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JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT

**International  
Women's Day  
March 8, 1981**



**New Threats to the Welfare and  
Equality of Women**

EDITORIAL COMMENT

**The New Cabinet—Reagan's Rogues**

TIM WHEELER

**Reagan and Foreign Affairs  
—A Cuban Perspective**

FIDEL CASTRO

**W.E.B. DuBois and Africa**

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**Basic Facts on Agricultural  
Workers**

PHILIP ALTHOFF

**The Modern Metropolis and the  
Working Class**

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## From the Editors to You....

First, to update our fund appeal, we would like to thank the following contributors: T.E. Ray, Cal., \$25; V. Tishler, N.Y., \$25; H. Blaustein, Fla., \$15; H. Rabinowitz, N.J., \$25; G. Halfkenny, Maine, \$10; and the 48th Ward Communist Party Club, Ill., \$10.

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As you will note, this issue contains an interesting selection of articles of a topical, historical and theoretical nature. In upcoming issues we intend to print equally vital material, including a first-hand report of the proceedings of the XXVI Soviet CP Congress; more on the implications of the Reagan Administration's policies; on the coal negotiations and other labor developments.

We are sure that each of you knows someone else who would enjoy reading these articles. For individuals, the \$1 trial sub (for 3 months) is the perfect way to put PA into new hands at a very reasonable rate. For clubs the special offer of only \$25 for 5 copies of PA every month for a year is the perfect solution to providing friends and coworkers with current, informative literature.

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# New Threats to the Welfare and Equality of Women

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Rhetorical expressions of concern for the conditions of women have been conspicuous among the "social issues" in the ultra-Right arsenal of demagoguery. They were effectively deployed on behalf of the election of Ronald Reagan and a number of reactionary senators. Some codewords they have developed are even beguiling to the politically innocent: "pro-life," "sanctity of the family," and so on.

What the women on whose behalf this program is advanced really look like in flesh and blood was demonstrated by the manicured, designer-gowned and bejeweled women who flooded Washington to celebrate the Reagan inaugural bash in style.

Of course this revelry was light-years from the everyday lives of working-class women, whether workers or homemakers. But more to the point is that the Administration has already made quite clear that the leisure and lavish consumption of the class to which *those* women belong is to be secured by the increased privation and insecurity, lessened opportunities, restricted rights and even real hunger for countless millions of the working class and their families.

Women will be special victims of the Reagan program.

ITEM: The slashing or abolition of 81 social programs is a triple threat to women—to women workers still enduring unequal pay for equal work; to nationally oppressed women already on the lowest social and economic rungs; to women heads of households. Consider that women are the majority of the 20 million recipients of food stamps; that women heads of household are a large portion of those benefiting from subsidized rent contributions; that those dependent on child support payments and aid to families of dependent children are overwhelmingly women. Poverty is a heavily female preserve and the poor will hurt first and most. Economic recovery? Balanced budget? Not for them.

ITEM: The Administration is already moving to gut affirmative action programs that provide greater equality for Black and other oppressed minorities and women. And it is providing "leadership by example" to corporate employers around the country. Among scores of top level executive-branch appointments already made, the Administration can point to only a single token woman. What is this but a broad hint to the monopolies that discrimination on the basis of race and sex is really quite understandable to those charged with enforcing Title VII of the Civil Rights Act?

ITEM: The new secretary of health and human services announces his opposition to birth control information programs to reduce unplanned and unwanted pregnancies among teenagers. This is on top of opposition to federal funding of abortions for the medically indigent.

So much for the sweet-talking mask of concern for women. This is the Administration's real face—snarling at women who do not accept a life in the kitchen as divinely fated, of endless scraping to make ends meet, who do not accept the myth of female inferiority. The Reagan program puts in jeopardy all the political, legal and economic advances made by women over the last decade.

It is in this context that this March 8—International Women's Day—takes on special significance. Born of the organizing struggles of U.S. garment workers in the early 1900s, International Women's Day is a fitting occasion for the women's organizations across the land to initiate a groundswell of activity—united in action with the trade unions, the church, youth and community organizations, demanding defeat of these inhumane proposals.

Encouraging is the fact that virtually every major U.S. women's organization has convened over the past year to map agendas of struggle and

(Continued on p. 10)



# The New Cabinet— Reagan's Rogues

TIM WHEELER

With four days and nights of inaugural revelry, Ronald W. Reagan was installed as 40th president of the United States. The corporate elite flocked to Washington, clogging National Airport with their private jets and jamming Pennsylvania Avenue with their sleek limousines. Under the Kennedy Center chandeliers, the wives of the super-rich glittered in their Tiffany jewels, designer gowns, mink and sable.

They flaunted their wealth with abandon and the television networks beamed the spectacle live into living rooms across the nation. Frank Sinatra directed the biggest TV extravaganza of all, with Reagan and his wife sitting on thrones at the Capital Center as a procession of court jesters entertained. Reagan was indifferent to reports that his old crony Sinatra is a front man for the biggest mobsters in the country. Mobsters—rich ones, that is—were welcome.

It all cost \$13 million or more. President Carter had posed as a cracker-barrel "populist" from Plains, Georgia, walking in his inaugural parade instead of riding in his limousine, wearing a cardigan during a fireside chat as he pleaded for "equitable" sacrifice in turning down our thermostats. He banned the playing of "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief."

Reagan's inauguration signalled to millions of poor and unemployed that "populism" is out; the "imperial presidency" is in; limousines are back; and everywhere Reagan goes a ramrod-straight rank of White House buglers trumpet a royal fanfare.

In the midst of the coronation, former Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns appeared before the Joint Economic Committee to complain that welfare recipients and senior citizens are "privileged classes" because their benefits are adjusted occasionally to compensate for inflation.

Oil executives and bankers applauded wildly as

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Tim Wheeler is Washington correspondent of the *Daily World*.

Reagan proclaimed in his inaugural address that cabbies and factory workers are "heros" who will patriotically "bear the burden" of correcting "the longest and the worst sustained inflation in our national history." He promised to remove "roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity."

"Government," he intoned, "is not the solution to our problems...government is the problem."

Reagan's pose as the dragonslayer of "Big Government" is sheer humbug.

Nothing signifies "Big Government" so clearly as the national debt swollen by past wars and war preparations. The national debt is a gravy train for the biggest banks in the country, who will reap an estimated \$90 billion in interest on the national debt this year. The national debt is a favorite target for ultra-Right demagoguery. Yet within hours of his election Reagan went to Capitol Hill to plead that the national debt ceiling be increased to a staggering \$978.6 billion. All the Right-wing Congressmen who have in the past railed against increases in the debt ceiling, knowing that Democrats would push it through, dutifully showed their true colors and voted for the increase.

Similarly, a new \$400 million taxpayer bail-out for Chrysler was approved by the Chrysler loan board, with Reagan's blessings, within hours of his taking office. The loan was approved after Chrysler workers were forced to accept a \$46-per-week slash in their wages. General Motors and Ford are now threatening to force their workers to accept similar cuts.

Reagan rounded out his first week in office by announcing the decontrol of the price of domestic oil, a \$10 billion profit windfall for oil corporations even as they announced the highest profits in history—topped by Exxon's \$5.66 billion.

Fulminations against the "Rockefeller-dominated Eastern Establishment have been a stock-in-trade of Reagan's ultra-Right backers over the past several decades. His election was

interpreted by some as a "coup" by the *nouveau riche* capitalists of the Sunbelt. No sooner was he elected than he appointed to his cabinet half a dozen Wall Street bankers, several connected to the Rockefeller empire and several with long records of service in "Big Government."

No fewer than six of his closest advisers served in the Nixon Administration and several are deeply implicated in the Watergate conspiracy.

These "retreads" are men who left the Nixon Administration through a revolving door to become top executives or legal representatives of blue chip corporations and have now returned through the revolving door to serve in Reagan's cabinet.

In *State and Revolution* Lenin stated that this is the era "of gigantic capitalist monopolies, of the development of monopoly capitalism into *state* monopoly capitalism," which he said "has clearly shown an extraordinary strengthening of the 'state machine' and an unprecedented growth in its bureaucratic and military apparatus" for the "intensification of repressive measures against the proletariat." Reagan's cabinet fully confirms this truth.

When Reagan talks of getting "government off the backs" of business, he means an *escalation* of government and Big Business attacks on the people on behalf of corporate profits.

#### **Budget Director David Stockman— Little Man with a Manifesto**

David Stockman, Reagan's budget director, has been selected as the "point man" in this ferocious attack on a wide range of services provided by our taxes. He is ideal for the job. A 34-year-old neophyte congressman from Michigan, one of only four in the Reagan Administration who is not a millionaire—he is expendable. By leading the charge, he will divert the fire of outraged citizen groups from the scions of Wall Street on Reagan's cabinet who will, for the time being, remain in the background.

Stockman and his Right-wing cohort, Rep. Jack Kemp (R.-N.Y.) authored the apocalyptic "Stockman Manifesto" warning of an "economic Dunkirk" if Reagan failed to move with lightening speed in his first 100 days. This was a detailed

battle plan for a blitzkrieg aimed at knocking labor and human rights groups off balance, sowing confusion and division if not forcing outright surrender.

If Reagan hesitates, Stockman said:

Washington will quickly become engulfed in political disorder...A golden opportunity for permanent conservative policy revision and political realignment could be thoroughly dissipated before the Reagan Administration is even up to speed.

For example, unless the whole remaining system of crude oil price controls...and product controls is administratively terminated "cold turkey" by February 1, there is a high probability of gasoline lines...

To dominate, shape and control the Washington agenda, President Reagan should declare a national economic emergency soon after inauguration.

An "omnibus suspense bill" should be rushed through Congress to "defer, revise or rescind" safety, health and environmental regulations which, he claimed, cost Big Business "easily in excess of \$100 billion" in lost profits.

A Michigan lawmaker, Stockman is clearly a stooge of GM, Ford and Chrysler. Gifts he proposes for the automakers include the following: waiving a 1982 carbon monoxide standard; cancelling required airbag crash devices for cars; and relaxing heavy truck and light truck emission standards. He also urged that the government should "simplify" auto emission standards; "modify" ozone standards; cancel EPA fuel additive tests; "defer" OSHA standards on noise in the workplace and scaffolding on construction sites; and "defer" limits on worker exposure to asbestos, cadmium and chromium. Control standards on explosive grain dust should be scrapped, the Manifesto states. This is nothing less than a call for slaughter in the workplace.

On the other hand, foodstamps; social security benefits; medicaid; disability; heating assistance; Women, Infants and Children (a nutrition program); unemployment compensation and dozens of other benefits should be reduced by tens of billions of dollars.

Since it was leaked in December, Stockman's

Manifeto has been elaborated in a thick "black book" of budget cuts sent to Congress. The bottom line of his proposals is close to \$50 billion in cuts for social services coupled with a \$34 billion increase in military spending.

The heart of the Stockman Manifeto is its "supply side" proposals for yet another vast shift in the tax burden from banks and corporations to working people and the poor. It is a rehab of Milton Friedman's policies as reflected in Chile and in Margaret Thatcher's Tory regime in Britain. This is the so-called Kemp-Roth tax bill which proposes a 30 per cent reduction, across the board, in income tax rates over the next three years. The hog's share of this would go to those with annual incomes above \$50,000. In fact, most moderate income families would gain nothing since the sharp increase in Social Security withholding will cancel out the 10 per cent income tax reduction. Stockman also urged a maximum 50 per cent tax on unearned income, accelerated depreciation allowances and a reduction in the corporate tax rate.

Reagan has acted on the basis of the Stockman Manifeto and the "black book," so far, to a remarkable degree. In some instances he has even gone beyond Stockman's draconian recommendations—announcing, for example, the outright liquidation of 350,000 CETA jobs by next September.

### **The Gathering Fightback**

Since Reagan's inauguration, coalitions uniting organizations with tens of millions of members have sprung up to fight the budget cuts. SAVE OUR SECURITY, spearheaded by the National Council of Senior Citizens, has mobilized 150 mass organizations to defend the Social Security system. Americans for Democratic Action has reactivated the Coalition on the FY 1982 Budget, which also unites about 150 labor, civil rights and social service organizations. The National Urban Coalition, the Children's Defense Fund, the NAACP and the National Urban League are in leadership of these movements, focusing especially on resisting the racist impact of the budget cuts.

The Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs has brought together over 80 groups,

including the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers and Black and Hispanic groups, to fight savage cutbacks in education funding such as Education Secretary Terrel H. Bell's cancellation of a \$2 billion bilingual education program.

In early February, the National Urban Coalition hosted a strategy meeting attended by virtually every labor, civil rights and urban-oriented group with an office in Washington. Ms. Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, appealed for unity in the fight and warned of the danger of groups falling for the line, "cut someone else's budget...just leave mine alone." The sentiment was, "an injury to one is an injury to all." There was deep anger at Reagan's proposal to steal food from the mouths of children, the elderly and the poor to gorge the Pentagon budget.

Yet the meetings in Washington also reveal a weakness. The groups are still relying on a top-level coalition confined for the most part to lobbyists in Washington getting together to coordinate their work on Capitol Hill. These coalitions have not yet decided that their membership must be mobilized in the streets of Washington as well as back home to repel the Reagan attack.

### **Alexander Haig—Diplomat with a War Menu**

Of all the gunslingers in Reagan's cabinet, Alexander M. Haig, secretary of state, is the most trigger-happy.

Without even a pretense of proof, he accused the Soviets at his first news conference of equipping and training "terrorist" organizations. Haig himself is hardly an innocent in the practice of global terrorism.

As Henry Kissinger's deputy on the National Security Council during the Nixon Administration, Haig was the liaison between the CIA, the NSC and the infamous 40 Committee, coordinating and executing the drive to "destabilize" the Popular Unity government in Chile. On October 15, 1970, Haig met with Kissinger and CIA dirty-tricks director Thomas Karamessines, head of covert operations, to discuss a plan to assassinate Chilean General Rene Schneider and to discuss "Chile from a coup possibility viewpoint." Later,

Schneider was assassinated and in September 1973 the CIA-sponsored coup overthrew Chilean democracy.

Haig was also a fervent supporter of the Christmas bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, privately criticizing his bosses, Nixon and Kissinger, for being too "weak" in not ordering even higher levels of carpet bombing.

As White House chief of staff during the final months of Nixon's presidency, Haig counselled Nixon to "stonewall" the Watergate prosecutor and the Senate Watergate Committee's requests for the Watergate tapes. When Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox got too close to blowing the lid on the conspiracy, it was Haig who went to Attorney General Elliott Richardson and Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus, ordering them to fire Cox. They refused and resigned. Haig then ordered Solicitor General Robert Bork to terminate Cox in what became known instantly as the "Saturday night massacre."

During these years, Nixon promoted Haig to four star general. President Ford and Carter appointed Haig as NATO commander in chief, where for four years he was known as a hardline warhawk twisting the arms of European chiefs of state to accept the neutron bomb and cruise and Pershing strategic missiles on their soil.

When Haig resigned as NATO Commander in Chief to become president of United Technologies, the Connecticut-based corporation ranked eleventh among Pentagon contractors. By 1979 it had skyrocketed to third, exceeded only by General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas. Among its \$2.5 billion in Pentagon contracts were engines for the F-14 fighter and the Navy's giant "Sea Stallion" helicopter, so unreliable that three crashed in the Iranian desert during the hostage "rescue" mission.

He is a hand-picked representative of the Rockefeller interests in Reagan's cabinet, a director of Chase Manhattan Bank.

In his prepared statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Haig discussed at length the foreign policy "menu" he would pursue. In a section not read to the hearing, he boasted of his role in conceiving and executing the saturation bombing of Cambodia, which he had codenamed "Op-

eration Menu" and "Operation Breakfast" (apparently reflecting an oral fixation).

