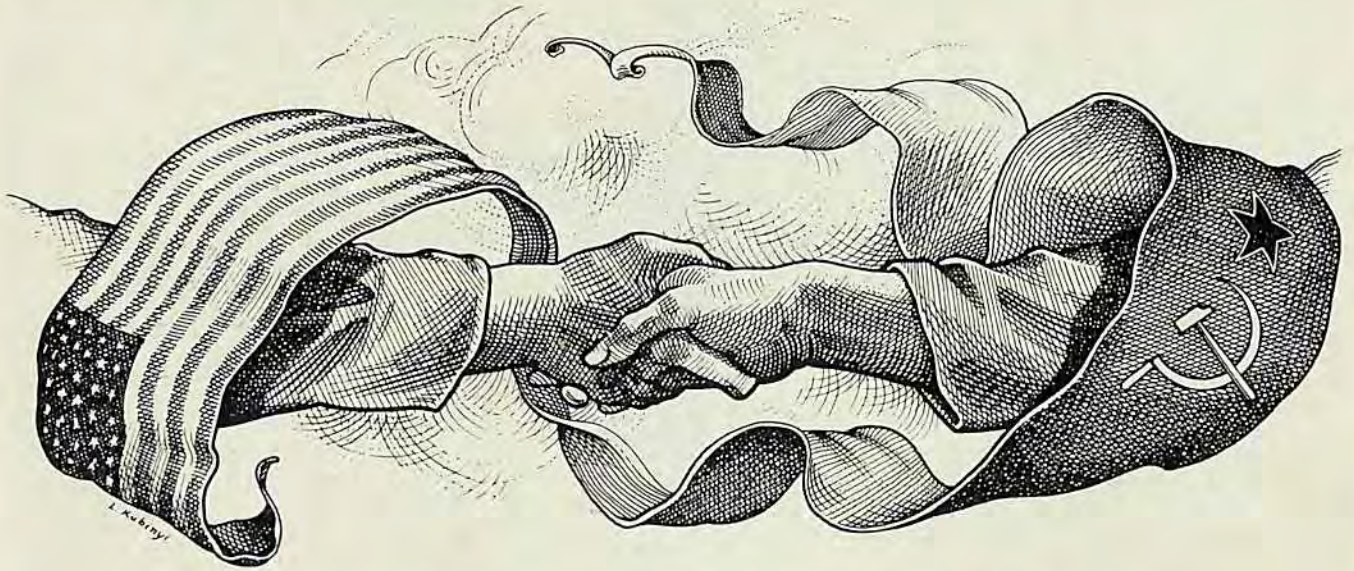


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A Book Review

Truth and Lies About Detente

The fortieth anniversary of the defeat of the fascist Axis has become the occasion for studying the lessons of World War II in order to avoid World War III. As a contribution to that end, we publish in this issue major excerpts from a significant article by Boris Ponomarev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU.

It is now generally known that the Nazi's road to war was paved with lies, historical distortions and myths. The first casualty of Hitler's war drive was truth. The Big Lie in that drive to war was the myth of a Soviet threat.

One has to recall Dr. Goebbel's perpetual motion lie-machine in order to find the equal of the vast space which separates fact from fiction in Reagan's anti-Sovietism. A vivid illustration is Reagan's myth about detente, the myth that the Soviet Union used detente to gain military superiority over the United States while the U.S. was neglecting its own defenses.

This falsification, propagated by the Committee on the Present Danger over the past decade, was used to discredit and undermine detente. It was used to help win the re-election of Ronald Reagan. It is used today to cut the ground from under the Geneva arms negotiation and prevent its success.

