

political affairs

JULY 1979

AUTO 79

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Tim Wheeler

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National Auto Section, CPUSA

**YOUNG, BLACK
AND UNEMPLOYED:
A REPLY TO THE
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James Steele

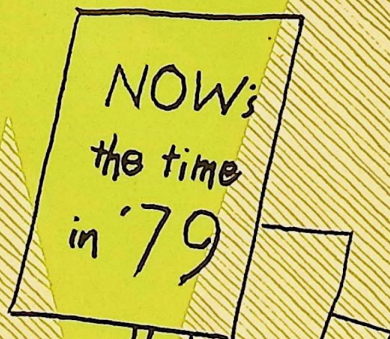
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political affairs

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

Vol, LVIII, No. 7

July 1979

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Political Affairs is published monthly by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc. at 235 West 23 Street, New York, New York 10011, to whom all orders, subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be addressed. Subscription rates: \$10 for one year; \$5 for six months; foreign subscriptions, including Canada, \$11 for one year; single issues, \$1. Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, New York. Phone (212) 620-3020.

From The Editors to You . . .

"The Making of a Columnist"

by guest columnist Abe Plumber

The editors invited me, as one of the most active volunteers in the PA office, to write something for this column. At first, I laughed at the idea—but they were serious about it. So, this is the short story of the making of a columnist.

One morning in the last months of 1978, while reading the *Daily World*, I noticed a call for volunteers "for good causes." I picked up the phone, called the number listed, and asked, "When shall I come—the sooner the better."

I was there the next morning, ready to pitch in for anyone who needed my help. I was assigned to fold papers, stuff envelopes of all sizes, and other jobs. I was not the only one; there were many devoted people who did the same. We worked on a number of projects for weeks and weeks. We had a big New Years Party—with eats and drinks—for all the volunteers and friends.

After the holidays, I continued my volunteer work with organizations that needed help, finally spending most of my time at *Political Affairs*. Here I found regular, productive activity and I enjoy every hour that I spend here.

The office of PA is not a large one, but we have two small rooms for working and filing. The whole staff and the other volunteers are most devoted. I feel like one of a family, and I am treated as the "old man in the family."

I have been reading PA since it began to appear almost 60 years ago, as I read the *Daily Worker*, and now the *Daily World* today. It is like a magnet; I can't wait for the day *Political Affairs* is delivered to the office.

Since I became involved here as a volunteer, I feel that I am continuing to grow and advance my education. And as I reach my 85th birthday on July 10, I think that I am ready for higher education.

MOVING?

Please remember to give us at least 30 days notice and to include both your old and your new address and zip code. In this way you insure the uninterrupted delivery of PA and save us the Post Office fee for an address change.

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Stop the Monopolies!

BETTY SMITH

Are you:

- *sick of sitting on that gas line and fed up with the ripoffs by the energy monopolies?*
- *angry and anxious about nuclear weapons, monopolies' greed for profits and their "no-care" attitude about the use of nuclear power?*
- *ready to shout loud and clear, "Down with inflation!" and "People's needs before monopoly's profits!"*
- *committed to the need for more jobs, with affirmative action?*
- *alarmed by the steady decay of the cities, and countryside and cut-backs in services?*

Well, the time and place to say so, where your voice will be in chorus with thousands, in a spirited expression of unity against the monopolies and the electoral racket they control is at the Rally featuring Gus Hall and Angela Davis in Cobo Hall, Detroit, on Sunday, August 26, 1979.

A pattern has developed over the years, wherein activists come together periodically on a national scale to express their specific concerns, as well as to demand more fundamental changes. We can recall the high points of various struggles for peace, for civil rights and against racism, to stop repression, for jobs, for independent political initiatives and similar questions.

The August 26th Cobo Hall Rally is part of and in this tradition. The Rally is sponsored by a committee of Communists and non-Communists, including auto and steel workers, Black and white, as well as builders of the early CIO, such as Frank Sykes, a retired Black auto worker; leaders of the progressive language press, such as Stanley Nowak of *Glos Ludowy*, who is also a former Michigan state senator; and many other trade unionists, community activists, youth and women's movement leaders from Detroit and other working-class cities. This will be the first public mass audience to hear Gus Hall and Angela Davis following the 22nd national convention of the Communist Party, which meets during the preceding week.

The Rally program features lively cultural entertainment by local, national and international talent. It will also be an enthusiastic, effective demonstration for the right of auto and steel workers, of all working people, youth, women, Black, white, Hispanic and all national groups to publicly hear Gus

Hall and Angela Davis present, first-hand, the broad outline of the working-class battles and anti-monopoly struggles ahead, and their interrelationship, into the 1980's.

The sponsors of the Rally, the committees working on it, and the hundreds who are now selling tickets throughout the greater Detroit area, throughout the whole industrial Great Lakes Basin, and in cities even further away to the East, South and West are at the core of the work to make the August 26th Rally one of national and international significance.

All who are concerned about the crises of today, who seek a deeper understanding of social change, who seek allies in their struggles, will find some answers at Cobo Hall.

The most effective, most noticed *protest* one can make is to be present in Cobo Hall on August 26. The act of exercising one's right to hear and consider a scientifically based view of class and social struggles is a positive, militant way to tell the monopolies that you have had it with the greed and their system of profits before people.

The strongest, loudest *demand* for real changes which will improve the living standard and quality of life for workers and their families—to roll back inflation, to stop the arms race, to fight racism and repression, placing people's needs before profits and for peace and detente—is to join with the thousands who will be present. The Cobo Hall Rally on August 26 looks ahead to the 1980s—a time for qualitative changes; its tumultuous message will resound for a long, long time.

For more information contact Rally Committee, (313) 923-0110, 2631 Gratiot, Detroit, Michigan 48207.

Senate Under the Gun on SALT II

TIM WHEELER

The U.S. Senate faces the most critical foreign policy test of the decade this summer following the signing of a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) by Presidents Carter and Brezhnev during the June 15 Geneva summit.

Will the Senate uphold the mandate it has from 81 per cent or more of the American people and ratify this treaty, preserving the only viable process for controlling and ultimately ending the nuclear arms race? Or will it surrender to a diehard minority of anti-Soviet warhawks linked to the military-industrial complex and kill the treaty, pushing the U.S. back towards the policy of cold war brinkmanship?

As this is being written, many senators are playing the SALT II issue close to their chests, lying low in hopes of avoiding the hostile anti-SALT barrage laid down by the relative handful of outright SALT enemies in the Senate, who number about 13 according to Americans for SALT.

The arithmetic of the SALT II fight would seem to favor the hawks, since they need only 34 Senate votes to torpedo ratification whereas supporters must garner 67 votes—two-thirds plus one—for ratification. But this is no ordinary issue and many of those who might be counted in the anti-SALT camp are not necessarily so. They are hedging their bets. Senator Robert Dole (R-Kansas), generally a Right-winger, recently warned his colleagues that the Republican Party would be rejected by the people if it became identified as the party of opposition to SALT II.

The Lineup

There are already several headcounts. The Baron Report of May 11, a newsletter for Wall Street bankers, etc., lists 39 senators as "certain supporters" with another 12 as "probable supporters" and a "swing group of 17," a list of 13 "probable opponents" and 19 "certain opponents."

Americans for SALT, on the other hand, lists 22

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

senators as "definitely for," 13 as "definitely against" and the rest as either leaning this way or that or as "undeclared, no response, uncertain, or up for grabs."

Several facts stand out in these nosecounts. First is the *large* bloc in the "undeclared" category, and the second is the relatively small number in *both* polls counted as "definitely against."

This is the sort of lineup in which mass popular pressure for SALT II can be decisive. The senators are waiting to see which way the wind is blowing.

Demagogic Maneuvers

The opposition to SALT in the Senate, knowing that outright opposition would expose them too badly, is resorting to maneuvers. Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) is threatening to introduce a series of "killer" amendments which will enable him and other warhawks to pose as supporters of an "improved" version of SALT II. Jackson's amendments on phony issues such as "verification of Soviet compliance" and limiting the Soviet Backfire bomber, etc., have been denounced by the Carter Administration as a demagogic cover for concealed opposition to SALT itself. (More on this later.)

Recently, Senators William Proxmire (D-Wis.), George McGovern (D-S.D.) and Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), who had been counted as SALT II supporters, sent a letter to President Carter threatening to join the ultra-Right in voting against SALT II on grounds that it "redirects" rather than curbs the arms race. They cited Carter's threats to go forward with the MX mobile missile and charged that he was holding out the MX as a sort of bargaining chip to win the votes of warhawks for SALT II.

This too is a demagogic maneuver that plays into the hands of the warhawks from a pseudo "Left" stance. First of all, although Carter has said that he will go ahead with the MX, his decision to drop the B-1 bomber shows that he can be forced to retreat on these weapons systems. Secondly, defeat of SALT II would almost certainly *guarantee* MX de-

ployment, along with many other new weapons systems, whereas ratification of SALT II will improve the prospects of blocking the MX. Finally, it is untrue that SALT II only "redirects" instead of curbing the arms race.

Here is how Ambassador Gerard Smith, negotiator of SALT I, appraises the significance of SALT II: *"SALT II would for the first time place limits on all types of central strategic systems, bombers as well as ballistic and cruise missiles. For the first time, it would partially reverse the arms competition in offensive systems and call for a reduction from an existing force level."*

In a speech to an audience in New Orleans, Ambassador Smith pointed out that SALT I created a framework for normalizing relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union including a Standing Consultative Committee to oversee SALT compliance which has "met frequently and operated successfully." He added: "Both Presidents Ford and Carter have certified that there have been no violations of the 1972 [SALT I] agreements."

Through SALT, he said "we have gained confidence that certain commitments taken by the Soviet Union in strategic arms limitations can be verified. We are approaching SALT II not as something new and untried, but as a process that we have learned to live with and to count on."

Clearly, if SALT II is rejected due to non-support of the three liberal senators, then this vital process will have been badly damaged.

Another senator who is maneuvering is Sam Nunn (D-Ge.), a member of the Armed Services Committee who is considered a crucial swing vote. Nunn fancies himself as an expert of defense matters and is regarded as sufficiently influential. It is estimated that he may bring half a dozen Southern senators along with him should he decide to vote for ratification. In an April 30 speech to the National Chamber of Commerce, Nunn took a coy position listing 8 different weapons systems that would have to be beefed up with billions of dollars in appropriations "with or without SALT." This indicated he is using his vote to bargain for these weapons. He called the U.S. position in the arms race "clinging parity," yet enigmatically concluded, "I agree with those who believe that arms control is a moral imperative."

Nunn is not to be written off. He supported the

Panama Canal Treaty, voted against natural gas deregulation and in favor of two Senate seats for the District of Columbia—in essence, an anti-racist position.

There are other crucial senators who are also subject to voter pressure to swing them to the pro-SALT column. Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), the minority leader, was crucial to winning Senate ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty and could play a similar role on SALT II. Majority leader Robert F. Byrd is a master of killing progressive legislation by damning with faint praise—giving token, verbal support, such as he gave to labor law reform. Pressure must be exerted to force him to give genuine support for the treaty. Even senators of longstanding warhawk record like John Stennis (D-Miss.), Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Jackson of Washington, both of whom voted for SALT I, must receive a flood of mail demanding that they actively work for SALT.

Public Support Overwhelming

The overwhelming public support for SALT II has been a largely spontaneous mass sentiment lacking organized form, in stark contrast to the noisy, lavishly financed, highly orchestrated but numerically small SALT opposition. Dramatically, this spring, this situation began to change. A grassroots citizens group called Americans for SALT (AFS) was organized, enlisting the support of a broad array of churches, Jewish organizations, civil rights groups and trade unions. Among the initiators of this organization are Benjamin Hooks, Exec. Secretary of the NAACP, United Autoworker President Douglas Fraser, Machinists' President William Winpisinger and John Ryor, President of the National Education Association. The United Steelworkers made SALT II the major issue at its recent Executive Board meeting in Pittsburgh. After hearing reports by National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and by Senator John Culver (D-Iowa), a member of the Armed Services Committee who staunchly supports SALT II, the board voted unanimously for a resolution which stated, "We believe such a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty between the two most powerful nations in the world will be in the best interests of world peace, will be another vital step in bringing nuclear weapons under control and will avoid a dangerous and costly nuclear arms race."

SALT II, it added, "will help insure survival in the nuclear age and avoid the unimaginable and unacceptable consequences of nuclear war."

The steel union rejected the hysterical fabrications of the cold-war news media on the phony "verification" issue, declaring: "national security will not be endangered. We will be able to adequately monitor compliance by the Soviet Union."

The United Auto Workers, at its February Legislative Conference in Washington attended by 1,800 UAW activists, made SALT II ratification a top priority for the nation's autoworkers. In a statement released at this conference, the UAW blasted "traditional cold war opposition" to SALT II. UAW Secretary Treasurer Emil Mazey said it would be a disaster if SALT is not ratified. The statement pointed out that the American people, because of Pentagon spending, "have forfeited huge sums of money—\$2 trillion over the past 30 years—that could have gone towards national health insurance, full employment, and rebuilding our cities."

"The Soviets have as much interest in avoiding a nuclear attack as we do," the UAW statement continued. "We must work together on how to limit the spread of nuclear weapons to third countries. . . . The Soviets have already shown good faith in complying with the SALT I treaty and would like to shift their military spending to meeting more domestic needs." The nuclear arms race, it added, "has decreased rather than increased our security. This is the time to freeze the nuclear arms race."

Other unions both inside and outside the AFL-CIO have either endorsed SALT already or have indicated they will soon. This includes the International Longshoremens and Warehousemens Union (ILWU), which adopted a convention resolution endorsing SALT, and the National Education Association, which belongs to Americans for SALT. Others expected to join the battle include the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE), the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butchers Workmen of North America, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and many others.

The prospects now are good for swinging the labor movement solidly into the fight for SALT ratification. Indeed, the number of supporters of SALT II on the AFL-CIO Executive Council has grown strong enough that President George Meany

at the February Executive Council meeting gavelled down an attempt by Teacher Union President Albert Shanker and AFL-CIO Sec. Treas. Lane Kirkland to ram through an anti-SALT amendment. Meany said the AFL-CIO will await the text of the treaty before reaching a decision. But in fact, this reflected the strength of anti-cold war, pro-peace and detente forces within the labor movement especially among the industrial unions with their increasingly active Black, Latino and white rank-and-file movements.

Another factor contributing to the change in atmosphere is the powerful wave of anti-nuclear demonstrations that swept the country following the March 28 accident at Metropolitan Edison's Three Mile Island nuclear power station. This accident blasted forever the glib assurances of corporate and Pentagon public relations men that a nuclear disaster "just couldn't happen." It exposed both the civilian and military nuclear profiteers as deceitful moneygrubbers prepared to sacrifice human health and safety for large volumes of fast bucks.

Over 125,000 people marched on Pennsylvania Avenue May 6 under a sea of banners denouncing the nuclear merchants of death, chanting "We say no to the neutron bomb" and "No More Hiroshimas." Another 25,000 in Colorado marched on the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Arsenal operated by Rockwell International, where nearby residents are dying of cancer; a U.S. Senate hearing in Salt Lake City, meanwhile, revealed that residents in the area of Saint George, Utah are dying of cancer from the Pentagon's A-Bomb testing in the atmosphere during the 1950s and these victims are joining the fight. Almost 5,000 marched to protest the launching of the first Trident Nuclear submarine in New London, Conn., and to demand conversion of the Electric Boat Yard owned by General Dynamics to peaceful production; 4,000 demonstrated at the nuclear weapons research laboratory at Livermore, California and 4,000 marched to the United Nations chanting "Pass SALT II" in an action sponsored by Mobilization for Survival.

Not all of these actions have centered on demands for SALT ratification, but all of them have strongly linked the dangers of nuclear power in the hands of corporate profiteers to the even graver danger of steadily growing nuclear weapons stockpiles. The challenge for Left and progressive peace activists is to channel this movement, the largest upwelling of

peace protest action since the Vietnam War, into millions of letters, telegrams, and personal visits to senators demanding their vote for SALT II.

Anti-SALT Organizations.

The initiative in the SALT debate is also beginning to shift. At first, hawks preempted the field, enjoying a virtual monopoly of the news columns and broadcast airwaves provided by the *New York Times*, CBS, and other big business news media enemies of SALT. The supporters of the treaty remained largely silent as the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, the Committee on the Present Danger, the National Strategy Information Center (NSIC), and the American Conservative Union pumped out a torrent of distortions and outright falsehoods against SALT II.

All of these anti-SALT outfits are linked together by a network of the most virulent cold-war, racist labor baiters in Washington. The Coalition For Peace Through Strength is a front for the American Security Council (ASC) which maintains at its Culpepper, Va. headquarters the largest private spy files on union organizers, civil rights and peace activists in existence for the use of corporations seeking to blacklist employees. Among its biggest contributors are notorious union busters such as Sears-Roebuck.

A kingpin of the ASC is retired Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, former Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency. He boasted to this writer in a telephone interview that the ASC raised \$2 million last year for its anti-detente incitement campaign and plans this year "to raise \$10 million of which \$4 million will be spent on our SALT effort."

Actually, observers believe ASC will spend most of its funds on the anti-SALT campaign since it has become a virtual single-issue obsession with the group. The Peace Through Strength outfit counts among its members more than a dozen U.S. senators, including Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn (Republicans of Utah), who spearheaded the filibuster to kill Labor Law Reform and who now seek to repeal the Davis Bacon Act, the Occupational Safety and Health Act and every other pro-labor law on the books. Other senators connected with the outfit are rabid racists like Jessie Helms (R-NC) and Strom Thurmond (R-SC), Laxalt (R-Nev.) Armstrong (R-Colo.), Cochran (R-Miss.), Jepsen (R-Iowa), McClure

(R-Ida.) Schweiker (R-Pa.) and Wallop (R-Wyo.)