Since becoming secretary of state, Haig has unleashed a venomous attack on socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and Cuba, and against national liberation movements. "Terrorism will replace human rights" as the Reagan Administration's top priority he said at his first news conference. Since then, he and Reagan have cordially hosted South Korean dictator Chun Doo-Hwan, boss of one of the world's most ruthless terrorist regimes.

### **Caspar Weinberger—Nuclear Brinksman**

Reagan's Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger served as President Nixon's budget director and as secretary of health, education and welfare, where he was nicknamed "Cap the Knife" for his meat-axe cuts in social spending. Now he is pushing a \$34 billion increase in the Pentagon budget to \$220 billion annually or more.

Weinberger is a millionaire executive of the Bechtel Group, a San Francisco-based engineering and construction company which built the trans-Alaska pipeline and a 1,000-mile pipeline across Saudi Arabia, indications of its close ties to Big Oil. Weinberger owns substantial stock in Peabody Coal Company, the largest coal producer in the U.S. During the Senate confirmation hearings Weinberger said the U.S. should prepare to use nuclear weapons—a view echoed by his handpicked deputy, Frank Carlucci, former deputy director of the CIA under President Carter.

At his opening news conference, Weinberger touched off the first foreign policy crisis of the Reagan Administration by blandly announcing that the Administration will promote deployment in Europe of the hated "people killer" neutron bomb. European leaders reacted with anger and alarm and Haig quickly issued a statement that Weinberger had spoken prematurely.

### **William J. Casey and the Ghosts of Robert Vesco**

Reagan's CIA Director, William J. Casey, a millionaire New York attorney, began his career as an agent of the Office of Strategic Services, precursor of the CIA.



On April 10, 1972, while serving as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, Casey met with G. Bradford Cook, general counsel of the SEC, and with attorney Harry L. Sears, who represented the fugitive stock swindler Robert L. Vesco. Just hours earlier Sears had delivered Vesco's \$200,000 contribution—in \$100 bills—to Nixon's Reelection Finance Chairman Maurice Stans. Cook and Stans were subsequently indicted for conspiracy to quash SEC's investigation of Vesco's looting of four mutual funds, from which he stole over \$224 million before fleeing the country. But the wily Casey has never been indicted for his role in this criminal conspiracy.

In testimony before the senate intelligence committee Casey proclaimed that he favors "unleashing the ability of the organization [CIA] to initiate and carry out its objectives."

Covert action—such as the assassination of foreign leaders or destabilization of democratic governments—he said, is an "art" and should be free of "rigid accountability" which "can impair performance."

#### **Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the Despot's Friend**

Reagan's UN Ambassador, the only woman with cabinet rank, is Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, a political science professor at Georgetown University. A Right-wing Democrat, she is also a member of the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank, and author of three books on U.S. foreign policy. She was a scathing critic of Carter's human rights policy on grounds it undercut "moderately authoritarian" dictators such as the Shah of Iran and Somoza of Nicaragua.

#### **Richard V. Allen—Africa Is his Specialty**

Among the most secretive of Reagan's foreign policy advisers is National Security Adviser Richard V. Allen, who was not subject to Senate confirmation. Allen resigned briefly from Reagan's transition team when it was disclosed that he had used his position as a Nixon Administration official to enrich himself. Allen received a \$10,000 monthly retainer from Robert Vesco, the fugitive stock swindler, during a six month period in 1972-73 while serving at the White House.

One scheme cooked up by Allen and Vesco was

to instigate a phony secessionist movement in the Azores to split it off from Portugal, then in the midst of an anti-colonial, anti-fascist revolution. Allen wanted to set up a lucrative tax haven for U.S. multinational corporations in the Azores which would also be available as a military base and spy post for the Pentagon.

Allen is deeply involved in destabilization activities against independent African states, especially Angola, where he is an advocate of stepped up assistance to CIA mercenary Jonas Savimbi. He is also a backer of South Africa's genocidal war against independence for Namibia.

#### **Michael Deaver—California Crony**

Another of Reagan's closest foreign affairs advisers is Michael Deaver, partner in the Los Angeles Public Relations firm of Hannaford and Deaver, whose biggest client is Nationalist China. For years, Hannaford and Deaver have churned out press releases extolling the fascist regime of Chiang Kai Shek, which were then inserted virtually verbatim in Reagan's speeches.

Deaver, as White House counsellor, has an office adjacent to the Oval Office. He is as close as a pea in a pod to the neo-fascist Committee of One Million (now called Committee for a Free China) and its founder Anna Chenault, rabid supporters of an aggressive U.S. war policy in the Pacific. Ms. Chenault recently journeyed to mainland China for a reconciliation, on anti-Soviet lines, with the Maoist clique in Peking.

#### **William French Smith—Attorney General With Stock in AT&T**

Reagan's Attorney General, William French Smith, a senior partner in a Los Angeles law firm, said he didn't know Frank Sinatra was under Justice Department investigation for alleged underworld ties when he went to Sinatra's gala birthday party. The Smith-Sinatra episode brought into the open the heavy aroma of underworld influence in Reagan's cabinet, more of which is likely to surface in the months ahead. Sinatra's long-delayed application for a license to open a Las Vegas casino was quickly approved soon after Reagan's inauguration.

Smith, Reagan's personal attorney, is a mil-

lionaire director of Crocker National Bank, Pacific Lighting Corporation, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph and Pullman Inc. Crocker National, with \$16 billion in assets, shares interlocking directorates with 45 of the largest U.S. corporations, including AT&T, Atlantic Richfield, Standard Oil of California, Boeing Co., LTV, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco, Lever Bros. and the Washington Star.

Smith's stock portfolio includes large blocks of shares in General Electric, Debeers Construction Mines, Fluor Corporation, Dresser Industries, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, Union Carbide, Houston Natural Gas, Panhandle Eastern Pipeline, Pacific Gas and Electric and American Telephone and Telegraph, the wealthiest corporation in the U.S., with \$6.5 billion in reported profits.

The link to AT&T is especially interesting since the Justice Department has been preparing an anti-trust suit seeking the breakup of AT&T for over seven years. Soon after Smith took office, the Department of Justice requested a delay in trial of this suit.

Smith is one of a handful of Reagan's close cronies who have guided his career for decades since Reagan first hosted the General Electric Hour and Death Valley Days on network television. Smith is a member of the so-called kitchen cabinet that also includes Holmes Tuttle, a millionaire Los Angeles Ford dealer, Justin Dart of the Rexall Drugstore chain and Earle M. Jorgensen, owner of Jorgensen Steel Company of Lynwood, California.

Smith's specialty is labor law. Serving as a corporate representative in union contract negotiations, he won a reputation as a "skilled, tough" defender of corporate interests.

Smith's Justice Department leaped to attention and issued strong statements of support when Chief Justice Warren E. Burger delivered his get-tough law and order speech to the American Bar Association meeting in Houston in early February. Blasting "impotence" in the face of a crime wave, Burger called for a limit on the right of appeal against criminal convictions and declared the war on crime as much "national security" as the Pentagon's budget.

Yet Smith has moved with the speed of a slug in assigning FBI agents to investigate the murder of 17 Black children in Atlanta and the murders of many other Black persons in Buffalo and elsewhere. This terrorism is not on either Haig's or Smith's "menu."

#### **Raymond Donovan—Expert on Labor Peace**

Under cross-examination during his prolonged senate confirmation hearings on his nomination as labor secretary, Raymond Donovan admitted that, yes, the initials on the \$13,000 check to Kantor Supply Company of Newark, New Jersey, were his. Donovan was executive vice president for labor relations of the Schiavone Construction Company of Secaucus, New Jersey. But he claimed he was ignorant of the fact that the Kantor Supply Company was a mob-controlled front for laundering payoffs.

Donovan described a clever financial arrangement for insuring "labor peace" on his company's New Jersey and New York construction projects. In 1977, he said, a senior executive of Schiavone Construction Company agreed to put on its payroll an official of Teamsters Local 282 in New York who would perform "no duties."

The ghost employee, provided under the Teamster contract, ostensibly was assigned to insure union contract enforcement. "To put it bluntly, the longer that type of person spends away from the project the happier the contractor is," Donovan said. "The accepted practice...is...he can be off the site for many hours, many days. In the instance of Mr. Morris, who is the gentleman who filled that post, he...never showed up."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy pointed out that the ghost employee's function was not to enforce the contract but to enable the employer to flout the contract by not showing up even once to inspect the premises. "Is it an acceptable practice to buy labor peace by placing a ghost employee on the payroll?" he demanded.

Donovan replied, "In many instances...in the construction business and I presume in other businesses...it's done consistently."

This is Reagan's choice to oversee enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Occupational

Safety and Health Act, the Davis Bacon Act, the National Labor Relations Act and a host of other laws designed to protect the wages and working conditions and health and safety of the nation's workers.

No sooner was Donovan confirmed than he opened his drive to gut OSHA. He cancelled a regulation requiring corporations to label hazardous substances workers are exposed to in the workplace. He then appointed Thorne Auchter of Auchter Construction Company in Florida as director of OSHA. Auchter, a Right-wing Republican, is a sworn enemy of OSHA.

#### **Richard Schweiker—Repentent Liberal**

Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker will be a ready bedfellow for Donovan. Schweiker, Reagan's running mate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, a Pennsylvania senator, has been atoning for the reputed liberalism of his early years with a vengeance. He is author of a bill to exempt 90 per cent of workplaces from OSHA inspection—a bill cosponsored by Senators Harrison Williams (author of OSHA) and Democratic Senator Alan Cranston of California.

Schweiker is an advocate of the neutron bomb and voted against the Panama Canal treaty. He voted to end government funding of "medically necessary" abortions. He is a foe of school desegregation busing. He has expressed full support for Reagan's campaign to slash human services spending.

#### **Interior Secretary James G. Watt— The Man Who May Lose the West**

As head of the Mountain States Legal Foundation, James G. Watt was kingpin of the so-called Sagebrush Rebellion. Right-wing propaganda mills paint this as a revolt by rugged small ranchers seeking to graze their livestock on federal lands against a fanatical band of harebrained birdwatchers. In fact, MSLF is the brainchild of ultra-Right Colorado beer brewer Joseph Coors, a vicious union-buster. The goal is to grab control of the mineral and timber riches on 800 million acres of federal and Indian lands in the West.

The MSLF, with a multi-million dollar war-

chest, filed suit to overturn federal regulations that prevent rapacious clearcutting, stripmining and oil extraction on lands that belong, in principle, to the people of the U.S. MSLF has received contributions from virtually every oil, mining and timber company in the U.S. As secretary of the interior, with jurisdiction over all federal lands, Watt will be positioned to spearhead this rape of the public domain by private profiteers. His nomination touched off angry protests by a broad array of environmental movements.

#### **James B. Edwards—Secretary of Energy**

An oral surgeon, former governor of South Carolina, Energy Secretary James B. Edwards assured consumers that gasoline and heating oil prices would rise only "three to five cents a gallon" when Reagan decontrolled oil. Instead, the oil monopolies rushed to jack up their prices by 10 cents and more per gallon. Hard-pressed consumers have reacted with fury, demanding an investigation of corporate price gouging.

Meanwhile, hidden in David Stockman's "black book" is a line item deleting funds for enforcement of the Natural Gas Price Regulation Act of 1975 after September 30. If Reagan goes ahead with this decontrol scheme it could triple the cost of natural gas from \$1.65 per thousand cubic feet to \$4.50 or more at a cost to consumers of as much as \$80 billion.

At his first White House briefing, Edwards displayed nearly complete ignorance of the energy crisis but expressed enthusiasm for Reagan's policies of fleecing the public to enrich the energy owners.

The Energy Department operates the Savannah River Nuclear Testing plant near Aiken, South Carolina, and Edwards is an ardent supporter of private development, for profit, of nuclear power. Deadly nuclear fuel wastes are trucked from all over the Eastern Seaboard to dumps in South Carolina at Edwards' invitation.

#### **Samuel R. Pierce—Housing and Urban Development**

HUD Secretary Samuel R. Pierce, a millionaire senior partner in a New York corporate law firm, is the token Black member of Reagan's cabinet. He is

also a Rockefeller man, appointed by the late Governor Nelson Rockefeller on two separate occasions to judgeships in New York.

He served as general counsel to the Treasury Department during the Nixon Administration, helping to draft the Lockheed loan guarantee and Nixon's wage-price freeze.

In his confirmation hearings, Pierce urged a 10 per cent cut in HUD's budget, a step certain to savage subsidized housing for the poor. He also backed cuts in Community Development block grants, Urban Development Action Grants and termination of housing grants to cities that adopt rent control measures.

### Reagan's Economic Advisers

Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, a member of the exclusive Business Council, is a director of blue chip corporations, including AMF, Bendix and Uniroyal and board chairman of Scovill, Inc., a billion dollar diversified manufacturing company in Connecticut.

He, too, is connected to the Rockefellers through Vice President George Bush, a member of David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission. Baldrige served as chairman of Bush's successful presidential primary race in Connecticut.

Donald T. Regan is another scion of the "Eastern Establishment," chairman and chief executive

of Wall Street's largest stock brokerage firm, Merrill, Lynch and Company. Last year, Merrill, Lynch raked in \$150 million in profits on \$2.1 billion in business. Regan is described as a shrewd money manipulator who diversified his company into investment banking, credit cards, consumer lending and real estate.

Murray Weidenbaum, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and head of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis, served as assistant treasury secretary in the Nixon Administration. There he advocated a one-year moratorium on new federal regulations while forcing these rules to withstand "cost-benefit" analysis.

Nothing could be clearer than the fact that it will take united political action by tens of millions through their unions, civic organizations, churches and other mass groups to block the Reaganaut, Big Business onslaught. The quick response by mass organizations to Reagan's attack, the large turnouts—invariably larger than expected—for mass meetings, marches and rallies in recent days indicate that the people intend to fight back. Consider the 100,000 who came to Washington January 15 for Stevie Wonder's Martin Luther King birthday march. That alone should tell us that a powerful new surge of mass struggle is "blowing in the wind."

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*(Continued from p. 2)*

to reaffirm their commitment to winning real equality.

There can be no "let's give the man a chance" or "wait and see" approaches to the Reagan proposals. Not one child who stands to lose his or her school lunch should be forced to "wait and see"; not one family in rent subsidized housing can afford to "give the man a chance" as its monthly rent suddenly increases by hundreds of dollars.

The time to demand that our tax dollars be spent on aid to the working poor, the youth, the elderly,

to all in need—is now. The time to demand an end to the escalating war preparations and the drive toward new military interventions is now. Every congressman and senator must be pressured to reject Reagan's program. Telegrams, phone calls, letters, statements, delegations, picketlines, demonstrations, all forms of mass pressure must be brought to bear to, in Martin Luther King Jr.'s words, "compel an unwilling authority to yield to the mandates of justice."

All such actions are in harmony with and fitting ways to celebrate this International Women's Day.

# Reagan and Foreign Affairs: A Cuban Perspective

FIDEL CASTRO

There is no doubt that imperialism is once again trying to turn back the course of history and—with renewed aggressiveness—reassume its role as international gendarme and obstacle to the social and political changes that are taking place in the world.

This already tense and dangerous international panorama was further complicated by the explosive situation in Poland. What happened there was partly a result of imperialism's subversive policy toward the socialist countries and its long-range design to penetrate, destabilize and wipe out socialism in Eastern Europe, thus weakening and isolating the USSR and, if possible, destroying socialism throughout the world.

