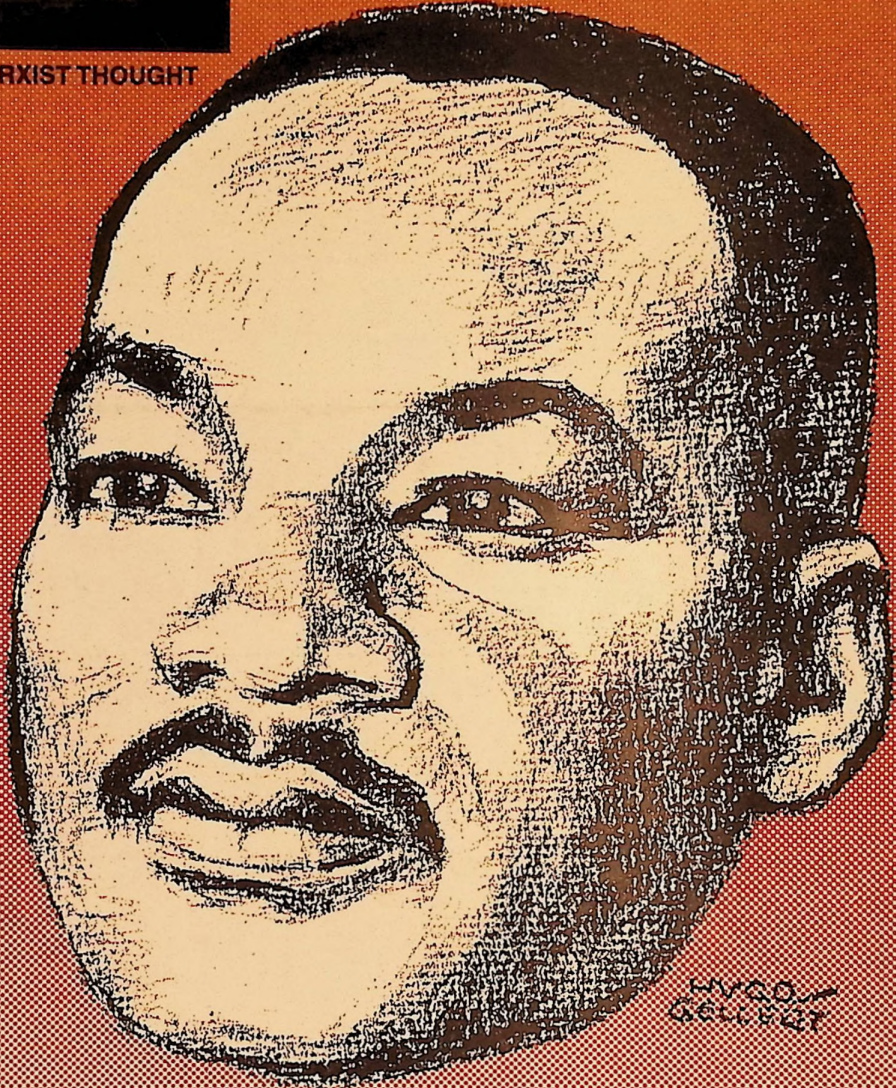


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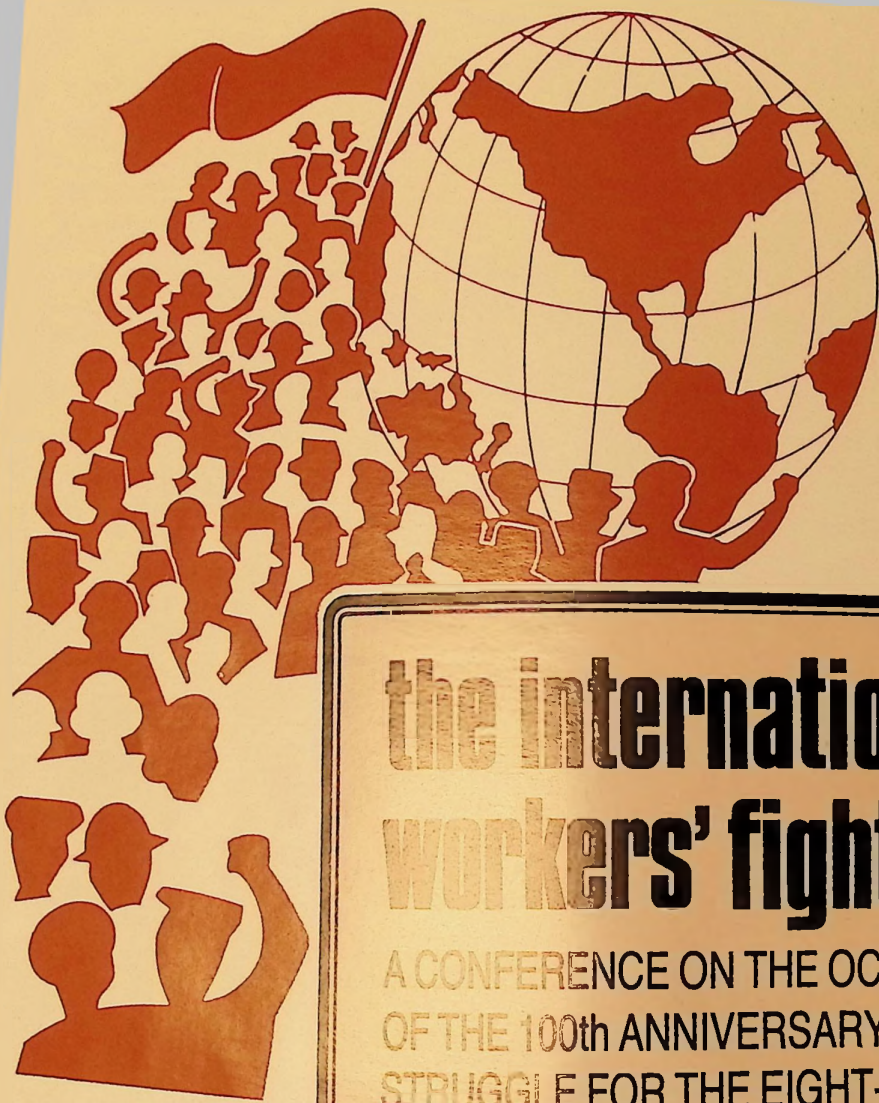
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The Robot Takeover: What's in It For Workers and Corporations?

GUS HALL

Frederick Engels, the genius of the theory of sciences, observed,

The acceleration in the rate of the development of science, so to say, is in proportion to the square of the distance (in terms of time) from its point of departure.

And he added,

But science grows with at least the same rate as population—population grows to the size of the latest generation, while science advances in proportion to the mass of knowledge inherited from the preceding population. Consequently, in most usual conditions, it also grows in geometrical proportions.

It is impossible to discuss the effects of new technology without some reference to science because technology is a fast-changing and developing science. It is daily presenting new problems, both long-term and short-term.

High technology is related to production, jobs and corporate profits, corporate mega-mergers and capital investments. To keep abreast of many questions in the field of economics, science, politics and international affairs it is necessary to know the state of the art, the level of technology—industry by industry.

With each new generation of technology, solutions to the new problems that arise are more and more difficult to come by. Even from this viewpoint, we have to stay on top of these quick-paced developments.

As incredible as it seems, today with all the new technology, the fact is that high technology has reached only the foothills of the technological mountain it will climb. To this point, the climb has been the easiest and least costly part of the trip. It is, in a sense, the beginners' slope we are practicing on.

In spite of this, many of the climbers have already dropped out; some because they didn't have the necessary equipment or had the wrong

kind of equipment, and others simply ran out of gas. The chips and robots are now poised to start climbing the more difficult slopes of the high technology mountain.

But to do this they need more sophisticated equipment and huge sums of capital. They now need equipment that can feel, hear, see and carry out more complicated calculations at the speed of sound. They need equipment that can climb by itself, as well as equipment whose separate units can relate to each other and climb as a team. In fact, climbing alone is becoming almost impossible. This is a whole new level of supersophisticated equipment. One of the main reasons for its incredibly high cost is the requirement that the pieces of equipment inter-relate and work together. And do so without the direct touch of the human hand.

The history and success of the microchip—which is the brain and nerve center of the new high technology—is measured by how many, how fast and how small, i.e., how many messages and how fast it can transmit them in the smallest possible area.

The circuits in the new generation of chips, in depth, width and height, are about 1/25,000th of an inch and must handle hundreds of thousands of messages in no time. Each new generation is smaller, faster and can handle more messages.

The power source for the new microchips will be photons, the light particles. Thus, the new chips will be measuring transmissions at the speed of light. This calls on science to probe new laws of nature and come up with appropriate scientific knowledge.

Some new problems are cropping up that are affecting the application of high technology.

There is a new law of microchips that is now generally accepted: the smaller the chip, the more factory defects, the more breakdowns and the faster the chip wears out.

And as the chip gets smaller the testing be

Gus Hall is general secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

comes a more difficult process. There must be factory inspection. This has become a bigger and bigger problem. For example, the testing, replacing and repairing of a 50 cent chip can run up to \$100,000. This, of course, is prohibitive especially for small outfits.

Chips are getting so small and the insulation that separates the lines of transmission so thin, that the production process itself damages the chips. Thus, the production process also becomes more difficult.

One of the solutions in the offing is the production of the silicon crystal materials in outer space. But again, this is out of reach for most countries and for most private corporations.

But there is no process by which each chip can be guaranteed against flaws in production even by the most sophisticated testing.

This is one major reason why the so-called Star Wars Shield can never work. It is impossible to guarantee even with inspection and testing. And Star Wars will require millions of these microchips. If only one chip fails the whole system collapses. There is no fully trustworthy chip, and the likelihood of coming up with one is almost zero because as technology develops, chips become even more difficult to guarantee.

They try to get around this by saying they will build a number of separate sections and hook them together to make one shield. More and more scientists are in agreement that the whole project is fatally flawed. The space shuttle has been grounded a number of times because a single chip was flawed.

Another problem with microchips is the fact that when objects become minuscule we lose the ability to examine them without distorting them in the process.

In addition, the life span of so small an object is like the blinking of an eye.

These are new problems in the technology, in the production and testing of microchips.

Profitability limits investment in high tech

The state of the art in microchips today raises many new questions about high technology and capitalism.

Is there a limit to how much capital can be invested on high technology and still remain

cost effective, i.e., still remain profitable, even for megacorporations? This is a real question.

The evidence is that there is a point of no return, or not enough returns, for the monopolies, at least in some industries. This is one of the reasons why the transition to high tech has slowed down in some basic industries.

For example, even a small high tech material handling system in warehouses runs in the area of \$30 million. There are only 90 such systems in the United States, out hundreds of thousands of such systems where high tech could be used.

There are problems even when high tech is used for inspection jobs. It is not easy to construct a robot-size system for inspection because the system must be programmed with a perfect model so the computer can compare and identify a defect—a difference from the model. To perfect a highly sophisticated, complicated perfect model is also extremely expensive.

To set up a factory run by robots it is necessary to redesign the factory, the manufacturing process and the product itself, including all of the parts. In the old factories the ordinary manufacturing process and the old shape and size of parts can not be used. Retooling runs into big capital. In existing factories, with old processes and parts, it is only possible to install robots to do some operations. This is the most widely accepted practice in U.S. factories today.

Monopoly capital agrees that this is not where the biggest profits are. The biggest are in totally robot-operated factories. This is much more expensive but also where the big bucks are.

For example, IBM has one of these new robot-operated factories. They have designed a new typewriter. Each part was designed so that robots can handle it.

Another, Caterpillar Corporation, just invested \$600 million in high tech. With this investment, they eliminated 20,000 jobs out of some 60,000. This, of course, is good for business and bad for workers. And these 20,000 are not being retrained for new jobs. They are just simply thrown out.

These new high tech problems raise many other new questions.

Some long-range effects and side effects

For example, can high tech be cost effective in low-wage countries? If not, will the multinationals push high tech in these countries?

I don't think so. They will not invest capital for high tech to compete with low wages.

Or, will the transition to high tech production continue without much greater government investment?

I don't think so. The demand by corporations is not only for government cash for research but capital for construction and the new high tech equipment.

Or, what effect are these developments having on further monopolization? Will they speed up the process?

I think so. The megamergers are related to high tech. High tech in Star Wars and production of robots was involved in both the GM takeover of Hughes Aircraft and the merger of GE and RCA.

Will high tech effect state monopoly relationships? I think so. The relationship between the state and monopoly capital will get closer, more intertwined. The megacorporations will increase their grip on both the political and the economic structure. And the state will become much more involved in high technology investment and application. It will more and more become a source of capital for research and construction.

Will high tech effect long-range unemployment? I think so. It will increase. There will be many other Caterpillar Corporations.

During the last ten years, employment has increased in the service and communication sectors. Will this continue?

I don't think so. High tech is moving in fast on these jobs now. To this point the service and communication sectors have been expanding. But now, increasingly, high tech is taking over jobs from paper work, to inventories, to book-keeping, to communications.

Can there be so-called reindustrialization projects without dealing with the new problems of the new level of miniaturized computer microchips and robotic developments?

I don't think so. It is not possible to go back

to "the good old chipless days" in any industry. Everyone has to deal with the new level as an ongoing technological revolution. This is becoming a decisive factor in all areas of state monopoly capitalism.

Is there a relationship between the structural crisis and high tech?

Very much so. The new technology has speeded up and deepened the structural crisis. It has made it more difficult for the economy to crawl out of it. On the other hand, the structural crisis has slowed down the application of the new technology. This is so in the steel industry, in machine building, ship building and many other industries.

This has resulted in an uneven development process. Some industries have moved ahead. The unevenness also shows up within industries. The more monopolized corporations have moved faster.

Is high tech an important factor in the emergence of the Japanese-U.S. global syndicates?

Yes. Japan uses high technology as capital in its negotiations for joint ventures. This will become even more evident because in many areas Japan is winning the microchip war. It is becoming more dominant. For the present, Silicon Valley is a victim of this process.

This is not a temporary, cyclical phenomenon. I don't think there are any new factories today without the input of Japanese high tech. Thus, areas like Silicon Valley will continue to decline. It will be a depressed area for the foreseeable future.

High tech is increasingly becoming a factor in the monopolization of industries. As the cost goes up and as a side effect, smaller companies become feudal, low-wage satellites to high tech industries, as in Japan.

High tech has an increasing effect on the role of finance capital. The increasing costs are the cause of relatively high interest rates.

It has an increasing effect on state-monopoly-capitalist relationships, because of the increasing need for government financing.

And, above all else, it has an effect on the class relationship, on the class struggle. It gives a whole new quality to speedup in production.

It gives a new meaning to higher rates of exploitation, to higher profits per worker.

It gives a new meaning to the question of alienation, the relationship of the worker to production. Instead of workers running machines, there is a growing feeling that the machines are running the workers. The workers have less and less control over the work process.

In the process, workers have become computerized. They are monitored by the computer every second of the eight hour day. They increasingly become an integral part of the computerized system. This creates a new level of dehumanization of the workplace. It is alienation of a deeper kind.

It changes the role of secondary management and white collar workers. It eliminates many of these jobs and in this process it changes the class status of these people.

Will robots become more and more human, with a human-like brain? This is not possible simply because science knows relatively little about how the human brain works.

Competition between the two systems

How does high tech affect the competition between the two world social systems, socialism and capitalism?

One can say that the socialist countries have been comparatively slow in applying high technology. This is not explained by any lack of scientists, engineers, technicians or know-how. They have all the prerequisites. In fact, Soviet scientists developed cybernetics, which is the basis of high technology.

It is a generally accepted fact that the Soviet Union has more technical and technological ideas than any other nation. Soviet inventions are used all over the world, including many in the United States.