The position of this ultra-Right clique is made clear in an April statement by Peace Through Strength which questioned "*whether the U.S. should have ever attempted to reach a strategic arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.*"

U.S.-Soviet strategic equality or "parity," it added, "*is a condition which places the United States at a significant disadvantage because of the differences in military strength of the two nations.*"

Their statement urged the Senate to not only reject SALT II, but also to "*now terminate the SALT I ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) Treaty so that it can defend its citizens against Soviet missiles.*"

The Coalition for Peace Through Strength has a stable full of retired military brass to serve as high-level provocateurs against the treaty. Among them is former Gen. John K. Singlaub, who was removed as commander of U.S. forces in South Korea after he openly challenged Pres. Carter's announced policy of withdrawing U.S. troops. Another is retired Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is such a rabid enemy of SALT that in 1972 he was caught spying on the National Security Council. Moorer had planted an undercover agent on the NSC staff to spy on Kissinger during the SALT I negotiations. These were fascist-like acts of sedition. They have been joined by General Alexander M. Haig, Nixon's Watergate "Chief of Staff," who just retired as Commander-in-Chief of NATO, where he spent years twisting the arms of European leaders to force them to accept deployment of the people-killer neutron bomb in their countries. Haig has presidential ambitions.

It is important to understand what these elements, with their powerful corporate backing and dangerous base in the U.S. Senate, are actually saying. They are not attacking simply the specific terms of the SALT II treaty. *They reject SALT on any terms.* Their statement attacks the most fundamental principle that underlies SALT I, SALT II and which will also guide SALT III. That is the principle of "parity," that the strategic capacity of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union is in fact roughly equivalent and of such enormous destructive power that a nuclear war is unthinkable except for a madman bent on suicide. SALT upholds the concept that neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union should pursue policies or practices that could upset this balance. SALT embodies the

principle that by a steady process of mutual negotiations, these nuclear stockpiles should, step-by-step, be disqualified. SALT II, for the first time requires the two sides to establish equal aggregates of nuclear missile delivery systems—thus establishing this arithmetic parity.

The statement of principles of Peace Through Strength calls for the U.S. to repudiate all of this and to seek, in their words, "Overall Military/Technology Superiority over the Soviet Union." They would wreck SALT and push the U.S. to a renewed, futile drive to achieve "superiority" through full-fledged construction of an ABM system, the price tag for which was \$100 billion when it was scrapped by SALT I in 1972 and is perhaps twice as much now.

They would push the U.S. to construct nuclear fallout shelters at an even more horrendous cost. The advocates of this policy are the same as those who rave about a "counterforce doctrine" of "limited nuclear war."

What they are seeking is to impose a preemptive nuclear first-strike war policy upon the United States. The logic of their position is a third world war against the Soviet people in which hundreds of millions of men, women and children of all countries, the U.S. included, would die. They are the most dangerous reactionary force in the U.S. today. Isolating and defeating them *requires* Senate ratification of SALT II.

The Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) is the bed partner of these fascist-like forces. Its purpose is to provide a cover for the collaboration of ultra-Right elements with rabid anti-Sovieters, such as the Right-wing Social Democrats, USA (SDUSA) and Zionists. Among the sponsors of CPD is AFT President Albert Shanker, a honcho of SDUSA, Lane Kirkland, Sec. Treas. of the AFL-CIO, Sol Chaikin of the Ladies Garment Workers Union, also a leader of SDUSA, and Norman Podhoretz of *Commentary* magazine as well as a long list of Wall Street bankers and corporate executives. The co-chairman of CPD is David Packard, former Deputy Sec. of Def. and owner of Hewlett-Packard, a major Pentagon contractor. The chief spokesman for CPD is former Undersecretary of the Navy Paul Nitze, who once told a Senate committee hearing that he believes a nuclear war could be "fought and won" and that the U.S. should

prepare for it.

Nitze also serves as chief spokesman for the National Strategy Information Center, a Right-wing think tank whose main moneybag is Joseph Coors, owner of the Colorado brewing empire. Coors, who serves on the Advisory Council of NSIC, and also on the Advisory Council of the union-busting National Right to Work Committee, has used such vicious strikebreaking tactics against his employees that the AFL-CIO has initiated a boycott against Coors beer. Coors bankrolls the Committee for the Preservation of a Free Congress, the Heritage Foundation and the American Conservative Union, all of which are united in mobilizing the Senate against SALT II ratification. Coors is closely tied, as well, to the crypto-fascist John Birch Society.

The Strategy Information Center's ties to Coors did not prevent Al Shanker from accepting an invitation to deliver a red-baiting speech to an NSIC luncheon, March 28, in which Shanker decried the growing unity of Left and Center forces within the labor movement. Shanker told his Right-wing, unionbusting audience that "More and more of those who come out of school and have been educated in the new history believe that the cold war was a creation of the United States... A kind of primitive, Marxist class solidarity on these economic issues and 'forget about this defense stuff' becomes very appealing to a bunch of people who lost a battle" for labor law reform and other labor goals, Shanker said. Alliances, he said, are springing up with progressive groups "with whom these unions in the past would not have found themselves in the same room..."

On no issue is this Left-Center alliance clearer than on SALT II, which Shanker seeks to kill.

SALT Supporters

Supporters of SALT II in Congress, in the Carter Administration, and in the general SALT II movement, have begun to answer the ultra-Right barrage in recent weeks. Former Air Force Undersecretary Townsend Hoopes, co-chairman of Americans for SALT, at a news conference to rebut the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, branded their statement as a "Strangelove scenario" that would make a "nuclear first-strike more tempting." The Soviets "adhere to a war avoidance strategy," he added. The AFS released a statement pointedly stating,

"It is a known tenet of Soviet military thinking that there is no logical firebreak in the application of nuclear weapons. Soviet planners do not believe—as some American strategists—in the possibility of discrete, limited nuclear warfare, particularly in Europe."

Senate supporters of SALT II are becoming more active. Senate majority whip Alan Cranston (D-Cal.) has set up the SALT Working Group, drawing together a number of senators regularly to discuss SALT and the strategy for ratification. Cranston rejects slanders that the Soviet Union is preparing for nuclear war. "A more credible thesis," he said March 7 on the Senate floor "is that the Soviet Union, having suffered the terrible national experience of losing millions of its people in war, conducts its foreign and military policies so as to avoid the ultimate risk of destroying Soviet society."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) in a speech to the annual convention of the Arms Control Association this spring called for "bipartisan support" for SALT II as a step towards "reducing the dangers of war, particularly a nuclear war capable of devastating the globe." Warhawks, he said, seek to "undermine our national security by advocating a nuclear arms race instead of nuclear arms control with the Soviet Union."

In the past two years, the Soviet Union has worked tirelessly to bring the senators around, welcoming large numbers of U.S. Congressmen, reminding them of the U.S.-Soviet anti-Nazi alliance by taking them to monuments to Soviet war dead. Soviet President Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders have met with these senators to explain the Soviet Union's policy of support for SALT II.

President Carter also lashed back at the SALT enemies, charging that failure of the Senate to ratify would brand the U.S. as a "warmonger" in the eyes of humanity. In a speech April 25 to the American Newspaper Publishers Association Carter said failure to ratify would plunge the U.S. into a "dark nightmare of unrestrained arms competition." He defended the central SALT principle of strategic parity, stating, "Neither side is in a position to exploit its nuclear weapons for political purposes nor to use its strategic weapons without facing almost certain suicide." Without SALT II, the SALT process itself would be shattered, making impossible achievement of SALT III, he continued. Rejection "would mean

a radical turning away from America's long-term policy of seeking world peace, the control of nuclear weapons and the easing of tensions between Americans and the Soviet people under a system of international law based on mutual interests."

Carter rejected those cold-war elements who talk of "linkage" of SALT II to other issues such as the phony "human rights" attack on the Soviet Union. Carter also flatly rebuffed enemies of SALT in the Senate who have promised to introduce a host of "killer" amendments to the SALT II.

This is the ploy that Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), an anti-Soviet hardliner, has promised to pursue. Carter told the editors: "The alternative to this treaty is not a perfect agreement drafted unilaterally by the United States in which we gain everything and the Soviets nothing. The alternative, now, and in the foreseeable future is no agreement at all."

David Aaron, a specialist on the SALT II treaty for the National Security Council, elaborated on the Administration stand against the "killer" amendment ploy during a recent briefing for news editors. Aaron charged that these senators are not genuinely concerned with "imperfections in the treaty," adding, "The thrust of those who oppose SALT II is that they have fundamental reservations about the *process*, about *having* SALT." He said the amendment routine is, in reality, an unconstitutional ploy to force the Soviets to "negotiate with the Congress."

These Administration statements reflect the fact that a powerful section of the U.S. ruling class recognizes that the U.S. *needs* SALT II as much as the Soviets do, that the arms race has become a colossal drag on the economy, a cause of inflation and unemployment. Yet the Administration, reflecting its schizophrenia on the issue, continues to promise ever larger military budgets within the SALT framework.

Administration Strategy

Carter has warned that there will be no reduction in military spending as a consequence of SALT II and has indicated that he leans towards production and deployment of the dangerous MX mobile missile, the neutron bomb, the cruise missile, beefed up spending for NATO, more naval warships, including the Trident submarine, etc. Part of this reflects Carter's own basically hawkish background and the

fact that SALT II is the expression of a "forced retreat" by U.S. imperialism, which has failed in its policy of a "rollback" of communism.

But it also reflects shorter term *tactical* considerations. Carter is attempting to buy the votes of senators closely aligned with the Pentagon by promising them highly lucrative new weapons systems in exchange for supporting SALT II.

It remains a question what timetable the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will follow when hearings on the treaty begin after the Geneva summit. Foreign Relations Chairman Frank Church (D-Ida.), is expected to support SALT II, but warhawks on the committee will attempt to stall the hearings and the danger is that the Senate debate will drag on and become mired in the maneuvering around the 1980 presidential elections. Majority leader Robert F. Byrd has announced that the treaty will reach the floor in October. President Carter has indicated that he will have to declare sometime before the New Hampshire primary next February, which gives some time frame for the Administration. Peace forces must press Church and Byrd for quick ratification of the treaty without amendments.

Action Urgently Needed

The peace movement, including groups such as SANE and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, which are actively mobilizing for SALT II, has sharply criticized Carter's strategy of appeasing the warhawks in order to cajole them into supporting SALT II. They point out that Carter's attempt to ride in two directions at once has had the effect of confusing the overwhelming majority of

the people who support SALT II. One peace leader told this writer, "It is pretty hard for a rank-and-file lay person to understand Carter when he tells them that the result of SALT II will be an *increase* in the Pentagon budget."

The upshot is that Carter fails in convincing the warhawks who know that no matter how much Carter promises them with SALT, they will get still more without it. And at the same time, he fails to mobilize the millions who would be won if they saw a large "peace dividend" from SALT ratification. It would be fatal, clearly, to depend on Carter to push SALT II through the Senate on the basis of this strategy.

The people must take this issue into their own hands, fighting for SALT II on their own grounds. Ratification of SALT II is only another step in the struggle to reverse the arms race, and not the last. Already, in the improved atmosphere of U.S.-Soviet relations, the Administration and Soviet leaders are discussing steps *beyond* SALT II, including SALT III and job-creating trade between the two nations based on removal of cold-war trade barriers and the granting of non-discriminatory most favored nation status. The Soviets are taking steps to break the logjam in the Vienna talks on Mutual Force Reductions in Europe.

With SALT II, the U.S. and the Soviet Union can take the next steps towards building a world based upon complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence, liberating tens of billions of our tax dollars to meet the peoples' needs. These are the life and death stakes of this battle.

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tion, into adventurism or developing anti-trade union and anti-white positions as their main line of thinking. This says a lot about the impact of the growing class consciousness of Black workers on the thinking and action of Black youth. Yet, danger signs—the Safeway strike in California in which Black and Chicano youth were successfully used as strikebreakers—have appeared on the horizon. This is one example of why it is so necessary for the trade union movement to respond by actively defending and aggressively fighting for the right of Black youth to decent jobs and equality.

This is why it is necessary, particularly in the youth movement, to wage a firm struggle against the political, ideological and moral corruption of Black youth with reformism and class collaborationism. This task includes the fight against the penetration of anti-working class, anti-union, anti-Communist and narrow nationalist concepts as well as the cult of sex, drugs, violence and hedonism. It is necessary to appeal to the heroic sense of historic purpose of Black youth, to win them to the class struggle, and to help cultivate and develop them as an ever more militant force of the antimonopoly and revolutionary movements.

The '79 Negotiations in Auto

NATIONAL AUTO SECTION, CPUSA

On September 14 the United Auto Workers (UAW) contracts with the Big Three auto manufacturers will expire. Union and management negotiators start meeting July 16. The UAW began its preparations during the spring with conferences of skilled and production workers and a Special Collective Bargaining Convention to frame demands for the negotiations.

At this point the auto workers' struggle for a decent contract is at the front line of the class struggle. It will to a large degree determine the living standards and working conditions of the over 800,000 UAW members who work for the Big Three for the next number of years. It will set the pattern for some 200,000 more UAW members working for other auto parts and agricultural implement manufacturers whose contracts will come up later this year. It will set the pace for the hundreds of thousands of other workers in other unions who will go to the bargaining table before the year is out.

We look at the coming negotiations in auto with two questions in mind. What do the workers need? And what will it take to win it?

Auto Company Boom and Auto Worker Bust

The three years since the last contract was negotiated have been a period of boom for the auto companies and bust for the auto workers.

Forced overtime, speedup, job combination and repeated price hikes combined to push 1978 after-tax auto industry profits to an all-time high of over \$5 billion—\$14 million every day, including Sundays.

But the after-tax profit figures reported by the companies are only the tip of the iceberg. If everything is taken into account—salaries, stock options and bonuses for executives; phony expenses; tax breaks, etc.—Big Three profits would approach \$15 billion for 1978.

General Motors led the pack in 1978 with \$3.5 billion in after-tax profits. That's over \$8,000 per worker. Ford had its second best year ever with

\$1.59 billion in after-tax profits. That's over \$9,000 per worker.

Chrysler has been crying about what a hard time it's having making ends meet, reporting a loss for 1978 of \$205 million.

But this claim deserves a closer look. Chrysler has always had its ups and downs due to its own mismanagement and waste. The company reported a loss in 1978, but in 1977 after-tax profits were \$163.2 million. And in 1976 after-tax profits reached a record level of \$422.6 million. Thus over the past three years Chrysler has averaged \$127 million a year in after-tax profits. Not up to GM and Ford standards, but still better than the best year American Motors ever had.

Even with the losses reported in 1978, Chrysler managed to pay its President Lee Iacocca \$364,000 salary plus even more in other compensation. Vice-president John J. Ricardo made \$360,131 that year.

Also in 1978 Chrysler stockholders received \$65 million in dividends. The company paid out \$166 million in interest to banks.

It was a boom year for the executives at GM and Ford too. GM Chairman Thomas A. Murphy made \$996,000 and President Eliot M. Estes made \$943,000. Ford Chairman Henry Ford II made \$1,057,070; and President Phillip Caldwell, \$1,040,120. Ford Executive Vice President J. Edward Lundy had to scrape by on \$1,000,928.

It was a boom year for the stockholders too. During the 1976-78 period the auto industry's average annual rate of return on investment was 19 per cent, compared to an average rate of 14.9 per cent in manufacturing.

For auto workers these three years have been a bust.

The workers' share of the product compared to the companies' was pitifully small and growing smaller. For example, according to the UAW's monthly newspaper, *Solidarity*, in 1947 the average GM worker (working every day with no vacation) and the owner of 1003 shares of GM stock (not

working at all) would have each received \$3009. By the end of 1978 that worker would have earned \$279,000 if she or he had never missed a day of work. But the investor would have accumulated \$597,000 in dividends and another \$270,600 in stock value, without every doing a day's work.

So much for the myth that auto workers are not exploited.

Inflation has hit double digit levels again. On basic items such as food and natural gas price rises have topped 18 per cent in the last year.

While the companies have been enjoying their boom, runaway inflation has been eating up workers' paychecks. Last year non-farm production workers saw their real spendable earnings drop nearly 2 per cent. Real wage losses since 1972 total over 6 per cent.

And it's been a bust on the shop floor. Those record profits come first of all from the sweat and blood of the workers on the line. There it has been a time of speed-up to and beyond the limits of human endurance, forced overtime making for 50 and 60 hour work weeks, constant danger of injury, and never ending harassment from the company. Racism and discrimination have reached new heights, adding an extra burden for minority and women workers, and extra profits for the Big Three.

Predictions for the future of the industry make the picture even gloomier. Rising new car and gasoline prices and declining real wages have combined to produce lagging car sales, down 20 per cent from 1978 in the last third of May. Many analysts are predicting at least a 10 per cent decline in auto sales this year.

The layoffs have already started as the auto companies in some areas try to clear out inventory while elsewhere they cut the workforce and speed up the line. As of mid-June Chrysler had over 20,000 on indefinite layoff. Ford had over 5,000 on indefinite layoff. And many others were working short weeks or only every other week.

In addition, Chrysler has just announced its criminal decision to shut down its Hamtramck Assembly plant, known as Dodge Main, at the end of the 1980 model year. Over 1000 workers will be laid off at the end of the 1979 model, July 15. This shutdown will directly affect some 8000 Dodge Main workers and their families—the majority of

whom are Black and Arab—as well as the surrounding communities.