Especially in Poland, imperialism is orchestrating a sinister act of provocation directed against the socialist camp. The success the reaction has had there is eloquent testimony to the fact that a revolutionary party in power can not deviate from Marxist-Leninist principles, neglect ideological work or divorce itself from the masses. And, when the time for rectification comes this should not be done on the basis of concessions to the class enemy either inside or outside the country.

We firmly hope that the Polish Party will be able to save the situation through its own forces—and Polish Communists are duty-bound to use their own forces and their own efforts to counteract the antisocialists and counter-revolutionaries—but there is not the slightest question about the socialist camp's right to save that country's integrity and ensure that it survives and resists imperialism's onslaught at all cost.

Under the current international circumstances, this is the best service they can render not only to their own homeland, but to the cause of socialism, the revolutionary and progressive world movement, detente and peace as well. We are confident

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Fidel Castro is first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party. This is an excerpt from his report to the Second Congress of that Party, held December 1980, Havana.

that the courageous sons of this heroic people and their Communist vanguard will be able to recover from their initial setbacks by overcoming past errors, raising their fighting spirit, leaning on the healthy forces of the country and taking advantage of the enormous moral, patriotic, and revolutionary reserve of the working class.

Under these circumstances, the November 4 election in the United States was especially significant, as it took place in the midst of the U.S. economic disaster (a result of the continued worsening in the crises that characterize the already critical situation of world economy) involving massive unemployment, especially among Blacks and young people; a lower real income for all U.S. workers due to runaway inflation; and a desire for political change among many people, while others simply stayed away from the polls.

The international situation, in which the United States has continued to lose hegemony and prestige, cleverly exploited by the contending political parties and the people's frustration and skepticism about badly managed situations such as that of the hostages in Iran, who were not freed in the end, also helped defeat the Carter Administration.

In a country that prides itself on its "representative democracy," 47.1 per cent of the eligible voters stayed away from the polls. The Republican candidate was elected by 26.7 per cent of the total number of eligible voters.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to overlook the meaning of the U.S. election. Reagan's electoral triumph is a Right-wing victory that signifies a clear move in that direction by an important sector of U.S. public opinion. This is confirmed by the defeat of the most liberal senators, including some who were firm advocates of ratifying the SALT II treaty. The apparent national backing that the election returns give Reagan opens up the possibility that he may throw caution to the winds and return to his earlier aggressiveness in supporting the most reactionary plans in the Republican



Party platform.

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All these events and the atmosphere surrounding them on the international political scene confirm the position we took at the 1st Congress, namely, that detente is what the peoples want, that it is an essential condition for mankind's survival and that it is constantly threatened by the most reactionary sectors of imperialism, which simply will not accept it.

There is still a possibility of saving detente, even though it is in serious danger in the current difficult situation. That possibility is dependent, first of all, on the Soviet Union's firm and constant policy of peace, on the support the other socialist countries give that policy and on the backing it receives from all other progressive forces. One essential element that no one can ignore is that the USSR is fully prepared to throw back any kind of attack aimed at submitting it. A nuclear adventure against the Soviet Union would be suicidal for those who made the attempt. Even the most aggressive imperialists are aware of this. Moreover, the allies of the United States will not follow its lead docilely, since that would mean their own destruction at the outset of a global war.

Still, it would not be wise to ignore or underestimate imperialism's aggressive capacity. It has a dangerous military arsenal—especially in terms of nuclear weapons—which it is making every effort to increase and improve technically. It is also extending and modernizing its international network of military bases in every area, arrogantly encircling the Soviet Union. The United States is working hard and using every possible means to reduce the contradictions that exist within the Atlantic alliance in order to rebuild its military alliances in Southeast, Central and Southwest Asia and maintain the Rio Treaty as an aggressive, antisocialist pact.

U.S. imperialist policy has an ally in the government of China, whose leaders are fomenting aggression by NATO, proposing that it step up the quantity and technical development of its arms; inciting and aiding the United States in its efforts to turn Japan into a springboard for attacks against the Soviet Union; openly continuing its nuclear

preparations, developing carriers for nuclear warheads and proclaiming that the USSR is the enemy to be destroyed; and trying to expand into Southeast Asia by threatening its neighbors in ASEAN and attacking Vietnam, forcing that country to interrupt its peaceful national reconstruction and socialist construction in order to defend itself. They are also playing a similar role in Africa and Latin America, allying themselves with the most reactionary forces and making friends with the most repressive representatives of every corrupt regime.

This is why we must prepare for the serious difficulties that may arise in international life.

Tens of thousands of atomic weapons hang over mankind's head like a sword of Damocles. Never before has humanity gone through such an experience. It may be said that the most important problem of our epoch, for all peoples, is to avoid the outbreak of another world war. Absurd as it may seem and unbelievably catastrophic as its outcome would be, that is a real danger. The peoples will not remain indifferent to it.

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The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries can also play an important role in the struggle to maintain peace and avoid a war that would devastate the world. The fact that the numerical majority of countries in the international community, including almost all the developing countries, now belong to this movement, makes it an international force that nobody can ignore, one whose influence in almost all world events is ever on the rise.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, born of the peoples' age-old struggles to break the chains of colonialism and foreign domination, has become an immeasurably valuable instrument in their efforts to consolidate their independence and overcome backwardness and poverty.

The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which the movement did us the honor of holding in Havana in September 1979, was a solid demonstration of the movement's strength and of its influence on international policy. In spite of all U.S. imperialism's efforts to play down the importance of the Sixth Summit Conference and negate the basic

anti-imperialist orientation of the movement, in its general declarations and in the way it took up each of the specific international problems it examined, the movement ratified its anti-imperialist nature as well as its independent position and made a valuable contribution to peace and the great efforts that the developing countries are making to do away with injustice, inequality, oppression and racism and to achieve real socioeconomic development.

After the Summit Conference, the movement had to confront the insidious, systematic activities of our people's enemies, who also tried to take advantage of the complex international situation to sow division in the movement and hinder and weaken our countries' joint action. In spite of all these obstacles, the Non-Aligned Movement has intensified its efforts to implement the decisions of the Sixth Summit Conference and has preserved its unity.

Cuba is serving as chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at a time when international tensions have been sharpened. Many conflicts have developed, new focal points of tension have broken out in various regions and some non-aligned countries are at loggerheads with others. At the same time, the international economic crisis and the lack of solutions for the underdeveloped countries' problems and difficulties make things more difficult for the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Cuba has sought to find solutions which are both fair and unifying in tackling the differences that have arisen between some of the member countries—differences that, in certain cases, have led to some opposing others—for it is aware that the movement must preserve its internal unity if it is to fulfill its important role in the international political arena. Considering that the military confrontations between Iraq and Iran are seriously damaging to both countries, pose a serious threat to peace in that region and the rest of the world, and harm the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries economically, Cuba decided shortly after the outbreak of the conflict to offer its services as a mediator as part of its duties as chairman of the movement. We will not desist in this effort as long as there is any possibility of helping to restore

peace.

Not only the two countries that are fighting each other but all the other members of the movement have expressed their unanimous appreciation for our attitude, which has also won the approval of the international community as a whole.

Cuba will continue to carry out its responsibilities as chairman of the movement. It has devoted and will continue to give its best efforts to this purpose, convinced that the non-aligned countries must strengthen their cohesion and solidarity in these circumstances and redouble their struggle to attain peace, a just economic order and a correct solution for the serious problems that affect our peoples.

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Our country's position as one of the large group of underdeveloped and developing countries that has been called the Third World is also expressed internationally in our sustained, firm and militant position in demanding recognition of these countries' demands. During the last five years, Cuba has sent delegations to represent her actively in all the international forums in which the problems that affect the relations between the industrialized and the developing countries were discussed. Others have sought to disguise these contradictions under the deceptive name of "North-South relations," but they can not disguise the basic differences between the relations of long-term exploitation that still persist between the former colonial countries and their imperialist successors, on the one hand, and our exploited countries on the other, and the relations that link us with the socialist countries.

The battle for a new international economic order is really a continuation of the struggle for emancipation from colonial rule and imperialist plunder. This is but a small part of a long historic battle, and mankind must stop at this point and consider whether it prefers to solve these old problems—which are now aggravated—by means of confrontation or through cooperation. This was the underlying theme of the statement which Cuba presented to the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The choice

has not yet been made, and there is still time to try to coordinate the interests of the developed capitalist countries, the socialist countries and the developing countries in seeking constructive solutions. It is a very difficult, perhaps romantic and singularly logical task, and one that would do a great service to peace.

As may be seen, it is impossible to isolate Latin America and the Caribbean from the rest of the international situation. In referring to our more immediate area, however, we have sought to give its problems the importance they deserve—especially as regards our relations with the United States, a neighbor which all our Latin-American and Caribbean lands have in common.

The 1st Congress of our Party made a special mention of the crisis of U.S. foreign policy as well as of the irreconcilable contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the interests of the Latin-American and Caribbean countries.

The prolonged economic crisis of international capitalism has made it increasingly evident that the United States can no longer soothe the countries of the region with promises of reform. The USA is bringing pressure to bear on oil-producing countries like Mexico and Venezuela to sacrifice their long-term programs for the exploitation of their nonrenewable resources for the sake of the immediate needs of the Yankees, who obstinately pursue consumerism and squander energy resources. The underdeveloped non-oil-producing countries, on the other hand, bogged down by galloping balance-of-payment deficits, are straight-jacketed by the International Monetary Fund—whose strings are pulled in Washington—to force them to adopt policies that will not only stifle their economic development but also generate more poverty and suffering for their workers.

The United States has no market for what the Latin-American and Caribbean countries can potentially produce on their own neither does it have financing to promote their industrial development. The only alternative “solution” it offers them is continued dependence on the Yankee transnationals, on-going deformation of their economies and the perpetuation of the unbearable structure of their economies, where over 80 per cent of what is left of the national income after it is

skimmed by foreign plunderers is grabbed by a monopolist and oligarchic minority.

The alternative offered by U.S. imperialism to the colonial Puerto Rico is not freedom but final annexation.

This invariable imperialist policy has led the United States to renounce its mendacious “human rights” rhetoric and renew its support for neofascist military regimes.

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Reagan’s electoral victory has serious immediate implications for Latin-American political life. In its international approach on the major problems of war and peace, the United States will be forced to take into account the real factors of the world situation, the undeniable potential of the socialist countries and the cautious stand of its allies. On the Latin-American scene, however, the U.S. imperialists feel freer to carry out their reactionary schemes. Therein lies the evident danger for Latin America of Reagan’s election to the presidency.

Reagan has not hesitated to proclaim that he considers reactionary oligarchies and fascist military dictatorships to be valuable allies who should not be needlessly harassed with the mention of human rights and with whom it is recommended that tolerance be used.

He has questioned the validity of the Panama Canal treaties. He has used a threatening tone when talking about Cuba. He has shown hostile ideological, political and economic intentions against Nicaragua and has wielded the threat of intervention over Central America, starting off with offers of economic, military and technical aid to the brutal rulers of Guatemala and El Salvador. He also expressed the wish to enlist support for his policy from the three most powerful countries in the area: Argentina, whose violations of democracy and liberty he offers to forego; Brazil, whom he courts; and Mexico, whom he seeks to force together with Canada into an undesirable and unequal political and economic alliance with the U.S. in order to bring both countries under perpetual U.S. domination.

Reagan’s Latin-American policy is all the more dangerous as it expresses the aspirations and in-

tentions of an important section of the U.S. finance capital and transnationals, of aggressive wings within the Pentagon and the CIA, and is presented to the people of the United States as being in the U.S. interest for reasons of national security, allegedly threatened both by Latin-American "subversion," wherein Cuba plays an outstanding role, and by a secret and ominous intervention of the Soviet Union in the area.

It is evident that these positions of the incoming U.S. Administration encourage and inspire the confidence of military fascists in Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia. They encourage those who refuse to democratize the Argentine process and cater to the interests of the genocidal regimes of Guatemala and El Salvador. The defeat of Manley's government in Jamaica provides imperialist plans with a useful tool in the Caribbean.

However, events also show that it is no easy task for imperialism to impose itself in its former backyard. The resounding victories of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada and the irrepressible struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala should be taken into account together with other factors when analyzing the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The readiness of the masses to fight—which has reached unprecedented levels—should be especially underscored. The fact that revolutionary national liberation movements with a strong social content are on the rise and that mass movements in various countries reach new heights indicates that the system of imperialist and oligarchic domination in this region is going through a more and more profound crisis, while at the same time revealing the maturity reached by the movement of the workers, peasants, youth, women and all other sectors of the population, now led by experienced vanguards.

The heroic struggles of these Central-American and Caribbean peoples are graphic examples of this progress.

This readiness to fight manifested itself also in the staunch resistance of the Bolivian people to the onslaughts of the military who have failed to put them down. In Chile and Uruguay, Pinochet and Montevidean gorillas sought to thwart with pseudodemocratic masquerades the people's re-

solve against the neofascism they represent.

Additionally we could say that during the period we are now analyzing, the Latin-American working class clearly showed that it was both mature and strong, and that its trade union movement is powerful. In Peru, Ecuador and Colombia strikes of unprecedented magnitude took place; and the workers of Argentina have continued their struggle.

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The unity of the revolutionary forces in some countries and the progress achieved in this respect in others have been significant factors in the triumphs and advances of the Latin-American revolutionary movements for national and social liberation. This unity has also prompted solidarity with the struggle in various countries.

In Latin America the active participation of the Christian forces which go beyond the conservative—at times reactionary—stands of the Christian-democratic parties in the region and actively join the struggle for national liberation, democracy and social change of our peoples, becomes increasingly important. The fact that Leftists are joined in the shoulder-to-shoulder battle by Christian revolutionaries, including occasionally Catholic priests and high-ranking clergy, is a notable aspect of the great historic changes that are taking place in our countries.

When referring to the revival of the people's forces we must not overlook another new element in the Latin-American situation: the presence of the Social Democrats.

In Latin America and the Caribbean Social-Democratic trends and organizations have always existed. But then Social Democracy in Europe, center of the Socialist International, did not view them as important enough. At present, however, Latin America has become a permanent stage for Social Democrats. To a large extent this is due to the attempts of that ideological and political trend to achieve world hegemony in the process of changes that the general crisis of capitalism has opened up. That presence also reflects the economic interests of finance capital of some European countries.

In spite of the well known ideological differ-

ences we find between Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and Social Democrats, in the first analysis, under today's historical condition the participation of Social Democrats and the social democratization of old bourgeois and oligarchic Latin-American parties shows a positive balance. They join forces and extend the battlefield against the U.S. imperialist domination in Latin America. Moreover, Social-Democratic propaganda contributes to the socio-political awakening of the masses, where Marxist-Leninist ideas are totally repressed.

A new feature in the political structure of the continent is the fact that the countries with greater industrial growth—the strongest in the area—are trying to escape total U.S. domination and seek an independent position.

Mexico has a long tradition of independence. The discovery of huge oil resources, which makes Mexico an ever more coveted objective for the imperialists, enables the Mexicans to pursue a policy of economic resistance which provides a stable foundation for its independent position. That has been the international stand of Lopez Portillo's government, whose definitions concerning the decisive issues of peace, energy and development have been definitely progressive and whose support for the principle of non-interference and sympathy for the just causes of the peoples in this hemisphere and friendship and respect for Cuba have been significantly influential on today's Latin-American political scene.

Against this background the straightforward and categorical message of the president of Mexico to the new president of the United States acquires greater significance, in demanding "non-interference, respect for the internal processes in countries that search for definitions, that are mature and capable of exercising self-determination."

