with this decade has been one of intensified efforts to establish a controlled ideological environment, which leads working people to act on totally false premises. Walter Lippman, the father of modern bourgeois propaganda, projected this dream in his book, *Public Opinion*.^{*} During the 1950's the striving for this goal was greatly heightened. Today, however, the political requirements of the ruling class combined with advances in technology have raised this goal to an even higher priority for the bourgeoisie. In today's bourgeois propaganda parlance, the goal has been set under the concept of "total propaganda," meaning the ability to totally surround the working class with a false picture of the world.

The intensification of the ideological struggle is of course due in part to new technology. Yet, in a deeper sense it grows from the needs of the ruling class for

^{*}Said Lippman, "It is the insertion between man and his environment of a pseudo-environment. To that pseudo-environment his behavior is a response. But, because it *is* behavior, the consequences, if they are acts, operate not in the pseudo-environment where the behavior is stimulated but in the real environment where action eventuates." (*Public Opinion*, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1965. p. 10).

new methods of control. The "human rights campaign" is an obvious reflection of the new role of propaganda in government policy. It is a reflection of the deepening crisis of world capitalism.

Another example is the heightened use of racism in the media. Since 1954 *de jure* segregation has been illegal in the U.S. This important victory rested on the accomplishments of the progressive forces in the U.S. in alliance with the world socialist and national liberation movements.

Yet segregation is far from eliminated. Figures released by the NAACP show that more schools are segregated today than in 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled segregation illegal. To accomplish this feat, the ruling class has been compelled to put greater stress on the ideological factor.

Crystalization Points

In developing propaganda operations capitalism concentrates its efforts more fully than many suspect. How conscious this is is shown by one bourgeois propaganda expert who points out, "Propaganda does not produce generalized undifferentiated ideas but very specific opinions, which cannot be applied just anywhere. And the degree of effectiveness of propaganda depends precisely on its choice of crystallization points. If one can harden opinion on a certain key point, one can control an entire sector of opinion from there." (Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda, the Formation of Men's Attitudes*, Vintage Books, 1973, p. 204.)

The attempt to crystallize public opinion on key questions is most apparent in the field of spreading racism. For several years the ruling class has concentrated on spreading the concept that Black people are more criminal than white people. This racist view is strategic, from the point of view of the ruling class, because once having captured opinion on this point, it is only a short step to mobilize whites against integration in housing and education at decisive moments on the basis that the safety of whites is endangered.

The ability of the ruling class to mobilize and concentrate its organs on such themes is shown by a look at television and newspapers of the past years.

While the front pages of papers once featured demonstrations of Black youths being beaten up by vicious racist cops, today they feature whites as victims and attempt to portray Black youths as the

aggressors.

A study just released by the United States Commission on Civil Rights shows, for example, that while Black people are far less likely than whites to appear on television, when they do appear they are more likely to be portrayed as criminals. According to the report, Blacks were portrayed as criminals more frequently than whites by a ratio of 7 to 5.

The report also concluded that on television "non-white males were the most likely of all characters to kill more frequently than they were killed."

But while the media daily concentrate on the racist theme that Black people are criminals, it also systematically and purposefully excludes reports on advances made by oppressed people. Thus, of 290 news programs examined, only nine dealt with news and issues pertinent to the minorities. Of the news broadcast, the report concludes, "among the issues which received the least attention [was] discrimination."

What is especially important is not merely that the ruling class concentrates on such themes, but its ability to coordinate press and television to launch a constant barrage of such propaganda.

Another strategic nodal point is the struggle for the minds of the American people is an estimate of where white workers stand on the issues of the day. While little study has been made in this whole area, a glance at the newspapers and television shows that white workers are systematically depicted as dumb, politically backward, incapable of understanding complex issues, and culturally barren.

Portrayal of workers in such a light is, of course, a strategic question for the ruling class. Once capturing thinking on such a point, it is relatively easy to proceed on many related questions. Workers who think that all other workers are racist are more prone to accept and express racism themselves. Advanced thinking workers, on the other hand, are also affected by such propaganda. Once accepting such an estimate of the working class, the pressure is to cut back demands, to be less bold and to feel isolated and less confident.

The spreading of a false image and estimate of working people, Black and white, is a conscious goal of the ruling class. Yet, the achievement of such an image also emerges spontaneously and naturally from the very methods of propaganda used in the present period.