Their slowness in application of high tech is caused by other factors. Apparently some in the socialist countries held to the idea that they had to first build a powerful basic industrial base before going into high tech. There is much to be said for this. The Soviet Union had to develop new regions, build more factories and plants, create whole new industrial sectors and build the huge industrial foundation. This included

the rebuilding of the regions destroyed by the Nazi hordes.

Now the Soviet Union has created a vast production, scientific and technological potential on which the new concept of all-around intensive development is based.

Another explanation is that there was no burning necessity for high tech because the socialist countries, including the USSR, have seemingly unlimited resources, including human reserves.

It is possible that there were some concepts that spontaneity would take care of scientific matters, i.e., that science would develop without a struggle for it. This has now been changing very fast. The vast, widespread use of computers even in grade school is evidence of this change.

In the socialist countries, the drive for high tech is related to increasing labor productivity and the drive to end waste of materials.

In the competition between the two systems, socialism can not fully overtake capitalism in production, in labor productivity, in standard of living, in overall quality of life, in becoming a world showcase of socialism, without a full-scale, all-out development of high tech—computers, microchips, robots, fusion energy, etc.

Also, under socialism there are no negative social consequences from high tech. There are job changes, retraining programs, but no big problems of displacing people and creating unemployment. The source of capital for high tech is not dependent on private corporations, as it is under capitalism.

For this and other reasons, I think the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are in the first stage of a qualitative leap and high tech is a big factor.

In other capitalist countries, like England, West Germany and France, high technology is an even slower process. Pentagon awards of Star Wars contracts, as in England and West Germany, has become a method of "buying" their technological know-how. But the application is slower.

Of course this greatly affects the uneven development of capitalism. Outside of mini-mills, the steel industry is not on a high techno-

logical level in the U.S. Basic steel was the most advanced U.S. industry. Now it is twenty-five years behind most countries that produce steel.

Uneven development in the imperialist countries will be a big factor for a long time. Countries that move more into high technology will gain advantages over those which do not. It is a powerful factor and it will continue to influence most areas of the world.

On the other hand, Japan early understood the need for high technology because of its limited natural resources. Japan early took to picking up every idea in every area of the world. It had a policy of picking up these ideas, bringing them home and developing them.

There is no evidence, no sign, that the gap between the U.S. and Japan is narrowing. In fact, the trade gap is increasing.

Star Wars is an obstacle to high tech because of its immense size. It is bigger than any project in the last 50 years, including the moon project. Seventy five per cent of all research funds and 20 per cent of all investment capital goes into Star Wars projects.

Star Wars soaks up six times more scientists and engineers than any other industry.

There is a general consensus that nonmilitary spinoffs from the developments in Star Wars projects will not be as useful as those from such projects as the moon missions. Star Wars does not produce that kind of technology.

The fact is that most corporations are not working on a shield. In these areas there will be technological development that can be used for other military applications.

Reagan has the illusory idea of a non-nuclear shield that can provide 100 per cent protection. The big corporations and most others do not have this illusion and aren't working on this concept. Even scientists working on Star Wars projects don't believe in it. Many outfits are working on miniaturized offensive weapons in space.

If passed, the new tax bill will affect high technology. The sharp drop in depreciation allowances will effect the amount of money available for research and production.

Historic framework for high tech

Capitalism can't do without it, it can't do with it and capitalism can't stop it. And capitalism can't go back to the old days and ways.

In a sense, the chips and robots are more and more becoming the modern-day sophisticated gravediggers of capitalism.

The process of the development and application of high technology keeps raising problems that capitalism has more and more difficulties with:

Many of the corporate debts are chip and robot debts.

Chips and robots are good producers, but very poor consumers.

The problem of robots arose at the recent AFL-CIO convention. They didn't come up with good answers. But neither have we. But we have to come up with some soon. For example, how to deal with the 20,000 jobs lost at Caterpillar? Or the 20 million long-term unemployed? What kind of demands and contract clauses can unions begin to fight for to alleviate the negative effects of high tech on workers?

Of course, the real future of chips and robots is in outer space. The future generation of chips will actually be produced in outer space, without the interference of gravity and the earth's dust. Some crystals are already being produced in outer space by the Soviet Union. It is the wave of the future.

However, at today's state of the art, we have to look for bold, far-reaching ideas in order to alleviate the effects of high technology on the working class in capitalist countries. In order to come up with new tactics, new solutions, new ideas, we have to become experts in high technology and how it affects industries, the economy, politics and international affairs.

We Marxist-Leninists must not lag behind the times on this question. We have the tools, the equipment and the materials to catch up and stay up-to-date on high technology. Without the necessary up-to-date knowledge we can't develop the appropriate tactics to help the working class deal with high technology. □

South Africa and the Reagan Factor

HENRY WINSTON

As the Black majority in South Africa intensifies its momentous struggle for national liberation, an ever-sharper crisis of existence is created for white-minority rule. In their efforts to contend with this deepening crisis, Pretoria and Washington have made a coordinated series of counter-moves.

One of these was the formation by Secretary of State George Shultz, in late 1985, of the Advisory Committee on South Africa. The official function of this 12-member committee—which was selected from the corporate sector, the labor movement, academia and former government figures—is to prepare a report on South Africa to be ready in one year. But the actual function of the committee has little to do with producing an advisory report. Its real function is to create the appearance of consensus around policy decisions already made by the Reagan Administration and its partner in “constructive engagement,” the Botha government.

These joint policy decisions—which place Washington ever more aggressively on the side of white minority rule—were made by U.S. and South African government and corporate figures. They were first made public in September 1985, when 91 leaders of South Africa’s major corporations placed a full-page ad in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*. A few weeks later, the U.S. Corporate Council on South Africa—consisting of the heads of such transnationals as General Motors, IBM, Citicorp, Mobil, Union Carbide, Exxon and duPont—reproduced the ad, headlined “There Is A Better Way,” in the *New York Times*, with their own message affixed to it:

Today, we add our voices to theirs.

The U.S. Corporate Council on South Africa strongly supports the ideas and initiatives of this group of responsible businessmen.

We pledge to play an active role in peacefully achieving their goals.

Thus these U.S. corporate leaders—with the backing of the Reagan Administration, join their South African counterparts in declaring that *there is a better way* than the way advanced by the African National Congress in its Freedom Charter, the historic proclamation that has the overwhelming support of the courageous Black majority fighting to end white minority rule.

At the same time that the U.S. corporate powers publicly endorse the goals of the South African corporate powers, they offer their assurance that these goals are to be “peacefully” achieved. But this effort to replace the goals of the Black majority—as defined in the Freedom Charter—with the goals of the racist white minority rulers can by no stretch of the imagination be construed as peaceful. On the contrary, it is a virtual declaration of war against the goals of the Black majority.

Schultz would “reform” apartheid rule

According to Shultz, the Advisory Committee will “render its advice on how U.S. policy can effectively promote equal rights in South Africa, and an end to apartheid.” Shultz’s pronouncement of “equal rights” as a goal in South Africa is a measure of his demagoguery. At home, where equal rights is a central issue, the Administration is doing all it can to make the political and socioeconomic conditions of Afro-Americans more and more unequal. But in South Africa—where the goal is Black majority rule—Shultz calls for equal rights. By substituting this false goal for the real one, Shultz seeks to perpetuate, not end, apartheid-minority rule.

By linking “equal rights” to an end to apartheid, Shultz is saying that the apartheid system can be reformed. This same position was expressed by the corporate leaders, who speak in their ads of a “reform process.” But apartheid can not be reformed. There is no solution to the crisis of the apartheid system outside a solution

Henry Winston in national chairperson of the CPUSA.

to the issue of power. It is this issue that the Administration and the corporate leaders seek to camouflage with rhetoric.

For example, in elaborating on their claim that "there is a better way," the corporate heads speak of "negotiating with acknowledged Black leaders about power sharing." But the issue in South Africa is not "power sharing" but a *power shift*: a shift from white minority rule to Black majority rule based on one-person, one-vote in a unitary, nonracial state.

By speaking of negotiating with "acknowledged Black leaders" around the issue of "power sharing," these corporate leaders make it evident that those they acknowledge as "leaders" are in reality quislings. Those whom the Black majority acknowledge as their leaders—the leaders of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the great new Congress of South African Trade Unions—have made it clear that apartheid and white minority rule are not two separate phenomena but an indivisible entity. It is because of this indivisibility that apartheid can not be ended by "power sharing," but only by a shift in power from the white minority to the Black majority.

At the same time, the Black majority as a whole have made it evident that they recognize "power sharing" as a divisive formula whose purpose is to preserve white minority rule. It was, in fact, the introduction of so-called tricameral representation within the apartheid state—a move hailed by Pretoria and Washington as a step toward "power sharing"—that sparked the present ever-sharpening confrontation.

Colonialism of a Special Type

At the heart of the struggles giving rise to a broad alliance of the oppressed of South Africa is the partnership between the ANC and the South African Communist Party. These patriotic partners have long championed the strategy calling for a shift of power from the white minority to the Black majority. This strategy—which is accepted by the broad front for national

liberation—is based on an analysis that sees apartheid as a system of relations based on both monopoly capitalism and colonial oppression of a special type. In this colonialism of a special kind, the dominant oppressor is not based outside the country but within it.

South Africa's white minority rulers and monopolists, together with their imperialist partners in the West, totally control the human and material resources in a developed capitalist economy with the world's highest rate of exploitation and profit. The white minority also occupies all of the arable land, that is, 87 per cent of the total.

This colonialism of a special kind attained its full development within the context of South Africa's increasing importance to U.S. imperialism and its allies after the defeat of the Axis powers in World War II and the consequent opening of a new era of advance for socialism and national liberation.

U.S. imperialism's long record of involvement with the apartheid regime was greatly intensified with the advent of the Reaganites' policy of "constructive engagement." Commenting on the underpinnings of this policy, Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, declared that there is a "reciprocal relationship" between the United States and South Africa "based on shared concerns in Southern Africa" (*TransAfrica News*, August 1981.)

It is the special features of apartheid South Africa that form the basis for its "reciprocal relationship" and "shared concerns" with the Reaganites. In fact, the very features that account for this reciprocal relationship developed as a result of shared concerns with world imperialism.

These concerns came to the fore after Winston Churchill, speaking in Fulton, Missouri, just after World War II, declared a "crusade against Communism." This declaration, which became known as the Churchill-Truman doctrine—and whose real purpose was to roll back national liberation and social progress—received its most immediate response from those forces in South Africa that had supported Hitler. It was this response—within the context of

colonialism of a special kind—that ushered in full-blown apartheid and the Suppression of Communism Act, that is, ushered in apartheid fascism.

“Reforms” and “power sharing” have never ended colonial oppression anywhere, nor will they ever do so. This fact is illustrated with particular vividness in South Africa, where colonialism of a special kind profoundly intensifies the economic, social and political contradictions that generate anticolonial struggles as a whole.

Rhetorical maneuvers to derail the struggle

That the use of such terms as “reform” and “power sharing” is a rhetorical maneuver designed to derail the liberation struggle is dramatically illustrated by the recent remarks of Gavin Relly, chief lieutenant to Harry Oppenheimer, head of Anglo American Corporation and South Africa’s most powerful magnate. Relly—who, along with Oppenheimer, signed the ad calling for “reform” and “power sharing”—declared that “I don’t believe in final solutions.” Echoing an idea expressed earlier by Oppenheimer, Relly went on to say that he prefers a “state of permanent transition.” Obviously, the final solution that he and Oppenheimer wish to avoid by “permanent transition” is the end of white minority rule. The same wish was also expressed, in only slightly different words, by Chester Crocker. Objecting to an approach that focuses on an “ultimate goal,” he advocated one that concentrates instead on the “process of getting there.”

As is evident from the foregoing, the supposedly liberal Oppenheimer—far from offering an alternative policy—supports the Botha-Reagan strategy. In fact, while he calls for “reform,” he voices opposition as strong as Botha’s to the ANC demand for “one-person, one-vote.”

In the past few months, the apartheid regime—which is supposedly subject to reform—has murdered more than 1000 children, youth, women and men. It has done so rather than agree to any of the Black majority’s immediate demands.

There is, it must be stressed, a fundamental difference between these demands and imperialism’s diversionary call for “reform.” If the Black majority succeeded in winning any of their immediate demands, in whole or in part, and in enforcing such a victory through their united strength, this would advance the struggle to end white minority rule.

It appears, however, that the Washington-Pretoria policies, supported by the Oppenheimers of South Africa and their U.S. counterparts, have brought matters to the point where if even such an elementary democratic right as “one-person, one-vote” is to be won, it will be necessary first to replace white minority rule with Black majority rule.

Shultz’s “vision” is blind to the ANC

In another remark that reveals the racist essence of “constructive engagement,” Shultz declared that “the next months will reveal whether the South African government can muster the vision and bold leadership that will be required to move from confrontation to negotiation and a new constitutional order deriving its strength from the consent of the governed.” Thus, according to Shultz, it is not the ANC and its leaders—leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo—who can provide vision and leadership, but the apartheid rulers.

Clearly, it is impossible to move from confrontation to negotiation on the racist, imperialist terms proposed by Shultz—who demands no less than that the Black majority surrender their inalienable right to national self-determination and that their oppressors, who were once partners of the Nazis and who now perpetuate Nazi ideology and practices in South Africa, “share” in determining South Africa’s future.

To speak of involving the racist white rulers in “negotiation” to form a new “constitutional order” is to act from a position that is being upheld by imperialist violence—violence that has been unleashed to prevent the oppressed majority, led by the ANC, from determining—without interference from U.S. imperialism or

its partners in Pretoria—their own national future on the basis of a nonracial, unitary constitutional order that they themselves establish.

Shultz, rather than projecting a vision, is evidently entertaining a fantasy—the notion that a variant of the betrayal of Reconstruction a century ago, which perpetuated the oppression of Blacks in the U.S. in new forms, can be transplanted to preserve white minority domination in South Africa. However, the answer the heroic freedom fighters are giving Shultz is bound to remind him that the crisis of apartheid rule is not taking place during the rise of capitalism, but instead in the era of its decline and general crisis on one hand, and on the other, of the world transition to national liberation and socialism.

Schultz and Kissinger provide a deadly parallel

There is a deadly parallel between the role of Shultz's Advisory Committee on South Africa and that of the Kissinger Commission on Central America. The formation of the Kissinger Commission coincided with the mounting of U.S. military intervention, covert and overt, against the national liberation struggles in Central America—and in particular with the intensification of Washington's violent efforts to destroy Nicaragua's newly-won independence and its social progress.

The establishment of the Shultz Committee not only coincides with the Reaganites' increasing support to the internal war Pretoria is waging against the Black majority's freedom struggles. It is also geared to the Reaganites' drive to provide ever-greater funds for military aid to the contra forces that they and Pretoria have created—the proxy armies that are waging terrorist wars against Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho and against the Namibian liberation struggle. Through these efforts to destabilize the front-line states, Washington has yet another way of providing direct economic and military support to Pretoria.

In their ads, the U.S. and South African corporate leaders declare their opposition to

“violence as a means of achieving change.” However, behind this rhetorical camouflage, they support the Washington-Pretoria strategy to *prevent* change by escalating violence inside South Africa, and to violently *turn back* change in the front-line states.

In a recent comment on the nature of the support provided by Washington, Winnie Mandela declared that:

[the Reagan Administration] refuses any assistance to the true representatives of the people in this country, the African National Congress. We can only conclude from this that the American government is determined at all costs to maintain and support the racist white regime in South Africa.

Condemning the Administration's policy in regard to the front-line states, she added,

The South African regime continues with impunity to attack neighboring countries. The American Administration not only approves of this conduct but has now followed the examples set by the racist regime by giving aid to and receiving officially in Washington the bandit Savimbi.

To gain support at home for its two-front strategy—support to Pretoria's internal policies, accompanied by efforts to destabilize the front-line states—the Reaganites carry out a calculated deception. They try to make it appear that military aid to Savimbi has nothing to do with aid to the racist ruling class violence inside South Africa. Instead they insist that their support to Savimbi is to stop “Soviet and Cuban expansionism” in that region.