It is very important to take into account that if Brazil were to make democratic changes and implement transformations for which broad segments of the people, mainly the working class, are struggling, it would be included in that trend of independence against Washington. After the failure of the "Brazilian miracle" and the unmasking of the pernicious role of transnationals and foreign capital which have introduced dangerous mal-

formations in Brazil's economy, the fact remains, however, that the economic growth—unequal but noticeable—in Brazil generates interests which clash with those of U.S. imperialism. The world's inevitable economic tendency destines Brazil not to be a simple pawn in the U.S. imperialist policy but to express its own interests—a potential opponent of the United States.

All this adds new and complex elements to the Latin-American and Caribbean political struggle, which the revolutionary forces will have to evaluate. But obviously they are not aimed at strengthening U.S. imperialist stands but, on the contrary, limit its maneuvering capacity when faced with the peoples' struggle.

It is necessary that the Party Congress reiterate its resolve to maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with all who show respect for our country, regardless of differences in ideology or social systems.

We must insist before Latin-American public opinion that unity in Latin America and in the Caribbean is for us a permanent objective and that we view it as the best instrument to attain our America's historic goals and the democratic and independent consolidation of our countries.

This five-year period has proved that the policy set out by the Party concerning relations with capitalist countries is correct. This policy is based on the possibility to maintain ties of fruitful cooperation and mutual respect, regardless of differences in social systems. It differentiates between countries with an average level of development that have not yet become great powers and those with greater economic power which have never possessed colonial territories and avoid hegemonistic attitudes. It likewise takes into account the inevitable contradictions existing between major capitalist powers which lead them to positions which are not always unanimous; this has made it impossible for Yankee imperialism to have greater success in its policy of blockade against revolutionary Cuba and to stifle it economically and politically.

Those relations with the developed capitalist countries have been subject to the ups and downs of the political events that have occurred in them. Thus, the defeat of the Scandinavian Social Democrats or of the Liberal Party led by Trudeau



in Canada created temporary difficulties but did not stop an important commercial exchange with those countries.

Our ties with Finland are excellent and tend to increase. As to Spain, traditional relations continue to prevail, which were encouraged by the visit of the president of the Spanish government, Adolfo Suarez, to our country.

Relations with the member countries of the European Economic Community have not been homogeneous and have not always been easy. Nonetheless, we can inform the Congress that economic and financial movement has not been interrupted even with those countries with which we have had circumstantial political friction. Japan is one of our most important clients. There has been an increase in political exchange and an improvement in the possibilities for economic exchange with the Federal Republic of Germany, and the level of our exchange with Italy is stabilizing. There is high level communication with France, and significant economic exchanges have taken place. The plentitude of those relations, however, has been hindered because the principled stands of the Cuban Revolution on colonial remnants in Latin America have not been understood by certain circles in France.

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Comrades, it is not possible to refer to each and every one of the situations we face in our contacts with the international community; however, we should stop to examine the problems with our closest neighbor, which is, at the same time, the major capitalist power of our times and the hegemonic and decisive element with regard to our Latin America.

Relations with the United States sum up our major contradictions in the international arena. Although there are permanent and unsurmountable elements in those contradictions, resulting from the socialist character of the Cuban state and the imperialist nature of the United States ruling system, it does not justify the extreme hostility by successive U.S. governments towards Cuba, which is most of all the result of their obstinacy in rejecting the slightest possibility of existence of socialist countries in the area, and of their hopeless stubbornness to sweep revolutionary Cuba off

the map of Latin America and the Caribbean. The 1st Congress adopted the principled policy of the Central Committee of the Party, based on our willingness to settle the historical differences created by the acts of aggression of the United States imperialist governments and, consequently, on the possibility of discussing the normalization of our relations with that country, as well as on Cuba's firm stand not to take official steps to that end unless the United States is willing to lift the blockade, discuss the issue of Guantanamo and refrain from violating Cuba's sovereignty.

Some time during the early stage of Carter's Administration, there seemed to be a certain inclination among the leaders of the United States along the path of negotiations. Carter, no doubt, made some gestures toward Cuba: at the beginning of his term he cancelled spy flights, allowed United States citizens to travel to Cuba and proposed the creation of an Interests Section.

Cuba was receptive to these gestures, but in the end the reactionary ideas of some of his advisers prevailed over the less aggressive trends in the State Department under Vance and Muskie, and the relations became tense once again.

Reagan's election introduces an element of uncertainty—rather of danger—in U.S.-Cuban relations.

No president can be judged before he assumes office. No one knows right now just what Reagan's plans are. We must judge strictly according to the Republican platform, the public statements made by the presidential candidate and the ideas openly expressed by the advisers of the new president of the United States. The intentions they have expressed are extremely reactionary and dangerous. There is no doubt that it has been a success of the extreme Right in the politics of the United States. It is the duty of the peoples to be realistic, to have no illusions, and to prepare themselves to staunchly oppose the policy announced by imperialism and by the reactionary group that has just come to power.

It would have been better to wait until January 20 for the new president to be installed in office and study his official statements as the head of the United States government. But our Congress starts today, and it is our most sacred duty to prepare the Party and the people for the struggle

we may have to wage in the future.

Statements have been made threatening the world, Latin America and Cuba in particular.

Reagan and his advisers are trying to attain military superiority and negotiate with the socialist camp from a position of strength, but this idea is simply absurd. This would lead to an unbridled arms race in the midst of the worst international economic crisis the world has recently had to suffer. It would be equivalent to declaring that the peoples are fatally doomed to destroy themselves mutually. This might apply when muzzle loaders and catapults were in use, but not in our era of thermonuclear arms. Does anyone have the right to play with the survival of the human race?

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In our opinion Reagan will be unable to solve any of the main problems affecting the United States: inflation, unemployment, energy crisis, economic recession, vice, drugs, violence, crime, corruption, and his ideas on foreign policy can endanger world peace.

Kissinger—one of the future president's current advisers—is hanging onto the obsolete, reactionary and fascist geopolity of dividing the world into spheres of influence, which is equivalent to freezing progress and change throughout the world, suppressing the national independence of any country and its right to decide on what socio-economic regime is best suited for it. The socialist countries will not accept this, nor will the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. It is an illusion, but a disturbing and dangerous one. Cuba will categorically oppose these stale and Machiavelian objectives.

Reagan and his advisers have announced that they intend to establish an alliance with the Rightist, reactionary and fascist forces in this continent. But the peoples of our America will never submit themselves to this ignominious subjugation. The workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the students will know how to resist such cruel fate. Our hemisphere's recent history has demonstrated our peoples' combat capacity. It is useless to despise, ignore and underestimate them; Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada and Guatemala have proven that doing so is an error.

How many Yankee and fascist soldiers will be

needed to subjugate hundreds of millions of Latin Americans? There are no longer any Switzerlands in our America. Chile and Uruguay are eloquent examples of such illusions. There are no longer any masks to disguise our oppression. There are no longer military or repressive mechanisms developed by the U.S. intelligence agencies—no matter how cruel and sophisticated they may be—capable of curbing the insurgency of the peoples. Who can prevent our peoples from fighting sooner or later? Oppression will not last forever, terror and fear will not rule forever. The awakening of the peoples has become more frightening than anything the oppressors have devised to submit them. One must be blind not to see that. The crueler internal tyranny is, the stronger imperialist oppression becomes, the more rebellion there will be! And this rebelliousness will be invincible!

It is truly incredible that in today's world some should speak of military interventions and of applying the "big stick" policy again in our continent. They should best awake from such dreams. Others also dreamed of dominating the world and turned into ashes.

Reagan has said that in Vietnam the mistake was not making war but losing it. In Latin America the mistake of making war might represent a greater defeat than that of Vietnam. Who has told Mister Reagan that making war means the right to win it?

Cuba believes that for the world it is a historical necessity that normal relations exist among all countries, based on mutual respect, on the acknowledgment of the sovereign right of each one and on non-intervention. Cuba considers that the normalization of its relations with the United States would improve the political climate in Latin America and the Caribbean and would contribute to world detente. Cuba, therefore, is not opposed to finding a solution to its historical differences with the United States, but no one should expect Cuba to change its position or yield in its principles. Cuba is and will continue being socialist. Cuba is and will continue being a friend of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist states. Cuba is and will continue being an internationalist country.

Principles can not be negotiated.

# W. E. B. Du Bois and Africa

HERBERT APTHEKER

The life of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1869-1963) was devoted fundamentally to eliminating racism in the world. Bearing in mind how widespread that poison was during his lifetime, how deeply imbedded it was in the nature of dominant social systems and its great consequence to the wealth and power of exploitative ruling classes, it is clear that Du Bois had selected a powerful adversary.

Du Bois, as an Afro-American growing up in late nineteenth century United States and living both in the North and in the South, daily felt upon his own flesh and soul—and that of his family and friends—the impact of this poison. He began his crusade then with his own people and his own country; he soon realized, however, that the ideology and practice of racism was worldwide. The realization came with a comprehension of its strength in Latin America, in Africa and in Asia. He saw, then, that the effort at the liberation of Black people in the United States was part of a global effort to eliminate the special oppression and exploitation of peoples of color; by the first decade of the twentieth century he realized, as he stated in 1907, that the liberation of the colored peoples of the world was part of the vast movement for the emancipation of the working classes of the world.

Du Bois concentrated upon the condition of his own people in the first place and that of colored people everywhere as a logical consequence thereof, but he never thought of this in any exclusionary sense or with any invidious content. Du Bois had enormous pride in his own people but that pride was part of his wonder at the magnificence of human beings in general and his confidence in the splendid life they could create when freed of exploitative social systems that breed, need and sustain divisive concepts, laws and practices. To eliminate the specially onerous oppres-

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sion and exploitation of men and women of color (and Du Bois early called attention to the frightful suppression of women, in particular) was part of the necessary effort to eliminate inequality and injustice confronting all who—bereft of the means of production—worked for those holding in their private possession the wealth and producing capacity of the world.

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Africa is a refrain in Du Bois' life from its earliest moments until its end, after ninety-five stirring and fruitful years. He remembered to the end of his days the melody of the sounds of an African lullaby his grandmother sang to him in his infancy, and he lies buried in Ghana—in the soil of that West Africa from which certain of his ancestors had been torn by slavetraders centuries ago.

As a young man in his twenties he devoted the ten minutes allotted to him at the 1890 commencement ceremonies at Harvard to explaining to the distinguished white audience what made "Jefferson Davis a Representative American"—namely his energy, drive, lack of compassion and brutal vigor for self-advancement—and suggesting what the African component in America could offer—unselfishness, warmth, composure, neighborliness and above all, he said, the value and dignity of service to others.

His doctoral dissertation, accepted at Harvard in 1895 and published as *Harvard Historical Studies* No. 1 the next year, examined *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*; it remains the classic exposition of its subject and was the first scientific work in Afro-American history. Basically a scrupulously documented collection of data, it is not devoid of value judgment, which Du Bois always insisted could not be omitted from true scientific endeavor. Its final chapter condemns the "cupidity and carelessness" of those in power in the United States; its closing words are: "...we may

conclude that it behooves nations as well as men to do things at the very moment when they ought to be done."

In his address before the American Negro Academy, entitled "The Conservation of Races" and delivered in 1897, Du Bois pointed to the emergence of unifying movements among various peoples of the earth—he named the Japanese and the Slavic peoples—and urged that the same effort at unity was required of the Afro-American. Here is first projected Du Bois' famous concept of the "twoness" of the Afro-American: "Am I an American or am I a Negro?" His reply is that the Afro-American is *sui generis* and is one of the great peoples of the earth which, through unity and collective consideration, must lead in working out their own destiny. Here, too, he projects the concept of Pan-Negroism, as he called it then, and urged that the millions of Afro-Americans see themselves as part of a coming unity of African peoples in the world.

It was in the very year of the delivery of that address that Henry Sylvester-Williams, born in Trinidad the same year as Du Bois, founded an African Association in London, where Sylvester-Williams practiced law. This Association projected the idea of holding what it termed a "Pan-African Conference"; this finally eventuated in the convening of such a conference in London, at the Westminster Town Hall, July 23-25, 1900. Present were some thirty Black men and women from the United States, Haiti, Abyssinia, Liberia, the British West Indies and West Africa.

The Lord Bishop of London welcomed the delegates at the opening ceremonies and, according to Du Bois, "a promise was obtained from Queen Victoria, through Joseph Chamberlain"—then Colonial Secretary—not to "overlook the interest and welfare of the native races."

Sylvester-Williams served as general secretary of this conference; its president was Alexander Walters, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church; Du Bois (who had been in Paris in charge of the "Negro Section" of the United States exhibit at the World's Fair held earlier that year in Paris) was chairman of the Committee on Address. His words were issued in the name of the conference under the title, "To the Nations of

the World." Here first appears Du Bois' famous statement that the color line is the problem of the twentieth century—then just dawning. It appears in this context:

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, the question as to how far differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair—will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.

In this 1900 appeal also appears a paragraph containing matter central to Du Bois' thinking for the next six decades:

The modern world must remember that in this age when the ends of the world are being brought so near together, the millions of black men in Africa, America, and the Islands of the Sea, not to speak of the brown and yellow myriads elsewhere, are bound to have a great influence upon the world in the future, by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact. If now the world of culture bends itself toward giving Negroes and other dark men the largest and broadest opportunity for education and self-development, then this contact and influence is bound to have a beneficial effect upon the world and hasten progress. But if, by reason of carelessness, prejudice, greed and injustice, the black world is to be exploited and ravished and degraded, the results must be deplorable, if not fatal—not simply to them, but to the high ideals of justice, freedom and culture which a thousand years of Christian civilization have held before Europe.

In this address, specific proposals followed for various areas of the world; for the United States there is this paragraph:

Let not the spirit of Garrison, Phillips and Douglass wholly die out in America; may the conscience of a great nation rise and rebuke all dishonesty and unrighteous oppression toward the American Negro, and grant to him the right of franchise, security of person and property, and generous recognition of the great work he has accomplished in a generation toward raising nine millions of human beings from slavery to manhood.

Bishop Walters delivered a paper devoted to the 1900 London meeting to the 1901 gathering of the American Negro Academy—this at a time when Du Bois was president of the Academy. One year later, in March 1902, a printed prospectus for the African Development Company was issued from a Philadelphia office and signed by T. J. Minton, chairman, Du Bois, secretary, and H. T. Kealing, treasurer. The purpose was to raise a capital stock of \$50,000; the stated aim was: "To acquire land in East Central Africa to be used for the cultivation of coffee and other products; to establish and maintain the means for transport by land, river, lakes and ocean; to establish and maintain trading stations, and to develop the natural resources of the lands acquired." This prospectus stated that "the promoter" possessed "contracts with certain native chiefs for valuable concessions of land." Du Bois' papers show a continuing interest in African affairs thereafter, but this African Development Company seems never to have reached the stage of incorporation, let alone actual operation. It remains rather mysterious, but it certainly shows great interest in Africa and its development and in some respects reminds one of the early plans of Marcus Garvey to be announced in a later generation.

In November 1904, in Liverpool, England, the Ethiopian Progressive Association was founded; in March 1905 a revised version of its constitution and bylaws was published. In that form a copy went to Du Bois from the secretary of the association, Kwesi Ewusi, of the Gold Coast colony. The association had twenty founding members, from England, Sierra Leone, Lagos, Fernando Po, Barbados, Jamaica, Cuba, the Gold Coast and South Africa.

Its objects were reminiscent of Du Bois' 1900 call "To the Nations of the World": to develop friendship among Africans in England; to "create a bond of union" among all African peoples; to "raise the social status" of all Africans; to "strengthen the friendly relations" among them and all other peoples; and "to discuss...matters of vital importance concerning Africa in particular, and the Negro race in general."