UAW vice-president and head of the union's Chrysler division, Mark Stepp, recently announced that the Chrysler Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund, which along with state unemployment comp guaranteed laid-off workers 89 per cent of their earnings, would be wiped out by early August.

Big Three Strategy

As we go into the 1979 negotiations, the auto companies have made their strategy clear.

Speaking before the Economic Club of New York in 1975, GM Chairman Thomas A. Murphy set the course for the future negotiations. He said, "the historic test will be whether these agreements make even further commitments to cost without commensurate provisions for productivity improvement.

Later in the same speech Murphy stated, "Those who sit at the bargaining tables... must recognize that a rising level of national productivity is the basis—the only basis—for a rising standard of national well-being. This is a fundamental fact of economic life that all must recognize and act upon. When *compensation* per man hour rises significantly more than *output* per man hour, then unit costs are inflated and great pressure is put on prices and profitability."

Murphy then called on American labor to "waken to and act upon a basic truth: only as we improve the *output* of an hour's labor can we prudently increase the compensation which labor has earned... The fair balance of productivity and compensation must become a national mission for management and labor alike."

Murphy was declaring war on wages and benefits. Future increases were to be tied to productivity. In fact the future was to bring proposals for cuts, for takeaways. And Murphy was calling on labor to participate in his "national mission."

What is the truth about U.S. autoworkers' wages and productivity?

One answer came from a recent issue of *Solidarity*. In 1957, 603,000 auto workers built 7.2 million cars and trucks; in 1977, 699,200 auto workers built 12.6 million cars and trucks. Production rose 74.6 per-

cent with only 15.8 per cent more workers. During the same period real average hourly earnings rose only 41.4 per cent.

Looking at GM in particular, a recent UAW report noted that:

Taking the last three years as a whole (1976-78), GM's return on investment averaged a remarkable 22.5%. This was a stellar performance even in comparison to the corporation's own prior history. During the 28 years from 1948 through 1975, GM's after-tax profits represented an average annual return of just under 19% on stockholders investment. Clearly, in the last three years, as in most others during the postwar period, GM could have easily paid its workers substantially higher wages, or charged consumers significantly less for its products—or both—and *still* earned a rate of profit well above the average of all manufacturing.

Despite this the company persists in complaining about erosion of its profit margin and increases in labor costs: Its 1978 after-tax profit was equal to 5.5% of sales, down from 6.1% in 1977, and 6.7% in 1973.

Given the magnitude of outlays in connection with the company's new model programs, and costs associated with meeting government-mandated fuel economy, emissions and safety regulations, it would have been remarkable if GM *had* maintained its profit margin. What is remarkable is the corporation's implied claim that it is entitled to the same mark-up on these socially necessary expenses as on other costs of building a car—which means that GM believes that consumers should pay not only every penny of these legally mandated expenses, but the company's full and customary profit on them as well. Moreover by relying more on outside suppliers and vendors and less on captive supplier plants, over the last dozen or so years, GM has made a conscious business decision which it knew full well would result in lower profit margins, in order to improve the barometer of profitability which it really cares about—return on investment.

While GM grumbles in public about eroding margins, the company *continues to base executive bonuses on return on investment*. Complaints about inflation and a lower profit margin did not prevent the corporation from setting aside a record \$168.4 million under the bonus plan for the executives in 1978... up 20.5% from 1976...

The company has made a big pitch about "holding the line" on top pay in keeping with President Carter's anti-inflation program. "The aggregate salaries of the current total officer group...increased by less than 4% in 1978" according to a GM press release. What the company didn't say was that a 4% increase could translate into nearly \$40,000 for the top members of GM's elite, who *already* earn as much as 60 times what the fully employed average GM production worker makes.

We have already noted above the rake-off of GM stockholders.

Continuing Murphy's line in 1979, the auto manufacturers are already discussing shifting the cost of health care onto the workers, and reducing the annual improvement factor, which provided for annual increases of about 3 per cent.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "The auto companies have been quietly formulating their own takeaway demands, as the UAW calls them—demands that workers share some of the cost of benefits that in previous years have been borne by the company."

This year autoworkers are also faced with the Carter Administration's 7 per cent guidelines—guidelines that have attempted to hold wages down while prices and profits hit record levels.

What Auto Workers Need

On the other side of the bargaining table, the UAW's April Special Collective Bargaining Convention came out with a lengthy list of contract demands. Of this list three were given priority status: a substantial wage increase, shorter work time and cost of living protection for retirees.

Feeling the pinch of double digit inflation, auto workers need a wage increase big enough to raise their real wages and keep them ahead of inflation. Widespread recognition of the phony character of the Carter anti-inflation program has brought pressure for a wage increase well above the 7 per cent guideline.

Speaking at the Special Collective Bargaining Convention, UAW President Douglas Fraser said, "the anti-inflationary program has self-destructed" and "the government should stay the hell away from our negotiations."

This is a position that should be fully supported

by every auto worker and every local. Now is the time to introduce resolutions in the locals, to send telegrams to the White House, and to call demonstrations against the so-called anti-inflation guidelines. Now is the time to join with President Fraser to tell Carter to "stay the hell away from our negotiations."

Shorter work time has also emerged as a key priority demand. Since the 1974 depression in auto there are at least 90,000 fewer auto workers employed in the industry. The reasons are not difficult to pinpoint: speedup, job combination and automation.

Complicating the picture further is the real prospect of an economic slowdown later this year, which would throw tens, possibly hundreds of thousands of autoworkers out on the streets.

Shorter hours of work would create jobs and protect the living standards of the UAW membership. As long as there is a large pool of unemployed workers available, the fight for wages and improved conditions of work will be more difficult. Living standards, even the very existence of the union, will be threatened.

Shorter hours would also win the union new friends, especially among the unemployed generally, and especially the minority peoples, women, and youth who have been hardest hit by the crisis.

The UAW convention resolution calls for a continuation of the fight for shorter work time by increasing the number of Paid Personal Holidays (PPH). This plan and other victories at the bargaining table have reduced the number of days worked by the average auto worker to 221 out of 260 paid days a year.

The convention called for increased premiums on overtime, such as double time for overtime and triple time for holidays; it also raised the question of paid compensatory time off for overtime: for example, ½ hour off for every hour of overtime worked.

The third main priority listed by the convention was cost of living protection for pensioners—that is, some improvement in pension benefits to protect retirees from the ravages of inflation.

There has been no pension improvement for UAW Big Three retirees since the 1973 negotiations, when pension matters were frozen for 6 years. There was a one shot \$600 bonus paid to retirees

with 30 years of seniority last Christmas. But that was done by deducting one cent an hour from the in-plant workers' cost of living increase.

While not listed as primary demands, several other key areas are dealt with in the convention resolution.

A section on discipline states that "the worker should remain at work pending full investigation by the union to ferret out the facts, and ample opportunity for discussion in informal and formal procedures." This would be an advance over past contracts which allowed arbitrary firings with no cooling off period.

Another positive feature of the resolution, though not a primary demand, is the section on health and safety, which reads that "provision must be clearly spelled out so that workers may with immunity refuse to continue working on patently unsafe jobs until the hazard is clear."

On plant closings, there is the demand that there be early notification and union negotiations at the time of a shutdown or transfer with retraining and preferential hiring.

On organizing runaway shops, there is the "corporate neutrality" clause stating that the company will not interfere with its employees' right to join a union. This victory has been won in GM after the UAW defeated the corporation's "Southern Strategy" of runaways. The victories there and elsewhere in the South have been victories for all workers. Further stepping up the organizing drive deserves the full support of the whole union and its friends. It is the best guarantee against the runaway shop.

There is only one real explanation for the increased productivity and profits of the Big Three—the speedup, job combination and harassment that make life on the line hell.

To show how far the company is willing to go, a UAW member recently discovered a secret button at Chevrolet Truck Plant #4 in Flint, Michigan. The button was being used by supervisors to speed up the line at will and had been operating for about a year and a half.

And bearing the brunt of the speedup drive are Black, Hispanic and Arab workers, women and young people—workers facing discrimination, with the worst jobs and with the least seniority.

In general it's clear that there is a need to strengthen the union's power on the shop floor to protect

the workers and settle grievances when and where they happen.

The disciplinary procedure in the contract should include the basic protection that people's struggles have won in the courts. You shouldn't have to pay the penalty for a violation for which you haven't been convicted. There should be no discipline, no time off or other penalties without a thorough investigation and negotiation by the union.

In the past the worker has had no choice but to obey the plant foreman. Otherwise he might find himself suspended or fired. The ability to put workers on the street with no compensation has been the company's club to keep workers from organizing against deteriorating conditions at the point of production.

For many production workers the present contract language on issues directly affecting working conditions is not enough. It requires that a number of steps be followed, including getting sanction from the international union—a very time consuming process. In the meantime, until agreement is reached say on production standards, the violation continues, and the company keeps making the extra profits.

Presently the contract allows for one committeeman/steward for every 250 workers. Thus it is impossible for even the best committeeman to keep up with his or her members and their grievances. Grievances get backed up and are traded off.

Health and safety conditions—unsafe working conditions, poisonous chemicals, heat, noise, etc.—continue to get worse and worse on the shop floor. The union's ability to deal with these most basic issues affecting the lives of the membership has to be strengthened. Health and safety committees are needed with the power to shut down an unsafe job.

Production standards should be set at the beginning of the model run and remain unchanged. Union agreement should be required on all production standards.

At Chrysler, where minority workers make up 33.6 per cent of the work force, only 8 per cent are found in the skilled trades. At Ford minority workers make up 29 per cent of the work force, but only 8.3 per cent of the skilled trades. Figures at GM are similar.

For the newest entrants in the auto industry—women workers—things are even worse. At Chrysler,

for example, women hold about 15 per cent of the production jobs but less than 1 per cent of the skilled jobs. The other two auto makers have less than 2 per cent women workers in the skilled trades.

It is clear that discrimination is still part of company policy for extra profits and dividing the workers.

Discrimination won't go away by itself. It takes affirmative action programs with quotas and timetables to turn the situation around. These programs aid *all* auto workers. They open up opportunities for all to advance.

Our union has had some victories in this fight, but we still have a long way to go. It is the weakest link in the chain of demands in 1979.

The fight against discrimination and for affirmative action programs must be a central part of this contract struggle.

Racial and sexual harassment through which the company attempts to drive minority and women workers out of the skilled trades and out of the plant have to be ended. The Fair Employment Practices Committees should be strengthened to deal with these problems when they arise.

There should be an affirmative action committee in every plant and contract provisions to guarantee that all skilled trades openings are filled by production workers who wish to advance.

Special assistance should be given to minority and women workers to end the discrimination directed at them by the company. Such a program would also aid white and male production workers to advance. The interests of all production workers are the same on this question.

In 1977 the average work week in auto was 46.3 hours. For production workers the 50 and 60 hour week have become commonplace. In the basic industries like auto, it has become cheaper (that is more profitable) to pay time-and-a-half overtime than to hire new workers. No new fringe benefits are paid that way.

The starting point of the shorter work time campaign should be the reduction of overtime. As one delegate at the UAW Production Workers Conference said, "How in the hell can you talk about shorter work time when you're working a 50 or 60 hour week?" Nine, ten and twelve hour days with six and seven day weeks are a major threat to the safety, health, and general well being of the member-

ship of this union.

All overtime should be voluntary. It should be up to the worker whether he or she wishes to work more than the 40 hour week the trade union movement fought so hard to win.

Reports from many plants indicate that stronger steps are needed to force the company to replace workers while they are out on PPH. Violations are frequent and result in an added burden on the other workers as well as added profits for the company.

In addition, we believe that the demand for 32 hours work at 40 hours pay with no change in production standards must be raised. It remains the best guarantee of shorter work time for all and the creation of large numbers of jobs. It is estimated by one economist that the 40 hour work week with no forced overtime would create 116,000 jobs.

However, the auto giants will resist an effort to cut the work week or overtime.

There is a need for the broadest trade union and community support for Rep. John Conyers' bill H.R. 1784, which would shorten the standard work week and increase the premium paid on overtime.

Plant transfers and shutdowns have become a major threat to the job security of workers in the auto industry throughout the country. Chrysler's plan to shut down Dodge Main in Detroit is only the latest of these attacks on the workers in the plants and the surrounding communities.

Something has to be done to end what UAW Vice-president Mark Stepp has called "raw corporate power unchecked by government or anyone else." Contract provisions requiring early notification and retraining of laid off workers is a must. The company should carry the cost of full SUB and medical coverage until the worker is reemployed. Federal and state legislation is needed.

In addition, the local unions, with assistance from the International, should set up contingency committees to develop plans for union action in the event the company tries to transfer or shut down operations. What could the union do to force the company to keep the plant open? What steps could be taken to convert the plant to other production if necessary. What steps could be taken to get the government to take over the plant and run it with union and community involvement? Whatever it takes, the workers' jobs have to be protected.

As the union fights for a wage increase that can stop the decline in living standards and win a greater share of the corporations' runaway profits, any concept of "equality of sacrifice" to slow inflation must be rejected. Experience going back to the Nixon wage freeze and before shows clearly that it is the workers who pay the penalty for such schemes.

Second, most economists are forecasting that inflation will continue at more or less the present rate.

Finally, the call for equality of sacrifice feeds the notion, pushed by monopoly and the monopoly-owned press, that wages are the cause of higher prices. But this flies in the face of the facts. Wages, even with cost-of-living (COLA) additions, have lagged behind inflation in the past decade.

The real causes of inflation are to be found in the greedy profiteering of the giant corporations and the \$130 billion military budget.

Further, all increases should be across the board, not percentage raises. In that way we can begin to end some of the inequities between different sections of the union.

Few retirees are receiving the much-hailed \$675 pension negotiated during the 1973 contract. The vast majority of those now retired are those who left the plants before 1973 and are now receiving lifetime benefits averaging \$250 a month. Those in smaller UAW shops are receiving less.

A sizable movement has developed at the local level for an actual COLA clause for pensions. Buttons have been circulated. Last Christmas greeting cards flooded the office of UAW President Fraser with the message, "Merry Christmas and don't forget COLA for retirees." Some 3000 UAW members demonstrated at the convention in support of this and other demands.

We support this demand fully, but it must come at the expense of the company, not those still in the shop.

The Path to Victories

The contract negotiated in 1976 did not protect us against inflation or speedup on the shop floor. While some gains were won, it was not the contract we need.

We know what we want, but what will it take to get it?

For the past few months rank-and-file concern with the coming negotiations has been on the rise. Polls of union locals, report back meetings on the Special Collective Bargaining Convention, and the activities of more militant, class struggle oriented rank-and-file groups in the UAW have given a new quality to the fight for a decent contract.

The National Auto Section of the Communist Party, USA, made up of Communist auto workers from plants across the country, met recently to assess the needs and demands in the industry and the steps necessary to win them.

United struggle that brings together the rank-and-file power of our union with the leadership—mass struggle—is the only way to convince the Big Three.

The fight for a decent contract can't be carried out through negotiations handled like a card game between the union team and management, with the threat of a strike by the membership as the union's trump card. The membership of the union, the rank and file, have to be mobilized now. For that to happen the union's demands have to be specific and spelled out fully for the membership. An informed and involved membership will put the Big Three on notice that this year is going to be different.

Unity is our strength. That is the lesson of our union's proud history. But unity doesn't come just by calling for it. It takes a fighting program that brings the key forces of the union together.

Placing production workers' demands around working conditions and discipline at the top of the union's negotiating program will bring the heart and muscle of the union into the contract fight.

Minority and women workers make up approximately a third of the union's auto membership. If these workers are to join in an all-out fight, the union has to be fighting for them. Taking affirmative action off the back burner is essential to uniting the union.

Nobody goes into a fight with one arm tied behind him. The practice of selecting one target company and striking only that one if necessary is like that. It leaves the other two of the Big Three free to continue making profits and giving under-the-table aid to the target company.

The fight needed this year calls for a different strategy. If one won't settle without a strike, then

strike all three at once.

Over the past few years a number of caucuses have been organized in our union that are committed to mobilizing the rank-and-file members of the UAW for action for the union, for jobs, for better standards of living and working conditions, and against racism and discrimination. These caucuses, committed to class struggle trade unionism, have made a vital contribution to uniting our union and moving it forward.

The Communist Party, USA, which has been a force for progress in the union since the earliest days, has grown in size and activity.

At the same time individuals and groups have emerged at the rank-and-file and leadership levels who are open to uniting with their fellow workers for struggle on issues of common concern. This developing climate of unity among all who are sincerely committed to these struggles creates the best conditions for winning victories that we have seen in our union in 30 years. It opens the door for the fighting spirit of cooperation that broke the open shop in auto and built the UAW as a mighty force.

The UAW has made a major contribution to the U.S. trade union movement by taking the first steps to reestablish contact between the movement here and our trade union sisters and brothers around the world. Such contacts enable us to share among us the lessons of our various struggles and advance cooperation against the multinational corporations that are our common enemies.

A major roadblock to further progress is the clause in the UAW constitution barring members of the Communist Party from holding office in the union. It is a relic of the cold war purges of trade union militants that divided and weakened our union. It strengthens the cold war mentality that pushes us toward skyrocketing military budgets and the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Even when not enforced, it is a blight on our great union. The anti-Communist clause must go.

It also must be noted that in the last few years we have seen an influx of groups calling themselves Left, revolutionary, socialist and communist into the union who nevertheless operate as tools of the company, undermining the unity of our ranks. They are consistently opposed to the union leader-

ship rather than seeking ways to unite rank and file and leadership in struggle. They are more ready to fight the union than to fight the company. They specialize in tactics that lead to blind alleys. They are often racist. They are always anti-Communist.