Two British academics, Ken Booth and Phil Williams, have set the record straight to help demolish this myth ("Fact and Fiction in U.S. Foreign Policy: Reagan's Myths About Detente," *World Policy Journal*, Summer 1985). They point out that "one of the most pernicious myths now in favor states that during the 1970s America unilaterally opted out of the arms race." They cite as evidence the record of the strategic force improvements made by the U.S. between 1970 and 1980:

- It deployed 550 new multiple warhead Minutemen III intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs);

- It deployed 1,140 new nuclear short-range attack missiles on B-52 and FB-III bombers (from the Soviet viewpoint, these missiles were strategic);

- It accelerated the development of the MX missile, a ten-warhead ICBM;

- It completed research and development, and initiated production of air-launched cruise missiles;

- It doubled the yield and destructive power of Minuteman III warheads by beginning the deployment of 900 new Mark 12A re-entry vehicles;

- It upgraded the guidance system of Minuteman IIIs with new NS-20 inertial systems to improve accuracy;

- It upgraded the hardness of Minuteman silos to reduce vulnerability to nuclear attack and installed titanium shrouds on missile nose-cones to reduce vulnerability to electromagnetic pulse from nuclear explosions;

- It replaced and modernized the B-52's weapons, engines, airframes, navigation systems, avionics and electronic countermeasures;

- It deployed 62 FB-III bombers;

- It improved Minuteman rapid retargeting capability.

So much for the Reaganite "decade of neglect"!

And what about the "Soviet drive for military superiority" in the detente decade?

Booth and Williams point out that:

- The Soviet military build-up of the 1960s and 1970s actually slowed down after 1976;

- Between 1977 and 1981 Soviet procurement of new weapons, measured in dollar terms, did not grow at all;

- Soviet defense costs slowed down markedly after 1976. For the previous decade it had grown at constant rates of 5 per cent annually, measured in rubles, but it declined to only 2 per cent after 1976;

- The slowdown in defense cost growth rates

was distributed unevenly, but between 1977 and 1981 the procurement of military hardware did not grow at all in dollars. Strategic defense weapons—which aroused such disquiet in the United States—were being produced and deployed at “relatively relaxed rates” after 1976;

- The defense share of gross national product (GNP) remained unchanged from 1970 to 1981.

These figures, which the authors attribute to revised CIA estimates, show that the Soviet military buildup in the late 1970s was much slower than the Reaganites charged and that the growth of Soviet military spending was less than that of the United States. The Reagan Administration ignored these facts because they did not accord with the fiction of an inexorable

Soviet drive for strategic superiority. Yet it was this myth of a “Soviet threat” and of “U.S. neglect” that Reagan used to launch the biggest armaments drive in history.

It was a great tragedy for the German people and the world when the Hitlerite government formulated its policies and alibied its conduct on the basis of the Big Lie. Today, for the United States government to pursue the same course, to proclaim the same mythology, is to ignore the lessons of the Second World War, to doom the Geneva arms negotiations to failure, to slide down into a tragedy to end all tragedies—nuclear suicide for the United States and omnicide for the world.

To win the peace, the people must demand policies based on truth, not myths! □

The Wheeling-Pittsburgh Strike

At 12:01 am, July 21, 8200 steelworkers struck nine plants of the Wheeling-Pittsburg Steel Corporation. This is the first major strike by the United Steelworkers (USWA) against a basic steel corporation since 1959.

The workers moved into action on picket lines in Ohio, West Virginia and Western Pennsylvania. Local union leaders declared, “this is all out war.” And pickets said, “We’d rather be unemployed than be slaves.”

Workers and their families rallied in Steubenville, Ohio, home of Wheeling-Pittsburg’s largest plant, and the Monnessen—Allenport, Pennsylvania, area. The theme was, “No to the banks and the Reagan courts, we won’t take a \$155 a week cut.”

Everyone who has walked the picket lines and talked to the striking workers is impressed with their determination. They act like they’re striking to save the union—and they are.

The Wheeling-Pittsburg workers are fighting in the finest traditions of steelworkers and the USWA: Homestead, 1892, the first steel strike for industrial unionism; the Great Steel Strike of 1919, the first industry-wide strike; the

“Little Steel” strike of 1937, which paved the way to victory for the USWA.