In 1905 was founded, under the leadership of Du Bois and the very militant William Monroe

Trotter, the Niagara Movement, uniting a broad spectrum of Black professionals and intelligentsia who demanded full equality for Black people in contradistinction to the Booker T. Washington program of acquiescence in second-class citizenship. The concept of Pan-Africanism was present in the original calls written by Du Bois and at the 1906 annual meeting of this movement the constitution was amended to add among its fourteen standing committees one called "The Pan-African Department."

To further the purposes of the Niagara Movement, Du Bois founded a monthly magazine, *The Moon*, printed in Memphis, Tennessee. This began in December 1905 and terminated in July 1906; very few copies survive. One that does, dated March 2, 1906, contains a regular department, conducted by Du Bois, "Tidings of the Darker Millions," which devoted itself to news of African and African-derived peoples around the world. This particular account emphasized reports of important uprisings in South Africa against colonial rule; it reflects Du Bois' constant concern to bring news of the actual activities and desires of African people themselves to the attention of an audience in the United States.

From 1898 to 1913 Du Bois directed the Atlanta University Conferences devoted to questions confronting Black people especially in the United States. Characteristically, however, discussion of areas beyond the United States was encouraged by Du Bois; in this connection a seminal event occurred at the 1906 conference wherein, at Du Bois' invitation, the great anthropologist Franz Boas delivered a paper forthrightly attacking ideas of racism and bringing forward significant data on the consequence of African civilizations and their pioneering contributions to the well-being of humanity. This paper—and similar work by the pioneer Black historian Leo Hansberry—were very influential in Du Bois' thinking and he repeatedly paid tribute to their impact upon his own development.

From January 1907 through February 1910, Du Bois edited—along with L. M. Hershaw and F. H. Murray—a monthly magazine, *The Horizon*, which served as the organ of the Niagara Movement. In addition to contributing poetry and short stories to



this magazine, Du Bois was in charge of a department called "The Overlook" which devoted itself to reporting major developments throughout the world impinging upon African and African-derived peoples. In the first number of *The Horizon* Du Bois called attention to the "shameful" exploitation of African peoples by Western capital, including, he added, some from the United States, especially Rockefeller, and warned: "The day of reckoning is coming." Thereafter, no issue of *Horizon* failed to observe African developments. Thus that of February 1907 reported on the "exploitation of the native West Africans" by "organized, ruthless and ruling capital backed by greed." Issues called attention to the work of such African leaders as Casely Hayford and Edward Blyden. In the issue dated November-December 1908, Du Bois wrote of the desirability of a vast "Pan-African movement" because "The need of Liberia, the cause of Haiti, the cause of South Africa is our cause, and the sooner we realize this the better."

Not only did *The Horizon*, as the organ of the Niagara Movement, pay great attention to African developments; it is a fact that one of the departments in that movement was called "Pan-African," reflecting Du Bois' early and basic commitment to this effort.

Related is the fact that at least as early as 1909, Du Bois had conceived of the publication of what he then called an Encyclopedia Africana. Stationery with this heading was printed and he actively sought scholarly participation throughout the world; in this he was quite successful but at this time—as later—he was never able to find the funds to bring this great idea into actual existence. He was to return to this effort in the 1930s, with some encouragement from the Phels-Stokes Fund, but other than the publication of two editions, in the 1940s, of a kind of annotated index and selected bibliographical guide, that project under those auspices also failed to materialize. It was only with coming into being of an independent Ghana, headed by Du Bois' disciple, Kwame Nkrumah, that the Encyclopedia project could again be taken up seriously. It was to direct this project—and bring into being the vision of his young manhood—that Du Bois, despite the hostility of the U.S. State Department, went to Ghana in

1961. With the able assistance of the very conscientious Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, this project was considerably advanced by the time Du Bois died, in his 95th year in August 1963. There is indication, despite a most unfortunate hiatus of more than a decade, that something approaching the vision of Du Bois will yet materialize.

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The single most sustained and, in many ways, most significant of the manifold activities of Du Bois was his leadership in the founding, in 1910, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and his editorship of its monthly magazine, *The Crisis*, from its first number, November 1910, until his resignation from the NAACP in the summer of 1934.

*The Crisis*, as Du Bois' *Moon* and *Horizon*, paid careful attention to the history, culture and art of Africa during the generation that Du Bois guided it. In the first number of *Crisis*, in his column, "What to Read," he called attention to eleven articles dealing with Africa in various magazines and out of a total of twenty books Du Bois felt his readers should know about, in that first number, nine had as their subject some aspect of the life and history of Africa. In that first *Crisis*, also, Du Bois described at some length a conference devoted to Africa held earlier in 1910 at Clark University in Massachusetts where Black and white scholars delivered papers on "The Contributions of the Negro to Human Civilization" as well as others treating of some aspect of reality in the Belgian Congo, Liberia, French Africa and British Africa. To cite other instances of this constant theme in Du Bois' *Crisis*: its issue of June 1912 called attention to the recent death of D. J. Lenders, a leader of the African Political Organization in South Africa, and Du Bois commended Mr. Lenders as a militant fighter "for full political and civil rights to all." In an editorial in the issue of August 1913 Du Bois excoriated domination in South Africa "by means of theft, disfranchisement and slavery"; he denounced the oppression of "the voteless and voiceless Blacks who toil for dividends to support luxurious restaurants and churches and automobiles in London and New

York." The issue of May 1922 pays great attention to a current strike of workers in South Africa; this was characteristic of Du Bois' editorship, for his *Crisis* was one of the very few publications in the United States to carry such news. In the September 1930 issue Du Bois characterized the South African regime as "barbarous." And in the December 1933 issue—shortly before Du Bois resigned his editorship—details concerning South African oppression again are offered and Du Bois concludes with the rhetorical question: "Who is civilized in South Africa and who is not?"

Thereafter, in Du Bois' writings for newspapers and periodicals, this theme of protesting colonialism and racism in Africa and especially South Africa recurs. Thus, in the 1940s Du Bois conducted a weekly column devoted entirely to news from Africa in Adam Clayton Powell's newspaper in Harlem called *People's Voice*. Quite typical of Du Bois' writings here was his column dated October 14, 1947, where he described South Africa as "this medieval slave-ridden oligarchy" which is ludicrously "placed in the front ranks of the 'democracies' of the world." Again, in the issue of December 20, 1947, one finds Du Bois denouncing "the racist, anti-democratic and intensely exploitative situation" in South Africa.

In *New Africa*, the organ of the Council on African Affairs—which Du Bois co-chaired with Paul Robeson from 1948 on—dated January 1949, Du Bois again condemns the "oppressive and racist rule" in South Africa and urges "effective action by the United Nations and the creation of a democratic society in South Africa." Du Bois' article in the periodical, dated May-June 1950, was headed "Repression Madness Rules South Africa." Here it was noted that *New Africa* was banned in South Africa; Du Bois writes that he is certain that within the next fifty years the Black majority in South Africa would "take over this wretched and reactionary section of the world and make it into a new democratic state." Many of his columns in the then-progressive weekly, the *National Guardian*, published in New York City, were devoted in the 1950s to African history and especially the struggles of the African peoples. In one of his final columns, published September 20, 1960, a year before his departure for Ghana, Du Bois warned

that if "racism and superexploitation persist" in South Africa that "may well be the place wherein a new world war begins."

These newspaper columns were necessarily very brief. Du Bois was one of the earliest authors in the United States who managed to publish in leading journals full-length and critical examinations of the colonialism that characterized European and United States relations with Africa. Two of these essays have assumed really classical positions in the relevant literature.

First there is the remarkable essay on "The African Roots of the War" published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May 1915. With the hindsight provided us by the passage of sixty-five years one detects in this essay a certain philosophic idealism and politically a certain classlessness and therefore a kind of naivete and moral exhortation; but then one must recall that this analysis appeared two years prior to Lenin's *Imperialism* and that one would be hard put to find so incisive an examination of its subject matter in any language at that time. For example, here are two paragraphs from this essay—published, the reader will bear in mind, less than one year after the start of World War I:

What, then, are we to do, who desire peace and the civilization of all men? Hitherto the peace movement has confined itself chiefly to figures about the cost of war and platitudes on humanity. What do nations care about the cost of war, if by spending a few hundred millions in steel and gunpowder they can gain a thousand millions in diamonds and cocoa? How can love of humanity appeal as a motive to nations whose love of luxury is built on the inhuman exploitation of human beings, and who, especially in recent years, have been taught to regard these human beings as inhuman?...

We, then, who want peace, must remove the real causes of war. We have extended gradually our conception of democracy beyond our social class to all social classes in our nation; we have gone further and extended our democratic ideals not simply to all classes of our own nation, but to those other nations of our blood and lineage—to what we call "European" civilization. If we want real peace and lasting culture, however, we must go further. We must extend

the democratic ideal to the yellow, brown and black peoples.

Du Bois here noted that colonialism treated its victims "as beasts of burden"; he insisted that: "We shall not drive war from this world until we treat them as free and equal citizens in a world-democracy of all races and nations." He demanded that, "The ruling of one people for another people's whim or gain must stop" else wars would recur. With passion and eloquence, he concluded this pioneering analysis:

Twenty centuries after Christ, black Africa, prostrate, raped, and shamed, lies at the feet of the conquering Philistines of Europe. Beyond the awful sea a black woman is weeping and waiting with her sons on her breast. What shall the end be? The world-old and fearful things: War and Wealth, Murder and Luxury? Or shall it be a new thing—a new peace and new democracy of all races: a great humanity of equal men?

The other of the two major efforts appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1943, and its title conveyed its essence: "The Realities in Africa: European Profit or Negro Development?" Here Du Bois gave short shrift to the propaganda concerning racial "inferiority." "We must come back," he wrote, "to dollars, pounds, marks and francs." The reality was: "The process of exploitation that culminated in the British, French and German empires before the First World War turned out to be an investment whose vast returns depended on cheap labor, under strict colonial control, without too much interference from mawkish philanthropy."

The analytical advance over the 1915 essay is conveyed in this paragraph:

Unless the question of racial status is frankly and intelligently faced it will become a problem not simply of Africa but of the world. More than the welfare of the blacks are involved. As long as there is in the world a reservoir of cheap labor that can raise the necessary raw materials, and as long as arrangements can be made to transport these raw materials to manufacturing countries, this body of cheap labor will compete directly or indirectly with European labor and will often substitute for European labor. This situation will increase the power of investors and employers over the political organization of

the state, leading to agitation and revolt within the state on the part of the laboring classes and to wars between states which are competing for domination over these sources of profit. And if the fiction of inferiority is maintained, there will be added to all this the revolt of the suppressed races themselves, who, because of their low wages, are the basic cause of the whole situation.

The logical conclusion of the analysis was phrased this way:

The social development of Africa for the welfare of Africans, with educated Africans in charge of the program, would certainly interfere with the private profits of foreign investment and would ultimately change the entire relationship of Africa to the modern world. Is the development of Africa for the welfare of Africans the aim? Or is the aim a world dominated by Anglo-Saxons, or at least by the stock of white Europe? If the aim is to keep Africa in subjection just as long as possible, will it not plant the seeds of future hatreds and more war?

In his tour of duty as a professor at Atlanta University, from 1934 to mid-1944, Du Bois managed to establish, in 1940, the scholarly quarterly *Phylon*; he edited it during its formative years until he left the university to take up work, again—briefly—with the NAACP. With Du Bois as editor, this journal was crammed with material on Africa—notably in the contributions under his own signature. Thus, in the second issue of 1940 Du Bois wrote of the inequitable land distribution and of the very heavy penal laws in South Africa; in its third number he called attention to the outlawry in South Africa of union efforts by Black workers.

In the last issue of 1940 Du Bois examined at some length various proposals for resolving the "Native problem" in South Africa—parallelism, assimilation, or some device for the total separation of Black from white; he showed that none would or could work and that only a democratic and egalitarian society offered a lasting solution. *Phylon* for 1941, again particularly in Du Bois' own writings, contains important information on the realities of oppression in South Africa and—especially—on evidences of resistance against this

on the part of Black men and women. South Africa, he summarized, in issue number 2 for 1942, has "the worst system of color caste in the world."

A final form of periodical writing by Du Bois was that of book reviews. Here, too, his concentration upon African materials, and especially South African, is notable. Two examples must suffice. In *The Crisis* for October 1927, Du Bois reviewed Sidney Olivier's *Anatomy of African Misery*, published that year in London by Hogarth Press. Summarizing that important book, Du Bois wrote that "slavery and caste exploited by capitalistic imperialism spread over the whole Southern half of Africa." He concluded that "South Africa is wrecking civilization" and closed with his repeated warning: "South Africa is a menace to the peace of the world." In the scholarly, Marxist-oriented quarterly, *Science and Society*, Summer 1953, Du Bois reviewed E. Solly Sachs' *The Choice Before South Africa*, published the preceding year in London by Turnstile Press. Noting that its author was a militant South African radical forced into exile, Du Bois—after detailing the contents of the book—concluded that "the methods used by the Nazis in Germany were identical in every respect to those used by enemies of trade unions in South Africa."

Most of Du Bois' twenty published books dealt in some way with Africa and several were devoted entirely to that continent. Note has already been taken of his first book—*The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*. In his notable biography of John Brown, first published in 1909, Du Bois does not fail to note that: "The mystic spell of Africa is and ever was over all America. It has guided her hardest work, inspired her finest literature, and sung her sweetest songs."

*The Negro*, one of the volumes in the Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, published in New York and London in 1915, is a brief and pioneering effort at depicting the entire scope of Africa's past. It places also, within this context, the position of African-derived peoples in the United States, Latin America and the West Indies and shows the relationship between the exploitation of Africa and the rise of capitalism and imperialism in Europe and the United States.

Du Bois' second novel, *Dark Princess*, published by Harcourt, Brace in New York in 1928, sought

through fiction to convey to readers a conception of the depths of discontent in the world of peoples of color and the critical need for significant change if catastrophic global violence were to be avoided. The plot is that of the development—and failure—of a world-wide conspiracy of people of color—led by a princess of India—to undo the domination of the globe by European and American states.

In the 1920s an important popular publishing venture was what were called "Little Blue Books"—brief paperbacks which sold for five or ten cents and treated historical, philosophical and economic subjects. These were published by a radical-oriented company known as Haldeman-Julius Publications, located in Girard, Kansas. In 1929 Du Bois was given the opportunity of producing two such "Little Blue Books," and these appeared the next year. Each was a 64-page booklet and one treated *Africa, its Geography, People and Products* while the other was concerned with *Africa: Its Place in Modern History*. The second book was somewhat repetitious of *The Negro* but it deals only with Africa and concentrates, as its title indicates, upon the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It places Africa within the context of European power politics and shows its close connection with the imperialism of the major powers. A feature of the little work is the great attention it pays to evidences of African resistance and initiative.

In the late 1930s Du Bois was given the opportunity of completing a fuller study of Africa than he could accomplish in either the 1915 or the 1930 studies. This eventuated into *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1939). Here was a volume of 400 pages containing sixteen chapters and an extensive bibliography. The volume opened with a history of Africa and a description of some of its major early civilizations. The United States and the West Indies are not neglected in the work, but most space is given to Africa and its final four chapters concentrate upon modern Africa, especially upon questions of land ownership, the condition of the working masses, systems of education and of political control. The final chapter, "The Future of World Democracy,"

deals with major strikes and uprisings in the first third of the twentieth century; its concluding lines are:

The proletariat of the world consists not simply of white European and American workers but overwhelmingly of the dark workers of Asia, Africa, the islands of the Sea, and South and Central America. These are the ones who are supporting a superstructure of wealth, luxury, and extravagance. It is the rise of these people that is the rise of the world.

And then Du Bois repeats the words he first penned in 1900: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."