The struggles ahead require that we see what is genuine and what is phony and act accordingly.

In addition to the fight for the contract, there are some other key tasks before the union which we only mention at this point.

One is the fight for the ratification of the SALT II treaty as a necessary step in bringing the arms race under control, cutting the military budget in favor of human needs, and really doing something about inflation. The UAW has taken an excellent position in support of SALT II. Now we have to take that position to the membership, to the rest of the trade union movement, to the people in communities all across the country. There must be resolutions, letters, telegrams, demonstrations, etc., to show the President and the Senate that the people of this country want SALT II ratified. We must take the lead in this campaign and move quickly to defeat the ultra-Right.

It has been said that what is won at the bargaining table can be lost in the legislative halls. We see that happen today at every turn, and it will continue to happen until workers flex their muscles in the political arena.

Take the question of inflation. Everybody wants to slow down inflation, but there are different ways to do it. The Carter Administration wants to slow rising prices by increasing interest rates, cutting needed services, and reducing living standards. This policy will lead to less investment, less consumption, and ultimately to higher unemployment. For the auto industry this policy solves one problem by creating another one for the workers—massive unemployment.

The two major parties continue to prove that they have no significant differences. They are both committed to profits for big business and to making the workers and taxpayers foot the bill. It is no accident that Jimmy Carter, a Democrat, is the most openly pro-monopoly president since Herbert Hoover and the first to follow a guns-not-butter policy in peacetime. That is the program of big business at this stage of history.

The UAW leadership took a historic step in calling the Detroit conference that led to the formation of the Progressive Alliance. Now it is up to the UAW and all others who support independent people's political action to follow up on that important initiative.

The Communist Party was a leading force in the fight for industrial unionism from its founding in 1919. In the auto industry Communists like Wyndham Mortimer, Bill McKie and Nelson Davis were among the leaders of the fight against the open shop terror and for the organization of the UAW.

Our Party is the party of the working class. That is our starting point on all questions, and we bring that view to the struggle.

We fight for the unity of our class—Black, Hispanic, Arab, Asian, Native American Indian and white; women and men; young and old—as the key to working-class and people's victories.

Our Party believes that the task before the country today is to build the broadest people's movements, with the working class at the head and heart, to curb the power of the monopoly corporations and put people before profits.

We believe that the full solution to our problems lies in a different economic, political, and social system—socialism: a system in which the government, the natural resources and the major industries are run by the working people.

The Communist Party is guided by the science of social change, Marxism-Leninism, which represents the lessons learned in struggle by working people's movements the world over.

We believe that our Party makes an invaluable contribution to the struggles for the immediate needs of working people as well as the longer range struggle for a fully just society.

We pledge the all-out support of the membership of our Party to the struggle of the auto workers and call on the entire trade union and progressive movement to join in this fight.

We invite you to join our ranks and become a member of the Communist Party.

We invite you to join with us in action.

We invite your comments and further discussion of our viewpoint on the struggles of auto workers today.

"Young, Black and Unemployed": A Reply to the New York Times

JAMES STEELE

The series of articles in the *New York Times* (March 11-14) entitled "Young, Black and Unemployed" has stimulated a wide discussion. Many other publications have since featured this topic, notably the *Wall Street Journal*, *Ebony*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and others. While the *Times* series helped reveal the devastating impact of the prolonged high unemployment imposed on Black youth, whenever the *New York Times* gives extensive treatment to a subject, especially relating to Black people, it is necessary to put the question, "Why?"

Certainly it can not be said that the *Times* has become a latter-day champion of the rights of Black youth, even though this is what its editors would like the public to believe. Why then does the *Times* devote more than ten thousand words to this subject, when it virtually never mentions the *struggle* of Black youth against unemployment and racism? In my opinion, the articles are not unrelated to the mass actions for jobs and affirmative action which took place in 19 cities on April 4, to the rise of mass struggle for Black youth and to what many predict as a possible return to "long hot summers." The *Times* articles must be considered an attempt to muddy the waters, to sow confusion as to solutions, and to demobilize key Black liberation, labor, youth and other important social forces.

Under the cloak of so-called objectivity, the articles present a fatalistic picture of the situation confronting Black youth. Above all, they imply the uselessness of mass action, saying that the programs, and implicitly the methods of struggle, of the late 1960s have failed.

The articles also project a number of concepts and formulations that would be very dangerous and divisive if embraced by the forces that genuinely seek to put an end to the racist burden of Black youth joblessness. These concepts divert attention from the root cause of the problem.

It needs to be emphasized that the *New York*

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Times, under the deliberately misleading slogan "All the news that's fit to print," is very adept at the technique of quoting others as a way of presenting its own position, while avoiding the heat of negative mass reaction.

For these reasons it is necessary to approach with the same caution one would a rattlesnake such concepts, put forward by persons interviewed by the *Times*, as Black youth constituting a "permanent underclass" subsisting on "an underground economy of illegal activities at which youths find they can make more money with less effort."

Or the notion that the high unemployment among Black youth is attributable to "the influx of illegal aliens" and "the entry of white women into the labor market." The writers bandy about terms like "fractured society" (presumably a new version of the "two societies" approach of the Kerner Commission) in which "a new political climate" is being created "that makes assimilation of blacks and other poor minorities more difficult."

There are also the shopworn racist code words for Black youth: "unemployable," "unskilled," "uneducated." But these venomous concepts are taken even further. Officials of General Motors and Chrysler are quoted as saying, in essence, that the problem is neither the result of their lay-off/speed-up policies or of their racist hiring practices, but that "unemployable" Black youth need "motivational development."

As we read the series, we are treated to a mixture of blatant as well as "sophisticated" racist concepts. For instance, Sar Levitan, head of the National Commission of Employment Statistics, is quoted, "racial bias in the job sphere is fading," "menial jobs are no longer dead ends for black youth." But they allegedly spurn such jobs because Black leadership has created "unrealizable expectations" for Black youth. "To be a busboy," Levitan says, "is an unacceptable job for a black." As if this were not enough, he continues, "black leadership is looking for a quick fix. To blame it [high unemployment] on Whitey is not very productive."

The *Times* without openly committing itself, coyly advances "solutions" of others, namely General Motors, Bethlehem Steel, the big-business Committee for Economic Development, the National Alliance of Business, and, of course, the Carter Administration. These "solutions" include: sub-minimum wage for teenagers; tax credit to corporations hiring so-called "unemployable" youth; federal subsidies to corporations for training and developing the "motivation" of "uneducated youth; and a national service which would be a non-military draft to put youth to work servicing the country's economy and the corporations' coffers.

Temple University economist Walter E. Williams puts the hard core corporate "solution" succinctly in urging a "revision of the institutional structure of the labor market" to lower what he considers barriers to Black youth employment. In particular, he calls for abolishing minimum wage laws, at least for youth; reducing the age at which one can legally leave school; easing restrictions on child labor, and on licensing and certification.

The series concludes with fatalistic concepts such as "all one can do is improve the escape routes" or the country "will greatly ease the problem in another generation or so," or government responsibility extends only as far as "reducing the number of failures."

Taken as a whole, these concepts represent the main trend in the policy of state monopoly capitalism in respect to mass unemployment among the youth, and their explosive potential for sparking new levels of struggle, can no longer be ignored. The *New York Times* is articulating policy options and approaches of the ruling class consistent with, and in fact an integral part of, state monopoly capitalism's general offensive against the living standards and democratic rights of the people. Viewed from the broader framework of class struggle, the antimonopoly movement and the struggle against racism, the line of the *Times* series—although at times dramatically describing the plight of Black youth—does not in whole or in part aid the struggle of Black—or other—youth for jobs, equality and economic security.

The articles are as important for *what is not said* as for what is. One could read the series and conclude that racism, the lack of investment in areas of large concentrations of Black people, the intensified

exploitation of the working class, runaway plants, Nixon-Ford-Carter austerity policies and cutbacks, monopoly profiteering and the colossal diversion of resources into military spending are not factors of even the slightest significance in the astronomical rate of joblessness endured by Black youth.

Yet against the backdrop of a deepening general crisis of capitalism these are precisely the key factors that create a situation in which nearly two of three Black teenagers and nearly one of four 20 to 24 year olds are without a job and without hope of getting a decent one. The racist cutting edge of monopoly domination and militarism has resulted in a historical pattern in which for the last *two and one half decades* Black youth unemployment rates have been equal to, double and in some periods and areas triple general unemployment rates of the Great Depression.

Creating a Surplus Population

In dealing with Black youth, especially that half who are jobless, such terms as "permanent underclass" are not only descriptively misleading but also theoretically unsound and politically divisive. The notion of a "permanent underclass" counterposes the interests and struggles of Black youth to the interests of Black workers, the working class and youth as a whole.

In their overwhelming majority, Black youth are a *section of the young generation of the multiracial, multinational working class*—and a decisive section at that. In their overwhelming majority, Black youth are workers who are thrown out and locked out of industry. They are the young generation of the Black people—the principle victims, historically and presently, of racism and national oppression.

While this article focuses on Black youth, it does so bearing in mind the rising curve of unemployment and socio-economic crisis plaguing other racial and national components of the youth. Today's conditions of Black youth could well foreshadow tomorrow's reality for growing masses of white young people. The crisis conditions of Black youth reflect the growing impoverishment of the working class, the sharply deteriorating conditions of Black people and the young generation. Thus, mass joblessness among Black youth is one of the most critical issues before the working class, the trade union movement in the first place, and the

Black community and the youth movement. *It is a national disaster requiring massive emergency short-term and fundamental long-term measures.*

Organized workers, less than one fifth of the labor force and under corporate seige, have a great stake in preventing the monopolies from turning unemployed youth into a pool of cheap labor. The trade union movement should give consideration to the potential significance of the findings of a Bureau of Labor Statistics study in August 1977, which, taking into account "officially" unemployed, "discouraged" workers and teenagers looking for summer jobs, found Black youth unemployment rates in major cities ranging from a "low" 53 per cent in Houston to over 70 per cent in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Philadelphia and Baltimore. That these are mainly industrial cities and labor strongholds underlines the importance of youth employment as a trade union issue.

The massive joblessness among Black youth is also an expression of the racist manner in which state monopoly capitalism builds up a "surplus population" and a larger and larger "reserve army of the unemployed," to use Marx's terms. This development is now reaching a "critical mass," a turning point. What is the ruling class to do with approximately 6-7 million unemployed young workers, half of whom are Black? All evidence, including the approaches outlined by the *New York Times*, suggest that, with the assistance of the Carter Administration, big business is preparing to "call up the reserves."

Big business, government and the education establishment respond to the cycle of poor education and high unemployment that tow Black youth under a swirling eddy of poverty and ignorance by placing the blame on each other. But it is well known that the monopoly capitalist ruling circles, through think tanks, institutes, special commissions and studies, set educational policy and practice.

For instance, in 1974 the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education proposed that secondary school policy be directed away from placing a premium on college training. This approach has been applied with a vengeance in predominantly Black schools with a view, one supposes, toward curbing "rising expectations"—thus forestalling Blacks contributing to the "crisis of democracy" of the Trilateral Commission.

The result of the combination of objective developments in the capitalist system and conscious ruling class policy is the creation of what monopoly now regards as a vast pool of cheap potential labor outside the protection of unions, of wage, health and occupational safety laws—millions of Black, Latino and white more or less permanently unemployed youth.

Much of the maneuvering by big business and the Administration—as well as the mass media's manipulation of public opinion concerning solutions to youth unemployment—reflect this. Both the Administration and the mass media portray long-term unemployment as an exclusively Black problem, but not a problem attributable to racism. Linked with this deception is the fraudulent concept that the problem can only be solved in the private sector. This is a campaign to turn over this potential new source of domestic cheap labor to big business.

Thomas Murphy, chairman of the board of General Motors Corporation, for example, says that he would like to hire the "unemployable youth" if he could "afford it." Imagine such a statement from the head of a corporation that makes over \$25,000 a minute!

The Carter Administration proposes a 50 per cent tax credit on the first \$6,000 a corporation pays in wages in hiring "hardcore" unemployed youth, to enable GM to "afford it." But what becomes of the job of the UAW member making three times as much? How will such a low wage help close the ever-widening racist income gap? Will these low-paid young workers ever be able to afford the cars they produce? Questions like these the *Times* fails to put, let alone answer.

Proposals for a subminimum wage for youth and for a national service also constitute forms of incentive to big business, directly or indirectly, through increased state intervention. Basically, the corporations want to be unfettered in using economic and extra-economic coercion to superexploit young workers and in using competition for jobs in their drive against organized labor. Henry Winston, national chairman of the CPUSA, spoke insightfully of the "strategic plans" of U.S. state monopoly capitalism for Black youth, in which the mass of unemployed Black youth, through a combination of a military and non-military drafts, would be used

as a union-busting force domestically and as neo-colonial mercenaries in U.S. imperialism's struggle against the national liberation movements, particularly in Africa.

Long-term Unemployment—What It Really Means

The long-term character of Black youth joblessness and its implications are not adequately understood by the U.S. public. The Black teenagers who were unemployed at the time of the 1976 presidential elections will soon be 20 to 24. While the rate of unemployment of those now in their early twenties is generally lower than for Black teenagers, it is still more than double that of their white counterparts. Nevertheless, the *Times* series referred to a recent poll which shows most whites believing that unemployment is a greater problem for white than for Black youth.

The poll, if accurate, is an indictment of the media conspiracy to hide the real conditions of Black people from white working masses, and points to the need for a sustained mass educational campaign as part of the struggle against racism.

The extent and depth of the economic crisis facing Black youth is revealed in the following figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS):

When the 1973-75 economic crisis hit, overall youth unemployment jumped from 10.8 per cent in November 1973 to 16.8 per cent two years later. It stayed at roughly that level throughout the Bicentennial, dropping to 13.8 per cent by November 1977, and one percentage point lower a year later. The official youth jobless rate now stands at 13.7 per cent or about 3 million—half of whom are Black, Chicano or Puerto Rican.

Unemployment among Black youth leaped from 29.1 per cent in November 1973 to 36.9 per cent a year later. It reached 42 per cent in May of 1975; "dipped" to 35.5 per cent by the time of the presidential elections; but rose to almost 40 per cent on the first anniversary of the election of a president who promised "a job for every American." When the *Times* published its series, 35.5 per cent of young Black Americans were officially unemployed.

It should be noted that even though official figures are bad enough, they nevertheless understate the extent of Black youth joblessness. For instance, the National Urban League (NUL) in its

annual report, *The State of Black America—1979*, contends that the actual rate of unemployment of Black youth, aged 16-19, is 57 per cent.

Based on the NUL's Hidden Unemployment Index which, unlike the government's methodology, takes into account first job seekers as well as so-called "discouraged workers," the total unemployment figure is somewhere in the area of 10-12 million people. AFL-CIO researchers also put the actual number of unemployed in this range.

To be young and Black means to be 2.6 times more likely to be unemployed. This phenomenon corresponds with the widening wage and income gap between Blacks and whites. And it is historical, not temporary and confined to periods of economic crisis. The truth is that not once in the twenty-five years since the Brown decision has Black youth unemployment dropped to the 1954 level of 16.5 per cent. Moreover, *only twice (in 1975 and 1976) during the same period has the rate of unemployment of white youth risen above this all-time low for Black youth.*

Thus, for the nation's Black youth the notion of a boom-bust economic cycle is largely meaningless. They have experienced only bust. While conditions of Black youth always worsen rapidly in the crisis phase of the economic cycle, they sometimes also worsen even during periods of so-called prosperity.

In addition to high unemployment, racism also forces young Black workers to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of underemployment and low wages. For example, and again using BLS statistics, last year of the 11 million people working part-time, 55 per cent were under 25. But Black young workers were twice as likely as their white brothers and sisters to be involuntary part-timers.

The low-wage/underemployment problem Black youth face is particularly acute in a situation in which the per capita income of Blacks amounts to only 57 per cent that of whites. It is in this context that one must view the fact that on the average (1977 figures) part-time workers earned \$2.87 an hour compared with \$5.04 an hour for full-time workers. Part-time workers had a median income of \$56 per week as against \$212 a week for full-time workers. It is also against this backdrop that one must view proposals to tie youth wages to a sub-minimum standard. They are aimed at chaining youth, especially Black youth, to the status quo of

poverty and cheap labor.

Many try to dismiss the importance of jobs at decent wages for teenagers, arguing that they only work to pick up some spare change. Even if that were so, is it a reason for the principle of equal pay for equal work to not apply? The facts also prove that the concept "menial jobs are no longer dead ends for Black youth" is an utter absurdity and a racist banality. As far back as 1970, a study showed that *14 per cent of Black teenagers working below the then minimum wage were the primary wage-earners in their families*. Today, with the relative economic position of Black people sharply deteriorating, the wages earned by Black teenagers are even more important. One third of all Black teenagers live in families with incomes below the official government poverty line. Half live in families whose income is less than 50 per cent of the income needed for a family of four to live "modestly" (which exceeded \$17,000 in 1978). This is why the wages of Black teenagers are often decisive, if not as the main source of income, then as a necessary element in making ends meet.

Menial jobs mean menial pay. It is impossible to close the racist wage gap created by the corporations on the basis of forcing the rising generation of Black workers—those who can find work—to spend a half decade of underemployment at low pay. This is especially so in the context of an accelerating scientific and technological revolution. A "menial job" as an option for a Black youth, under the notion that anything is better than nothing, is to condemn him to forever be a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water"—unskilled, untrained, unprepared to function competently and creatively in modern life.