Thus Washington follows in the footsteps of Pretoria, which used the Suppression of Communism Act as the rationale for imposing apartheid fascism in South Africa. Today, of course, Pretoria continues to use anti-Soviet, anti-Communist justifications for escalating its assaults on the South African freedom struggles—and on the neighboring states that recognize the links between their own struggles to control their destinies and the liberation struggle in South Africa.

Reagan's Star Wars and South Africa

In late January 1986 Reagan told key Republican senators, in remarks paraphrased by the *New York Times*, that the "Soviet Union's perception of U.S. strength and resolve in the next year depended largely on Congressional moves involving aid to rebels in Nicaragua and Angola, as well as protection of the U.S. military buildup and support for spacebased missiles, popularly known as the 'Star Wars Program.'" The *Times* then quoted Reagan as declaring that the upcoming summit meeting in this country will be "directly affected by Gorbachev's perception of our global position and internal solidarity."

In true McCarthyite fashion, Reagan implies that the criterion for patriotism will be adherence to "internal solidarity" in support of Star Wars and the mercenary contras in Angola and Central America—a standard that, of course, classifies as unpatriotic the U.S. movements in solidarity with the struggle for Black majority rule in South Africa and the Central American struggles for liberation and national independence.

At the same time, Reagan converts the Soviet Union's solidarity with the anticolonial liberation struggles in Southern Africa and Central America into a "Soviet threat"—thus using this familiar fiction as the rationale for the Administration's stepped-up military support to Pretoria via its support of the Savimbi bandits, for its support to their counterparts in Nicaragua, and its escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Shortly before Reagan made these remarks, Mikhail Gorbachev commented on Washington's attempts to justify its opposition to arms control by linking arms control to events in Southern Africa and elsewhere.

The pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development. The noose of the trillion-dollar foreign debt, which is now strangling dozens of countries and entire continents, is a direct consequence of the arms

race.

The Soviet Union is opposed to making the implementation of disarmament measures dependent on the so-called regional conflicts. Behind this is both the unwillingness to follow the path of disarmament and the desire to impose upon sovereign nations what is alien to them and what would make it possible to maintain profoundly unfair conditions whereby some countries live at the expense of others, exploiting their natural, human and spiritual resources for the selfish imperial purposes of certain states or aggressive alliances.

As is made evident by Gorbachev's remarks, the Reagan Administration's blocking of disarmament allows U.S. imperialism to continue to build up weapons in support of its global and regional strategy. As applied to South Africa, this strategy helps to perpetuate conditions whereby the white-minority rulers and their partners in the West can continue to live at the expense of the Black majority. Thus the struggle of the Black majority demonstrates the indivisibility of the fight for peace and liberation.

The requirements of anti-apartheid solidarity

It is now imperative for the U.S. anti-apartheid movement to recognize that the goal of divestment alone does not correspond to the requirements of anti-apartheid solidarity. What is needed is comprehensive, total, mandatory sanctions against South Africa. And because military support to the contras in the front-line states is military support to Pretoria, the struggle for sanctions must include a demand for the end of aid to the Savimbi bandits and their counterparts in other frontline states.

Just as the struggle to end the armaments race must be extended to prevent militarization of outer space, the U.S. struggle against apartheid must be extended to include comprehensive, total, mandatory sanctions. Only in this way can we advance the fight to end Washington's "constructive engagement" with apartheid. □

The Journey of Martin Luther King, Jr.

JAMES E. JACKSON

The twentieth of January, 1986, is a legal "official" holiday, designated in the law of the land as "Martin Luther King, Jr., Day." The enactment into law of this memorial national holiday was the culmination of a five-year struggle for the just recognition of the man and the noble cause of securing the equality of the Afro-American people to which he gave heroic leadership, alongside his devotion to the cause of peace and justice. This is an occasion to memorialize the rather short public life of a very significant personality of our times, the remarkable democrat and fighter for the liberation and equal rights of the Afro-American people, champion of progressive causes generally and outstanding activist in the cause of the struggle for peace—the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

It is appropriate to speak some words on this occasion about the significance of Martin Luther King to our time. We speak in our theory about the relationship between the part and the whole, between the vanguard and the mass, between the leading class and the mass. Communists highly regard this theme of the role of the individual who assumes more than his or her due share of the social responsibility for furthering human progress.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was loyal and committed to the main task of the years in which he lived, within our country specifically and in the world generally. Within our country the central obstacle, the central brake affecting the motion of the wheel of progress is divisionism among the people along racial lines.

The evil heritage of racism—generated, compounded, left to block the road of progress of the working class of our country and the people—remains a number one item on the agenda

of unfinished democratic tasks which are thwarting progress toward socialism.

To this task Martin Luther King, Jr., committed himself with imagination, courage and dedication and, above all, with extraordinary inspiration. People should commit themselves to the cause of the advance of human progress not for the purpose of glory or personal aggrandizement, but in such a way that they help masses to perceive the elementary truth to which they themselves are dedicating their lives. And it is in this sense Martin Luther King, Jr., is remembered best in history—for his galvanic personality and capability of inspiring noble emotion in millions and tens of millions to take some steps toward righting ancient wrongs and contributing something to social, historic progress.

So there is not so much in the matter of unique doctrines that we celebrate in the contribution of Martin Luther King, Jr., but his capacity to make the idea of equality and the brotherhood of peoples a material force to move the feet of millions onto the path of progress and away from the barbarism of racist divisionism. This is a necessary prerequisite to make accomplishments along this road, in order to unleash the big wheel of the working class, the masses, to move toward social progress and socialism in a revolutionary way.

MARTIN Luther King, Jr., went through a historic progression in his own development of consciousness, of awareness, of what freedom is. Freedom, said Engels, is response to necessity. Engels said, "freedom is the consciousness of necessity," being aware of that which should be done, what is historically on the agenda to be done. An individual who responds to historic, social necessity is a free person—subjectively speaking—and one who

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turns his eyes away from what should be done at a given time is unfree.

There is a story about Henry David Thoreau, the great American poet and philosopher and outstanding champion of Abolitionism during the period of slavery. Once when he was in prison, a visitor said to him, "Henry, what are you doing in there, behind bars?" And he responded, "What are you doing outside?"

Freedom is not reckoned only in terms of jail bars. The person in prison can be much freer than slaves on the outside. This is the meaning of the famous words of the song, *Die gedanken sind frei*—in any event, my thoughts are free, my mind belongs to no man or woman, it belongs to logic and necessity, and consequently is free.

Martin Luther King, Jr., wasn't born a celebrated champion of peace and freedom. He was a kind of reluctant warrior who, nevertheless, became a very courageous warrior who shook the country, and shook the confidence of the ruling class. Martin Luther King, Jr., made a first step in awareness and acted on that step when he responded to the call of the people of Montgomery, Alabama, to do something about the unrelieved criminality of segregation on the buses of Montgomery.

That movement arose under the inspiration of a heroic Black woman, Ms. Rosa Parks. She decided that she had toiled all day, her feet were tired, and she was not going to get up and go to the back of the bus when some white person came in and chose to sit in her seat. This precipitated the famous Montgomery bus boycott struggle. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave leadership to that, inspired the whole community, neutralized many tens of thousands of whites who were, until then, more or less prejudiced or at least did nothing about segregation. There were efforts to crush the bus boycott by the racists of the whole country. Senator Eastland went to Montgomery, Alabama, and held a mass meeting in the public stadium, the baseball/football park. Ten thousand white people attended that rally, organized by the White Citizens' Council and featuring Senator Eastland. Eastland was one of the most vulgar-

mouthed, pornographic racists. But the white people listened, but they did not act.

There is a lesson in that. The style of leadership provided by Martin Luther King, Jr., in that situation united the Black community and neutralized the white community. At times, neutrality in certain situations becomes a form of alliance. There are many forms of alliance. There is an old adage, which is very good tactics, "Lord, if you don't help me, don't help the bear." That becomes a form of neutrality in the confrontation between an individual and a bear. In this situation, it was a historic form of alliance to simply abstain from actively opposing the bus boycott—the struggle of the Black citizens of Montgomery. And this was historic because it marked the beginning of the end of Dixiecratism and the official status of racism in the South. When the appeal to lynch-mob tradition against Blacks was not acted on by the whites, the whole structure of Dixiecratism began to come apart at the seams.

The second big aspect of Martin Luther King's leadership was evident when the masses confronted the police during the first days of the boycott. Here the courage of the man was exhibited when he simply walked through the police lines without a turn of the head or a bat of an eye. It inspired the others.

The police were the symbol of terror, and the racist patterns of the Deep South were able to be sustained only on the basis of bowing to the terror of the police. I remember, as a small boy we used to say, "Brass buttons, blue coat, can't catch a billy goat." Even the sight of a policeman was a signal to run. They would march on the scene like a herd of elephants and everyone would scatter before them like leaves in the wind. But when people didn't run any more, the police terror had lost its psychological power. There is a famous newspaper picture of a small Black boy in the midst of a group of Ku Kluxers simply leaning against a pole picking his nose. No longer did terrorists among the police represent objects of fear. And when the police lose their capacity to intimidate and cower people, it foreshadows the end of the system. The end of the racist system of jim crowism was

fundamentally at hand, though aspects of it remained for many years, already in the bus boycott days in Montgomery of 1960.

Incidentally, the triumphant struggle in Montgomery more or less coincided in time with the first loss of territory by the imperilled system of exploitation in the Americas, the Cuban Revolution.

THE RULING CLASS reluctantly accepted the consequences of Montgomery. And they discovered "a new Negro," with a big and lucid mouth. They felt that now with a few dollars he would become their Negro. He had already demonstrated considerable organizing talents. So all kinds of blandishments were offered. They'd give him a bigger church than his father had—he was a preacher and the son of a preacher—and they'd make him president of Morehouse College (where he himself had graduated earlier) and other such inducements.

But the masses of Black people also discovered a personality who could lead effectively. There were bids and invitations for him to come and speak and inspire and help in solving the problems making for unbearable misery throughout the South, and not just the South. And King opted to stay with the people and to turn aside the bribes and offers to go back to a "normal life."

Reflecting on the Montgomery experience, King took a historic second step in consciousness. The importance of King is that what he did personally, he did in a goldfish bowl. He shared the thought processes by which he arrived at a judgement to move a stage higher in his consciousness, and therefore thousands and tens of thousands moved with him.

So he preached that unity of Black people is useful and necessary, and makes it possible to win allies among non-Black people to support the initiatives of Black people. But the unity of Black people is not, of itself, enough to win against such powerful vested interests as U.S. capitalism. Therefore, he said, it is necessary to also find a common bond with the whole population. And so he entered into the struggle for the interests of poor people. And he discovered

the working class and its mass organizations.

He became a personality appearing at one trade union convention after another. He became convinced that not only are people oppressed who are Black, but basically and fundamentally, people are oppressed because they are poor. Therefore, notwithstanding the shades of confusion and blindness in the eyes of many people, it is nevertheless a reality that objectively Black people and white people are standing together on class grounds. Consequently, for Blacks to enjoy equal rights and civil rights, it is necessary that they have the material means to enjoy those rights. He asked, "What does it matter if one has the right to ride the front of the bus and have no money to pay the fare?" Consequently the economic struggle is an important element, a decisive element, of the content of freedom.

What is freedom? You can also break it down into material things, and one of those material things is a right to economic equality. Therefore, he took the second step of merging the struggle for freedom with the struggle for bread, jobs, and all the rights of working people.

AND THEN he came to a third level of consciousness: That the struggle for bread and freedom can not be solved within the limitations of one country, from the standpoint of limiting one's vision only to the borders of one's country. To solve even an internal problem, in our times, requires a world view. Therefore, he said, "What if we win economic security, what if we win freedom from racism and the abolition of all the racist, jimcrow laws, and the world is disintegrated by the foreign policy that is already massacring Vietnamese and confronting the world with the danger of thermonuclear war?" Therefore, the struggle for peace, the struggle for securing and retaining the world, is a necessary basis for creating an environment for improving the living conditions within the world.

Martin Luther King brought this consciousness—that the struggle on the international level, for an end to the war in Viet Nam, in the

interests of world peace and disarmament, was a necessary part of the democratic and economic struggle for rights and livelihood here at home. Consequently, he joined the peace movement with vigor. By doing so he added greatly to the scope of the peace forces. The Women's Strike for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Friends, had taken initiatives against the war and stimulated activity, but the result was still too small to fulfill its historic task. When the masses of civil rights marchers took to the streets with the peace forces, organized under common banners for peace and freedom, and merged these two aspects of the political/social struggle, then the peace movement in our country took on really massive dimensions.

One of the first great marches for peace was led by Martin Luther King, Jr., in New York City. Some quarter of a million people marched to the United Nations. From then on the dimensions of the peace movement achieved hundreds of thousands, and soon, it became a majority movement. Soon it became a movement which not even a Johnson or a Nixon could ignore and it became a great material force helping bring an end to the war in Vietnam.

FINALLY, a fourth step in consciousness that Martin Luther King, Jr., took: a critical and self-critical look at the ideological muddleheadedness that existed and was being expressed by otherwise committed and serious fighters for the rights of labor, the rights and equality of Black people, and for the cause of disarmament and world peace. There was a monkey on the back of most of the leaders in these good, useful reform movements. That was the monkey of anti-Communism. And so King, with circumspection and self-criticism, confronted this question dramatically and heroically, on the occasion of the W.E.B. DuBois memorial meeting held by *Freedomways* magazine in Carnegie Hall in February of the year King died.

He came to that meeting and made a historic speech in which he called, using the terms of his trade—religion, for political/ideological “ecumenicalism.” That difficult word coming

from the deliberations of clergymen following Pope John XXIII's *Pacem in Terris* appeal for a united front between religious and nonreligious elements to deal with the urgent, immediate problems of masses. In any event, Martin Luther King, Jr., said, we can ill afford—we Black people—a situation in the ranks of Black leadership which excludes citizenship to Communists. He said, Black people will not succeed in their struggle if they penalize their best talents and isolate them on the grounds that they are Communists. And he pointed to Paul Robeson, he pointed to W.E.B. DuBois. He said, no people can succeed in the struggle for freedom if they remove such gigantic talents from the front ranks of their leadership in the name of anti-Communism. So he said, one must look at the reality in the world.

Pablo Neruda is a Communist, sitting in the Chilean Senate. Pablo Neruda, as a Communist, does not diminish the culture and prestige of the Chilean people. On the contrary, they will be known in literature and history by virtue of the role played by Pablo Neruda, the Communist.

And then he spoke of Irish national history, its place in the world literature, saying that if Ireland retains a place in world literature, it will be because of the work of Sean O'Casey, and Sean O'Casey was a Communist.

And he spoke of the Curies in France, the great contribution to physics and world science of Frederic Joliot Curie, the scientist.

And if such big countries and nations and historic communities can ill afford the isolation of their Communists, but on the contrary the role of Communists can enhance their prestige and expand the dimensions of their country in history, then Black Americans, who need everything, must put an end to anti-Communism and extend the hand of fellowship and alliance and cooperation with Communists.

This was a very heroic and historic call to the conscience, logic and intelligence of masses, Black and white, to take the monkey of anti-Communism off their backs and face up to the reality of the role of Communists in the present day world.

Recent revelations about the private and secret relations of the FBI and the Kennedy Administration to the Rev. King and the King movement help to affirm the dimensions of the heroism that was inscribed in that speech in Carnegie Hall. President Kennedy himself had confronted King and said, "you've got to get rid of the Communists in your organization. We have channeled some forty thousand dollars to your organization recently and we aren't going to buy any Communists, we aren't investing in any Communists. You've got to purge the leadership of your organization."