Upon Du Bois' return, in 1944, to the NAACP—in the position of Director of Special Research—he concentrated his efforts upon what he understood to be the purpose for which he was hired, namely, to turn the attention of as much of the world's population as he—and the NAACP—could reach to problems of colonialism and especially to the question of the continued subjugation of most of Africa. One result was the appearance of a brief book, *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1945).

The premise of this book was that with the world to come after the Second World War, "the majority of the inhabitants of earth, who happen for the most part to be colored, must be regarded as having the right and the capacity to share in human progress and to become co-partners in that democracy which alone can ensure peace among men, by the abolition of poverty, the education of the masses, protection from disease, and the scientific treatment of crime." The thought is developed that "colonies are the slums of the world" and that the slum dwellers are in righteous rebellion. If these slums are not ended, Du Bois warned, there would be not only these "justifiable revolts" but also "recurring wars of envy and greed because of the present inequitable distribution of gain among civilized nations." Statements from the Western Allies and their proposals—as those issuing from Dumbarton Oaks—showed a failure to consider this question of colonialism and the need for liberation. This was fatal, Du Bois insisted, for "so long as colonial imperialism exists, there can be neither peace on earth nor good will

toward men."

Du Bois took a positive view of the Soviet Union here—as he had from 1919 on and was to do until his death—noting that it had not "like most nations, without effort to solve it, declared the insolvency of the problem of the poor, and above all, it has not falsely placed on the poor the blame of their wretched conditions."

Another volume resulted from Du Bois' position at the NAACP; this was *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa Has Played in World History*, published by Viking in New York City in 1947 and issued, with an additional hundred pages, by International Publishers in New York City two years after his death.

The book began with a consideration of the meaning of the just-concluded world-wide war (its original preface was dated May 1946). It moved on to an analysis of the impact of European colonialism, especially in Africa, during the preceding two centuries; of the "rape of Africa" in the four centuries beginning with the mid-15th century; then a delineation of what Africa thus ravished had been; a history of Egypt, the Sudan, West and Central Africa and of Asia in Africa until the sixteenth century, and finally, an inquiry into "the future of the darker races" whose coming liberation was held to be "indispensable to the fertilizing of the universal soil of mankind." The final thought, in the 1947 edition, was: "There can be no perfect democracy curtailed by color, race, or poverty. But with all we accomplish all, even Peace."

The 1965 edition—enriched with selections from periodical pieces by Du Bois in the 1950s—emphasized in particular the key role—after World War II—of United States corporations and banks—Morgan, Rockefeller, Ford, General Motors, General Electric, Firestone—in the continued exploitation of Africa and especially South Africa.

Du Bois' monumental fictional trilogy—*The Black Flame*, published 1957, 1959 and 1961 by Mainstream Publishers in New York City—was a novelized autobiographical presentation of what it meant to be a Black man in the United States from 1876 to 1956; it certainly does not neglect the consequence of Africa in general and its signifi-



cance for Du Bois in particular.

His final volume—the posthumously published *Autobiography*—was written during the years 1958-1961 and was published in full in 1968 by International Publishers. Again the central role of Africa, of Pan-Africanism, of the effort in general by Du Bois to alert the world to the realities of Africa and the necessity of achieving its liberation fills this book—as they had filled his incomparable life.



Du Bois was not only an editor, a skilled essayist, a poet and novelist, and a superbly trained social scientist who produced lasting works in sociology and history and a teacher who inspired hundreds of students during decades of instruction. Du Bois also was an agitator, an organizer, an activist in the struggles for the liberation of the Afro-American people, of the African peoples, of humanity and in the supreme effort he devoted to eliminating the scourge of war.

Note has already been taken of Du Bois' participation in the seminal 1900 Pan-African conference in London, his role in connection with possible commercial relationship between Black people in the United States and portions of Africa, going back to 1902, the relationship in 1904 with the Ethiopian Progressive Association, and the Pan-African commitment of the Niagara Movement founded largely by Du Bois and headed by him until its dissolution and merging with the organization that became, in 1910, the NAACP. The development by 1909 of the idea of an *Encyclopedia Africana* on the part of Du Bois and the beginnings of his regular correspondence with African leaders and scholars at the turn of the twentieth century were observed.

In 1911 Du Bois participated in the First All-Races Congress, held in England. Here appeared leading figures from the entire world, including China, Japan, Haiti, India, Persia, Turkey, the British West Indies, Egypt, the Sudan and Western Africa. Du Bois played a central role in the proceedings of this meeting and made lasting friendships; one of its basic conclusions was that the idea of racism was as false as it was pernicious.

Towards the end of World War I, colonial and

oppressed peoples began to plan for a post-war world that might see an end to colonialism and oppression. This very much included African and African-derived peoples. Du Bois devoted much effort to persuading the other leaders of the NAACP to devote some of the energies and funds of the organization to Pan-African efforts. He had some success and his trip to Paris in 1919, funded by the NAACP, had among its objects inquiry into conditions of U.S. Black soldiers in France, the gathering of material for a projected history of African and Afro-American participation in the war—and the holding of a Pan-African Congress.

Du Bois managed to get some support and even meager funds for the latter from the British Labour Party and—with great difficulty—was able to call and lead the first Pan-African meeting since that of 1900 in Paris in 1919. Most of the commercial press of Europe and the United States denounced the gathering as too radical; a few papers denounced it as Bolshevik-inspired! But it did meet and an organization did come into existence and the idea of Pan-African unity in the struggle against colonialism and racism did take on organizational form—never thereafter to expire.

The second Pan-African Congress met in London, Paris and Brussels in 1921; appropriate resolutions were made, new friendships created and the concept of a permanent secretariat projected. The latter did not eventuate, nor did plans for an international journal in French and English dedicated to the movement. Still, with Du Bois as the driving force, another (Third) Pan-African Congress did meet in 1923 in Paris and Lisbon.

While there, Du Bois learned of his appointment by President Coolidge as Ambassador Extraordinary, representing the president of the United States at the 1924 inauguration of C. D. King as President of Liberia. Du Bois fulfilled this mission and made new and renewed old ties. He used the occasion of his first visit to Africa to enter other West African areas, notably Sierra Leone. This actual observation of Africa made a profound impression upon Du Bois which found outlet in numerous newspaper columns, magazine articles and speeches heard in the United States by thousands, Black and white.

Du Bois set his mind upon holding the Fourth

Congress in Africa and for a time it appeared that France would agree upon Tunis as a venue. This finally was rejected, however; Britain and France also turned down requests for the holding of the conference in the West Indies. A result was that the Fourth Conference was not held until 1927 and then took place in New York City, with not only Du Bois' participation but also the active work of several Black women in the United States, notably Mary Church Terrell and Addie W. Hunton.

One result of Du Bois' visits in the 1920s to European museums and to Africa itself was his intense interest in the great wood and metal art work and music of that continent. Du Bois played a central role in promoting appreciation of these facets of African culture from 1924 to 1928 as part of the so-called Harlem Renaissance of that period.

Soon after 1927, the Great Depression—harmful to white people but catastrophic to Black folk—made Du Bois concentrate his mind and activities upon the United States, although, as earlier pages have shown, he did continue to publish through the thirties on Africa.

With World War II, Du Bois again concentrated his attention on Africa and the question of colonialism and the struggle for peace. As already shown, Africa was a major concern of Du Bois during his service with *Phylon* magazine, 1940-1944. When in 1944 he returned to the NAACP he did so with the idea of devoting all of his energies to the battle against colonialism and in particular to the liberation of the African continent.

In this role he not only produced the articles and books already mentioned, dealing directly with Africa. He also—along with Walter White and Mary McLeod Bethune—served as consultant to the U.S. delegation at the founding of the United Nations in 1945.

Here Du Bois in private and public speech and in letters and published writings maintained his anti-colonial position and affirmed his disappointment that the Western Powers and the United States in the first place were not taking an anti-colonial stance but on the contrary seemed to be assuming that the post-war world, in that regard, would be similar to the world of 1939.

It was Du Bois' opposition to the Truman

foreign policy of U.S. hegemony that finally determined Du Bois' removal, late in 1947, from his position with the NAACP; the leadership of that organization and especially Walter White himself, became part of the Truman bandwagon.

It was then that Du Bois joined Paul Robeson as leader of the heroic work of the Council on African Affairs, which was the voice in the United States keeping alive opposition to colonialism in Africa and particularly to the infamous regime in South Africa. Though well past 80, Du Bois agreed to run for U.S. senator from New York State in 1950; he made this an educational effort against colonialism and for disarmament and peace. While his American Labor Party candidacy was not successful, he did manage to get over 200,000 votes, according to the official count.

In this same period Du Bois undertook the leadership of the struggle in the United States against atomic armaments and for world peace. In this connection he headed the Peace Information Center, responsible for gathering well over two million signatures in the United States appealing for the banning of the A-bomb, and this in the face of McCarthyite terror. Meanwhile, in 1946 Du Bois had headed a resurrected Pan-African movement and tightened close connections with figures like Nkrumah, Azikiwe and Kenyatta.

A Washington gone quite berserk actually indicted Dr. Du Bois and four others as "unregistered foreign agents" because of the heroic work in connection with the Peace Information Center. World-wide protest and outrage at this atrocious act induced Washington to attempt to offer Du Bois a "deal"—if he would admit guilt, the government would assure him a suspended sentence. Du Bois indignantly rejected this in a letter to his attorneys and stated he would rather rot in jail for the rest of his life than agree to a lie with such an administration for such a purpose.

The global protest movement was successful and Du Bois and his fellow defendants were acquitted in this first great legal setback to McCarthyism.

Du Bois' lectures and world-wide travels, his leadership in the anti-war movement and his writings in favor of peace and against colonialism continued throughout the 1950s. It was in 1960 that

President Nkrumah of Ghana invited Du Bois to Accra to undertake the setting up of a secretariat that would finally produce an Encyclopedia Africana. The present writer had the honor to drive Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois to the airport for the flight to Ghana—in October 1961—to undertake this formidable task.

A reporter at the airport asked Du Bois how many volumes he projected for the work. Du Bois replied that he thought ten stout volumes would be sufficient. How long will each volume's production take, the reporter asked. Du Bois—then 93 years old—responded with just the hint of a smile: "I should think it will take me about ten years per volume."

Du Bois, while in Accra, did advance the project considerably. In addition he continued to be asked to give advice to leaders of the burgeoning African liberation movement which he did in public speeches, articles and in private communications.

Shortly before leaving for Accra, Du Bois had come to the decision that the program and ideas of the Communist Party of the United States were nearest to his own views. With the warlike policy of Washington and its policy of persecuting radicals and Communists, Du Bois decided that it might be some contribution to peace and sanity if he were not only to join that Party but to do so with a public announcement of the fact. This Du Bois did on October 1, 1961, and the act did gain worldwide attention, it did hearten fighters for peace and equality in the United States and it did serve to embarrass ruling powers in the United States.

In Ghana, the U.S. consulate refused to renew Dr. Du Bois' passport—under the terms of the McCarran Act, then still in force, it was a crime subject to ten years' imprisonment for a Communist to have a passport! A result was that, having inquired of President Nkrumah, Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois abandoned their U.S. citizenship and became citizens of Ghana.

When Du Bois died, at the age of 95, in August 1963, President Nkrumah ordered a state funeral for this father of the modern Black liberation

movement and the African liberation movement. All embassies and consulates were officially represented—except that of the United States.

Du Bois said in his Last Message—characteristically he had prepared this some time earlier—read at the grave-site by his wife Shirley Graham Du Bois:

I have loved my work, I have loved people and my play, but always I have been uplifted by the thought that what I have done well will live long and justify my life; that what I have done ill or never finished can now be handed on to others for endless days to be finished, perhaps better than I could have done.

"Peace," he said, in this final word, "will be my applause." He added:

One thing alone I charge you. As you live, believe in life. Always human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life. The only possible death is to lose belief in this truth simply because the great end comes slowly, because time is long.

☆ ☆ ☆

The accomplishments of this Titan assure immortality. His ideas, his prophecies, his admonitions, his examples are adornments to the record of the human race. One of his great dreams—the full liberation of what he called his Motherland, his Africa—has not yet been realized although thanks in considerable part to his work a very great deal has been accomplished. All of it will be accomplished, probably within this twentieth century, as he once projected. Above all, in this regard, stands yet the abomination of apartheid South Africa, but its doom is written in the stars. It is for those of us who remain and who comprehend and cherish the legacy of Du Bois, to finish the great work he had begun and so mightily advanced, in particular to bring a fully democratic and egalitarian social order to South Africa and thus to immeasurably advance the prospects for a stable world peace.

# Basic Facts on Agricultural Workers

PHILIP ALTHOFF

The men, women and children who work in the fields and on the farms and ranches across the nation are an important part of our multi-national, multi-racial, male-female working class. The overwhelming majority of these workers are today, as Marx observed in 1867, "reduced to the minimum of wages and always stand...with one foot already in the swamp of pauperism" (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 642). Most of us are aware of the significant efforts of some of these workers to raise themselves out of "the swamp of pauperism" through the organizing struggle of the United Farm Workers of America (UFWA) and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). However, most of us are not aware of the scope and character of the problems facing these workers in the U.S. today.

The number of counted agricultural workers in any given year is approximately 2.8 million. However, at least half of these, such as those high school and college students who earn "pocket money" working in agriculture, are hardly agricultural workers. In fact, the number of counted agricultural workers in any given year varies from approximately 825,000 in January to approximately 1.9 million in July, with only approximately 650,000 employed for six months or more. Also, many agricultural workers—specifically women and children and all undocumented workers, estimated to be as many as 1 million—are not counted at all.

The situation regarding statistics on agricultural workers really has not improved much since early in this century when Lenin noted that "in the vast majority of...countries agricultural statistics, paying tribute, intentionally or otherwise, to prevailing bourgeois notions and prejudices, either fail to furnish any systematic information on hired labor at all, or give it only for the most recent period" ("New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture: Part One,

Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America," *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 48).

## Distribution and Characteristics of Agricultural Workers

Agricultural workers in the U.S. today are concentrated in certain kinds of agricultural commodity production, in certain areas of the nation and on certain types of farms and ranches.

According to James S. Holt, "...there tend to be more hired workers...where irrigation is extensive, where fruits and vegetables are the leading crops, in the vicinity of large cities where horticultural operations are concentrated and in plantation and ranching areas..." ("Farm Labor and the Structure of Agriculture," U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economics, Statistics and Cooperatives Service, *Structure Issues of American Agriculture*, Agricultural Economic Report 438, November 1979, p. 145, cited hereafter as "Farm Labor").

As a result, agricultural workers are involved in the production of 85 per cent of the annual value of fruits and vegetables, 70 per cent of the annual value of field crops and 60 per cent of the annual value of livestock and livestock products (General Accounting Office, *Changing Character and Structure of American Agriculture: An Overview*, CED-78-178, September 26, 1978, p. 55, cited hereafter as *Changing Character*).

In addition to the output of fruits and vegetables, agricultural workers are crucial to the output of such field crops as cotton, rice, seed corn and sugar cane and such livestock and livestock products as broilers, eggs, hogs and milk, i.e., agricultural commodities whose production is controlled increasingly by agribusiness and decreasingly by family farms.

Since agricultural workers are concentrated in certain kinds of agricultural production, they are also concentrated in those areas of the nation where most of these commodities are produced. Holt points out that agricultural workers out-

number farm-ranch operators in the

...upland South, the dairy areas of the North-east, central Texas and much of Montana and Idaho [as well as]... in a crescent-shaped pattern including both coasts, most of the old plantation areas of the South, the Rio Grande Valley and the Southwest....In Florida, the Mississippi Delta, the Rio Grande counties of Texas and California and Arizona, hired workers are preponderant, outnumbering operators by 2 to 1 or more ("Farm Labor," p. 145).