The facts mock the *Times*-Levitan position that "racial bias in the job sphere is fading." The depression level conditions Black youth have endured through the 1950s, '60s and especially the '70s sharply reflect the racist cutting edge of monopoly capitalist exploitation and oppression of youth, Black people and the working class. The problem is not that Black youth need "motivational development." The problem is the racist, profit-price gouging motivations of monopoly corporations, which have shut off the avenues for the masses of Black youth to acquire quality education, meaningful vocational training, and productive

employment with a future—leaving only a narrow alley for the "advancement" of a token few.

These facts also help underline why it is necessary to repudiate the line of the *New York Times* articles because its basic policy concepts sentence Black youth to serve a life in the corporate prison of poverty, ignorance, despair and oppression. The *Times* series meshes with and reinforces the position of the Carter Administration, major sections of big business and, of course, with the ultra-Right, that either there are no solutions and Black youth should be left to make it on the basis of "survival of the fittest," or that "acceptable" solutions must be subordinated to the general state monopoly policy of austerity, "balancing the budget," "cutting government waste," etc. Therefore, the *Times* also reinforces the attack on the trade union movement and on affirmative action.

There are Solutions

There are fundamental ways of beginning to resolve the burden of permanent mass unemployment shouldered by Black youth. But they are and can only be based upon putting people before profits. There are real solutions, but they must be advanced within the overall framework of the struggle for youth rights, Black liberation and the economic security of the working people as a whole. In fact, the demands of Black youth are part and parcel of the antimonopoly movement.

While refuting the *Times* concepts, it is necessary to advance a few of one's own. First, it is not possible to solve the unemployment problem except through a *massive job creation* effort. Such an effort can not be left to the private sector because the private sector (big business) will produce only on the basis of maximum profits. And the big business profit drive is based on increasing the rate of exploitation through a historic policy of fewer workers producing more. But jobs can be created in the private sector to the extent that there is a substantial shortening of the work week. And this must be coupled with cutting military spending and conversion from military to peace production, and a massive federal program of public works and public service jobs and job-training with affirmative action. Job creation on the level needed can not be achieved except at the expense of corporate profits, that is, by making monopoly pay.

Secondly, it is not possible to solve the problem of Black youth unemployment without instituting a comprehensive program of genuine affirmative action measures, including quotas, numerical guidelines, percentages and timetables. This must be done at all levels and in all areas—education, public and private employment.

To create meaningful jobs for Black youth it is especially necessary to break down the racist, exclusionary character of most job classification systems, job training and apprenticeship programs as well as to make adjustments in seniority systems to take into account historic patterns and practices of racial, national and sex discrimination. This is a tremendously important task in combatting in practice the idea that Black youth are “unemployable” because they lack training, skill and discipline, and that they lack these because they lack “motivation.” Basically, such notions not only attempt to deny the need for affirmative action but also go beyond the “merit only” argument of born-again racists. Concepts of “unemployable youth” living on a “non-working culture” in need of “motivational development” suggest that Black youth do not merit decent jobs or pay.

Accordingly, not only is the blame placed on the victim, but a coverup of the shameful status of public education is carried out. Practically no school system in the country is able to graduate most working-class youth—Black, Latino or white—who read at their grade level; yet the army—while *definitely not* the alternative we are proposing—trains youth in skilled jobs in a few months. Even more to the point is the fact that every socialist revolution to date has had to tackle infinitely greater problems of economic dislocation, mass illiteracy, insufficient scientific and technical cadre, etc. The experience of the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Vietnam, Cuba and today Angola, Ethiopia and others, shows that the problem of illiteracy, ignorance and “lack of skills” can be wiped out in short periods of time. Moreover, the untruth of the “unemployable” concept is demonstrated every day by millions of Black workers. Many are recent entries to the labor force, and most grew up under the most oppressive conditions. Yet wherever any opportunities exist they distinguish themselves, including as skilled workers, technicians, professionals and scientists. And this

living refutation of the “unemployable” slander has existed from slave times to the present.

Thirdly, it is not possible to solve the problem of unemployment in general, youth unemployment in particular, without drastically cutting the military budget. Using the funds saved, for example on a massive program to rebuild the cities could open up prospects for Black youth to be trained and employed as bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters, pipefitters, electricians, ironworkers, engineers, etc.

Such a program would need steel, coal, rubber, lumber, concrete, means of transport, heavy machinery. Much of basic industry as well as the building and construction trades could be revitalized with millions of new jobs. One could also mention the youth who could be trained as architects, designers, draftsmen, planners, administrators, etc. In this way, the struggle of Black youth for jobs and equality is also linked to a fight for their right to a trade and to be unionists.

In the face of the many proposals for a sub-minimum wage, tax credits for the corporations to hire youth, and a national service—which boils down to a cheap labor draft dressed up in moralistic and pseudo-patriotic nonsense—there is still another very basic concept that must be projected. It revolves around the question: what kind of jobs, at what pay, under what conditions, doing what and for whom? The concept of youth jobs that should be fought for by all progressives should be based on firm class struggle and antimonopoly principles: 1) equal pay for equal work; 2) trade union wages and conditions; 3) job training corresponding to the demands of modern industry, science and technology; 4) genuine affirmative action; 5) socially useful jobs and 6) democratic administration and control.

In addition, a militant mass struggle for a higher minimum wage and for full unemployment benefits for first job seekers needs to be waged. Here is another area in which the interests of the youth jobs movement and the trade union movement merge.

Antimonopoly: The Decisive Factor

The increasing attention now being given to the problem of Black youth unemployment shows that state monopoly capitalism is vulnerable on this issue. There is great concern in the ranks of the ruling class about the explosive potential of the strug-

gle of Black youth for economic security. What is feared is not only the possible return of long, hot summers, but, even more, that the fightback of Black youth will play the same role in this period as the sit-in movement did in the early 1960s, that Black youth will ignite new mass action of the youth, Black liberation, labor and people's anti-monopoly movement as a whole.

To help release the full potential of Black youth in creative mass struggle constitutes one of the most important tasks in this period for all Left, progressive and democratic forces in and outside the youth movement. Achieving this requires organizing and building support for Black youth on the basis of antimonopoly concepts. It requires a greater fight for program, political direction and ideological clarity.

That young people themselves are won to fight is one of the key links in the struggle. Multiracial, multinational youth unity and an alliance between the trade union movement and the movement for jobs for youth are of equally decisive importance. A vital task is preventing the influence of concepts that blame the victim or that pit one sector of the unemployed against another. In this context, the notion that jobs Black youth could get are being taken by white women, undocumented, foreign-born workers or Latino youth are especially divisive. So is the attempt of the media and the Administration to portray unemployment as a problem of Black youth only.

The facts again show that joblessness and job insecurity is a devastating problem for all national and racial components of the young generation, as well as for older workers, men and especially women. Multiracial, multinational unity; the unity of all victims of racism and discrimination; of young and older workers; of the employed and the unemployed; men and women—taking into account the special impact of racism on Black youth—is the only basis for a winning struggle.

A mass educational campaign that gives public opinion a full characterization of the conditions of Black youth and Black people generally would be an important aid to the struggle Black youth are waging for economic security. But it must be combined with a total rejection of the "youth crimes" and "disruptive students" hysteria of the politicians and media.

The onerous conditions imposed on Black youth have not succeeded in demoralizing or diverting the great masses of them from the path of struggle. In fact, they not only show a tremendous will to struggle for their rights, but also are the most active, most militant, most consistent mass force in the fightback of the young generation for jobs, quality education and equality. Although their fightback is still largely spontaneous, organized struggle is also on the rise.

The mass radicalization process continues to develop at a rapid pace. Black young workers, especially, show a great perception of the need for unity of the Black community with multiracial, multinational youth, people's and class unity. There is a growing understanding of the need for allies, and that a "go-it-alone" strategy will not lead to victory.

Relative to other sections of youth, the anti-state monopoly and especially anti-imperialist sentiment of Black youth is at a very high level. This is expressed in a growing mass understanding that their deplorable conditions are a result of the greed of the banks and corporations; a mass awareness of the need for slashing the military budget and for anti-imperialist solidarity—particularly with the African national liberation struggle. The question of the need for an alternative to capitalism is also becoming a widely discussed topic among working-class Black youth, students and many from the middle strata. Within this, there is a growing interest, in fact enthusiasm, for Marxism-Leninism, as expressed in the program, strategic concepts and practical work of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, and in the example of real socialism.

The growing willingness of Black youth to struggle is sharply reflected in a lively debate that is taking place over forms and methods of struggle. Increasingly the orientation is in the direction of militant direct action and independent political action to advance the struggle against the state monopoly oppressors. It is precisely this course that the *New York Times* and the class forces it represents would like to prevent Black youth from taking.

It is necessary to pay tribute to Black youth, for not allowing themselves to be provoked, in despera-

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Chicago's Elections— Why the Machine Was Beaten

SONDRA PATRINOS

The Chicago primary elections on February 27 electrified the city and had wide national ramifications. By contrast, the general election on April 3 held few surprises, and was widely regarded as anticlimactic.

The April 3 election did confirm the trends indicated in February. Jane Byrne swept into the mayoralty seat with the largest plurality ever registered in recent Chicago history—82 per cent—higher even than the late Mayor Daley's best election.

The general election resulted in the seating of three additional Black aldermen. In only one ward where an independent made it into the April 3 runoff was a defeat registered. That was the 46th Ward, where Helen Shiller came within 250 votes of beating incumbent Ralph Axelrod. Axelrod waged what was by all accounts one of the dirtiest campaigns ever in a city where politics is always very dirty.

In the 7th Ward Joseph Bertrand defeated incumbent Robert Wilinski by a comfortable margin to join the Black contingent in the City Council.

February 27. The committeeman in the 22nd precinct—which is overwhelmingly Black in population—turned green. The vote for incumbent Mayor Michael Bilandic on the first voting machine was zero—none at all! How could such a thing happen? The election day judges, however, restrained a sense of jubilation as they turned to the next machine—where Bilandic registered 19 votes against 85 for Jane Byrne, his Democratic primary opponent. The die was cast!

The oldest city machine in the country—Chicago's Democratic Party regular organization—was upset for the first time in 48 years. The upset was all the more stunning for having been so unexpected. Even though pre-election polls showed Jane Byrne edging closer and closer to the incumbent, none of the pundits, including those on the Left, believed it

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could actually happen.

By all the "rules" it couldn't have happened. The Byrne campaign had little money—and virtually no precinct workers. Machine candidate Bilandic had the endorsement of both major newspapers, of the only TV station to take a position on the elections, of the leadership of most of the city's major unions (only the firemen endorsed Byrne); most of the Black press and organizations (only the *Citizen Newspapers* gave critical endorsement to Byrne, and only Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH said he would vote for, though not endorse, her); and hundreds of civic and ethnic organizations which have traditionally known which side their bread was buttered on and faithfully supported "regular" candidates.

Of special note is the fact that the voice of liberal political independents in Chicago, the Independent Voters of Illinois/Independent Precinct Organization, chose to remain silent on the Democratic mayoralty primary. So too did virtually every independent candidate for City Council.

There is great confusion about just what did happen. Explanations range wide—from the "Blizzard of 1979" to "Byrne was really just another spokesman for the machine." There are elements of truth in both these analyses, as there often are in any wrong position. It is true, for example, that thousands of voters were moved to final disaffection with the machine that had held their votes (if not their loyalty) for decades by the Bilandic Administration's blatantly racist, corrupt and totally ineffective response to the natural disaster that hit Chicago this winter in record snow-falls and with sub-zero temperatures. But the response of the voters was not to the snow falling from the skies—it was to the "snow job" emanating from City Hall.

The high point of this mass anger focused on the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA), which a month before the elections aroused the wrath of passengers and workers alike when it attempted to solve the problems of inoperative equipment and overloaded lines by eliminating all inner-city stops on the Lake-

Dan Ryan elevated line. All stops eliminated were in Black communities. The mass response by the Black people of Chicago and the CTA drivers' locals (also overwhelmingly Black in composition) was so great that even the federal government felt the pressure and was moved to unofficially warn CTA that its actions might result in termination of federal funding. (Byrne has since named a Black former CTA driver to head the CTA.)

Bilandic's response at every stage of the almost two-month period when the city was virtually immobilized by the snow was to mouth lies and patronizing platitudes, revealing his utter contempt for Chicagoans. His responses were received as the insults they were. So the snow did have an impact.

Similarly, there is truth to the fact that Jane Byrne comes from and was shaped by the Daley machine. She got her start in politics as a Daley appointee, and her advertisement of Daley's confidence was a big part of her election pitch. One should not underestimate the extent to which this connection with Daley helped Byrne "validate" herself as a serious contender.

But that alone would not have created the upset. Early polls showed Byrne trailing badly. Nor can the growth in her popularity be traced only to the fact that she became better known. Byrne's disaffection with and severance from the Bilandic machine took place in 1977 over a highly-publicized scandal involving the Yellow Cab Company's contract with the city. She was known to many voters in that period, but her primary victory came only as the disaffection with the machine grew and as she became more and more outspoken on the issues and demands being placed by Chicago's voters, especially Black and Latino voters.

Those who see the Byrne upset as merely a squabble inside the Democratic machine fail to reckon with the fact that two out of three votes in the Black precincts went to Byrne. These were the key to Byrne's victory, and she knows it. This—especially if it is followed by new and higher forms of mass pressure—will influence Byrne, and has already caused her to appoint several important Black independent leaders, including Tim Black and Nancy Jefferson, to her advisory committee. It was the need to attract these votes that caused Byrne, during her campaign, to expose Bilandic's cover-up

of the racist activities of Police Superintendent James O'Grady. Byrne promised to fire him—and other as yet unnamed department heads—when she assumed office. O'Grady left within days after the general election.

The need to attract working-class votes, and a deeper understanding of what working people want than has been exhibited by the leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labor, who for years played footsie with the machine, led Byrne to speak out strongly for the right of city workers to collective bargaining. Bilandic's vitriolic attack last fall on Chicago's firemen for demanding a contract had already cost him substantially among labor's rank and file. If Byrne can be forced to follow through on this one key demand, and Chicago's city workers are finally allowed to join the ranks of organized labor, any possibility for re-establishing a machine of the old type—based as it was on patronage—will be seriously hampered.

Unexpected though it may have been in precise form and timing, the defeat of the Daley machine has been coming for a long time. Election results over the past 10 years show that the machine's power to get its candidates elected was weakening. The process began to develop long before Daley's death. Its strongest roots are in the Black communities.

In 1972, when, despite massive protest, the Daley machine slated incumbent State Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan for reelection, he was defeated at the polls. Hanrahan had been held responsible in the public mind for the brutal murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. In 1977, after Daley's death, the machine refused to allow Black alderman and vice-mayor Wilson Frost—a loyal machine official—to assume even briefly the position of acting mayor until a special election could be held. The Black community once again expressed itself forcefully. One result of that experience was that Black State Senator Harold Washington, running against the machine in the special election which elected Bilandic, carried five key wards in Black communities, and did unexpectedly well in other wards.

Again, in 1978, when the Democratic machine slated Alex Seith—a racist cold-warrior in liberal garb—as its candidate for the U.S. Senate, the

Black community showed its political discrimination by carrying that election for Republican Senator Charles Percy. In that same election, voter anger rose against the cynical manipulations of the machine's slating of Alderman Bennett Stewart to fill the vacancy created by the sudden death of Congressman Ralph Metcalf. The result was an unprecedented large vote for independent A.A. "Sammy" Rayner, who ran on the Republican ticket after a limited campaign of only two weeks. He succeeded in getting on the ballot despite legal maneuvers by the machine aimed at keeping him off.

In the Byrne/Bilandic race itself, the voter turnout in Black communities was almost twice that in predominantly white areas. This defied all predictions and past election experience. Thus, the history of developing independence in the Black community was responsible—more than any other single factor—for Jane Byrne's election.

That Jane Byrne is a woman also had a big impact. While the issue of women's representation was not itself a significant issue in the election, there is no doubt that many women—and some men—were moved to come out and vote precisely because a woman was running. On the other hand, there was a notable absence during the campaign of the kind of snide, male supremacist commentary that would have characterized such a race in the very recent past. Byrne came to be perceived as a fighter, as a candidate who would speak, and act, on behalf of the needs of working people.

The meaning of the defeat of the Chicago political machine on February 27 can not be properly understood apart from the aldermanic races that took place in a nonpartisan general election accompanying the mayoral primary. Chicago has 50 wards, each represented by an alderman in the City Council, and a committeeman (elected in an off-year primary) who sits on the Democratic City Committee. Between them, the alderman and the committeeman control a huge chunk of the patronage that makes the machine run. Aldermanic elections are formally nonpartisan. But the machine's ability to elect its people to Council, coupled with rules of procedure that have made City Council the mayor's rubber stamp, have enabled it to stay in

power and to carry out the bidding of the giant banks and monopoly corporations that dominate Chicago's political and economic life.

Like most big cities, Chicago is in hock to the big banks on whose largesse it depends to finance expenditures until tax revenues can be collected to repay the loans. But beyond this fundamental fiscal dependency, Chicago's political and economic life has been based on a maze of "you-scratch-my-back-I'll-scratch-yours" relationships that start at the local precinct, but extend into the highest echelons of finance capital. The City Council has been an important instrument for preserving and extending these relationships. At the same time, the ward, the unit of City Council representation, is the smallest political jurisdiction in Illinois, and therefore the most susceptible to real democratic input.

In the Bilandic City Council only three wards were represented by "independents"—those whose elections were the result of independent, anti-machine organizations. On occasion these three "independents" were joined by others, particularly by Black aldermen whose constituencies demanded more of them than merely pulling the machine's plow. But this coalition of independent forces was weak, and rarely, if ever, able to defeat the machine on any key question.