Therefore it was not accidental, it was not fortuitous, that within four weeks from the speech he made in Carnegie Hall, Martin Luther King, Jr., lay dead on the balcony of the motel in Memphis, Tennessee. What brought him to Memphis was a difficult, hard-fought strike of the sanitation workers, with whom he identified.

Martin Luther King was murdered as the object of a political assassination, as an act of class warfare on the part of the ruling class of this country. Regardless of who will finally be determined to have pulled the trigger, regardless of the secret guardians of the system of capitalism who made the decisions for this assassination, it was done in conformity with a theory of survival of capitalism written and adhered to religiously. This doctrine was proclaimed by General Maxwell Taylor in his book, *The Uncertain Trumpet*. Maxwell Taylor elaborated the doctrine of paramilitary warfare as an unending and continuous system for prolonging the life of imperialism in the age of massive social revolution, in the age of a Soviet Union which is an advanced, technically powerful base of the world working class.

Maxwell Taylor understands some of the main features of the age in which we live. But he opts for capitalism's survival to the last possible day. He said that given the situation of ther

monuclear confrontation, it is not possible to perceive of a victor emerging from an exchange of thermonuclear weapons. It is possible to carry out an international program of intervention, subversion and assassination in anticipation of who will be a threat next year, in the next five years, the next ten years, to the survival of imperialism. One must follow Winston Churchill's advice at the time of the birth of the Russian Revolution—to strangle the infant in the cradle. And Churchill did in fact organize armies of intervention from imperialist countries to try and destroy Communism in the Soviet Union in the first few years of its existence.

Maxwell Taylor says, whatever talent subversive to the survival of imperialism emerges, target it for destruction. Try bribery and diversion from a principled path, but if you do not succeed with subverting it, destroy it. He theorized that it might cost the lives of four to five thousand people a year over the world. But he argued that it is better than a thermonuclear war that may cost the life of half of civilization.

This is still the operating policy of U.S. imperialism, notwithstanding the disclosures and exposures of the CIA and the FBI.

Since the martyrdom of Martin Luther King, Jr., the struggle for the goals of equality, social progress and world peace have gone forward with undiminished intensity. There have been significant accomplishments realized, but victory for the cause of equality and the defeat of racism remain a still distant goal. The heritage of Martin Luther King, Jr., is to raise higher the banner of struggle against all patterns of racial discrimination; to further unity between Afro-American and white working people in addressing all urgent common problems of economic, political and social equality and justice; to strive with all one's energy to end the arms race on earth and prevent its expansion into space. To realize this legacy means to make the earth safe for all peoples. □

Statehood for D.C.—A Struggle For Democracy Too Long Denied

MAURICE JACKSON

In 1983, the Communist Party of Washington, DC, issued a comprehensive program for solving the crises facing the people in the capital of the world's richest nation. The program stated:

Washington, the District of Columbia . . . is known the world over as a base of power and a tourist's paradise. Within a few blocks of the White House are beautiful monuments in tribute to Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). A block or two in either direction are Connecticut Avenue (the Wall Street of D.C.), the U.S. Mint, FBI headquarters and the U.S. Capitol.

Yet, also a few blocks from the White House one is astounded to find what seems like another Washington. Here pornographic movie houses and massage parlors—where teenage boys and girls lure well-dressed businessmen—abound. One block over, one is more likely than not to spot female and male "impersonators" climbing into cars bearing the tags "Member of U.S. Congress."

However, neither of these two seemingly different scenes present the real Washington. One can say that they are two sides of the same coin. In the main, the worlds described above are not the worlds of the majority Black population of D.C. The *real* Washington is a city fighting for its life. This is the part of Washington that the Reagans never speak about or visit.

Washington, D.C. is, as one famous writer said, "a city where the American dream and the American nightmare pass each other on the street and do not speak." In fact the contrast between the rich and poor in this city brings to mind Emerson's drab description of life: "Evermore beauty and disgust; magnificence and rats." One is continuously amazed to find that this city—from which the human rights of peoples all

over the world are avowed—so casually denies these rights to its own citizens.

Life here need not be so bad for the poor and working people. The people of D.C. are a hardworking, racially and nationally mixed, culturally active people. And they are demanding that solutions be found to their many problems.

Today more and more people are coming to realize that the major political problem facing D.C. residents is not having final say in the affairs of the city and having no voting representation in Congress. Every bill passed by the City Council and signed into law by the mayor is subject to review by Congress and veto by the President. Every major appointment must be approved by Congress, and Congress has line item veto over the D.C. budget. This has been the case for over 100 years.

THERE HAVE BEEN renewed battles in recent years in favor of statehood for the District of Columbia, and significant progress toward this goal. The overwhelming majority of D.C. citizens have declared their desire for full statehood through ballot initiative. They elected 45 delegates to a Statehood Convention and, by 65 to 35 per cent, approved its draft constitution.

The next step toward statehood is to petition Congress, which can admit the new state by majority vote. This procedure has remained the same since the original thirteen colonies formed the Union. It was exercised most recently for Alaska and Hawaii (in 1959).

Sam Smith, a Washington author and chronicler D.C. politics, wrote in the *Washington Post* (October 12, 1980):

But there is nothing radical about Statehood. It has happened 37 times since the 13 Colonies got together. Further, the Constitution goes out of its way to make it simple. It has been far easier to create new states

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and permit their residents to vote than it was, for example, to give Blacks and women the right to vote.

Some argue that D.C. is too small to be a state. But the population of D.C., at 650,000, is larger than those of Alaska, Delaware, North Dakota, Vermont or Wyoming. D.C. is more populous than any state at the time of its admission except Oklahoma. In fact, Nevada had only 40,000 inhabitants.

Some pose as the major stumbling block to statehood the constitution written by the 45 delegates to the D.C. statehood convention. It is one of the most progressive—some say enlightening constitutions ever written in the English-speaking world.

This is undoubtedly a problem for many members of Congress, a majority of whom, according to a recent poll, would not vote for the U.S. Constitution if it were up for adoption today, seeing it as too radical. After all, the U.S. Constitution recognizes citizens' right to change their form of government. With the "strict interpretation" given to the Constitution by U.S. Attorney General Edmund Meese and some members of the Supreme Court, many Constitutional rights are under strong attack.

However, most of the provisions of the D.C. draft constitution can be found in the constitutions of the fifty states. And able lawyers have proven that none of its provisions conflict with the federal Constitution or supersede the authority given states by the Constitution. That has always been the basic legal requirement for state constitutions.

Senator Edward Kennedy, a statehood supporter, summed up accurately the source of much of the sentiment in Congress against statehood for D.C., characterizing it as being based on the "four too's . . . too Black, too liberal, too Democratic and too urban." The people in D.C. hope that the 1986 Congressional elections will bring forward a more fairminded Congress.

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION gives Congress the "power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not ex-

ceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular states and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States." (Article 1, Section 8.) Virginia and Maryland ceded land in 1787, the boundaries were set in 1791 and the federal government moved to Washington in 1800.

A few years later, a charter was approved for D.C. and a mayor appointed. In 1820 the first election for mayor was held.

In the following years the nation faced the crisis between North and South; slavery or freedom for the Afro-American people; Industrial Capital or King Cotton. The outcome of this crisis was decided in the Civil War; slavery was defeated and constitutionally prohibited. As part of Reconstruction, in 1866 Black males were given the right to vote and in 1871 the District was authorized to have a nonvoting delegate to Congress.

But reaction, an alliance of Big Business and former slaveholders, counterattacked the gains of the Civil War and Reconstruction, including the rights won by the people of D.C. Congress terminated local government and authorized the President to appoint commissioners to run the District in the form of the House District Committee, having full oversight and authority over District affairs.

In the century or so since, a continuous battle has been waged to win full rights of citizenship for residents of Washington, D.C.

The Supreme Court, in various cases between the years 1879 and 1886, decided that the "exclusive legislation" provision of the Constitution did not bar D.C. from having a Congressional delegation or a locally elected legislature.

In 1888 a Committee of 100 was founded, urging Congress to restore self-government to D.C. There followed many other court cases and struggles to restore self-government. In 1938 a plebiscite was held in which citizens voted 7 to 1 in favor of self-government. This led to the creation of the modern Home Rule movement in 1946. In 1951 the Supreme Court granted D.C. the same self-government authority as "U.S. territories" (colonies).

In 1961 the 23rd Amendment was passed,

giving D.C. residents the right to vote for president and vice-president—a right long held by all other citizens of the country except poor Blacks in the South. In 1964, D.C. residents voted 6 to 1 in favor of Home Rule (self government). A school board was elected in 1968 and a nonvoting delegate to Congress in 1971—the first in a century.

The Home Rule Act was passed by Congress in 1973, allowing the people of D.C. to elect a mayor and a City Council. Many basic powers were retained by Congress, however, including power to veto the D.C. budget, laws passed by the Council and high mayoral appointments. Though Home Rule did not lead to full local self-rule, it did culminate an important stage in the just fight of D.C. residents for equal political and voting rights.

Until this time the city was run by Congressman John McMillan, an arch-reactionary and racist from South Carolina. As the city became increasingly Black, McMillan was determined to run its affairs in accordance with his slavemaster mentality. Shortly after Home Rule, many Blacks in D.C. and the South, led by the District's newly elected delegate, Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy (an aide of Martin Luther King, Jr.), mobilized and registered thousands of Blacks to oust McMillan from Congress.

IN A VERY REAL SENSE the battle for full voting rights, against "taxation without representation," is at the core of the struggle of the people of D.C. for greater control of their destiny. Statehood would not solve the problems created by capitalism. But it would create a new basis for the struggle over the economic direction of the city. It would give the people a greater say in who should own the utilities—big corporations or the people—and it would allow them greater power to combat homelessness, hunger and illiteracy in the nation's capital.

The people of D.C. live under extreme burdens imposed by capitalism. They are kept in tow by Congress and the Board of Trade. They pay the third highest "state" tax in the nation and the highest per capita federal taxes after Alaska. Homeowner taxes are mounting, yet

the big hotels, corporations, banks and trade associations enjoy hundreds of tax loopholes.

Banks refuse to lend to their own Black depositors—a practice called "redlining"—because their neighborhoods are "unstable." That is, until the neighborhoods are gentrified. These same banks have millions of dollars outstanding in loans to South Africa and extensive dealings with tyrannical regimes in Paraguay and Chile.

The average price of a home exceeds \$115,000, while the waiting list for public housing exceeds 15,000 people, many of whom have been waiting as long as ten years. The infant mortality rate is the second highest in the U.S. Pockets of tuberculosis—a disease of poverty and neglect—are still to be found. One recent study showed over 6,500 homeless, or one of every hundred residents, while the Committee for Creative Non-Violence insists that the number is closer to 10,000. The rental housing stock continues to decline, and recently the City Council voted to do away with the basic provision of the city's rent control law. This provoked strong action by tenants and labor, who mounted a successful referendum campaign to restore rent control.

In reality, Big Business calls the shots. In a city that is over 70 per cent Black and that has a growing Latino population, the Board of Trade claims only a 5 per cent minority membership. Utility companies are continually given rate hikes by the (mayorally-appointed) Public Service Commission. The major department stores have all either rebuilt or remodeled in the last few years with profits bolstered by tax abatements. Profits of the *Washington Post*—the voice of Big Business in D.C.—continue to soar and it is acquiring new and more diversified properties.

Nevertheless, the people of D.C. are a fighting people. They continue to demand progressive legislation from the City Council and mayor. But whatever they win, Congress and the President stand ready, with a sword of Damocles, to hack apart, since they have veto power over all laws passed in D.C.

That is why statehood stands at the center for the struggle for democracy and equality. The

Communist Party program states, "statehood would complete the process of Home Rule by giving the city power over its own budget. Thus the city would be more in control of its fiscal and legislative agenda and would not be subject to the whims of Congressional veto power."

For example, as a state D.C. would have the ability to institute a reciprocal tax (which already exists in many states) on those who work in the District but live in Maryland and Virginia. This would not be an extra tax on suburban workers (who constitute 67 per cent of the District's workforce), but would make their income taxes payable to D.C. The city's Finance Department calculates that such a tax would bring in at least \$323 million.

Congress also allots federal payment to the city, supposedly reimbursement for the use of services and properties in D.C. However, while the U.S. government and Congress own, exempt or otherwise control 55 per cent of the land in D.C., this federal payment accounts for only 17 per cent of this city's operating budget. (By contrast, in Gary, Indiana, U.S. Steel owns 51 per cent of the property and pays 51 per cent of the taxes.)

An article in the *New York Times* (July 26, 1981) acknowledges the discrepancy between the federal payment and the cost of the services rendered:

Disbursement to the city in place of the theoretical \$500 million a year that the United States would pay in taxes are pegged by the law at a maximum of \$300 million per year. But Congressional appropriation of even this amount customarily lags behind the city's needs.

This payment has increased only 5 per cent since 1975, while operating expenses have gone up over 50 per cent. To solve this problem, Ron Dellums (D.-Cal.) and Walter Fauntroy, D.C.'s nonvoting delegate, have introduced legislation to base federal payment on actual increases incurred by the city in maintaining and exempting these properties.

Many national organizations with headquarters in D.C. receive tax exempt status. Among them are Veterans of Foreign Wars,

Daughters of the American Revolution, the National Guard Association and the National Rifle Association. Many of these organizations are Right-wing, racist, sexist and antiunion. Statehood would put an end to their privilege status.

THE DELEGATES to the D.C. constitutional convention began work immediately after their election, even before the official inauguration. The Howard University Law School generously provided space. The delegates set rules and procedures, established a committee structure and began to study many issues and documents, including various state constitutions. Prominent constitutional lawyers were consulted.

A *Washington Post* article described the 45 delegates as, "Black and white, middle-class, rich and poor, the dungareed and the buttoned-down; lawyers, cabbies, Communist, Socialist, Republican, politicians and programmers, bureaucrats and community activists, gays, students, teachers and retirees." The unions represented were American Federation of Government Employees, National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Although the Mayor had requested a budget of \$700,000, only \$150,000 was allotted by the City Council—not nearly enough. (By contrast, a constitutional convention in Maryland in 1967 spent \$4 million in two years, with a full-time staff of over 25. Nevertheless, the voters of Maryland rejected the constitution they wrote.)

The constitution of the State of New Columbia (the proposed name for the new state), without question is one of the most far-reaching documents of its type. In the Western hemisphere, only the constitution of Cuba exceeds its democratic content. Of course, in Cuba the fundamental law is rooted in a socialist economic base. Constitutions can go only so far as society has advanced. Therefore the constitution of New Columbia does have its limitations. However, in the main, the delegates took the best of other state constitutions, especially the

later ones of Alaska and Hawaii.

For example, whereas affirmative action is supposed to be the law of the land, based on federal law and Supreme Court decisions, the New Columbia constitution expressly guarantees full equality of rights to minorities and women. That, of course, closes the door to re-interpretation every time Right-wing forces challenge it.

The tone of the constitution is set in the Preamble. It states:

We, the people of the free and sovereign state of New Columbia, seek to secure and provide for each person: health, safety and welfare; a peaceful and orderly life; and the right to legal, social and economic justice and equality.

We recognize our unique and special history and the diversity and pluralism of our people, and we have determined to control our collective destiny, maximize our individual freedom, and govern ourselves democratically, guaranteeing to each individual and the people collectively complete and equal exercise and protection of the rights listed herein.

We reach out to all the people of the world in a spirit of friendship and cooperation, certain that together we can build a future of peace and harmony.

The Bill of Rights confirms the basic rights established in the Bill of Rights of the USA, including freedom of religion and "freedom of association," that is, of assembly, press, speech and other forms of expression.

Hotly debated was a section of the Bill of Rights entitled "Freedom from Discrimination." It reads:

Every person shall have a fundamental right to equal protection of the law and to be free from historic group discrimination, public or private, based on race, color, religion, creed, citizenship, national origin, sex, sexual orientation, poverty or parentage. Affirmative action to correct consequences of past discrimination against women, and against racial and national minorities, shall be lawful.