Of all these areas, agricultural workers are heavily concentrated in Florida, Texas, California and Arizona, i.e., in those states where, because of climate, extensive land holdings and irrigation, the production of high-profit agricultural commodities such as fruits and vegetables is predominant.

Agricultural workers are concentrated not only in certain kinds of agricultural commodity production and in certain areas of the nation, but also on certain types of farms and ranches. Of all small farms and ranches (i.e., those with annual sales of \$40,000 or less, which amount to 79.4 per cent of all farms and ranches with 21.4 per cent of all sales), 32.9 per cent employ agricultural workers and pay 11.7 per cent of all agricultural wages; and of all medium farms and ranches (i.e., those with annual sales of between \$40,000 and \$100,000, totalling 14 per cent of all farms and ranches and 24.7 per cent of all sales) 55.3 per cent employ agricultural workers and pay 16.6 per cent of all agricultural wages.

However, of all large farms and ranches (i.e., those with annual sales of \$100,000 or more—6.6 per cent of all farms and ranches with 53.9 per cent of all sales), fully 79.7 per cent employ agricultural workers and pay 71.7 per cent of all agricultural wages. (See *Changing Character*, p. 93.)

Thus, even though more agricultural workers work on small and medium as opposed to large farms and ranches, it is on the last where they are the most integral part of the productive process and where the most surplus value is extracted from their labor. At least one-quarter of these farms and ranches are corporations and most of the remainder, even though individually owned or held in partnership, are corporate-type insofar

as they are among the most capital intensive and generally operated by hired managers.

As far as the characteristics of the agricultural workers themselves are concerned, official statistics indicate that "three out of five...were 14-24 years old; three out of four were male. Most were white—75 percent, 11 percent Hispanic and 14 percent other minorities" (*Changing Character*, p. 55). These statistics are misleading, however, since they are based on the inaccurate count of agricultural workers noted above.

Holt emphasizes that "the hired farm labor force epitomizes the classical secondary labor market profile: ...high representation of racial and ethnic minorities, youth and women" ("Farm Labor," p. 146). What this means is that farm and ranch work, which is not only always difficult, dirty and dangerous, but also almost always sporadic, low paid and without benefits, is left for the same racial, age and sexual strata as is all such work under capitalism. The facts are that, of those attempting to make a living as agricultural workers (approximately half of all counted agricultural workers) over 50 per cent are minorities, especially Hispanic, Black and Asian-Pacific, over 40 per cent are below 25 years of age and over 60 per cent are women and children. (See "Farm Labor," p. 146.)

Agricultural workers are a mostly settled (only 8 per cent are migratory) and severely underemployed (only 12 per cent work 250 or more days a year and fewer than 25 per cent work as many as 150 days a year) part of our working class. With most not subject to federal or state minimum wage laws, they are extremely low-paid, averaging only \$2,859 a year; and, because most are not subject to federal or state laws concerning unemployment insurance, workman's compensation, occupational safety and health, etc., they are by and large without benefits. Indeed today, as Carey McWilliams observed in 1935, "in all America it would be difficult to find a parallel for this strange army in tatters....No one has been able to fathom the mystery of how this army supports itself or how it has continued to survive" (*Factories in the Field*, pp. 7-8).

### Problems Facing Agricultural Workers

Agricultural workers in the U.S. today experi-

ence a myriad of problems as complex and as severe as those faced by any other segment of our working class. Among the most critical of these (but not all of them by any means) are increasing mechanization, undocumented workers and, most seriously, poverty compounded by racism and sexism.

Mechanization has been a problem for agricultural workers throughout this century. Holt notes that "farm employment grew with the expansion of agriculture until shortly after the turn of the century, after which farm employment shrank drastically as the impact of technology began in earnest.... The rate of decline was especially rapid from the post-World War II period through the sixties..." ("Farm Labor," p. 144).

Of course, mechanization has meant unemployment and underemployment for agricultural workers. It has also meant that new skills have had to be acquired by those who remained employed, skills that have not always been easy to acquire given the limited nature of educational opportunities in most of those areas where agricultural workers are concentrated.

A typical example of the impact of mechanization on agricultural workers is the tomato harvester. According to Gus Hall, "like the plague, the automated machinery is moving in. [For example], the tomato harvester [has] made its appearance, [and] ...it will replace over 80 percent of the tomato pickers" (*Labor Up-Front*, p. 73).

Between 1959 and 1967, while the tomato harvester was invading the fields of California, the number of harvesters jumped from 1 to 485, increasing the harvest from 1.9 million to 3.1 million tons and decreasing the number of agricultural workers involved in the harvest from approximately 50,000 to 30,000. (See William H. Friedland, "The Social Impact of Technology," Richard D. Rodefeld, et. al., *Change in Rural America*, pp. 257-58, cited hereafter as *Change*.)

Incidentally, in order to introduce the tomato harvester, a new variety of tomato had to be developed—one with a tougher skin and a special shape. This development was undertaken gladly by the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences of the University of Florida with research funds supplied by taxpayers through the federal gov-

ernment. (See E. T. York, Jr., "Statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor," *Change*, pp. 266-72.) By 1980 the tomato harvester had unemployed approximately four-fifths of those agricultural workers previously involved in the tomato harvest in California and was spreading rapidly to other areas of the nation where tomatoes are produced commercially. The tomato harvester is not an atypical example of mechanization.

The general response of agricultural workers to mechanization has been to attempt to put a halt to it. For example, agricultural workers in California have supported legislation at the state level designed to limit the introduction of labor-displacing machinery. It is very doubtful that this approach will, or even should be successful. Aside from its political unattractiveness to monopoly capitalist controlled legislatures, putting a halt to mechanization with the aim of preventing the further unemployment and underemployment of agricultural workers depends on production levels remaining constant, if not increasing.

This, however, would be unlikely because with the production of agricultural commodities becoming more concentrated under the control of fewer agribusinesses, maximizing profits through price fixing with lower levels of production and thus fewer agricultural workers would become widespread. Also, agricultural workers, like all workers, ought to benefit from mechanization. A tactic based on any other principle is politically and economically not only centuries out of date (and even then it was misguided and unsuccessful), but also unwise because it can be countered easily by agribusiness, if not in the political, then in the economic sphere.

Undocumented workers have been a problem for agricultural workers for decades, but the problem has been particularly serious since the termination of the bracero program in 1964. The bracero program was an agreement between the U.S. and Mexican governments which allowed a specified number of Mexican agricultural workers to legally enter the U.S. to temporarily engage in agricultural work. Undocumented agricultural workers, like undocumented workers in any work, have the effect of depressing wages and lowering the qual-



ity of working conditions. This was also true of the bracero program since the agricultural workers admitted were paid a low, fixed wage and were not provided with any enforced guarantees about working conditions.

Undocumented agricultural workers exist in the worst of circumstances. On the campaign trail in 1980 Gus Hall stressed just how bad these circumstances are:

In many parts of the country undocumented workers are being bought and sold by unscrupulous inhuman slavers. These workers are living and working in a state of virtual slavery. In many cases they are shackled, locked up by night and guarded by day, threatened with death if they try to escape. These workers are haunted and hunted by KKK-infested border patrols, working in collusion with the growers and local officials to harass, brutalize and terrorize (*Daily World*, October 30, 1980).

As with mechanization, the general response of agricultural workers to undocumented workers has been to put a halt to them. For example, agricultural workers in California have called for the enforcement of federal legislation designed to prevent the entry of undocumented workers into the U.S.. As Hall suggests above, it is very doubtful that this demand will be met. It is clear that politically powerful agribusiness concerns and the federal and state governments they and their kind control are hardly interested in enforcing the relevant legislation. As Hall says, the legal status of all workers must be fought for because "the branding of workers as illegal and aliens plays into the hands of the bosses who use it to make super-profits from the labor of undocumented workers and to pit workers against each other." The problem of undocumented agricultural workers can be solved to the benefit of all workers, agricultural workers included, only by legalizing their status, thereby neutralizing them as a weapon in the hands of agribusiness and at the same time making them subject to organization into the struggle for humane conditions for all workers.

As outlined above, agricultural work is generally sporadic, low paid and without benefits. The upshot is poverty for agricultural workers. And since minorities comprise over one-half and

women and children almost two-thirds of all agricultural workers, this poverty, like almost all poverty in the nation, has a sharp, racist and sexist edge.

Jim Hightower asserts that:

...farm workers are just another cost of production, not human beings. As a USDA [U.S. Department of Agriculture] official put it way back in 1929: "Mass production has thus brought about what may be called the mechanization of the human element in the industry. The harvesting gangs are called in when wanted just as the tractor and the gang plow are brought out of the shed when needed." Today, USDA statisticians give official sanction to this dehumanization by listing hired labor along with machines, gasoline, seed and fertilizer as just another "purchased input."...Farm workers are the waste product of American agribusiness ("Agribusiness and Agrigovernment: Power, Profits, and Poverty," *Change*, p. 275).

Agricultural workers suffer conditions which include, in addition to sporadic work, low pay and no benefits, poor housing (shacks are the rule); inadequate educational opportunities (many of the programs designed for the children of agricultural workers, who are often *the* agricultural workers, which offer linguistically and culturally relevant education and provide instruction, are too often at times and places when they can not be taken advantage of); few health care facilities—typically low quality and high cost.

Much of this is indicated by Hightower:

Nothing has changed [since the New Deal]: farm workers and their families live still in stifling shelters that are without heat, plumbing, privacy, or hope for human happiness; their health continues to make a mockery of this nation's enormous wealth; their exploitative wages and inhuman working conditions persist...and their economic and political powerlessness put the lie to this country's pretensions about freedom of opportunity (p. 276).

This material can be placed in perspective by the accurate and moving statement of Manuel Leon, a California agricultural worker:

...it is a matter of record that many of us have all but managed the ranches at which we have

been employed. In most cases we have been given the job of preparing the soil for planting; have been left to determine the amount of nutrients needed to bring the soil to a productive level; and, finally, have had to apply the nutrients. The jobs of planting, irrigating, pruning, thinning, spraying, fertilizing and nurturing the soil have not been done by the average big farmer. Outside of an occasional visit by the owner, the entire operation in most ranches is left to [us]. Late at night, while we are struggling to keep a secondhand tractor, a dull disc, harrow or a dilapidated plow in workable condition in some windswept barn under a dim light, we feel despair and frustration because we are so aware that the farmer inside the house enjoying the warmth of his living room could have been us. To put it in simple words, we...have been for years the backbone of agriculture ("A Farmworker Speaks," *Change*, p. 467).

### Implications

As Lenin stated in "Preliminary Draft Theses on the Agrarian Question,"

the organization of this class ["...the agricultural proletariat, wage-labourers...who obtain their livelihood by working for hire at capitalist agricultural enterprises"] ...independently and separately from other groups of the rural population, the conduct of intensive propaganda and agitation among this class, and the winning of its support...constitute the *fundamental* tasks [in relation to agriculture] of the Communist parties of all countries" (Lenin's emphasis, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 153).

This is relevant today because, in spite of increasing mechanization, the number of agricultural workers in the U.S. has stabilized and is expected to increase somewhat as agribusinesses continue to replace family farms as producers of agricultural commodities. It is also relevant because as even the USDA recognizes, "the current reality is a permanent, hired class of agricultural workers...as a result of which an element of poten-

tial...class conflict is present" ("Farm Labor," pp. 147 and 145).

The challenge remains the organization of agricultural workers. Much, of course, has been done by the UFWA and the FLOC, but much remains to be done since most agricultural workers, even in those areas of the nation where they are concentrated, have yet to be organized. In this regard, as Sam Kushner writes, California

...is the key to farm labor organizing in the United States. Farming is the largest business in the state. Since 1969, California ranked at the top of all farm states in the nation. In 43 different crops it ranks first in production in the United States. In 12 of these crops it has a near monopoly, between 95 and 100 percent and in 16 crops it accounts for more than 90 percent of all U.S. production. [And in 1972]...there were 688,797 California farm workers...included ...among these workers were 92,100 who were hired year round. Less than ten percent of all farms paid the total hired farm labor bill for almost 71 percent of the work force (*Long Road to Delano*, pp. 222-3).

The victory of the UFWA in California is not yet complete and, even though attempts have been made, it has not yet been very successful in organizing agricultural workers in other states of the Southwest and in the state of Texas; and the FLOC has not yet broken through to collective bargaining in Ohio and other states of the upper Midwest. Nevertheless, the success of the UFWA in California has served as a catalyst for the organization of agricultural workers throughout the nation. However, the pressure which resulted in the UFWA's success in the late 1960s and early 1970s seems to have dissipated. It is unfortunate that the resources—leaders, money, mass organizations, etc.—that existed during that period outside the UFWA have been allowed to fall away from the struggle. These resources must be revitalized because the struggle continues, even though it has always been, and is now, in Kushner's words, "a battle of David and Goliath."

# The Modern Metropolis and the Working Class

MORRIS ZEITLIN

In the past two decades, urban scholars in both capitalist and socialist societies have shown how mass urbanization and development of science and technology have been changing the economic, spatial and social arrangements in cities. The implications of these changes for the working class and its forms of organization at the urban level need to be understood. We shall therefore examine what they have been, the ruling-class responses to them, and the meaning of both to the working class.

A century ago, the industrial revolution started rapid urbanization. Production and people, for centuries spread out over the countryside, began to concentrate within growing cities. It heaped quantitative changes one atop another in production, social relations and human settlement as railroads, steamships and telegraph lines speeded industrial and urban growth. The trains and ships which moved manufactured goods and machines to the countryside, there to raise agricultural productivity, moved surplus rural populations from villages to fill production jobs in cities.

Cities grew crowded, for their primitive inner transportation set narrow limits on how far they could expand. Invention of iron and steel frame construction and of the elevator allowed some vertical growth. Horizontal expansion, however, awaited the later arrival of electric trolley cars and railroads. And when these came, they changed not only the pattern of movement within cities but also their spatial organization.

While the previous short distance movements by foot and hoof dictated dense building and urban growth in tight concentric rings, the trolley car expanded cities in radial directions. Its speed also made the city's downtown business district easily accessible to all other districts, making it a most desirable location for factories, offices and stores, all thriving on the city's large pool of work-

ers and customers. Workers, on the other hand, no longer had to huddle close to their jobs. New housing, and some work places, emerged along readily outbound trolley tracks.

Though the trolley cars, commuter railroads and, later, subways distributed growing populations and jobs over wider areas, most urban dwellers stayed close to the factories, offices and stores in city downtowns which, in turn, stayed close to the railroad stations and ports on which they depended.

But when the automobile, truck and highway presented new location alternatives and telephone and broadcasting networks extended to suburban areas, urban growth rapidly spread beyond central cities. Decentralization, begun by commuter railroads, took on a new force and speed. The postwar economic growth and technological progress pushed suburbanization even farther. Many new industries emerged and new masses of technologically unemployed rural workers streamed toward cities.

Urbanization followed a new pattern. It both concentrated and decentralized the national population. While millions moved from rural areas to cities, even more moved from cities to suburbs. While new economic activities and jobs emerged in central cities, many old and new industries located beyond their borders. In the early 1960s the nation's suburban population outstripped that of its central cities and continued to grow.

The wider locational choices which the auto and truck made possible in urban areas started a process of differentiation. Industries seeking cheaper land, lower taxes and non-union labor located among the proliferating small municipalities mushrooming around cities. People who could afford, or preferred, to move to suburbs, did. Activities and people who needed or preferred to stay in central cities, however, remained or moved there.

Our urban framework came unstuck and grew

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fluid. Cities opened widely and spread out. The quantitative evolutionary changes that technological progress in production, transport and communications produced in urban areas over a century reached a point of qualitative change—a revolutionary transformation in human settlement from city to metropolis.