Total Propaganda

"Total propaganda" seeks to surround workers with bourgeois ideas, to endlessly repeat lies from every side, from what appear to be independent sources. One effect of this is to convince working people that there "must be some truth if everyone is saying it." The other effect is that if everyone is saying it, the individual dare not say the opposite for fear of isolation. This, the very size of modern capitalism's propaganda apparatus creates a distorted image of what the average worker is thinking.

This fact has long been known to the ruling class and is consciously used. Thus, for example, the same propagandist quoted earlier points out: "Therefore, the individual must never be considered as being alone; the listener to a radio broadcast, though actually alone, is nevertheless part of a large group, and he is aware of it. Radio listeners have been found to exhibit a mass mentality. All are tied together and constitute a sort of society in which all individuals are accomplices and influence each other without knowing it." (*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

What all this means is that working people are not only affected by the ideas contained in ruling class propaganda, but are influenced by the fact that they know that all their neighbors have heard the same news and ideas. This fact is a tremendous pressure on working people to accept these views.

The individual and the group are dialectically tied. To influence one, the ruling class takes the other into account. This is fundamental to all ideological work. This is because human beings are social animals and only by combining an approach to the individual and the group does one influence both.

Need for Concentration

To counter such bourgeois propaganda efforts it is necessary for the working-class movement to understand this fact, so that we can more effectively build a feeling of confidence and unity among working people, and break down the isolation and lack of confidence consciously sown by the ruling class.

To fight for this unity more effectively, we too must take into account the entire community, be it shop, neighborhood or school. To do this it is crucial to put greater emphasis on concentration in the field of mass education.

Leaflets or newspapers distributed at random have an effect only on the individual (unless they can be

distributed in such massive numbers that they are evident throughout a city). But newspapers, leaflets and ads concentrated on a repeated basis in a specific community have an effect far beyond their actual numbers.

This is because material concentrated in a specific community or shop in great enough numbers has a qualitative impact, beyond the effect of each individual receiving it. When we concentrate our material, we make two ideological points. First, we argue those ideas contained in the material. Secondly, the concentrated and repeated distributions indicate that a large number of people either believe or are thinking about these ideas.

The fact that materials are distributed without harassment regularly shows that neighbors or shop-mates are tolerant of these ideas. In general, an atmosphere is set which gives confidence to those who are examining our ideas to express agreement.

Especially important is to show the reaction of working people in a concentration area to our ideas. During the elections there were many concentration communities where Communists scored high votes. But was the community ever told of how many votes they gave to the Communist candidates? In many cases they were not. Yet, this act is as important as the getting of the votes.

Key to answering bourgeois propaganda is mass working-class education. Yet in the past period it has become clear that bourgeois propaganda also affects those who are called upon to answer the lies of the ruling class.

This fact became clear at the recent conferences of the *Daily World* held on the East Coast and Midwest to evaluate the first one hundred day press-building drive. In the course of those discussions, it became all too clear that efforts to build our press which required face to face individual contact with working people received the *least* attention. This was particularly important because among the tasks requiring such work was visitation of introductory subscribers and door-to-door canvassing for new route subscribers—two important goals of the entire drive.

Building Confidence

When the conference participants probed the reasons for the resistance to this area of work, the answers began to become clearer.

Lack of confidence in working people and lack of confidence in our ability to convince them of our

ideas were two very big factors accounting for our slowness in this work. In short, "total propaganda" affects our own ability to mobilize our own ranks for working-class propaganda work.

In many cases, wrong estimates of the working class hide under a wall of sluggishness, a seeming laziness to get out and speak to the masses. In some cases, this wrong estimate of the readiness of working people to respond to our ideas becomes enmeshed in wrong ideological notions of how class consciousness is built. Views like "mass work now, ideological work later," or the division of "mass work and party work" or that "our press is only for those who are already class conscious," are all forms of accommodation to the bourgeois propaganda.

Once reaching the level of "theory" such wrong views must be combatted with ideological explanations. Yet in most cases clarity in theory alone is not enough.

Alongside of this, we need a style of work which adds to the confidence of those who are fighting to spread Marxist ideas among the masses.

This means, firstly, that we must wherever possible emphasize teams of larger numbers of people on visits and route building. A conscious aim of the ruling class is to make those who differ with them feel meek and isolated. Large groups distributing literature contribute to a feeling of confidence and strength. Large groups set a standard which each member must live up to.