This same section also guarantees to youth, seniors and the disabled full equality under the law. It further makes it "unlawful to commit or incite acts of violence against persons or prop-

erty based on race, color, creed, religion, national origin, sex or sexual orientation." Clearly this was designed to outlaw the actions of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

Much of the debate on this section centered around the ludicrous notion that, by guaranteeing minorities equality, white males were being discriminated against. That is why some were against the term "historic group discrimination." When it was pointed out that the whole of the constitution guarantees rights for all, this section passed overwhelmingly.

The Bill of Rights abolishes the death penalty, prohibits "unreasonable searches" by police and bans police surveillance of political activity, except where a crime may be involved; guarantees reproductive freedom and the right of women to abortion, and guarantees a full range of rights to those accused of crimes.

Section 21 of the Bill of Rights states that "all employees shall be guaranteed equal pay for equal work and equal pay for comparable work." This concept is being debated across the nation and many states and localities have incorporated it into their laws. However, in New Columbia it would be a constitutionally mandated concept.

THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL section of the Bill of Rights, and indeed of the whole Constitution, is Section 20, "The Right to Employment," which states in part: "Every person shall have the right to employment, or if unable to work, an income sufficient to meet basic human needs." These few words, which one would think would be agreeable to any lover of freedom, caused an uproar from the Board of Trade, the *Washington Post* and some of those delegates who came to the convention not to write a good constitution but to keep one from being written. However, after passionate debate over this most basic of democratic concepts, this section passed overwhelmingly. Those against it argued that the state could not afford it, although they had previously argued for high salaries for judges and for a variety of useless and expensive commissions. They argued for tax exemptions for many organizations, but not for

jobs or income for the people (a majority of whom are Black) of the nation's capital. This hypocrisy raised the ire of some of the more "moderate" delegates, and the right to a job became firmly entrenched in the constitution.

Congressman Fauntroy, who established his own committee to rewrite the constitution, deleting some of its most important sections "in order to get it through Congress," has centered his attacks against this section. According to the *Washington Post*, the Washington Board of Trade estimates that it "would take \$54 million to guarantee each of its citizens a job" and \$77.6 million (including the \$54 million) to implement the basic provisions of the constitution.

The most recent study by the D.C. Department of Finance and Revenue estimates that an additional \$420 million could be raised by imposing a commuter tax, and another \$305 million by taxing presently untaxed real estate. This \$725 million could easily offset the cost of providing jobs and public housing, and additional funds could be obtained by instituting higher corporate taxes and closing tax loopholes.

Other sections set forth important social and political rights, including "educational provisions," complete suffrage, public accountability of judges, and establishment of codes of ethics for public officials. Most important was Article XI on health, housing and social services. It guarantees a system of worker compensation and provides for the creation of needed public service jobs. It provides also for public day-care centers and programs to meet the needs of the elderly, as well as enhancement of "cultural, creative and traditional arts." This section also grants the state "the power to provide" low and moderate income families assistance in obtaining decent, affordable housing.

Sections dealing with utilities came under vicious attack from the Board of Trade, the utility companies and the *Washington Post*. One of these states that "utility service shall be provided at the lowest possible rate" and that "unreasonably high rates based upon excessive capital investments shall not be permitted." It further gave the state the right to "acquire, own

or operate utilities." These provisions brought out in full force the highly-paid lobbyists of the C&P Telephone Company, the Washington Gas and Light Company and PEPCO (electricity). These lobbyists entertained some delegates and berated others and had free reign in the *Washington Post*. But justice prevailed and the above-mentioned sections were passed.

Perhaps the constitutional convention's most impassioned debate was on workers' rights. The original proposal was for the conditional right of public workers to strike. The Communist delegate to the convention offered a substitute that would guarantee all public workers the unconditional right to strike. The main concept was that public workers, too, own nothing but their labor and have the right to withhold it. The substitute failed by a mere two votes, but it did set the stage for adoption of the original motion which stated, in part, that "persons in private and public employment shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively . . . and that the right to strike is fundamental and an inherent part of the right to bargain collectively." The key section said that the right of public employees to strike "shall not be abridged unless the abridgement serves a compelling government interest . . . unless it is clear no alternative form of resolution is possible." In short, though public workers do not have the full right to strike, it is up to the state to prove that there would be some danger to the community if these workers strike.

Recently, by a 6 to 1 decision of the California Supreme Court, "nonessential public workers" were given the right to strike. At least 10 other states have some form of limited right to strike for public workers. The mayor and the Board of Trade together attacked this provision, with the mayor saying that all city workers are "essential" and that none should have any right to strike.

The last controversial section dealt with finances and taxation. As stated before, many national organizations headquartered in Washington are given tax-exempt status by Congress on the grounds that they are public interest associations. Many delegates reasoned that if Con-

gress wants them to go tax-free, then Congress should foot the bill, not the people of Washington. In the end, the constitution granted tax exemptions only for properties used for nonprofit or educational purposes. Therefore, some expensive universities, like George Washington, which owns large segments of commercial property, would pay taxes on property used for profitmaking.

OVER THE YEARS the people of D.C. have engaged in pitched battles for full equality. Communists have always been a part of this just struggle. In the 1930s and 1940s the Communist Party led many efforts to unionize government, cafeteria and hotel workers. They played major roles in fighting for equal access to public accommodation and against Jim Crowism, which has only recently been demolished. Communists, labor and progressives and, of course, the Black population as a whole threw up pickets at Constitution Hall when the Daughters of the American Revolution denied Marian Anderson the right to perform in 1939.

Many leading Communists started their revolutionary journeys in Washington. James Jackson, secretary of the CPUSA Central Committee, was head of the YCL at Howard University. George Meyers, Labor Secretary of the CPUSA, was President of the CIO for Maryland and the District. Victor Perlo and John Abt were a noted New Deal economist and lawyer, respectively. Abt has served for many years as general counsel of the Communist Party and Perlo as chair of the Economic Commission.

Also at Howard University were Alphaeus Hunton, noted African scholar, and Doxey Wilkerson, who left his high post there to become educational director of the Communist Party of Maryland.

Though the infamous Truman-McCarthy period weighed heavily on Communists, as well as other progressives, in the nation's capital, the Communists remained active. They participated in the civil rights struggles of the 1960s and the anti-Vietnam War and peace movements of the 1970s. Today the Communist Party has established itself as a vital and viable force in D.C.

politics. It has been most active in the struggles for decent housing, for strong rent control, labor rights, the rights of undocumented workers, and for comparable worth. Its members are active in trade unions and community organizations. Many of its members were among the thousands arrested in protests at the South African embassy. Communists have collected thousands of signatures in petitions for a nuclear freeze, for statehood, for U.S.-USSR dialogue, against U.S. support for contras in Nicaragua and for sheltering the homeless.

THE STRUGGLE FOR STATEHOOD is not just a local issue. The fact that over one-half million citizens of the nation's capital do not have full voting and democratic rights is of concern to the entire nation. In the words of the late W.E.B. Du Bois, "The battle we wage is not just for ourselves but for all true Americans." And so it is. All those interested in equality must demand of their Representatives and Senators a vote in favor of statehood for D.C.

Many in the Congress assign to D.C. the status of some sort of semicolony, whose sons and daughters can be called to war, and whose residents must pay taxes but whose most elemental rights are denied. Some statehood supporters even refer to D.C. as the "Last Colony." Though the phrase "Last Colony" is a catchy, D.C. is not a colony but an integral part of the U.S., and its citizens are U.S. citizens.

Statehood for D.C. has been endorsed by most of the leading labor and civil rights organizations in the nation's capital. Among them AFGE, AFSCME, the Washington Metro Area Central Labor Council, the ACLU, Urban League, Cong. John Conyers (D.-Mich.), Cong. Ron Dellums (D.-Cal.), Sen. Edward Kennedy (D. Mass.), the Democratic State Committee, Communist Party of D.C., Maryland and Virginia; the Democratic Socialists of America, as well as the *Washington Afro-American* and the *Baltimore Sun*. Its major opponents are the Washington Board of Trade and the *Washington Post*. All of the supporting organizations have state and national affiliates which must be mobilized to increase congressional support.

To those who try make the contents of the new state's constitution the main issue, and not statehood itself, it must be clearly pointed out that the constitution was drafted by delegates who were democratically elected by the people of D.C., who also overwhelmingly ratified the document.

Reading Franklin Delano Roosevelt's immortal message on the State of the Union of January 11, 1934, one sees it as a harbinger to the noble ideals and truths embodied in the D.C. constitution. In that address, Roosevelt spoke of the right of all to a job, a decent home, a good education. That some on Capitol Hill try to portray these fundamental rights as "too radical" to be acceptable clearly shows the need to change the makeup of Congress in the 1986 elections. That would mark a giant step on the path to statehood.

Perhaps it was Sen. Edward Kennedy in testimony to a congressional committee on May 15, 1984, who summed up the call for statehood best,

For generations, the residents of the District of Columbia have borne the burden and responsibilities of full citizenship without its rights and privileges. The time has come to remove this unfair cloud of second class status from the District of Columbia. And so I say to the Committee and to the country:

If not statehood, what?

If not now, when?

From this day forward, from the District Building to the White House, let us proclaim our message of statehood—confident that we shall overcome, and confident that the State of New Columbia shall become the fifty-first state of the American union.

The Communist Party program for a better life for the people of Washington, D.C., calls for:

- Statehood for D.C.
- Close business tax loopholes. No taxes on income under \$30,000.
- Pass a strong occupational safety and health law for public and private workers.
- Establish full employment and unemployment compensation benefits and rights.
- Expand the right to strike to public workers.
- Strengthen public workers' real wages and benefits.
- No more evictions. Put under public ownership boarded-up houses for those waiting for public housing and for the homeless.
- Pass a stronger rent control bill, end speculation, stop condo conversion, roll back rents to no more than 25 per cent of working peoples' income.
- Massive job training programs for youth.
- Meaningful jobs for all at trade union wages. Affirmative action with clout.
- Full rights for undocumented workers.
- Slash public transportation fares.
- Public ownership of PEPCO, C&P and Washington Gas, with community and worker democratic controls.
- Implementation of "Initiative 17," the right to overnight shelter for the homeless. A program of public housing, counseling and job programs for homeless individuals and families immediately.
- Establish D.C. as a Zone of Peace and develop sister city status with Moscow, USSR.
- Establish D.C. as a sanctuary for the refugees from wartorn El Salvador, Guatemala, et al.
- Tax all non-religious, non-educational organizations that are now tax exempt.
- Full equality for women, including equal pay for equal and comparable work, full maternity benefits and quality day care. Punish those who harass women at the worksite.
- Keep the schools, libraries and recreation centers open.
- A decent life for our elderly citizens with no cuts in social security or other benefits, free transportation on public facilities and aids in rents and mortgages.
- Outlaw racist acts and racist organizations.

A Landmark Desegregation Decision in Yonkers

TONY BRUNO

"Always look for the silver lining and try to find the sunny side of life," lyrically wrote the famed composer and Yonkers resident Jerome Kern. For decades, Blacks have sought in vain to find that elusive "sunny side of life" in Yonkers.

Blacks, 20.1 per cent of the population in this seventy-third largest city in the country, have been systematically robbed of their constitutional rights, suffering discrimination in employment, housing and schools, and have been deprived of political representation.

The city of Yonkers, the third largest in New York, decades ago was a significant industrial and commercial center. Its central business district, Getty Square, lies in the southwest part of the city, along the Hudson River, where many factories constituted the hub of commerce of Westchester County, one of the most affluent in the nation. But for the last several decades, Yonkers has suffered economic decline. The Yonkers factory of Alexander Smith Carpet was once the largest carpet mill in the world, with 10,000 workers. After a successful union organizing campaign in 1954, it was closed down and fled to Mississippi. This was the beginning of the city's industrial stagnation.

In 1949, following the passage of the National Housing Act, the city embarked upon a series of urban renewal projects utilizing subsidized housing programs. The city built two housing projects in South West Yonkers. Between 1949 and 1982, a total of thirty-four others were packed into in this small area of Yonkers. The residents of this area included Blacks—the largest minority, and a Hispanic population whose roots lie in more than 20 countries.

The Yonkers city government rigidly opposed all attempts to disperse public housing throughout the city. The city is ghettoized—Blacks and other minorities in the South West, while the population of the North West and East Side areas is overwhelmingly white.

In the last decade, the Latino population

has multiplied five times, and there is a sizeable and growing Arab community.

While segregation is pervasive, there is, interestingly, one enclave of Blacks on the East Side, in the Runyan Heights area. It was developed by a state senator who owned a large tract of land there. He regularly brought in busloads of Harlem residents for weekend picnics, during which he would auction off parcels of the tract. As the neighborhood grew, contact with the overwhelmingly white Homefield area immediately to the north was cut off by a four-foot strip of land purchased and maintained by the Homefield Association as a barrier between the two neighborhoods.

Housing segregation had its reflection in extreme segregation in the public schools. This was further exacerbated by the racial practices of the Board of Education. And gerrymandered political districting maintained a City Council without Black and Latino representation.

By the end of the '70s, conditions for the Black population in Yonkers were intolerable. Official racism encouraged the violence of local racist gangs.

A particularly shocking incident occurred in the summer of 1979, when the home of a Black IBM executive in the Cherry Hills section was destroyed by a firebomb. The Communist Party of Yonkers, in a sharp statement signed by Elizabeth Hall, joined the outraged protest movement led by the NAACP. By the end of the year that organization, headed by Winston Ross and Herman Keith, determined to launch a major assault against the segregation and discrimination policies of the city and Board of Education.

Early in 1980 the Yonkers NAACP issued a "Black Paper" citing a litany of complaints on housing, education, jobs and political rights. This booklet was widely circulated and stirred comment in the city, county and state as well as in many federal agencies. The NAACP called on

the City Council to support an "open housing" policy. After numerous other initiatives failed, the Black community, supported by white progressives, succeeded in moving the Department of Justice to institute a suit against the city of Yonkers and its Board of Education for illegal discrimination in schools and housing.

City and school officials never denied that the schools were segregated, but most school board members claimed that they should do nothing to remedy it because, they asserted, it was not intentional.

And unquestionably, there was housing and school segregation in Yonkers. It was pervasive, obvious for all to see—and the statistics blared the truth.

The 1980 NAACP "Black Paper" showed that only three of twenty-five elementary schools were racially balanced. Thirteen schools of the West Side area were over 90 per cent white, while two schools were 98 per cent minority, one 90 per cent and another 88 per cent.

The legal proceedings were begun in 1980. The plaintiffs were the Yonkers NAACP and the U.S. Justice Department, the defendants the City of Yonkers and its Board of Education. The charge was segregation in housing and discrimination in the schools. There were many delays in the trial because of efforts to bring the parties together out of court. After nearly 100 days of trial, 84 witnesses and 38 depositions, as well as thousands of exhibits, Judge Leonard B. Sand found that the city and the Board of Education had intentionally created or maintained racial segregation in the city's housing and schools.

The city's Black leaders and the NAACP attorney, Michael Sussman, hailed the historic victory as a first step toward integration. Now the remedies must be put in place.

The *New York Times*, in a lead editorial (December 7, 1985), noted, "the finding and the remedies that are soon to be determined will echo throughout the country." It continued,

Racial imbalances . . . could benefit from a combination of school closings, redrawn attendance zones, open enrollment and magnet schools. . . .

[B]using would be a wholly justified remedy of the last resort.

The plaintiffs had contended, that the existing concentration of subsidized housing in south west Yonkers reflected a pattern and practice of housing discrimination by the city in violation of Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Subsidized housing had been equated with minority housing.

The city, in turn, claimed that the selection of sites for housing construction was in no way discriminatory and that the segregative result was entirely unintended. Racist forces in both the North West and East Side vociferously opposed any and all plans for public housing in those areas.