Modern cities are not merely the old cities bigger, they are *qualitatively different*. "The city which for 6,000 years has existed as one basic form of human settlement together with and opposed to the country," wrote an astute urban scholar, "is transformed into a completely new form of settlement: the metropolitan area—or 'metropolis' for short—which is neither city nor country, but partakes of the characteristics of both." (Hans Blumenfeld, "The Exploding Metropolis," *Monthly Review*, April 1959, p. 477.) In the metropolitan area, city, suburbs and the country around them blend together, physically and socially, even across the artificial boundaries of counties and states, into an interrelated whole. Though we still regard cities, suburbs and country as separate entities, in the modern metropolis they have lost their old meaning. They "are not mutually exclusive but dialectically united opposites." (Ibid.)

Metropolitanization is a world phenomenon. It is, in fact, the second stage of urbanization. Its emergence marks the dialectical negation of its earlier form—it ends the city as an autonomous form of settlement. Metropolises around the world have become the centers around which the life of modern nations is organized, within which develops a wealth of human contact and a degree of social interaction and complexity never before known.

Capitalist metropolises and socialist urban agglomerations (the equivalent socialist term), though similar, are significantly different. In socialist society, national planning exercises rational control over the process. In capitalist society, especially in the USA, it has been typically spontaneous and chaotic and, therefore, difficult to perceive.

### **What is the Modern Metropolis?**

The metropolis is a system of urban and open areas with a dense central core. It has no fixed

boundaries and no fixed structure such as the street pattern of the city. Its boundaries change in response to the extent and speed of its internal transportation. Its essential characteristic, as it was in the city, is accessibility to a wide choice of jobs and social, service and recreational facilities. The metropolis, therefore, extends no farther than 45 minutes travel from the center by the most widely used means of transportation.

The workplaces which employ most of the people are large. Their workforces often fluctuate in number and skill characteristics. Workers often change jobs and occupations. All, or most, adults of working-class families work or seek jobs. The resulting mobility and social fluidity contrast sharply with the confinement and traditionalism of the earlier city. Finally, and most significantly, a process of specialization and division of labor separates and decentralizes linked economic activities over the metropolitan area, for the more production processes are performed in big volumes in special workplaces, the more efficient they become. Their efficiency, however, depends on easy access to their linked activities. Thus, while specialization distributes production spatially, it also concentrates it, making the metropolis a huge versatile complex of material and cultural production forces.

But the specialized activities do not scatter haphazardly over the metropolitan area. Rather, market forces tend to arrange them in a specific spatial pattern. Crowding, high demand for central city land and, consequently, escalated land prices, rents and taxes force some economic activities to move out of the center, while those able or forced to pay the high prices tend to stay.

Of all economic activities in the center, large manufacturing and warehousing, freed by trucks and highways from reliance on railroads and docks, were first to go. Indeed, to grow they had to leave the city. Automation, belt lines, standardized production and mechanized stacking required large floor areas in one-story plants which the central city could not provide. Such enterprises moved mostly to suburbs and to satellite towns beyond them. Even small firms producing standardized products, free to locate elsewhere in the metropolis or beyond, have been moving out. In the central cities, therefore, the number of in-

dustrial jobs and workers have been steadily shrinking.

Who, then, are the high bidders who stay?

They fall into three groups: Those who draw the highest profit per unit of space; those who depend on daily communication with linked activities; and those whom the law of polarity commands to be accessible to clients from all sides. Some fall into more than one of these groups. Let us examine each separately.

Of all economic enterprises in the modern capitalist metropolis, banks and big corporations draw the highest profits and both require central locations. Accordingly, banks, monopolies' headquarters and auxiliary high-profit companies predominantly occupy central business districts.

Yet despite congestion and the high cost of space, such districts also host large numbers of small, low-profit production and business firms. Why? Because small specialized enterprises, whose output varies in both form and volume, depend on direct daily communication with buyers, sellers and various specialized services. Such enterprises must stay in the center for two reasons: they must be close to their market and to each other, and they must hold down the cost of uncertainty due to changing product styles and variable production volumes. They survive in their high-cost environment by keeping their operations relatively small and using specialized subcontractors and suppliers when needed. They also depend on the central city's external economies of scale made possible by its extensive infrastructure and large pool of labor skills.

Finally, enterprises or institutions serving the entire metropolis and other regions—government agencies, press, broadcasters and central political, educational, cultural, health or labor institutions—must locate in the center to be accessible to those they must reach or who must reach them from every side in the metropolis and beyond.

### Effects on Population Settlement

Made mobile by the automobile, some working-class people, too, began to leave the central city. Some followed industrial and commercial jobs to their new peripheral locations, but many moved to suburbs for other reasons as well. Quite

apart from such dispersive stimulants as racism and federal subsidies for suburban development, much outward migration has been rational. Outlying metropolitan areas simply offer safer and healthier environments for child rearing than cities do. Many families, however, remain living in central cities despite their poorer housing, high rents and tensions. Why?

Urban scholars observe that, like the distribution of economic activities, metropolitan distribution of working-class population "is subject to the same law of polarity as that which governs the relation of production and marketing of a community. Dispersed places of production require a central market; dispersed markets can be served only from a central point of production or distribution.... Similarly, the white collar workers who can find a market for their skills exclusively in the business center may choose their residence at any place on the outskirts from which they can commute; but the families of unskilled workers, in which several members sell their labor at frequently unsteady jobs anywhere at the outskirts as well as at the center, must seek a central location from which any part of the region can be reached." (Hans Blumenfeld, *The Modern Metropolis*, MIT Press, 1967, p. 45.)

Thus metropolitan populations tend to assume a typical distribution pattern. Industrial workers and some service workers tend to concentrate primarily in and around industrial satellite towns. Skilled and office workers, and most of the middle class, tend to commute to central business districts from sprawling suburbs. Unskilled workers, as well as many skilled and office workers preferring nearness to jobs and the central city's cultural facilities, racial minorities discriminated against in suburbs, and retirees, singles and childless couples tend to concentrate in central cities.

To these objective metropolitanization processes, monopoly capital reacted with typical short-sighted pragmatic responses. Moved by postwar political imperatives to quickly provide housing for millions of demobilized veterans catching up with delayed family formation, the federal government initiated massive small house and highway-building programs in metropolitan suburbs.

The racism which segregated non-white

minorities in central-city ghettos soon affected the migration from central cities to suburbs. Real-estate instigated the flight of whites from rural non-whites entering central cities. What might have been a normal and gradual population expansion to the metropolitan fringes, real-estate-fomented racism turned into a panic-ridden stampede. Frightened whites headed for a "haven" in politically independent all-white suburbs.

The exodus of taxpaying firms and citizens lowered central-city municipal revenues while municipal costs climbed steeply to provide needed services for large numbers of unemployed and low-income newcomers. To this the ruling class responded with "urban renewal," bulldozing poor neighborhoods and their people to make room for new luxury housing and commercial buildings, ostensibly to attract back to the central city those who had fled to the suburbs.

Inevitably, these urban policies sharpened old contradictions. They increased unemployment, misery and despair among the poor. The masses of rural newcomers arrived in central cities as simple manufacturing jobs were leaving them. And the new jobs the central cities generated in their increasingly high-skill activities demanded education levels the newcomers lacked and were given little opportunity to acquire. For the ruling class found it more profitable to "brain-drain" other areas of the country and the world than to upgrade the skill levels of the local labor force. Thus central cities hosted growing numbers of poor and "unemployables" and became incubators of social evils.

Outside the central cities, frenzied suburbanization, enormously profitable to the ruling class, ran up appalling social costs. Small house development greatly increased energy consumption. Unscrupulous developers destroyed farmlands, forests and water resources. Each of the dispersed small suburbs was forced to provide its own infrastructures, wastefully replicating other suburbs' efforts. Often, when the cost was beyond it, a new community wound up with low sanitary standards and poor public services.

The social costs of haphazard suburban development had their parallel political costs. Suburban homeowners, cut off from the central city's diversity of people and intellectual, cultural and politi-

cal stimulation, became smug, narrow-minded and indifferent to the problems of the greater metropolis. Suburban homeowner "politicos" focused on petty concerns over property, local municipal services and on cultivating market-value-enhancing neighborhood status.

### **Direct Effects on the Working Class**

Bourgeois urban scholars have exulted over suburbanization for its having taken the edge off some of capitalism's acute postwar political problems. Providing private homes for many working-class families, they boasted, weakened political pressure for public housing. Giving millions of working-class homeowners a false sense of a stake in the system, it weakened their class consciousness. And thinning the central-city concentration of workers through metropolitan dispersal lowered working-class fighting ability.

Admittedly, suburbanization won for the ruling-class some temporary fringe benefits. It is more difficult to organize dispersed workers, rally them to meetings, picket lines and demonstrations, and foster their class consciousness and fighting spirit. Isolation of suburban working-class families, physical and psychological, from progressive currents in the central city's intense political life left them exposed to unchallenged bourgeois indoctrination by reactionary local politicians and the mass communication media.

Whatever unifying influences the compact central city has had over the several sectors of the working class, especially between physical and mental workers, have been diluted in the sprawl of the suburbs. Distance, itself a social separator, has found help in the political structure of suburbia. Small suburbs have tended to accentuate and exaggerate the differences and obscure the common class interests. In balkanized suburbia, various working-class sectors have tended to create social environments and lifestyles peculiar to themselves and to maintain their separateness in their own politically independent communities.

Disunity always weakens the working class. In the modern metropolis, however, unity between production and non-production workers gains new significance. For while in the early stage of urbanization city growth responded to industrialization, metropolitan growth answers to re-



volutionary changes in science and technology. Along with material production of goods, non-material production in science, technology and the arts, education, communication, health, transportation, trade, management and administration increasingly influence urban social and spatial development. In modern metropolises increasing proportions of the working class work with their minds rather than their hands.

In sum, the modern metropolis presents the working class with economic, social and political realities different from those it faced in the old city. Growing complexity of jobs intellectualizes labor, requires frequent changing or upgrading of skills, and increases job mobility. Occupational differentiation and spatial dispersion weaken family, neighborhood and class ties. Long travel distances between homes, jobs and social facilities drain more time, money and personal energy. Diminishing employment opportunities for unskilled, poorly educated workers widen the gap between the skilled and unskilled, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized sectors of the working class. Swelling ranks of permanently unemployed youth form large alienated groups the ruling class can manipulate against the working class through its organized crime and armed forces. A bewildering, fragmented and reactionary urban political structure confounds working-class political responses. All this tends to weaken the working class in the modern metropolis in its struggle against its class adversary.

Yet, its organizational forms and tactics at the local level—union, community, fraternal and political—remain little changed since their origin in the earlier city. Three questions arise: Are the old forms and tactics of organization still valid, considering the established state, county and municipal setup? Or are they invalid and in need of change, considering the economic unity and new living conditions of metropolises which overlap established political boundaries? Or should they be, possibly, modified to fit both? Which course would maximize the effectiveness of the working class in its class struggle at the metropolitan level?

These questions, it seems, merit a thoughtful discussion which the following observations intend to kick off. What we know about the met-

ropolis suggests that the *metropolis* rather than the *city* or *county* should be the local territorial base of working-class organization.

Although its vanguard may live in central cities, the working class increasingly resides in the suburbs. Political scientists Bollens and Schmandt cite "a survey of AFL-CIO members made by the Committee on Political Education (COPE) in 1967 [which] found that almost half of those polled lived outside the central city, and of those under 40 years of age nearly three-quarters were suburbanites." (*The Metropolis: Its People, Politics and Economic Life*, 1975, p. 52.) The trend is confirmed by 1976 Bureau of Labor Statistics data which show 30 per cent of all employed living in central cities, 40 per cent living in suburbs and 30 per cent living outside of metropolitan areas.

True, dispersal over sprawling metropolises makes organizing and education more difficult. But standing strong in central cities and weak in the suburbs, the working class can do little better than a tree trunk most of whose limbs are lopped off. Precisely because of the metropolises' divisive influences, achieving working-class unity requires greater efforts. New forms and methods of organizing must adapt to the forms the class itself has taken socially and spatially.

### Examining Some Specifics

In the overall strategy of the class struggle, organizing and educating the sectors of the working class employed in strategically decisive production has commanded and must continue to command the highest priority. Clearly, they constitute the front lines in the class struggle. Organizing and educating workers in politically less decisive positions—the second and farther battle lines, so to speak—has traditionally received secondary attention. Organizing and educating the reserves in the rear has received even less effort. And educating and organizing at the residential, or community, level—the home front, as it were—has received little, if any, attention.

This worked tolerably well in the days of the compact city, when a simpler economic, social and spatial structure, high concentrations of production and workers, and less sophisticated ideological tools in the hands of the ruling class gave the working class relatively better positions on the

class battlefield than it holds today. Quite apart from other unfavorable objective conditions, the weakened positions suggest inadequate intelligence about the terrain of the new theater of operations and underestimation of the new relative importance of rear lines, reserves, allies, and the home front. Indeed, the weaker positions and inadequate intelligence are dialectically related. One feeds upon the other.

In the modern metropolis, production workers come under heavier and more telling bourgeois ideological bombardment than in the days of the city. The ruling class follows up its television and radio saturation air bombing with close-range sniping in the community and home. There it uses friends and members of working-class families employed elsewhere in the metropolis in occupations more vulnerable to bourgeois indoctrination as involuntary carriers of anti-working class ideas.

Class consciousness within working-class homes can be raised only through organizing and educating among all sectors of the metropolitan working class around their specific class struggle issues on the job and in their communities. Some local issues are unique to each metropolitan community and must be recognized and dealt with locally. Others are common to all metropolitan areas. For example, for millions of workers, suburban home ownership is saddled with high mortgage interest rates and real estate taxes and poor municipal services. These hardships working-class homeowners share with renters, whose high rents are due largely to high mortgage interest and taxes. Thus all sectors of the working class and its potential allies in the middle class suffer the tyranny of banks and ruling-class urban policy.

A working-class stand on these and other, specifically local, issues—like the senseless costly proliferation of small governments and self-serving petty political machines in suburbia—could raise progressive political effectiveness in local election campaigns. Local electoral successes, in turn, could not fail to have tonic effects on working-class political consciousness and morale on both the fighting and home fronts.

In the modern metropolis working-class leadership faces the challenge of making up the loss of workers in thinned-out central cities by uniting the far larger working-class masses inhabiting the metropolis. It must enlarge the scope of local organizations to embrace the de facto metropolitan unity of central city and suburb within the metropolis. Metropolitan working-class leadership must get to know the metropolis in all its complexity—its geography, its distribution of economic activities and people, its public transportation and highway systems, its peculiarities of government and political structure, and its local working-class problems. Above all, it must get to know its versatile, multisector, multinational, multiracial metropolitan working class and find how each of its parts may contribute its unique gifts to the class struggle of the whole. It must then formulate struggle tactics accordingly.

The central cities, however, must remain the executive center of metropolis-wide working-class organizations, for three reasons. First, because they continue to concentrate organized masses that can respond quickly to calls for mass action. Second, because central working-class leadership must stay in central cities for much the same reasons that other administrative activities continue to locate there. Like them, it requires face-to-face communication with other central-city based labor and people's organization and with business, political and governmental representatives. Like them, it needs quick access to various central information sources and to the many specialized legal, editorial, publishing, printing and distribution services. Third, the same law of polarity which governs the relationship of production and marketing of commodities applies to servicing organized workers. The dispersed working class can be unified only from a central seat. Its leadership must operate from a central location from which any part of the metropolis can be most easily reached.

Ably applying the work of urban scholars studying the modern metropolis, the working class can repel the divisive moves of the ruling class, beating it at its own game.

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