As a result of the election, there are now as many as 10 new "independents"—including three new Black aldermen from wards which previously were misrepresented by whites. The growth of independent political action is not even fully expressed by these 10 wards, since a number of independent candidates who did not make it into the April 3 run-offs nonetheless made good showings, and created a basis for ongoing independent organization.

The most exciting of these races took place in the 7th Ward, on the South Side, where John Lumpkin, a young Black physician who had twice previously been a candidate on the Communist Party state ticket, polled 10 per cent of the vote, coming in fourth in a field of eight candidates.

The 7th Ward is unique in many ways. It includes a substantial section of South Shore, a predominantly Black community composed of both workers and middle-class people. It also includes a big chunk of South Chicago, a community predominantly of steel workers and other workers in basic

industry, and a growing Latino constituency, mainly of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin, as well as white ethnic voters and a growing number of Black voters.

The 7th Ward is dominated by U.S. Steel's South Works, which pollutes the air, as well as the political atmosphere. The ward is thus a living testing ground for the Communist Party's policies of industrial concentration, and offers tremendous opportunities, as well as challenges, in the struggle to unite working people against racist attempts to keep them divided.

Communists and progressives have been active in and around the 7th Ward for a number of years during the recent period of rank-and-file upsurge in steel, and of course, there is a record of Communist activity in this area that dates back to the Party's origins and before. The late Communist leader William Z. Foster lived and worked in sections of what is now the 7th Ward.

There are some substantial divisions in the ward. South Shore tends to be mainly Black; in South Chicago the influence of Latino and white ethnic (mainly Polish) voters is much greater. Many of these white workers are infected with the virus of racism. South Shore has many blocks containing single-family homes occupied by Black and white families with comfortable, relatively stable incomes. At the same time South Shore includes some of the worst slum apartment buildings in the city, and block after block of abandoned stores and rundown facilities. There is, however, a growing spirit of struggle in both communities, reflected in South Shore in particular in a high level of block club and community organization.

At the same time, there are substantial tensions among Black and white and Latino people throughout the ward, as well as between sections of the Latino community. No previous campaign in the ward had been able to unite all sectors of the community. The Lumpkin campaign was the first to ever activate representatives of all sectors under one umbrella, a fact which was a source of great pride to all who worked on the campaign.

The candidacy of Dr. Lumpkin arose as a result of many influences—not least his active participation in several independent campaigns in the 7th Ward during the last several years. As a result of his

reputation, built in these campaigns and in his participation in several key community organizations, many individuals both in and outside the ward urged him to run. His campaign was initiated on a broad basis.

The 7th Ward was seen by many independent activists as a ward in which a breakthrough for independent politics was imminent. Traditionally, the nonpartisan independent movement has shown strength enough to win only in the more middle-class North Side, and in the 5th Ward, a diverse community around the University of Chicago's Hyde Park. Of course, this concept of "independent" is a narrow one, ignoring as it does the substantial independence exhibited by important sections of Chicago's Black community.

The 7th Ward had another unique feature. The incumbent, Robert Wilinski, was an old-time machine hack closely aligned with Eddie Vrdolyak, the extremely vocal racist who is boss of the adjoining 10th Ward, and a key opponent of Jane Byrne. Vrdolyak's ambitions have gained him the extremely powerful and lucrative post of chairman of City Council's zoning committee. Wilinski was challenged by Joseph Bertrand, a Black, who was the incumbent committeeman, and who had been City Treasurer under Bilandic. Bertrand had been axed by the machine and was fighting for his political life. As might be expected in such a situation, by the time petitions for nomination were filed in December a total of eight candidates had entered the race, making the seat the most heavily contested race in the city.

One important question posed by Lumpkin's candidacy was how to deal with Lumpkin's past Communist Party candidacies, and with his present political affiliations. Several key individuals who wanted to support Lumpkin urged him to state publicly that he no longer had any affiliations with the Communist Party. Only then, they argued, could he gain broad support.

Lumpkin resisted all such pressures. He insisted on a principled position that the race was nonpartisan and that to make his political affiliations the issue would be to give in to red-baiting. He identified himself with the positions taken in an earlier period by such leading Black spokesmen as Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois.

The correctness and courage of such a position were underscored many times during the campaign. Individuals who had doubted whether they "could" support someone who might be a Communist found themselves arguing successfully for Lumpkin, and were among the hardest workers. Most significant, broad sections of working people, many of whom had never dealt with the issue of Communist participation in mass movements, became some of the most outspoken figures against anti-Communism.

But it was notable that neither of the "major" candidates felt they could red-bait openly. Moreover, the South Chicago *Daily Calumet*, a newspaper with a national reputation during the fifties and early sixties as a red-baiting rag, consigned the anti-Communist attack by Wilinski's spokesman, Ray Castro, to the back page, and featured Lumpkin's rejoinder on the front page, played straight. In fact, on the whole the media did not red bait.

The Lumpkin campaign was certainly the most advanced in the issues it raised. The candidate spoke out on youth employment, urging Chicago to hire unemployed young people at union wages to help deal with the crisis created by the snow. This issue was picked up, though not always credited, by major Black and other media throughout the city. The Lumpkin campaign spoke out on the issue of tax reform with an in-depth study of U.S. Steel's accelerated ripoff of property tax revenues. Lumpkin attacked the city—and his opponent Joe Bertrand—for placing city funds in banks which do business with South Africa. Lumpkin's major campaign piece projected a real program for Chicago on jobs, taxes, health care and schools, as well as on a number of special issues.

With all these positive features, the question might well be asked, "Why on earth didn't he win?" and, relatedly, "Could he have won if everything had been done right?"

What were the main problems? One important weakness was that the Lumpkin campaign was not sufficiently tied to a particular hot mass issue. While Lumpkin had a substantial base among community activists in various organizations, there had not been, prior to the election campaign, the kind of mass activity on an issue that brought his name home to thousands of 7th Ward residents.

In this connection it is probably too much to

think that such a drive could be generated in the last few weeks of a campaign when what counts is lining up votes. So it must be concluded that the campaign began too late, and did not allow time to build up momentum.

Also tied to lateness was the problem of a special approach to steel workers. By the time a serious effort by Lumpkin campaign forces to get endorsements from steel locals got underway, Sub-District 3 of District 31 of the steel union, under the leadership of Eddie Sadlowski, had already endorsed Wilinski.

Though discussions began early in the campaign about the need for a special labor committee for Lumpkin, no such committee was ever formed. This represented a serious weakness, despite the fact that many individual trade union activists and leaders played an important role in the campaign, *as individuals*. The failure to gain official labor endorsements stood in sharp contrast to the endorsement that did come from the Independent Voters of Illinois/Independent Precinct Organization, where the preparatory ground was better plowed.

It is necessary to note that many progressives, including Communists, did not fully appreciate the potential involved in the Lumpkin campaign, and thus were not fully mobilized to help. Campaigns in other wards were seen as competing for time. The special character of a labor-based campaign by a young Black antimonopoly candidate was not fully enough appreciated outside the 7th Ward. In the neighboring 5th Ward, for example, many individuals who had previously been active in South Chicago campaigns (for example, in Miriam Balanoff's successful 1978 legislative race) did not come out in active support of Lumpkin. To what extent white chauvinism and subtle and non-so-subtle forms of anti-Communism played a role in this failure to fully mobilize is a question that needs probing. Certainly the bad weather played a part as well.

At the same time, the Lumpkin campaign did, albeit only in the last weeks, finally involve many working people in the 7th Ward—including many rank-and-file steel workers. It developed a substantial base for future independent electoral activity in the Spanish-speaking sections of the ward, an achievement of historic note. Many individuals who had never before been involved in progressive or

independent political activity gave generously of their time and money—some taking days and weeks off from their jobs to campaign for Lumpkin. Already, an on-going organization, the Afro-Latino Citizens' Committee for Equality and Justice, has been formed. Plans are being discussed now to create what formerly seemed impossible—an on-going 7th Ward Labor Independent Political Committee.

Clearly, the Lumpkin campaign was but the first step in building a substantial, viable mass movement for change in the 7th Ward. Such movements will have decisive impact on the direction to be taken by Mayor-elect Jane Byrne.

* * *

The Lumpkin campaign is worthy of close study precisely because of the kind of basic working-class community the 7th Ward is, and because the conditions there are so ripe for continued independent political action. Such conditions also exist in other sections of the city: in the 49th Ward, for example, where independent Alderman David Orr was elected for the first time. And the election of Jane Byrne shows—as nothing else in Chicago has for a long time—that masses of voters, Black, white and Latino, are ready for this kind of organization.

It is only to the extent that mass organization and mass pressure in the communities are developed and brought to bear on the Byrne Administration that the promise of the new situation in Chicago's political life may be realized.

At this moment, the political situation in Chicago is very fluid—more so than at any time in recent history. What a political leader or elected official will be or do today can not be totally determined by what he or she was ready to do yesterday. There are new possibilities, and new potential created by the masses of voters who did what was so unexpected on February 27. But the fluid situation will not last forever. Any movement has its ebbs and flows; in a spontaneous movement the changes take place very rapidly. The task now is to build, to strengthen and solidify the organized formations that reflect and carry forward these spontaneous developments.

Already the City Council reflects that things are not as they were. The Council refused to go along with Bilandic's attempt to give Police Superinten-

dent O'Grady a long-term contract in order to subvert Byrne's campaign promise to replace him—an unprecedented show of independence. The co-sponsorship of a bill to enact a temporary moratorium on condominium conversions by Councilmen Lathrop and Pucinski, and the close, though insufficient, vote it received, is another sign that things are changing, and that new alliances and even victories are possible in this period that were not possible before.

In this sense we need a historical approach to what has happened. It is not just that a Jane Byrne happened to come along at a time when the incumbent machine mayor was an unpopular incompetent. We must also see that the present stage in the crisis of advanced state monopoly capitalism has an intensified impact on the cities. The temporary "solutions" that Daley appeared to offer are no longer possible in this new stage. At the same time there is the possibility of achieving certain correlations of forces on a citywide level that are more difficult to build on a statewide or national level. In particular this is true because of the strength of the Black vote and labor vote in a city like Chicago.

All of this should not for a moment lead us to an overestimation of Jane Byrne—despite the fact that she is influenced by some progressives—or to an underestimation of the ability of the banks and monopoly corporations (Chicago's big business "Round Table") to assert their domination of Chicago's political life, through whatever forms they may find necessary. Those efforts by big business are already under way. They can be short-circuited only to the extent, to repeat, that *the spontaneous movement expressed on February 27 is transformed into organized, ongoing struggle*. Such struggles will take many forms, including, but certainly not limited to, the struggle to organize, for the first time, Chicago's city workers into trade unions.

Direct pressure on Byrne and the City Council by working people, civic and community organizations, church groups, etc., to meet the pressing needs of the neighborhoods must be intensified. Delegations and demonstration are needed. But new forms of electoral struggle are also required. The 1980 state legislative and Congressional elections will be the next major test of the informal

coalition that sprang into being to defeat Bilandic. Important races will take place in the First and Second congressional districts, and possibly in the Tenth. The state legislative victories of 1978 must be consolidated and expanded into additional districts.

And a key—perhaps ultimately a decisive—ingredient in such movements is the Communist

Party's independent political role. It has been a most serious weakness in the past two years, certainly, that the Party's independent voice, as a Party, has been missing from the electoral scene. This weakness must certainly be overcome in the 1980 elections, when the Communist Party will once again field a slate.

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etc., in greater and greater numbers. Thus the mass of surplus value appro-

sonnel is added to the surplus value produced by the actual production workers. To this total the monopolist, as monopolist, is able to add an additional sum (depending on the competition) and sell the company's commodities at monopoly prices—above their value or price of production. Two concepts developed by Karl Marx, applied creatively to today's capitalism, may be of some assistance in the further study of the source of surplus value in highly automated industries. They're listed here for further research and discussion: (1) the collective laborer (*Capital*, Vol. I, chs. XI, XIII and XIV; and (2) the production process and automatic system of machinery (*The Grundrisse*).

The third question deals with the socioeconomic systems of the developing countries. More than 90 independent national states have been formed since the end of World War II, with 49 sovereign states in Africa itself. An examination of their economies is very much in order. The phenomenon of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle and its economic base gets the scientific scrutiny that it deserves in both Soviet volumes.

Both texts indicate how imperialism has been able to temporarily stop many of the newly freed countries from their drive to economic independence. Neo-colonialism is trying to replace moribund colonialism. Neo-colonialism is viewed as the sum total of economic, political and military methods used by the imperialist states to continue the economic exploitation and the dependence of these newly liberated countries.

Foreign monopolies continue to export capital to the former colonies with the resulting superexploitation of their workers. Collective forms of neo-colonialism are introduced through such international finance and credit organizations as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. These economic, financial and credit formations are superimposed on an economic underdevelopment resulting from age-long colonial rule.

Aid from the socialist states, and first of all from the Soviet Union, has been instrumental in building steel works, electrical plants, power grids and scores of other projects in Algeria, India, Afghanistan, Syria, etc. The central objective of this assistance is to overcome the economic backwardness and dependence of these countries on imperialism.

In this struggle to conquer economic underdevelopment, the people of these newly liberated countries seek ways to economic independence. Two paths of development are open to them—the capitalist road and the non-capitalist road. The capitalist tendency of development is found in countries such as Nigeria, Senegal, Kenya and Zaire in Africa. The non-capitalist development is found in Angola and Ethiopia in Africa, in Afghanistan in Asia and in other countries.

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From the 1920s to the 1940s, Communists in the USA welcomed and used extensively Soviet and German economic texts (in translation). In the fifties and sixties, John Eaton's book (from England) *Political Economy*, was widely used in our own ranks in classes and schools. In the sixties and seventies, we again found Soviet texts available. Some of these have circulated beyond our own ranks.

In the absence of a text based on the United States, both *The Political Economy of Capitalism* and *Political Economy: Capitalism* should be read, studied and circulated. Both are excellent texts and they lend themselves to study sessions and seminars of workers in basic industry.

PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

Culture—Instrument of Class Struggle

NORMAN GOLDBERG, ELLEN PERLO,
SUZANNE ARENAL

In his presentation of the Draft Resolution, Comrade Gus Hall points out that this document is not meant to be all inclusive; that only the most important tasks and principles are covered, and that many facets of our work remain to be reviewed and resolved during the pre-Convention discussion period. For example, the subject of education and culture was mentioned but not elaborated in that report.

What the Draft Resolution emphasized was that there are two major tasks facing the Party in the domestic area—industrial concentration and the struggle for Black liberation. It is in this connection that we wish to stress the role that culture can play as an important component of both ideology and practice in advancing the goals of the Party.

Culture may be defined as the qualitative essence of the superstructure of society—our laws, mores, ethics, customs, traditions and achievements in work and in play, in science, industry, education and the arts. In short, the cumulative social pattern that forms our particular type of civilization.

Karl Marx stated that the ruling ideas of every society are the ideas of its ruling class, and V.I. Lenin observed that every class society possesses two cultures, the dominant culture of the ruling class and the embryonic culture of the rising class destined to replace the ruling class.

In our times and in our country it is the working class and the culture that is expressive of this class that concerns us first and foremost as Party cultural workers. The Main Political Resolu-

tion of the 1975 21st National Convention of our Party stated:

Culture comprises the forms in which the ideological struggle is manifested and the media through which it is conveyed. There is no such thing as a classless culture: culture mirrors the life-styles, thoughts and aspirations of the struggles and strivings of one class or another, of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

Our direct concern is that of art as a vital aspect of culture. This country is rich in its cultural heritage, from the traditions, tales, dances and graphic art of the Native American peoples to the songs, crafts and other expressions of the slaves from Africa, the pioneers and homesteaders, and later, the contributions of the immigrant laborers from Europe, Asia and Latin America, all of whom became part of America, infusing it with a thriving multinational cultural character.

The period of the 1920s and 1930s, the period of the militant movement of the workers to organize trade unions and of the struggle against fascism, was accompanied by a dramatic upsurge in the arts—literature, film, theater and the visual arts. This was not accidental. The artists identified with the working class and portrayed their nationwide, industrywide struggles for economic security and peace. And the Communist Party played a leading role in this upsurge. It participated in the organization of many cultural activities—peoples' theater, film and art workshops, music and choral groups. It encouraged writers and poets to develop a working-class approach to literature—a proletarian literature.

Workers in the arts, inspired by the Communist Party's leadership, began to look into history and traditions of the American people and tap the rich source of this "second culture." From this there emerged a dynamic movement of progressive, humanist achievements in all the arts. Publications like the *New Masses* were powerful voices on the Left. The Federal Art Project of the WPA saw a whole school of social realist artists, dramatists and other cultural workers grow to prominence.

This forward movement in the arts was halted and set back in the 1950s by the anti-Communist, McCarthyite hysteria and repression of the cold war. In those years the Communist Party had to wage an arduous struggle for its very survival against a powerful and cunning class enemy that used all its ideological, political and legislative resources to isolate, harass and persecute the Party, imprison its leaders, immobilize and intimidate its members and attempt to wipe out Marxism-Leninism as a body of thought. Progressive artists in all media were black-listed, boycotted and broke.

And in those years the ruling class launched its own cultural offensive. A torrent of decadent bourgeois ideology covered the country. Television and films led the way, followed by literature, music, graphic arts, etc. This offensive has continued to the present period. Billions of dollars are spent yearly in an attempt to corrupt and brainwash the public. Every form of dehumanization has been bankrolled by capitalism to blot out from the minds of the people their real history, heritage and class interests—all that is culturally organic to them. Feelings of love, respect, friendship and care among people are submerged under a flood of brutality, violence, sadism, racism, sexism, pornography and mindless mysticism—on television, in films, theaters, books and all other art

forms. Media propaganda pursue the aim of presenting distortions, fabrications and outrageous lies about minority groups, about liberation forces in developing countries, about workers' struggles for a better life. And especially about the socialist countries, with emphasis on the Soviet Union. The capitalists are well aware of the value of propaganda, of the need to prevent a unification of all the forces that are opposed to the corruption, profiteering, racism and exploitation that are necessary to keep them in power.