The city argued that it could not be held liable and that it did not contribute to "the extreme condition of segregation." Judge Sands ruled, "The city's contention is without merit."

The City Council had fully collaborated with the elements in the white communities who repeatedly demonstrated strong objections to Blacks living in east Yonkers. The unwillingness to breach a racial barrier discouraged minority individuals from seeking to purchase or rent homes.

With a waiting list of 800 people, the city also opposed the use of Section 8 (Federal rent subsidy) certificates for fear that they would be used on the East Side. In his ruling Judge Sands said,

Even if no other evidence of discriminatory actions were available, the evidence concerning the Section 8 history would be sufficient to satisfy the plaintiffs' burden of proving the pattern and practice of discrimination evident in previous years has continued to the time of the filing of the suit.

But that was not all the evidence, by far. For example, there was the issue of what to do with School 4 on the (predominantly white) East Side, which had been closed—whether to sell it for commercial use or convert it into apartments. The City Council and the racist forces in the white community were for selling.

The NAACP obtained an injunction preventing the sale of School 4. Judge Sand said in his decision:

The attempt to sell School 4 was not a routine race-neutral disposition of surplus property but an effort to ensure that the site could not be used for the construction of subsidized housing in East Yonkers. As such it reflects a clear intent on the part of city officials.

Judge Sand further ruled that when all the evidence was considered:

A) The Board of Education made decisions on opening and closing schools and altered attendance zone boundaries for racial reasons;

B) Faculty and staff were assigned according to racial composition of students at individual schools;

C) There was discriminatory classification, transportation and other treatment of minority special education students;

D) Minority students were steered to vocational education programs;

E) School officials failed to provide students with equal educational opportunities;

F) The responsible officials had failed to adopt, for racial reasons, various reorganization and education reform plans to accomplish desegregation.

The singular importance of this case is that for the first time a federal judge has linked housing patterns with racial segregation in the schools.

No less important was the ruling on the legal concept of intent. It was a primary issue, a difficult consideration. Judge Sands said,

Intent has been characterized as an elusive subjective concept and particularly difficult to identify when the intent at issue is the collective intent of a legislative or administrative body.

He continued,

A recurrent theme in the city's arguments to the court has been that it is under no affirmative duty to promote integration through construction of subsidized housing. But the absence, in the abstract, of such an affirmative duty does not equal a license in decisions relating to subsidized housing. It does not, for example, equal a license to refuse to build subsidized housing, despite a need for it, on the ground that it might result in racial integration.

In the period since 1980 the confrontation with Yonkers' official racist policies by Black people and white progressives has been marked by eventful political progress. In 1983 Herman Keith, former president of the NAACP, became the first Black to win elective office in Yonkers, representing his district in the county legislature. He was reelected in 1985.

Black and Latino forces have coalesced in the "Political Club" to fight against racial gerrymandering. Two Blacks have won city judgeships. And the 1985 election, just prior to Judge Sand's decision, seated the first Black councilman.

Also in the 1985 elections, Mayor Angelo Martinelli, the incumbent, was reelected. This was a setback for the most racist forces, whose program of adamant resistance to desegregation he had refused to accept. His opponent was Bernice Spreckman, who was identified with the most incorrigible racists of the East Side. Martinelli won in 11 of the 12 wards. In addition, 8 of the 12 elected councilpeople began to express more reasonable attitudes.

The court findings of official segregation in Yonkers, and the agreement on the remedies to desegregate housing and to end racism in the schools, present a formidable challenge. The city, already suffering chronic fiscal crises, spent millions to oppose the federal suit and lost additional millions of federal grants. It can not begin to renew itself unless it understands that racist policies must end and that the decision of Judge Leonard B. Sand is the law.

The landmark ruling of Judge Sand is an instrument to be used by everyone who seeks to free educational institutions from all aspects of racism. Its singular importance lies in how it keenly uncovers the diverse shades of racism—overt and covert—and exposes their interconnection with most aspects of social life. The consequence of racism in education is an enormous impediment to all democratic advances. Decisive in the struggle to end it is the coalescence, in depth and breadth, of those whose lives it diminishes—working people, irrespective of color and ethnic heritage, all of whom seek to live in peace and economic security. □

The News Media and Class Control

MICHAEL PARENTI

The U.S. news media operate under a well-established ideology which claims they have no established ideology, no racial, gender or class biases. Supposedly the media just report things as they see them. But more than ever we hear complaints to the contrary. There are the salvos from Rightwingers, from whose ideological perspective the media appear as atheistic, liberal and soft on Communism. And the business community attacks the media for "failing to show business's side of things" and for running occasional reports about corporate pollution, wasteful defense contracts and the like. The occasional negative story that appears in the news, along with TV dramas like "Dynasty" and "Dallas" which have portrayed individual tycoons as ruthless cutthroats, convince corporate conservatives that the media are liberal tools bent on portraying business in the worst possible light.

These Rightist attacks help the media maintain an appearance of neutrality and objectivity. Being attacked by "extremists both on the Left and the Right," the broadcast and print news media see this as proof that they must be free of ideology and political bias. The truth is that while the press may not be totally uncritical or totally adulatory toward the Big Business community, it is not an autonomous adversary, independent of the corporate class. As we know, the big media are themselves a part of the business class, owned and controlled by the same individuals, conglomerates and banks that own most of America (and much of the rest of the world). If anything, the print and broadcast media underplay most of the more damaging information and commentary about corporate doings. What is reported is but the tip of the iceberg, but even this is more than business cares

to endure and is seen as an attack on the entire business system.

If the Right had its way, the mainstream media would be dedicated exclusively to a glowing portrayal of American business, complete with upbeat reports on the economy, the blessings of the American Way of Life, and anti-Communist horror tales.

NOT ALL the criticism is from conservatives. "Moderates" and liberals, including some journalists, have criticized the press for failing to inform the public about the crucial issues. Criticism from the political Center focuses less on content than on the lack of it. The critics complain that the news is superficial and trivial, focusing on personalities rather than issues, on surface happenings rather than substantive matters. I agree with such observations, but I want to point out that this mainstream criticism of the media remains more of a complaint than an analysis. When these critics get around to explaining why stories are so poorly reported, they are likely to blame the journalists. Again and again, we are told that reporters are misled by their sources, inept, poorly informed, too reliant on officialdom, and riddled with personal prejudices.

These kinds of criticisms are often true, but they place too much blame on the weakest, lowliest link in the news-manufacturing chain: the reporters. The critics say nothing about the editors who cut and rewrite the reporters' copy and control their jobs, and nothing about the head executives who hire, fire, pay and promote the editors and who exercise ultimate control over them.

The Centrist-liberal critique fails to note that while the journalist's product may be gravely wanting in depth and accuracy, it remains acceptable copy to the reporter's superiors. Journalists who produce more penetrating stories, ones that reveal too much about the exploi-

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tative, undemocratic nature of corporate capitalism at home and abroad, will run into difficulties with superiors. By fingering the working journalist as the main or only culprit, liberal critics are implicitly treating reporters as free agents when in fact they are not. The working press work for someone other than themselves.

SOMETIMES media critics will fault not the journalists or anyone else involved in manufacturing the news but the technologies of the media themselves. In this day and age, it's all the rage to blame technology. By its nature, we are told, television emphasizes the visual over the ideational. Action events, national leaders and political candidates have visual appeal; issues and policy analysis do not. Hence there is bound to be more surface than substance. This problem is also said to exist—to a lesser extent—with the print media, which have limited space and time to frame vastly complex events on a daily basis. So, it is said, news organizations latch onto simple images in order to reduce their subject matter to easily manageable components.

There is no denying that stereotyping and reductionism are the common tools of shallow thinking, but why must such shallowness be treated as inevitable? That the media so frequently resort to slick surface treatment does not mean such treatment is the only way the media can function. Rather than being a criticism, this "blaming the technological nature of the media" is a disguised defense. It gets everyone off the hook and treats television, or whatever medium, like a disembodied technological force all its own. *However, it is not television as such that chooses to cling to surface events but the people who run it.* With the right script and right intentions, visual media can offer engrossingly penetrating presentations on vital subjects, as demonstrated by the many fine independently produced documentaries which the major networks do not deign to carry.

The basic distortions in the media are not innocent errors, for they are not random; rather they move in the same overall direction again and again, favoring management over labor,

corporatism over anticorporatism, the affluent over the poor, private enterprise over socialism, whites over Blacks and other minorities, males over females, officialdom over protestors, conventional politics over dissidence, and anti-Communism and military buildups over disarmament, national chauvinism over internationalism, U.S. dominance of the Third World over revolutionary change. The press does many things and serves many functions, but its major role and irreducible responsibility is continually to recreate a view of reality supportive of existing social and economic class power.

Money, or the lack of it, is another excuse given by those who prefer innocent explanations that avoid questions of power and interest. All sorts of vital issues go unmentioned in the broadcast and print media, they argue, because it would be too expensive to try to cover all that is happening in the world. But the truth is, the major news organizations compose a vast newsgathering structure with correspondents and stringers throughout much of the world. There are more than 1,000 correspondents in Washington, D.C., tripping all over themselves trying to "develop sources" in the White House. Every four years some 12,000 newspeople cover each of the major party national conventions to report on nominations that are known in advance. As Adam Hochschild pointed out, "The press competes all right, but over ridiculous things."

WITH television evening news limited to 22 minutes (8 minutes for commercials) and with prime time being so expensive, there simply is not enough opportunity for more than "snapshot and headline service," media apologists have argued. And newspaper production costing what it does, there supposedly is not enough affordable print space: In truth, if one were to count the political daytime talk shows, late night news shows, local and national evening news, and hourly news programs on commercial and public radio and television, there is something close to round-the-clock news programming—but almost all of it is thin and repetitious in content. Although the network eve-

ning news has only a scant 22 minutes, it finds time for plenty of frivolous subjects. If the evening news were expanded to one hour, this would not guarantee more depth of coverage. If anything, the surface quality of broadcast news would become even more evident, and an hour of it more unsatisfying—as has been the case with the local television news programs that have gone to an hour format.

Time is not an ironclad factor in determining how in-depth one might go. In five minutes one could make some devastating revelations and connections on any number of issues. But how often would a network news team attempt to do so?

Similarly, it is not true that our leading newspapers lack the space or staff for more comprehensive coverage. Left publications with only a fraction of the material resources and staff available to the major press organizations probe into controversial issues with far more depth and persistence. The startling news that the CIA was funding cultural, academic and student organizations was first publicized by the now-defunct *Ramparts* magazine. Ralph Nader's widely received work on automobile safety was ignored by the mainstream press and first began appearing in the *Nation*, a low-budget publication. Journalist Seymour Hersh sent his account of the My Lai massacre to an outfit almost nobody had heard of, Dispatch News Service, after none of the major wire services would pick it up.

Stories about hunger in America, the chemical poisoning of our environment and our people, the illegal activities of the CIA at home and abroad, U.S. sponsored torture and assassinations in Latin America and Iran (under the Shah), the dangers of nuclear power plants, revelations about the real nature of the KAL 007 flight, and other such shockers were uncovered by radical and progressive publications long before they were finally picked up—if ever—by the mainstream press.

NEWSPRODUCTION is not a purely autonomous process, responsive only to its own internal conditions. Most distortions are more

political than productional. What is it about the interior dynamics of newsgathering and the foibles of reporters that obliges the press to treat capitalism as a benign system and socialism as a pernicious one? Not much. But there is plenty in the pattern of ownership and control, the vested class interests, the financial muscle of big advertisers and in the entire capitalist social and cultural order which explains that bias. News producers—from owners to reporter—are so immersed in the dominant political culture that they may not be fully aware of how they misrepresent, evade and suppress the news. From this, some people have concluded that distortions in the news are due to cultural factors rather than to deliberate manipulation, and that to argue otherwise is to lapse into conspiracy theory.

SOME comments are in order. First it should be noted that while much of the "mobilization of bias" is indeed built into the political culture, we can not treat every communicational evasion and distortion simply as the product of a tainted culture. Nor can we assume there is no such thing as conspiracy. Just because some people have fantasies about conspiracies does not mean every conspiracy is a fantasy—as Watergate, the Pentagon Papers, the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign, and the CIA's daily doings have demonstrated. Like most other cultural institutions, the media exercise their influence through overt means. Given the nature of the institution, it would be hard to imagine *secret* mass media. But there may be something secret and conspiratorial, something deliberately slanted and politically motivated, about news production, as found in the unpublicized owner and advertiser dominance over news personnel and editorial content, and in the instances of government interference and manipulation.

The existence of a common pool of culturally determined (systemic, nonconspiratorial) political values can not be denied, but where did this common pool come from? Who or what determines the determining elements in the culture itself? And can we reduce an entire culture, including its actively struggling political compo-

nents, to a set of accumulated habituations and practices that simply build up over time?

In any case, the values and dominant opinions of our political culture are not all that ingrained and ubiquitous. Major portions of the public, often majorities, do not support present levels of taxation, military spending, military interventionism, the cold war, the arms race, nuclear power, and various domestic policies harmful to the environment, the poor, and to working people. In other words, it may be true that most media elites (and political elites) share common views on these subjects, but much, and sometimes most, of the public—and much of the working press—do not. The “dominant shared values and beliefs” which are supposedly the natural accretions and expressions of our common political culture, are not shared by all or most—certainly not at the issue level—although they surely are dominant in that they tend to preempt the field of opinion visibility because their proponents own and control so much of the communications universe.

Like any other social group, media elites consciously pursue their self-interest and try to influence others in ways that are advantageous to themselves. They treat information and culture as vital instruments of class power. Even if they never put it in those words, they keep control of the command posts of communication systems. Regardless of what their academic and journalistic apologists say on their behalf, they have no thought of leaving political discourse and mass communication openly accessible to an unrestricted popular development. Why recognition of these unexceptional facts should brand one a “conspiracy theorist” is not clear.

Can it really be argued (as it often is in the academic literature) that elites have no power over the news organizations they own and finance? Or that if they do have power, they never use it? Or that they use it only in the belief they are fostering the common interest? Certainly all modern ruling classes justify their rule in universalist terms—and have a way of believing their own propaganda. But whether they think of themselves as patriots or plotters is not the point. No doubt they like to see themselves

as the defenders of American democracy even as they bolster their class privileges. Like everyone else, they believe in the virtue of their cause and equate the pursuit of their class interests with the pursuit of the general interest. Indeed, much of their propaganda is designed to treat these two things as coterminous.

THE QUESTION is not how they see themselves, but how we see them. *That a particular class has achieved cultural hegemony over the entire society does not mean it has created a democratic culture.* Nor need we struggle with the question of whether the causal factor is “class” or “culture,” as if these terms were mutually exclusive; for class dominance both helps to create and is fortified by cultural hegemony.

News distortion is *both* a product of shared cultural values *and* deliberate acts of disinformation. Political beliefs do not automatically reproduce and sustain themselves. They must be (at least partly) consciously propagated. And with time and repetition yesterday’s propaganda becomes today’s “shared cultural values and beliefs.”

Consider a specific example: the untruth repeated in the press about the Soviet Union being unable to feed its people. Stories about the starving Russians are as old as the Bolshevik Revolution itself (and indeed, during the years of foreign invasion and civil war, immediately after the Revolution, there was some truth to them). Uttered today, the assertion is false. The USSR is the world’s leading producer of milk and other dairy products. It produces more than enough grain to feed its people, but it imports grain for fodder in order to increase its meat supply. Western Europe imports more grain from the U.S. than does the Soviet Union, yet no one accuses West Germany or the Benelux nations of being unable to feed their people. But through unchallenged and ubiquitous repetition, be it Flora Lewis in the *New York Times*, Dan Rather on CBS, Marvin Kalb on NBC or *Time* magazine, the falsehood about the starving Russians becomes part of conventional wisdom—especially in the absence of contrary information of equal currency.