Second, leadership by example is crucial. Actions of leadership show more than words.

Leadership which itself visits readers of the press to get renewals, shows, by deeds, both the importance of the work and the confidence in fulfilling it. Above all the presence of leadership gives confidence to all participating in the work.

Further, it is important that those who participate in the work, and especially those who do not, be given a detailed report on the outcome. This can be done at club or district meetings, or through articles in the working-class press. Experience is the surest way to knock down the false images of the world created by the ruling class.

A Club Experience

In this respect, an experience of one club in New

York is particularly instructive. That club during the hundred day drive found that most of its members were hesitant to confront new people in door-to-door canvassing for readers. At one discussion, the club actually concluded that for them route building was "unrealistic."

But rather than berating the membership, the club leadership correctly decided to overcome the fears of its members through experience.

To do this the club executive proposed a Sunday morning mobilization for the paper. The mobilization was to be for only one half hour, thus making it difficult for anyone not to come. The goals set were also made very easy. Each team of two people was to knock on only four doors. Everyone was expected to be there, especially the club leadership.

The result was that each team had a positive experience to tell at the next meeting. No one had been harassed or attacked as some members feared. Following that meeting another, but this time longer, mobilization was launched followed by more exchanges. As a result, this club, which originally rejected the possibility of having a route, has now accomplished just that goal.

And perhaps even more important, that same club has just agreed to do door-to-door canvassing for Communist candidates in the present city election.

Such stories could be told many times in many districts.

The lessons from this experience and the situation generally appear fairly clear. In the present epoch, the role of propaganda has been greatly increased. This propaganda influences every aspect of the class struggle, including our own club life.

In the past two years the Communist movement in the U.S. has begun to pay far greater attention to this field. The goal set during the 1976 presidential elections was to professionalize this area of work. Since then we have already made great headway.

Yet, there is still need for a more conscious study of this whole area. There is a need to put this field of struggle on a more scientific basis, to study more fully the laws of mass ideological development and how they affect our movement and the class struggle in the U.S. □

Receive **Political Affairs**, monthly theoretical journal of the Communist Party, for one year with a special book premium for a special low price:

check one:	price for book and subscription
<input type="checkbox"/> CLASS, RACE AND BLACK LIBERATION By Henry Winston	\$ 9.50
<input type="checkbox"/> ALLENDE'S CHILE: An Inside View By Edward Boorstein	10.00
<input type="checkbox"/> ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF PHILOSOPHY By George Politzer	9.70
<input type="checkbox"/> EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC By Herbert Aptheker	9.70
<input type="checkbox"/> SELECTED WORKS: LENIN One volume edition	10.90
<input type="checkbox"/> NEW SUBSCRIPTION ONLY	7.50

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of Publication: POLITICAL AFFAIRS A. PUBLICATION NO. 437240
- Date of Filing: October 1, 1977
- Frequency of Issue: Monthly A. No of issues published annually: 12
B. Annual Subscription Price: \$10.00
- Location of Known Office of Publication: 235 West 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
- Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 235 West 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
- Names and Complete Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:
Publisher: POLITICAL AFFAIRS PUBLISHERS, INC. 235 West 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
Editor: GUS HALL, 235 West 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
Managing Editor: JOSEPH BRANDT, 235 West 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
- Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.)
- Known Bondholders, Mortgages, and other Security Holders Owning 1 percent or more of total amount of Bonds, Mortgages or other Securities: NONE
- For completion by Nonprofit Organizations authorized to mail at Special rates (Section 132, 122, FSM) The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes (check one)
 Have not changed during preceding 12 months Have changed during preceding 12 months
(If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)
- Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total No. of Copies Printed (Net Press Run)	4,550	4,550
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales	1,681	1,681
2. Mail Subscriptions	2,819	2,819
C. Total Paid Circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	4,500	4,500
D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or other means Samples, Complimentary, and other free copies.	NONE	NONE
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	4,500	4,500
F. Copies not Distributed		
1. Office use, Left over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing	50	50
2. Returns from News Agents	NONE	NONE
G. Total (Sum of E, F1, and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	4,550	4,550

11. I CERTIFY THAT THE STATEMENTS MADE BY ME ABOVE ARE CORRECT AND COMPLETE.

Barry Coben, Associate Editor