Worst of all in this torrent of cultural fascism is its anti-Communism, the peddling of the BIG LIE in the arts. Thus anti-Communism is the bottom line of this total effort, whose purpose it is to turn the working class away from its historic future by selling it the lie that socialism is a failure wherever it exists in the world today, and that their future best remains with capitalism.

However, not only U.S. imperialism and its allies recognize the role of the arts and of propaganda as media for disseminating ideas. Wherever there are liberation struggles, cultural forms reflecting the needs of the workers and the oppressed minorities begin to emerge via the attempts of the people to gain their rights. And we are now in a new period, a period of intensifying class struggles, with new opportunities and challenges for our Party to move courageously into leadership. In this period we see new opportunities for the growth of a progressive people's cultural movement. The sources and elements for such a movement are all there. From the growing militancy of the working class we see new promise. The inspiring, growing political consciousness and movement of the Black people present us with a tremendous resource for cultural organization and struggle. Likewise with other oppressed masses—the Puerto Rican people, Chicanos, Native Americans, as well as women, youth,

older people. In fact, the entire American people are showing an increasing sense of their collective political awareness as monopoly capitalism's drive for increasing profits attacks them daily in every area of life.

Is the recognition of the role of culture in contradiction to the main emphases of our Party—the primacy of the role of the working class, the struggle against racism, the need for peace, the goal of socialism? Not at all. Culture is an instrument of class struggle. And in this period the Communist Party again has a vital role to play in the building of a progressive cultural movement. The arts, because of their direct and powerful impact on the minds and emotions of the people, and because of their potential for changing attitudes, must be enlisted in these aims. All of our efforts to achieve the goals of the Party program can be strengthened if these struggles are sung about, dramatized and shown graphically. As we see it, cultural forces have an important role to play in the formulation, implementation and dissemination of the program of the Communist Party.

Much needs to be done. The Party can begin by issuing a call for a broad cultural conference where Party and non-Party people can assemble and discuss the entire question. It is necessary to analyze cultural trends in the USA and the world today, to deepen the understanding of culture among members and friends of the Party and to support the new cultural trends that are arising as workers' struggles increase. Input from industrial workers, from Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and other minorities is essential to these discussions.

It is important that the Party encourage and develop new talent both within and without its ranks, as well as recruiting writers, artists, musicians, actors, TV and film workers, etc. Cultural workers should be encouraged to participate with workers in discussions, to learn from them about their lives,

their aspirations, their struggles—in short, their culture.

There is a strong need for a new cultural magazine in the tradition of *Masses*, *New Masses*, *Masses and Mainstream*, *Dialogue* and *Cultural Reporter*. This could provide a forum for an exchange of ideas as well as an opportunity for writers and artists to publish their work. Similar support should be provided for theater, music, dance and the other arts by establishing workshops and other centers for furthering these arts. Also, the *Daily World* cultural section must be made a priority for all cultural workers so that our newspaper becomes an important organ for cultural information and education.

We must become actively involved in mass organizations such as trade unions, organizations of oppressed minorities, tenant and community organizations, to work for and develop progressive cultural programs. We must also link up with other arts organizations to form a broad cultural alliance to promote cultural activities, reflecting people's struggles for human rights. This alliance must also fight for artists' rights to work in their field, for a national employment program for artists and for the development of extensive peoples' arts programs.

In addition, we must use the technical competence of artists to show, graphically and dramatically and every other cultural way, in the most attractive manner, the specific projects of the Party so that the maximum number of people will be aware of the Communist Party and what it stands for.

The road lies ahead. The Communist Party must move into the arena of culture and the arts in a serious way. The fight for a peoples' voice through the arts is part of the fight against racism, fascism and capitalism. It is part of the fight for humanism, democracy and socialism.

Comrades, it is time to have a cultural renaissance in our Party!

On the Farmer-Labor Alliance

CLARENCE SHARP

About 6 weeks ago the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO issued a statement in support of the American Agriculture Movement but qualified it by indicating that benefits of farm legislation should be restricted to family-type farmers.

Editorials in the *Daily World* and other Party statements have expressed a similar position. Widespread discussion on the need for the farmer-labor alliance give vent to similar expressions limiting their conception of the farmer-labor alliance to benefits to family-type farmers.

In my opinion, this conception of the nature of a true farmer-labor alliance is incorrect, un-Marxist, fails to take into account the economic fact of the "Inequality for Agriculture" documented so convincingly in Frank LeRoux's book *The Myth of U.S. Agriculture Prosperity* and referred to by the two Moscow professors on page 75 of their book, *The History of the U.S.A. Since World War I*. More, the effect of accepting this conception of the farmer-labor alliance restricts the real potential of the alliance; creates confusing division among the farmers; fails to recognize that all independent farmers are the victims of the processing and marketing monopolies and therefore are a component part of the antimonopoly alliance.

In Lenin's work, *Left-Wing Communism*, from page 111 to page 119, a polemic is waged against the slogan of "No Compromises," elaborating on "the necessity of taking advantage of even the smallest 'fissure' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest, among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups or types of the bourgeoisie of the various countries; by taking

advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."

In the above quote and in another 6 to 7 pages, Lenin carefully makes clear that he is referring to alliances across class lines with capitalist elements and recites numerous instances of such tactics engaged in by the Bolshevik party in Russia.

What is this "antagonism of interest" between "types of the various bourgeoisie" in the relationship between farmers, family type, independents, large or small engaged in agricultural production who have no control over prices they receive? Historically, as early as 1900 and before, the marketing and processing monopolies had achieved a high degree of monopolization and thereby, because of the unorganized condition of the agricultural producers of such main crops as wheat, cattle, cotton, corn, milo and hogs, the processing and marketing monopolies had the power to manipulate prices to realize the maximum in profits and especially in periods of crisis to plunder the agricultural producers.

For decades farmers through their organizations sought "government aid" to protect them from the plundering of the monopolies. It was only after the titanic struggles of the farmers and the people in the 1930s that legislation such as the Frazier Lemke Refinancing and Debt Adjustment Law and the 1938 Agricultural Stabilization Act were passed, which for some 20 years did give farmers some degree of protection from the plundering of the monopolies.

The corrupt Nixon Administration,

following 1973, withdrew much of this legislative protection. As a consequence, for the past 5 to 6 years family-type farmers, as well as thousands of big independent farmers, engaged in the production of cotton, corn, milo, wheat and other products have been confronted with prices far below farm costs which bankrupted hundreds of thousands of these farmers and threatens to wipe out the holdings of thousands of big farmers barely hanging on.

The militant American Agriculture Movement, with its tractorcades to Washington and with their demand of loan rates on grain at 90 per cent of parity, is the major expression of this section of capitalism engaged in agricultural production. But because they are the victims of the plundering of the processing and marketing monopolies they not only receive far less on their investments than does capital invested in the processing and marketing of farm products, but in addition are threatened with being bankrupted and driven out of agricultural production.

As a consequence they have become a part of the anti-monopoly forces and fighters against the Establishment. Reading their official paper, *American Agriculture News*, they fight "the conspiracy of the big bankers directed by David Rockefeller" in conformance with the populist traditions of the past.

Not only are all of these independent farmers, big and small, the victims of the monopolies, but in addition many other interests in the countryside are adversely affected and threatened with bankruptcy and economic ruination as a result of farm prices far below farm costs over a long period of years.

These forces adversely affected by the plundering of the monopolies with the support of the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations include hundreds of thousands of businesses servicing the farming communities, fuel, fertilizer, farm implements and other farm supply business, contractors,

building suppliers, country doctors, dentists, teachers, veterinarians, etc. As pointed out in an article in the June 1978 issue of *Dunn's Review*, "farming is the lifeblood of every town of less than 25,000 population and there are 19,852 such towns in the U.S."

The plundering policies of the monopolies supported by both old political parties have converted these millions of people into potential anti-monopoly forces. They are fitting prospects for alliance with the working class and the millions of consumers in the city and are also the only forces with political clout enough to force the

enactment of government aid legislation necessary to protect the farmers from the ruthless plundering of the monopolies.

Likewise, farmers and the other millions of consumers in the countryside are potential allies of labor and other city consumers in the battle against inflation, rising living costs for health, education and other urgently needed social legislation.

Lastly, farmers and the millions of people in the countryside share with labor and the tens of millions in the cities the menace constituted by the military arms monopoly who with their

billions in control of the mass media plug for the acceleration of the arms race, threatening the very existence of the human race. An indicator of this is the reports from the peace movement of a rapidly rising opposition to the arms race in the countryside.

A correct examination and analysis of the relationship of the agricultural producers to the monopolies will help to realize the full potential of the farmer-labor alliance, assure the defeat of the monopolies, defend democracy, end the arms race and maintain peace.

Sport—A Democratic Right CHRIS MATIS

Sport is a multi-billion dollar industry; an issue in international affairs; a socializing force of great consequence. It is a matter of health, politics, sociology, psychology and education.

In the school year 1975-6 over 5.4 million men and women participated in varsity sports activities sponsored by secondary schools and colleges. Another 5.1 million participated in intramural activities and 11.7 million participants were reported in physical education classes. (*Athletic Injuries and Deaths in Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1975-6*, National Center for Educational Statistics, HEW.)

In 1978, 79 million people went to horse races; baseball attendance exceeded 54 million; 48 million people attended college and pro football games; and millions more were spectators at boxing, soccer, tennis, automobile racing and wrestling. (*New York Times*, April 16, 1979.)

Leisure is one of America's biggest industries, it consumes between \$50

and \$100 billion a year. From 1965-75 annual spending on spectator sports - watching increased from \$688 million to \$1.5 billion, while spending on sports equipment, toys and boats went from \$2.8 billion to a whopping \$9.4 billion. (*New York Times*, July 6, 1979.)

Aside from the statistics and economics of sports there are other important aspects of sport as an institution, an ideology and as a force of socialization that make its investigation of critical importance for Communists and all progressive forces. For one thing, play or sport is important because it links the past with the present and future; it connects the body with its background (society); and it helps shape a child's understanding of time, space and relationships.

Play or sport is an art form, a mode of physical expression and a restatement of the social order or a transcendence of the same. Through fantasy, play can point towards an entirely different definition of the situation, and, in this capacity, it is a

danger to those in power who see what exists as that which should exist.

As Marx pointed out in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* (International Publishers, N.Y., p. 12), humankind realizes itself through *physical* interaction with organic and inorganic nature: "Nature is man's inorganic body—nature, that is, in so far as it is not itself the human body. Man lives on nature—means that nature is his *body*, with which he must remain in continuous interchange if he is not to die."

He maintains that interchange through the body, as it serves as the material base for sustenance, sport, sex and (in capitalist countries) surplus value.

Marx recognized how critical was the role of proper physical development (physical culture, sports, etc.) when he decried the estrangement of humans from their bodies physically at the point of production and ideologically in the writings of the bourgeois political economists who reduced "the worker's need to the barest and most miserable level of physical subsistence" and who reduced "his activity to the most abstract and mechanical movement." As a result of this aliena-

Chris Matis is a marathon runner.

tion wrought by capitalism and its apologists, Marx noted, "Man has no need either of activity or of enjoyment... By counting the *lowest* possible level of life (existence) as the standard... He changes the worker into an insensible being lacking all needs... To him [the bourgeois political economist], therefore, every *luxury* of the worker seems to be reprehensible, and everything that goes beyond the most abstract need—be it in the realm of passive enjoyment or a manifestation of activity—seems a luxury. Political economy, this science of *wealth*, is therefore simultaneously the science of renunciation, of want, of *saving*—and it actually reaches the point where it *saves* man the *need* of either fresh *air* or physical *exercise*." (Ibid., p. 149-150.)

Sport, like health care, education, etc., is a democratic right of the working people which must be fought for in the context of a class society. Opportunities for participating in sports, including access to facilities and information on sports technique and body care, are limited by the dynamics of class, racism and discrimination by sex and age in American society. Because of and through the limitations imposed upon sports by capitalism, sports take on an extremely important ideological role.

Sports extol class and hierarchy. Bleachers and beer for the 'bums' and air-conditioned boxes for the elite. Corporate executives at major multinationals are provided with health club membership and access to company sports grounds, while "Fifty million adult Americans never exercise, and degenerative diseases associated with obesity and physical inactivity have reached the epidemic stage." (From *The Final Report of the President's Commission on Olympic Sports 1975-77*. Vol I, p. 1.) Surely, the vast proportion of these 50 million are working people limited in their access to facilities and information.

Sports are paraded as the arena of equality and open opportunity for nationally oppressed minorities, but thirty years after the breaching of baseball's color bar, there are no Black or Hispanic managers at the major league level. There are no Black or Hispanic head football coaches in the pros or at any major NCAA football-power colleges. Minority ballplayers receive far fewer opportunities for off-the-field endorsements and far less money when they do so.

In college ranks, the exploitation of minority athletes in all sports continues at break-neck speed, with athletes consistently urged to forfeit degrees for a few years of athletic glory. And the racist myths of the "physical superiority" and the "mental inferiority" of the Black athlete still reign.

Sports discriminate against women in the most blatant ways. The average college athletic budget for women is a mere 2 per cent of that for men. Girls are prohibited or discouraged from participating in Little League and other amateur sports programs.

Sports also play an important role in shaping our attitudes towards aging by under-funding and under-emphasizing life-long sports and thereby creating an image of sports as ghettoized by age.

Objective Characteristics of Sports Today

There are a number of positive and negative tendencies that mark professional and amateur sports today. Some of these tendencies imply new areas of work that must be initiated; others are the result of years of struggle by progressive athletes, coaches and activists. The most significant of these tendencies or developments include:

1) an increase in spectatorism and participation on the part of men and especially on the part of women. Whereas in 1972 participation by young women in high school sports was 200,000, this year the total is up to

over 2,000,000.

2) an increased effort by corporations to extend sports participation to larger sectors of the population under corporate sponsorship. Coke, Pepsi, Coors, Burger King, Ford have become the new sports sponsor "line-ups" of the 1980s. Some of the corporate-sponsored programs are aimed at youth and women as part of market penetration plans for new product lines and involve upwards of 1,000,000 people as participants. Others take their cue from the President's Commission on Olympic Sports report and are aimed at "building credibility among youth, obtaining long-standing employees (and) reducing the turnover rate..." The President's Report also argues that corporations should "contribute significant resources to assist amateur sports development" because such assistance would make the labor force feel "proud" of their corporation's beneficence.

3) an increased commercialization of sports, and particularly women's sports. Health spas, fashionable jogging suits and expensive permit fees for municipally-owned facilities are more common than information on body-care and access to state-funded programs and facilities.

4) an increased class consciousness on the part of professional athletes/workers, as marked by the growth and increasing strength of the NFL and NASL Players' Associations, the Umpire's Association and especially the NBA Players Association.

5) a proliferation of new forms of racism as exemplified by South Africa's hosting of sporting events involving American athletes like Greg Page and South African athletes like Kallie Knoetze inside their "homelands."

6) an increased hostility towards pro athletes' salaries. This is occurring at a time when an increasing number of these athletes are Black and Hispanic. An entertainer like Johnny Carson may make more than 3 times what an

entertainer like Reggie Jackson makes without working nearly as hard or doing nearly as much damage to his body, but the media are leading a chorus of complaints directed at "astronomical" salaries of athletes.

7) a decrease of resources available for intra-mural and community sports programs resulting from Pentagon policies, planned shrinkages and the substitution of corporate-sponsored programs.

8) a decreased competitive level among U.S. international teams and a rise in the performance levels of athletes from socialist and developing countries.

9) a lack of consistent, scientific work on the part of trade unions, civic organizations or political groupings in the field of sports as a right.

Implications and Suggestions

In 1927 the CPUSA began an intensive program of sports organizing which resulted in the organization of a Labor Sports Union (LSU). This organization held sports competitions in several cities and attracted hundreds of participants and thousands of spectators at major meets. In New York, the LSU founded a workers' soccer league that grew to 28 teams with 400 players in just one year! The *Young Worker* (magazine of the Young Communist League) and the *Daily Worker* (predecessor of the *Daily World*) led the campaign against the anti-union sports programs devised by U.S. Steel, GM, et. al., used to "Hoodwink the greater part of the American workers." The Party also worked and agitated against corruption in college athletics, discrimination against Blacks, the class-based distribution of facilities and the exploitation of college and pro athletes by alumni groups and owners.

In the 1930s basketball and baseball leagues of the LSU were founded. "Free Tom Mooney" street runs were held in cities throughout the country,

and a Counter-Olympics was staged (the International Workers' Athletic Meet) in Chicago. The Party initiated a publication entitled *Sport and Play* during this period and, as the fascist threat grew, the Party launched popular-front formations and actions as a way of building unity among youth and workers in the fight for democracy. In addition, there were benefits staged for the Scottsboro Boys, publicity about how to participate in sports; and the sponsorship of a World Labor Athletic Carnival held at Randall's Island which attracted 25,000 spectators. ("Lefties or Righties," by Marc Naison, paper delivered at the 1979 annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians.)