Whether or not newspeople are deliberately lying when they circulate such misinformation is less significant than that they feel free to make such statements without checking the facts. Often they do believe what they say, in large part because such beliefs are not a personal invention but are shared by almost all the opinion manufacturers of the capitalist press, and also because there are rewards for orthodox belief and penalties for ideological deviation.

Like everyone else, reporters and editors either sincerely share in the political ideology that makes it so easy for them to believe the news they produce or they go along with things because they know which side their bread is buttered on. It is difficult to know at what exact psychological point an individual's self-serving rationalization turns into sincere belief, but we do know there are variations among members of the working press; some are consciously aware of the coercive controls exercised over them in the news hierarchy—even if the ideologists of pluralism deny the existence of such things.

IF THE dominant culture were a mystically self-sustaining *deus ex machina*, there would be nothing left for us to do but throw up our hands and wait for the natural, gradual process of change to unfold across the centuries. But neither history nor society work that way. In fact, there is an element of struggle and indeterminacy in all our social life and political culture. Along with institutional stability we have popular agitation; along with elite manipulation we have widespread skepticism; along with ruling class coercion we have mass resistance (at times). Things are not as innocent and inevitable as the apologists of this system (including some of the critics of the media) would have us believe.

It being their goal to disguise the class nature of capitalist society, the apologists are forever looking for innocent causalities. The problems we face are caused by technology, we are

told (as indeed some of our problems are). Or, it turns out, we are supposedly enveloped andy "cultural forces" about which we can do little. And to suggest otherwise, to suggest that conscious interests and power are part of present social arrangements, is to be a "conspiracy theorist"—a charge which is supposed to drive us to instant denial out of fear that we are being "reductionist" and "simplistic" in our thinking. But what is more simplistic and reductionist than to reduce the actualities of class struggle and class dominated cultural formations to a problem of "technology" and "culture"?

Who cares whether the ruling class and its representatives do or do not sincerely believe their own propaganda? Sometimes they do and sometimes they don't. The question is an urgent one only for their apologists, who forever seek to demonstrate the innocence of the system under which we live. But the rest of us need not fall for that game. We do not have to deny the evidence before us. We don't have to think of the liars, manipulators, oppressors and aggressors who rule this country and control its communicational universe to be nothing more than well-intentioned actors on the social stage. It used to be said that the British empire grew in a state of absentmindedness. And so today the apologists would have us believe that the existing system is sustained in a state of absentmindedness. But no oppressive class order was ever so sustained and the claim is no truer today than it was during the time of the British empire.

By becoming aware of the conscious and deliberate elements of our oppression, we are less awed by its seemingly ubiquitous and omnipotent quality, and can better appreciate how conscious struggle leads to betterment. The rulers of this society, who try to keep history from happening, have a keen sense of our potential power and the possibilities for change. So too can we—when we see ourselves as not only the victims of technology and culture but as the makers of history. □

The Soviet Proposals for Complete Nuclear Disarmament

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

The new year, 1986, has started counting its days. It will be an important year, one can say a turning point in the history of the Soviet state, the year of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The Congress will chart the guidelines for the political, social, economic and spiritual development of Soviet society in the period up to the next millennium. It will adopt a program for accelerating our peaceful construction.

All efforts of the CPSU are directed towards ensuring a further improvement in the life of the Soviet people.

A turn for the better is also needed in the international arena. This is the expectation and the demand of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the peoples throughout the world.

Being aware of this, at the start of the new year the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have adopted a decision on a number of major foreign policy actions of a fundamental nature. They are designed to promote to a maximum degree an improvement in the international situation. They are prompted by the need to overcome the negative, confrontation trends that have been growing in recent years and to clear up ways towards curbing the nuclear arms race on earth and preventing it in outer space, an overall reduction of the risk of war and trust building as an integral part of relations among states.

I Our most important action is a concrete program aimed at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world and covering a precisely defined period of time.

The Soviet Union is proposing a step-by-step and consistent process of ridding the earth of nuclear weapons, to be implemented and completed within the next 15 years, before this

century.

The twentieth century has given mankind the gift of the energy of the atom. However, this great achievement of human mind can turn into an instrument of self-annihilation of mankind.

Is it possible to solve this contradiction? We are convinced it is. Finding effective ways toward eliminating nuclear weapons is a feasible task, provided it is tackled without delay.

The Soviet Union is proposing a program of ridding mankind of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe to be carried out beginning in 1986. And the fact that this year has been proclaimed by the United Nations the International Year of Peace provides an additional political and moral incentive for this. What is required here is rising above national selfishness, tactical calculations, differences and disputes, whose significance is nothing compared to the preservation of what is most valuable—peace and a safe future. The energy of the atom should be placed at the exclusive service of peace, a goal that our socialist state has invariably advocated and continues to pursue.

It was our country that, as early as 1946, was the first to raise the question of prohibiting the production and use of atomic weapons and to make atomic energy serve peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

How does the Soviet Union envisage today, in practical terms, the process of reducing nuclear weapons, both delivery vehicles and warheads, leading to their complete elimination? Our proposals can be summarized as follows:

- *Stage one.* Within the next 5-8 years the USSR and the USA will reduce by one-half the nuclear arms that can reach each other's territory. Of the remaining delivery vehicles of this kind, each side will retain no more than 6,000 warheads.

It stands to reason that such a reduction is possible only if the USSR and the USA mutually

This is the full text of a statement made by the general secretary of the CPSU on January 6, 1986.

renounce the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons. As the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, the development of space strike weapons will dash the hopes for a reduction of nuclear weapons on earth.

The first stage will include the adoption and implementation of the decision on the complete elimination of intermediate-range missiles of the USSR and the USA in the European zone, both ballistic and cruise missiles, as a first step towards ridding the European continent of nuclear weapons.

At the same time, the United States should undertake not to transfer its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries, while Britain and France should pledge not to build up their respective nuclear arms.

The USSR and the USA should, from the very beginning, agree to stop any nuclear explosions and call upon other states to join in such a moratorium as soon as possible.

We propose that the first stage of nuclear disarmament should concern the Soviet union and the United States because it is up to them to set an example for the other nuclear powers to follow. We said that very frankly to President Reagan of the United States during our meeting in Geneva.

- *Stage two.* At this stage, which should start no later than 1990 and last for 5-7 years, the other nuclear powers will begin to engage in nuclear disarmament. To begin with, they would pledge to freeze all their nuclear arms and not to have them in the territories of other countries.

In this period the USSR and the USA will go on with the reductions agreed upon during the first stage and also carry out further measures designed to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons and freeze their tactical nuclear systems.

Following the completion by the USSR and the USA of the 50 per cent reduction in their relevant arms at the second stage, another radical step is taken: all nuclear powers eliminate their tactical nuclear arms, namely the weapons having a range (or radius of action) of up to 1,000 kilometers. At the same stage, the Soviet-American accord on the prohibition of space strike

weapons would have to become multilateral, with the mandatory participation of major industrial powers in it.

All nuclear powers would stop nuclear-weapons tests.

There would be a ban on the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles, whose destructive capacity is close to that of nuclear arms or other weapons of mass destruction.

- *Stage three* will begin no later than 1995. At this stage the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons will be completed. By the end of 1999 there will be no nuclear weapons on earth. A universal accord will be drawn up that such weapons should never again come into being.

We have in mind that special procedures will be worked out for the destruction of nuclear weapons as well as the dismantling, reequipment or destruction of delivery vehicles. In the process, agreement will be reached on the numbers of weapons to be destroyed at each stage, the sites of their destruction and so on.

Verification with regard to the weapons that are destroyed or limited would be carried out both by national technical means and through on-site inspections. The USSR is ready to reach agreement on any other additional verification measures.

The adoption of the nuclear disarmament program that we propose would undoubtedly have a favorable impact on the negotiations conducted at bilateral and multilateral forums. The program would identify specific routes and reference points, establish a specific timeframe for achieving agreements and implementing them and would make the negotiations purposeful and goal-oriented. This would break the dangerous trend whereby the momentum of the arms race is greater than the process of negotiations.

In summary, we propose that we should enter the third millennium without nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable agreements. If the United States Administration is indeed committed to the goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere, as it has repeatedly

stated, it is being offered a practical opportunity to begin this in practice. Instead of wasting the next 10-15 years by developing new, extremely dangerous weapons in space, allegedly designed to make nuclear arms useless, would it not be more sensible to start eliminating those arms and finally bring them down to zero? The Soviet Union, I repeat, proposes precisely that.

The Soviet Union calls upon all peoples and states and, naturally above all, nuclear states, to support the program of eliminating nuclear weapons before the year 2,000. It is absolutely clear to any unbiased person that if such a program is implemented, nobody would lose and everybody stands to gain. This is a problem common to all mankind and it can and must be solved only through common efforts. And the sooner this program is translated into practical deeds, the safer will be life on our planet.

II. Guided by the same approach and the desire to make another practical step within the context of the program of nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union has taken an important decision.

We are extending by three months our unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions, which expired on December 31, 1985. Such a moratorium will remain in effect even further if the United States, for its part, also stops nuclear tests. We propose once again to the United States to join this initiative whose significance is evident to practically everyone in the world.

It is clear that adopting such a decision was by no means simple for us. The Soviet Union can not display unilateral restraint with regard to nuclear tests indefinitely. But the stakes are too high and the responsibility too great for us not to try every possibility of influencing the position of others through the force of example.

All experts, scientists, politicians and military men agree that *the cessation of tests would indeed block off the channels for upgrading nuclear weapons*. And this task has top priority. A reduction of nuclear arsenals alone, without a prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests, does not offer a way out of the dilemma of nuclear danger, since the remaining weapons would be

modernized and there would still remain the possibility of developing increasingly sophisticated and lethal nuclear weapons and evaluating their new types at test ranges.

Therefore, the cessation of tests is a practical step toward eliminating nuclear weapons.

I wish to say the following from the outset. Possible references to verification as an obstacle to the establishment of a moratorium on nuclear explosions would be totally groundless. We declare unequivocally that verification is no problem so far as we are concerned. Should the United States agree to stop all nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis, appropriate verification of compliance with the moratorium would be fully ensured by national technical means as well as through international procedures, including on-site inspections whenever necessary. We invite the USA to reach agreement to this effect.

The USSR is strongly in favor of the moratorium becoming a bilateral, and later a multilateral, action. We are also in favor of resuming the trilateral negotiations involving the USSR, the USA and Great Britain on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests. This could be done immediately, even this month. We are prepared to begin without delay multilateral test ban negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, with all nuclear powers taking part.

Nonaligned countries are proposing consultations with a view to making the 1963 Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water apply also to the underground tests, which are not covered by the treaty. The Soviet Union is agreeable to this measure too.

Since last summer we have been calling upon the United States to follow our example and stop nuclear explosions. Washington has as yet not done that despite the protests and demands of public opinion, and contrary to the will of most states in the world. By continuing to set off nuclear explosions, the U.S. side continues to pursue its elusive dream of military superiority. This policy is futile and dangerous, a policy which is not worthy of the level of civili

zation that modern society has reached.

In the absence of a positive response from the United States, the Soviet side had every right to resume nuclear tests starting already on January 1, 1986. If one were to follow the usual "logic" of the arms race, that, presumably, would have been the thing to do.

But the point is that it is precisely that notorious logic that has to be resolutely repudiated. We are making yet another attempt in this direction. Otherwise the process of military rivalry will become an avalanche and any control over the course of events would be impossible. To submit to the force of the nuclear arms race is inadmissible. This would mean acting against the voice of reason and the human instinct of selfpreservation. What is required are new and bold approaches, a new political thinking and a heightened sense of responsibility for the destinies of the peoples.

The U.S. Administration is once again given more time to weigh our proposals on stopping nuclear explosions and to give a positive answer to them. It is precisely this kind of response that people everywhere in the world will expect from Washington.

The Soviet Union is addressing an appeal to the United States' President and Congress, to the American people. There is an opportunity of halting the process of upgrading nuclear arms and Soviet proposals place the USSR and the United States in an equal position. These proposals do not attempt to outwit or outsmart the other side. We are proposing to take the road of sensible and responsible decisions.

III. In order to implement the program of reducing and eliminating nuclear arsenals, the entire existing system of negotiations has to be set in motion and the highest possible efficiency of disarmament machinery ensured.

In a few days the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms will resume in Geneva. When we met with President Reagan last November at Geneva, we had a frank discussion on the whole range of problems that constitute the subject of those negotiations, namely on space, strategic offensive arms and interme-

diat-range nuclear systems, It was agreed that the negotiations should be accelerated and that agreement must not remain a mere declaration.

The Soviet delegation in Geneva will be instructed to act in strict compliance with that agreement. We expect the same constructive approach from the U.S. side, above all on the question of space. Space must remain peaceful, strike weapons should not be deployed there. Neither should they be developed. And let there also be a most rigorous control, including opening the relevant laboratories for inspection.

Mankind is at a crucial stage of the new space age. And it is time to abandon the thinking of the stone age, when the chief concern was to have a bigger stick or a heavier stone. We are against weapons in space. Our material and intellectual capabilities make it possible for the Soviet Union to develop any weapon if we are compelled to do this. But we are fully aware of our responsibility to the present and future generations. It is our profound conviction that we should approach the third millennium not with the *Star Wars* program but with large-scale projects of peaceful exploration of space by all mankind. We propose to start practical work on such projects and their implementation. This is one of the major ways of ensuring progress on our entire planet and establishing a reliable system of security for all.

To prevent the arms race from extending into space means to remove the obstacle to deep cuts in nuclear weapons. There is on the negotiating table in Geneva a Soviet proposal on reducing by one-half the relevant nuclear arms of the Soviet Union and the United States, which would be an important step towards a complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Barring the possibility of resolving the problem of space means not wanting to stop the arms race on earth. This should be stated in clear and straightforward terms. It is not by chance that the proponents of the nuclear arms race are also ardent supporters of the *Star Wars* program. These are the two sides of the same policy, hostile to the interests of people.

Let me turn to the European aspect of the nuclear problem. It is a matter of extreme con

cern that in defiance of reason and contrary to the national interests of the European peoples, American first-strike missiles continue to be deployed in certain West European countries. This problem has been under discussion for many years now. Meanwhile the security situation in Europe continues to deteriorate.

It is time to put an end to this course of events and cut this Gordian knot. The Soviet Union has for a long time been proposing that Europe should be freed from both intermediate-range and tactical nuclear weapons. This proposal remains valid. As a first radical step in this direction we are now proposing, as I have said, that even at the first stage of our program all intermediate-range ballistic and cruise missiles of the USSR and the USA in the European zone should be eliminated.

Achieving tangible practical results at the Geneva talks would give meaningful material substance to the program designed to totally eliminate nuclear arms by the year 2,000, which we are proposing.

IV. The Soviet Union considers as fully feasible the task of completely eliminating, even in this century, such barbaric weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons.

At the talks on chemical weapons within the framework of the Geneva conference on disarmament, certain signs of progress have recently appeared. However, these talks have been unreasonably protracted. We are in favor of intensifying the talks in order to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention prohibiting chemical weapons and destroying the existing stockpiles prohibiting chemical weapons and destroying the existing stockpiles of those weapons, as agreed with President Reagan in Geneva.

In the matter of banning chemical weapons, just like in other disarmament matters, all participants in the talks should take a fresh look at things. I would like to make it perfectly clear that the Soviet Union is in favor of an early and complete elimination of those weapons and of the industrial base for their production. We are prepared for a timely declaration of the location

of enterprises producing chemical weapons and for the cessation of their production and ready to start developing procedures for destroying the relevant industrial base and to proceed, soon after the convention enters into force, to eliminating the stockpiles of chemical weapons. All these measures would be carried out under strict control, including international on-site inspections.

A radical solution to this problem would also be facilitated by certain interim steps. For example, agreement could be achieved on a multilateral basis not to transfer chemical weapons to anyone and not to deploy them in the territories of other states. As for the Soviet Union, it has always strictly abided by those principles in its practical policies. We call upon other states to follow that example and show equal restraint.

V. Along with eliminating from the arsenals of states the weapons of mass destruction, the Soviet Union is proposing that conventional weapons and armed forces become subject to agreed reductions. Reaching agreement at the Vienna negotiations could signal the beginning of progress in this direction. Today it would seem that a framework is emerging for a possible decision to reduce Soviet and U.S. troops and subsequently freeze the level of armed forces of the opposing sides in Central Europe. The Soviet Union and our Warsaw Treaty allies are determined to achieve success at the Vienna talks. If the other side also wants this, 1986 could become a landmark for the Vienna talks too. We proceed from the understanding that a possible agreement on troop reductions would naturally require reasonable verification. We are prepared for it.

As for observing the commitment to freeze the numbers of troops, in addition to national technical means, permanent verification posts could be established to monitor any military contingents entering the reduction zone.

Let me now mention such an important forum as the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. It is called upon to place

barriers against the use of force or covert preparations for war, whether on land, at sea or in the air. The possibilities have now become evident.

In our view, especially in the current situation, it is essential to reduce the numbers of troops participating in major military maneuvers notifiable under the Helsinki Final Act.

It is time to begin dealing effectively with the problems still outstanding at the conference. It is known that the bottleneck there is the issue of notifications regarding major ground force, naval and air force exercises. Of course, those are serious problems and they must be addressed in a serious manner in the interests of building confidence in Europe. However, if their comprehensive solution can not be achieved at this time, why not explore ways of their partial solution, for instance reach agreement now about notifications of major ground force and air force exercises, postponing the question of naval activities until the next stage of the conference.

It is not an accident that the new Soviet initiatives in their considerable part are directly addressed to Europe. In achieving a radical turn toward the policy of peace, Europe could have a special mission. That mission is—erecting a new edifice of detente.

For this, Europe has a necessary historical experience, which is often unique. Suffice it to recall that the joint efforts of the Europeans, the United States and Canada produced the Helsinki Final Act. If there is a need for a specific and vivid example of new thinking and political psychology in approaching the problems of peace, cooperation and international trust, that historic document could in many ways serve as such an example.

VI. Ensuring security in Asia is of vital importance to the Soviet Union, which is a major Asian power. The Soviet program for eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the current century is in harmony with the sentiments of the peoples of the Asian continent, for whom the problems of peace and security are no less urgent than for the peoples of Europe. In this context one can not fail to recall

that Japan and its cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, became the victims of nuclear bombing and Vietnam a target hit by chemical weapons.

We highly appreciate the constructive initiatives put forward by the socialist countries of Asia and by India and other members of the nonaligned movement. We view as very important the fact that the two Asian nuclear powers, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, have both undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The implementation of our program would fundamentally change the situation in Asia, rid the nations in that part of the globe, too, of the fear of nuclear and chemical warfare, and bring the security in that region to a qualitatively new level.

We regard our program as a contribution to a search, together with all Asian countries, for an overall comprehensive approach to establishing a system of secure and durable peace in this continent.

VII. Our new proposals are addressed to the whole world. Initiating active steps to halt the arms race and reduce weapons is a necessary prerequisite for coping with the increasingly acute global problems, those of deteriorating human environment and of the need to find new energy sources and combat economic backwardness, hunger and disease. The pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development. The noose of the trillion-dollar foreign debt, which is now strangling dozens of countries and entire continents, is a direct consequence of the arms race. Over two hundred and fifty billion dollars annually siphoned out of the developing countries is the amount—practically equal to the size of the mammoth U.S. military budget. Indeed, this coincidence is far from accidental.

The Soviet Union wants each measure limiting and reducing arms and each step towards eliminating nuclear weapons not only to bring nations greater security but also to make it possible to allocate more funds for improving peo

ple's life. It is natural that the peoples seeking to put an end to backwardness and achieve the level of industrially developed countries associate the prospects of freeing themselves from the burden of foreign debt to imperialism, which is draining their economies, with limiting and eliminating weapons, reducing military expenditures and switching resources to the goals of social and economic development. This theme will undoubtedly figure most prominently at the international meeting on disarmament and development to be held next summer in Paris.

The Soviet Union is opposed to making the implementation of disarmament measures dependent on the so-called regional conflicts. Behind this is both the unwillingness to follow the path of disarmament and the desire to impose upon sovereign nations what is alien to them and what would make it possible to maintain profoundly unfair conditions whereby some countries live at the expense of others, exploiting their natural, human and spiritual resources for the selfish imperial purposes of certain states or aggressive alliances. The Soviet Union, as before, will continue to oppose this. It will continue consistently to advocate freedom for the peoples, peace, security, and a stronger international legal order. The Soviet Union's goal is not to whip up regional conflicts but to eliminate them through collective efforts on a just basis, and the sooner the better.

Today, there is no shortage of statements professing commitment to peace. What is really in short supply is concrete action to strengthen its foundations. All too often peaceful words conceal war preparations and power politics. Moreover, some statements made from high rostrums are in fact intended to eliminate any trace of that new *spirit of Geneva* which is having a salutary effect on international relations today. It is not only a matter of statements. There are also actions clearly designed to incite animosity and mistrust and to revive confrontation, which is antithetical to detente.

We reject such a way of acting and thinking. We want 1986 to be not just a peaceful year

but one that would enable us to reach the end of the twentieth century under the sign of peace and nuclear disarmament. The set of new foreign policy initiatives that we are proposing is intended to make it possible for mankind to approach the year 2,000 under peaceful skies and with peaceful space, without fear of nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation and fully confident of its own survival and of the continuation of the human race.

The new resolute measures now taken by the Soviet Union for the sake of peace and of improving the overall international situation give expression to the substance and the spirit of our internal and foreign policies and their organic unity. They reflect the fundamental historic law which was emphasized by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The whole world sees that our country is holding high the banner of peace, freedom and humanism raised over our planet by the Great October Revolution.

In the questions of preserving peace and saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war, no one should remain indifferent or stand aloof. This concerns everyone. Each state, large or small, socialist or capitalist, has an important contribution to make. Every responsible political party, every social organization and every person can also make an important contribution.

No task is more urgent, more noble and humane, than uniting all efforts to achieve this lofty goal. This task is to be accomplished by our generation without shifting it onto the shoulders of those who will succeed us. This is the imperative of our time. This, I would say, is the burden of historic responsibility for our decisions and actions in the time remaining until the beginning of the third millennium.

The course of peace and disarmament will continue to be pivotal to the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In actively pursuing this course, the Soviet Union is prepared to engage in wide-ranging cooperation with all who stand on positions of reason, good will and an awareness of responsibility for assuring mankind a future without wars or weapons. □

'Reagan, God and the Bomb'

BRUCE KIMMEL

F.H. Knelman, *Reagan, God and the Bomb*, Prometheus Books, 1985, 343 pages, cloth, \$19.95.

F.H. Knelman's new book is a complex work with a simple theme. Its complexity is due to the amount of technical information it contains and the broad range of topics it takes up. Every major weapon system developed during the Reagan years is discussed. It examines the ultra-Right influence, the role of the religious Right, and the peace movements in the U.S. and Western Europe.

Its theme is that the Reagan Administration, not the Soviet Union, is the main danger in the world. The author shows how Rightwing forces have been the principal determinants of U.S. foreign and military policy in the first half of the 1980s.

This is the book's strongest point. It rejects the notion that both countries share equal responsibility for the deadlock in disarmament negotiations and pins the blame squarely on the Reagan Administration, which, he argues, is willing to do anything in its drive to destroy socialism.

Knelman, a professor and activist in the Canadian peace movement, shows how the Reagan disarmament proposals were designed to insure rejection by the Soviet Union.

The book, however, has a major weakness. Written before the Geneva Summit, it despairingly projects the feeling that nothing can curb the Soviet-haters in Washington. Knelman invariably refers to the 1984 elections as a landslide for the ultra-Right, when in fact the President's coattails were far shorter than his victory margin.

Nor does he distinguish between support for Reagan, as an individual, and support for his policies. Polls before and since Reagan's "landslide" indicate that the majority of people in the U.S. do not favor confrontation with the Soviet Union. They are for disarmament and friendly relations. These are the sentiments that forced Reagan to abandon his warmongering and meet Gorbachev in Geneva.

The Summit was a major defeat for the ultra-Right. It started a process towards normalized U.S.-Soviet relations. It changed the political climate in the country, blunting the vicious anti-Soviet rhetoric of the ultra-Right and the President. Ultra-Rightists still play important roles in the Administration, but the mass pressure of the peace movement, as well as that coming from NATO governments, can not be ignored by Reagan.

Knelman does an excellent job describing the role of the religious Right and its influence on Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, both born-again Christians who believe in Armageddon. He creates the impression, though, that they are religious fanatics more influenced by Jerry Falwell than by the major weapons merchants, such as General Dynamics, Rockwell International, and McDonnell Douglas.

The informative chapter on Star Wars suffers from this problem. Knelman uses a variety of sources to refute the arguments for space weapons. He fits Star Wars into the overall first-strike strategy of the Pentagon but, unfortunately, has trouble explaining why the Administration stubbornly sticks to a program that virtually every expert says won't work. Knelman is only partially correct in attrib-

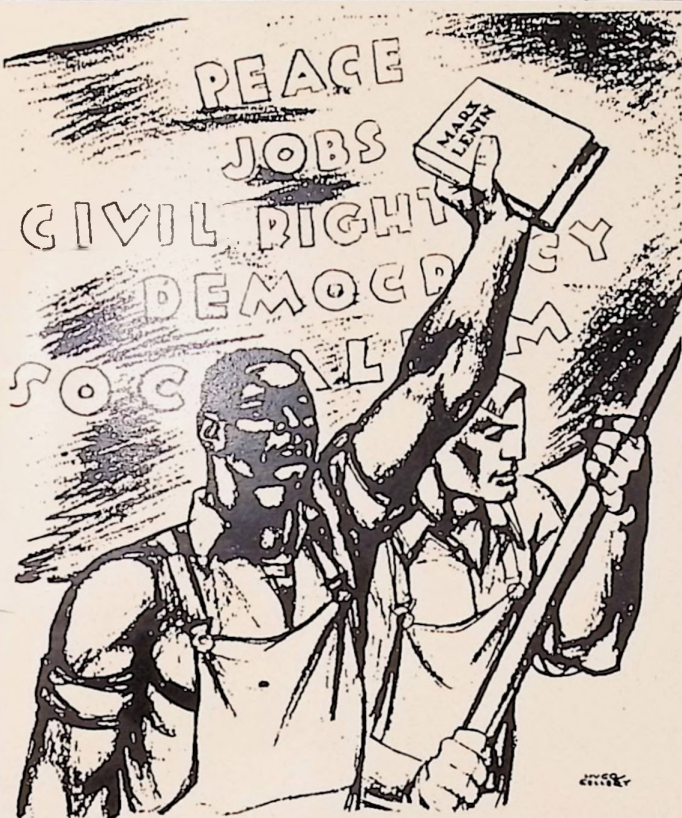
uting this to blind anti-Sovietism. The other factor—the corporations reaping huge profits from Star Wars contracts—is not discussed.

Knelman's analysis of Star Wars focuses on the technical aspects of space weapons. He shows how each component of the system either won't work or is easy to counter. One of his major arguments, however, misses the point: he believes the real purpose of Star Wars is to draw the Soviet Union into an arms race that it can not afford. The Soviets have said they could easily counter Star Wars by producing relatively cheap offensive weapons. Interestingly, Knelman also recognizes this possibility.

The main theme of the book is that the Reagan Administration is the source of danger in the world. In almost every chapter, Knelman shows that the Soviet positions on the major disarmament issues are reasonable but that the Reaganites, itching to attain a first-strike capability, refuse to negotiate seriously.

Nonetheless, the author is not free of anti-Soviet blinders. He makes general assertions — without documentation — that the Soviet Union is also responsible for many of the problems afflicting the world. Despite page after page of evidence proving otherwise, Knelman concludes that the U.S. remains the hope of the world. Here the author reflects some of the blindness he thoroughly analyzed when discussing the world view of the President and ultra-Right.

Despite its weaknesses, "Reagan, God, and the Bomb" is worthwhile. It disproves the idea that the U.S. and Soviet Union are equally responsible for the arms race and contains a wealth of information on the U.S. military buildup. It is an excellent resource in the struggle to counter the propaganda of the Reaganites and ultra-Right. □



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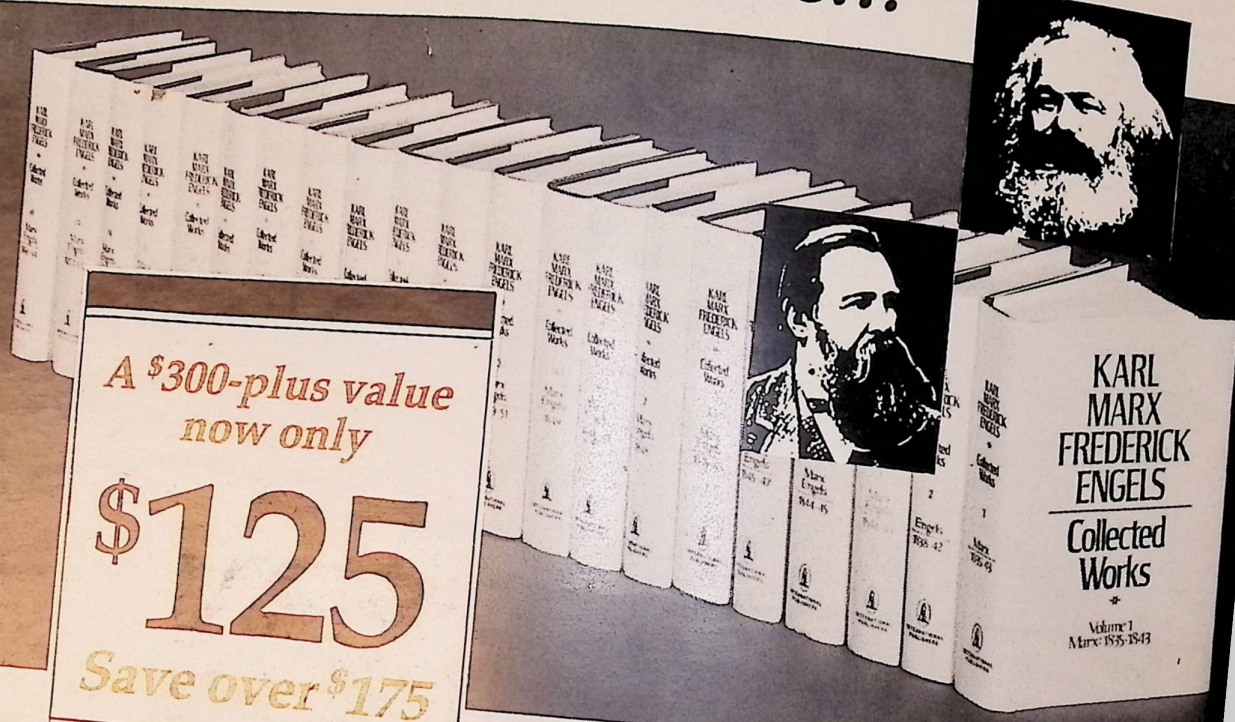
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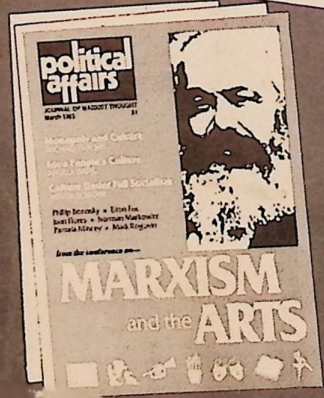
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