Each of these initiatives gained new audiences and new respect for the Party and the Young Communist League. Sports work initiated or directed by the CPUSA served as a bridge to hundreds of thousands of Americans and contributed to the strengthening of working-class culture; the fight against corporate colonization or hegemony; the battle against racism; the fight against fascism; the fight against discrimination against women (although activities were more limited here); and in promoting and deepening international solidarity. *All of these goals require new efforts as we move into the 1980s.*

In its role of leading the working class in the development of class solidarity, international solidarity, peace, freedom and equality, the Party's work would be strengthened and broadened by undertaking a serious sports initiative around sports as a right at the workplace; around the Moscow Olympics; Title IX; and around tax money for sports as democratic rights.

Mass youth organizations, such as the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) who actively struggle for the preservation and extension of the rights of the young generation, would

also be strengthened and broadened by rooting their activities in the struggles of youth and students for recreation, parks and sports as a democratic right. Such a movement could encompass the battle for well-maintained and well-staffed neighborhood parks; for opening school gyms in the vacation period, on weekends or at night; for jobs and job training programs aimed at careers in sports industries; or for equal opportunities for girls and women in sports; for an end to the recruiting exploitation of high school athletes.

Proposals

1) The Party should establish a sports commission composed of leading members active in youth work, trade union work, the rights of women and nationally oppressed minorities, senior citizens' rights and sports activists.

2) The sports commission would be charged with developing or assisting in the development of a national sports organization which takes as its goal "sports as a right." Work with such organizations as ACCESS, FANS and with Sports for the People would be important here.

3) The sports commission would be charged with developing or assisting in the development of a national publication on sport, play, recreation and the political and social and cultural and athletic questions raised in those fields.

4) The sports commission would serve as a conduit through which material and resources made available by progressive forces would become available to Party clubs, the YWLL as well as other organizations.

5) A series of national initiatives could be undertaken by this commission. These could include: a) a national conference on sport and social change b) a legislative initiative around a bill modelled after Intro 445 in the New York City Council which calls for a 5 per cent tax on gross operating income for professional teams—the moneys

garnered to be set aside for the funding of community sports and recreation sites c) a national Olympic Friendship Day including "symbolic runs" covering the distance from a particular city to the site of the 1980 Olympics, Moscow. Money raised from entry fees could be used to give "scholarships" to trade unionists and youth and others to attend the 1980 games.

6) Aspects of physical culture should be incorporated into rallies and demonstrations. This could be in the form of a series of activist exercises, like those done at Yankee Stadium during the highly-publicized Peoples Opening Day.

Conclusions

Sport is too important, too ideological and too vast in its impact on the American working people to be ignored or treated haphazardly, irregularly or non-scientifically. A well-designed approach on the part of the

Party is required, not simply as a "youth question" nor as a "means" to other goals. In our fight for national health service we treat its realization as a legitimate right of the people and don't demand that the Party position be measured in new recruits through the Commission on Health.

We should ask the same of a sports initiative—that it be treated as a legitimate right of the people that *can* be an aid in recruitment, but not that it must be such an aid. As Gramsci wrote, "The working class, before it seizes state power, must establish its claim to be a ruling class in political, cultural and ethical fields. . . Another point to be kept in mind is that in political struggle one should not ape the methods of the ruling classes, or one will fall into easy ambushes."

Before the founding of the CPUSA, the existing organs of progressive forces simply aped or ignored the sports scene developed and financed by

Rockefeller, Carnegie, Joseph Lee, etc. A vast system of private and then municipally funded play organizations were developed (the most famous of which was the Playground Association of America). This vast network distorted working-class consciousness and resulted in the alienation of sports from the communities from which they had sprung. The end result was that sport was sold back to the people from whom it was stolen through the rise of spectator sports in the 1920s. The Socialist Party, the IWW and the trade unions were outflanked by the leisure issue and the initiatives and propaganda of the ruling class. In the late 1920s this situation was in part rectified by the work of the CPUSA and the YCL through the Labor Sports Union. It is that lesson that we must relearn or re-formulate and adapt to the battle for hegemony in the 1980s.



Some Lessons on Chile

GIL GREEN

Edward Boorstein, *Allende's Chile: An Inside View*, International Publishers, New York, 1977, pap. \$4.25.

What went wrong in Chile? Could the fascist coup have been prevented? These are questions that came to the fore following the tragic events of September 1973. They still require definitive answers, even more so today than at the time of the coup. The growing crisis of the world capitalist system

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places before a number of bourgeois-democratic countries the need of a strategy for the transition to socialism. The lessons of Chile can help greatly in this search.

Much has already been written about Chile. Like Spain a generation ago, it represents the conscience of our time. Especially is this so for us in the United States. For what happened in Chile also bears a made-in-USA label. Even a partial disclosure of State Department, CIA and ITT documents

makes this abundantly clear.

Many of the articles written about Chile have delved into the lessons of the Chilean experience, and Communists and Marxists of many lands have participated in this dialogue. Most important of all has been the contribution of the Chilean leaders. But the only book on the subject to my knowledge is that written by an American Communist—*Allende's Chile—An Inside View*.

Edward Boorstein, the author, has written from the vantage ground of an actual participant in that historic drama. As an economist who worked

in Cuba in the early years of its revolution, Boorstein was invited to come to Chile as an economic advisor to the Allende administration. He served in that capacity from September 1972 until the army fascist coup a year later.

At the very outset, Boorstein sets the tone for the book by citing a quotation. It is of Simon Bolivar: "To understand a revolution and its actors, it is necessary to observe from very close and to judge from very far: extremes which are hard to bring together." The highest praise I can pay Boorstein is that his book has largely succeeded in doing just that. He analyzes specific events, step by step as they occurred, and then places them in wider perspective.

Boorstein avoids simplistic one-sided answers to highly complex problems. He dismisses the arrogant and thoughtless assumption that some make that Chile's Popular Unity leaders were ignorant of basic Marxist-Leninist precepts about the nature of state power, about the need to arm the people, and so forth. One should keep in mind, he reminds us, what a revolutionary struggle is like—"many-sided, complex, full of uncertainties, dangerous," and that it is "much easier to write books than to manage revolutionary reality." Well put indeed.

I shall not undertake to summarize the story Boorstein relates and analyzes so well. It would be an injustice to even attempt to do so. The book is written in a lean, lucid style, with no fat or water to speak of. It does not indulge in false erudition or in purple prose. It single-mindedly concentrates on achieving simple clarity. The book must therefore be read; no review can substitute for it. I shall therefore limit my observations to a few points.

The Popular Unity Coalition, it should be recalled, won the presidency in a three-way election in which it obtained a plurality of 36 percent of the vote, not a majority. This lack of a majority was then used by the opposition

to try to deny Allende his constitutional right to be seated. The very lengths to which the opposition and the U.S. government and multinationals went in this effort indicate how important they believed the Allende election to be and how fearful they were of its consequences.

The problems confronting Allende upon assuming office were gargantuan in their immensity and staggering in their complexity. This can be seen by a brief mention of only its major domestic obstacles. Its winning of the executive branch of the government constituted an important foothold on the pedestal of power, but not control of the pedestal itself. The majority in Congress was aligned against Allende, making the passage of vital legislation for the implementation of his program extremely difficult and most often, impossible.

The judicial system and the state apparatus (bureaucracy), inherited from the past, remained true to the vested class interests they always served. Even the Comptroller General's Office, which audited the government's financial operations and had a right to decide whether presidential decrees were legal, was in the hands of Allende's opponents. Most importantly, the army was led by professional, career men coming from the ranks of the better-off classes. Many of them had been trained in U.S. military establishments, and the army command maintained close liaison with the Pentagon. And as has been already mentioned, to top this all, Allende lacked a popular electoral majority.

In face of this formidable array of obstacles, was it possible to utilize the office and powers of the president, limited though they were, to win a popular mandate and to propel the revolution forward? Boorstein believes that it was.

He ridicules the ultra-Left rhetoric which demanded of Allende that he arm the people and form a popular

militia. What, he asks, would the opposition and army have done while this was taking place? Would it have sat on its hands? Hardly. On the other hand, Boorstein is also critical of illusions in Popular Unity's leadership about the so-called neutrality of the army. He is particularly critical of what he considers to be a concentration to win the good will of the officer corp at the expense of a widespread effort to influence and win the army's ranks.

The author likewise is derisive of demands made by ultra-Left groups for ever greater nationalizations, even of smaller economic holdings, as if this could resolve the more basic problem of who really held state power. Boorstein points out that of 112 major enterprises nationalized, only 13 showed surpluses, the other 99, sizable deficits.

The transfer of class ownership is always a difficult undertaking, for the new owners must learn how to administer, the workers must learn how to work under the new conditions, while the former owners are determined to thwart this. Popular Unity, he notes, had hoped that the nationalization of the monopolies would enable it to capture their profits and use them to further develop the economy. "Now, instead of profits, there was a growing deficit which could only be financed by inflationary Central Bank lending." But uncontrolled inflation was eroding the economy and with it popular support for the government.

Boorstein's major criticisms relate to what he considers the failure of Popular Unity to wage a determined ideological offensive. It was up to Popular Unity's leaders, he argues, "to explain the revolutionary struggle to the people, in simple, clear, concrete language and systematically, regularly, at every turn of events—to explain who the enemies of the revolution were, what they were up to, why problems and difficulties were arising, and what dangers loomed."

The author also believes that impor-

tant opportunities were missed in which it was possible to isolate the opposition and to win an overwhelming popular mandate for more aggressive action. The first year of Allende's presidency, for example, was a "honeymoon" period. Its policies had increased industrial production by 13 percent, raised living standards visibly for both the working class and the middle classes, and substantially eliminated unemployment and reduced inflation. Allende's popularity, as a consequence, was at a high. This was the period when a latent popular mandate existed for constitutional changes, for stronger tax measures, and for a general offensive against all forms of sabotage and violence.

Another extremely important opportunity arose when the revelations of U.S. State Department, CIA and ITT machinations in Chile became public. Popular Unity did, of course, publish

and popularize the exposure. It did not, however, use this for opening an extended crusade showing the people how the domestic reaction was selling itself and trying to sell Chile to U.S. multinational interests.

There were other moments as well when the offensive could have been taken, even for a reorganization of the armed forces. Such occurred when Gen. Rene Schneider, the Commander-in-Chief, was assassinated even before Allende was seated, and later, when an attempted military coup took place. The failure to act at such crucial moments emboldened the army conspirators in the conviction that they had nothing to fear.

There were two main reasons for the failure to seize these opportunities and to act more decisively. There was the illusion, first, that time was on the side of Allende. But this was not the case as long as the impasse over who really

held the reins of state power persisted.

The second reason arises from the very nature of coalition. It is inherently difficult to get a coalition of diverse class, social and political forces "to agree to a single analysis and strategy, and to act quickly." This is even more pronounced at critical moments, when centrifugal pressures tend to loosen previous bonds. Yet the failure to act decisively and unitedly at such moments may well spell the difference between victory and defeat.

In light of this latter factor, innate to the very existence of a political coalition, the question arises whether it was realistically possible, under the circumstances, for Popular Unity to avoid the many pitfalls and errors so well analyzed by Boorstein.

Boorstein's book is a major contribution to a deeper understanding of what went wrong in Chile. It deserves the fullest study.

New Texts on Capitalist Economy

DAVID ENGLESTEIN

The Political Economy of Capitalism, edited by M. Ryndina and G. Chernikov, Progress Publishers, Moscow.

Political Economy: Capitalism, edited by G.A. Kozlov, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, \$4.50. Available from Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Illinois, 60610.

By now, to say the least, it is not startling news. Yet *Time* magazine, in a recent issue, headed its Economy and Business section with: "Here comes the Recession." (March 5, 1979.)

Time's ten-member Board of Economists predicted a recession for later this year. They foresee increasing unemployment, a soaring federal budget deficit, a weak dollar, negative Gross National Product (GNP) growth, high corporate profits, labor's unwillingness to accept Carter's 7 per

cent guideline for wage increases, etc.

For an in-depth understanding of such developments and other problems of an unstable capitalist system in the USA, workers and other students of political economy will find both books under review of great value. Both volumes examine—each in its own way—the operation of the laws of capitalism and come to grips with the analysis of concrete phenomena and contradictions of modern capitalism.

During the last five years—in addition to several popular, introductory texts on political economy—Soviet scholars have produced these two major works on this science.

The Political Economy of Capitalism (henceforth PEC), edited by M. Ryndina and G. Chernikov, is a collective work of fourteen authors. *Political*

Economy: Capitalism (PE:C) is a joint undertaking of ten writers and is edited by G.A. Kozlov. Both are textbooks used in universities in the Soviet Union.

The larger volume, *PE:C*, has more updated statistical information, including data through 1975-76, and in general goes into greater detail and probes in greater depth a whole number of questions. A U.S. student familiar with elementary Marxist political economy will feel at home with the remarkable similarity of both books in the phrasing of their chapter and subtopic headings. When I compared a relatively brief treatment of a subject in one book with a relatively long discussion on the same subject in the other book, I not only found additional information, but was stimulated by the discovery of new facets of one or another economic process.

The *PE:C* has an innovative introduction and a lively discussion on economic law. Right at the outset it

makes the sound observation that: "Although economic laws reveal themselves in people's activities they are objective laws." (P. 13.) The other text deals with the laws of economic development adequately, but in a somewhat different context at the end of the first chapter. It notes the great practical significance of the scientific knowledge of these laws and concludes: "The deeper the need to struggle against capitalism penetrates the consciousness of people, the more rapidly the laws leading capitalism to its downfall take effect." (P. 27.)

Such questions as commodity production, capitalist exploitation, accumulation of capital, ground rent and monopoly domination in agriculture, and the cyclical development of capitalism are presented in similar sequence with clarity and precision in both books. Other topics, such as monopoly capitalism, state monopoly capitalism, the world capitalist economy, the general crisis of capitalism and the critique of bourgeois and reformist economic theories are also examined with competence and lucidity in both volumes.

In view of the growing consensus among business and academic economists—if not yet among government economic specialists—on an economic crisis emerging in late 1979 or early 1980, the reader is referred to excellent material on the crisis in both books. In *PE:C*, in particular, there is an elaboration in some detail on the many interrelated facets of the recurring economic crises, such as the inevitability of crises of overproduction, on post WW II economic cycles, on the world capitalist system in crisis today, on the increasingly uneven development of the economies of imperialist countries, and these are in turn examined in the context of the general crisis of capitalism.

The remainder of this article focuses on several questions of political economy which are relatively new, or have

developed significantly new aspects. The three questions examined are: (1) monopoly profit and monopoly superprofit, (2) how surplus value is made in highly automated industries where seemingly only a few workers are engaged in production, and (3) the two paths of development facing the developing countries.

PE:C devotes a whole chapter (pp. 447-468), and the other text four pages (pp. 192-196) to the question of monopoly profit and superprofit.

Before the advent of monopoly domination the profit of capitalists tended to be the average profit. Extra (super) profits would on occasion and temporarily be made by the individual capitalist when the entrepreneur was able to introduce a technical advance in production ahead of the competition.

In the epoch of monopoly capitalism, superprofits are made on a gigantic scale by corporate enterprises. The two books point to the sources of this monopoly superprofit. They are a) a higher rate of exploitation (when compared to non-monopoly firms) resulting from increased labor intensity (speedup); b) high monopoly prices of consumer goods—prices far above the value of these commodities—thus appropriating part of the value of labor power in the marketplace; c) the superexploitation of the workers in the neo-colonial and dependent countries, exemplified by the very low level of wages paid by the multi-national conglomerates in these countries; d) the generally very low price structure of commodities produced by the family farmer, the vertical integration of agriculture and industry, and the growth of the power of agribusiness (including the giant banks involved) that lead to above normal profits; and e) the oppression and "superexploitation" of small (non-monopoly) producers in the sense that a large share of their profit is appropriated by the giant corporations.

Both Soviet texts emphasize that the "main component" of monopoly

superprofits is the higher rate of exploitation obtained at the giant corporate enterprises at home.

Monopoly profit is the sum of the average profit and the superprofit. In actual life it is not easy to separate the average and the super profit. The high rate of exploitation of workers in the USA can be seen in the total monopoly profit. According to one estimate, for the year 1972 the average rate of exploitation for production workers was 200 per cent. (Gil Green, *What's Happening to Labor*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1976, p. 53.) Another estimate for the same year is 335 per cent, and runs as high as 424 per cent in Delaware and 407 per cent in Texas. (*Texas Industrial Commission Report*, discussed in *World Magazine*, *Daily World*, by Paul Klausen, Dec. 21, 1978.) The average amount in dollars that a worker in Texas made for the company above his or her wages was \$29,638 in the year of 1972.

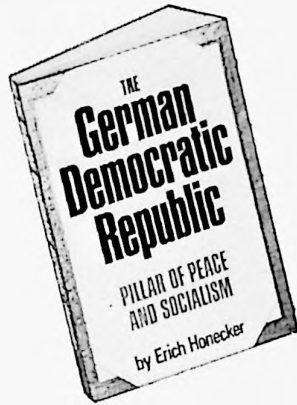
Victor Perlo has estimated (roughly) that in 1972 the superexploitation of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian and Asian wage and salary earners resulted in \$23 billion in superprofits. Racist discrimination is the source of these extra (super) profits. (*Economics of Racism*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1975, ch. 9.)

The second problem is also related to the question of monopoly profits. Where do the profits of the owners of automated and computerized enterprises come from? How can one argue that the source of capitalists' profits and superprofits is the exploitation of workers, when a highly automated plant (e.g., an oil refinery) may employ fewer than a dozen workers each shift and yet record hundreds of thousands of dollars in profit? A rather brief answer is given in *PE:C*.

Linked to such sophisticated levels of production, *PE:C* states, are research institutions and laboratories that employ technicians, engineers,

Continued on page 30

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