This strike occurs amidst a growing fightback against concessions. Last month workers at Bath Iron Works in Maine voted 3500 to 24 to strike against a two-tier wage system.

At General Dynamics in Pomona, California, 4000 members of the Machinists union struck and ended a two-tier system which had been forced on them in a previous contract.

In Texas, a “right-to-work for less” state, the United Auto Workers (UAW) at LTV—Voight waged a fifteen-month battle, without a contract and without dues check-off, to build the union on the shop floor. They struck and got a no-concessions contract.

—At General Electric and Westinghouse, the fourteen union bargaining council defeated company plans to continue the concession drive in the electrical industry.

These and other important labor struggles mark a turning point for the working class. A rhythm of class struggle is developing, a rhythm of fightback. Wheeling-Pittsburg has the potential to spark a national fightback.

Two critical questions for the labor movement are brought into focus by this strike. First is the role of the big banks and insurance companies—in short, finance capital.

Led by Manufacturers Hanover Trust, these bloodsuckers are the force behind the demand for drastic cuts in wages and benefits. Ignoring the fact that the workers are the biggest debt holders, the banks demand further cuts because they are not satisfied with their already bloated rate of profit. They don't give a damn about the workers, the mills or the surrounding communities; they want more money, faster.

Second is the role of the Reagan Administration and the courts—in short, the state.

Reagan has spent the last five years creating an anti-union climate, putting his union-busting stamp on the judicial system. This includes permitting companies to use bankruptcy laws to tear up union contracts.

A Reagan bankruptcy judge in Pittsburg ignored the law, ignored the valid arguments and claims of the Wheeling-Pittsburg workers and the USWA, and gave the banks everything. He rewrote the union contract the way the banks wanted it.

What a clear view of state monopoly capitalism emerges! The government, banks and industrial monopolies work together as a class to rob the workers.

The strike is critical for all steelworkers and the USWA. What happens at Wheeling-Pittsburg will set the stage for the basic steel contract in 1986. This is recognized on both sides of the class line.

Support for the strike is spreading throughout the labor movement. Just days after the strike began, the district director of steel in Ohio called it "class war." He called an emergency meeting of all steel locals in his area to mount solidarity committees. This example should be followed in all unions. We need solidarity committees in every city and state.

Solidarity committees can organize plant gate collections and explain the issues of the strike. They can send support delegations to strike areas. Local unions and central labor bodies can pass resolutions of support.

Solidarity committees can organize picket lines at local branches of Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Continental Illinois and Chemical Bank of New York, which lead the cabal of investors at Wheeling-Pittsburg. These finance groups are also good targets for campaigns to withdraw funds and accounts.

The issues of the strike are critical for the broader people's movement. Everyone with an interest in fighting against Reaganism, for jobs and affirmative action, has an interest in winning this strike. The ruling class is united behind the companies. We must unite working people in action on the workers' side.

This can also include community-based solidarity committees. Working in coalition with labor committees, they can organize consumer boycotts of the big investors in Wheeling-Pittsburg, organize for city council and state legislature resolutions supporting the strike. Community and church groups can organize drives for school supplies for strikers' children.

The Communist Party is in the middle of a wide-ranging discussion of a draft of a new Trade Union Program. This strike shows that the draft is a good estimate of the developing direction in labor.

Communists and the broader Left must make the connections between this strike and other class battles. For example, we must point out the South Africa connection—Continental Illinois and many of the other banks at Wheeling-Pittsburg are heavy investors in apartheid.

We must also advance and popularize some of the more radical demands needed to secure the jobs and working conditions of the strikers. The Wheeling-Pittsburg mills are modern and, in some cases, state of the art. They were modernized with money from workers' concessions and public tax breaks. The people have already paid for the mills. We need legislation to take them out of the greedy hands of the banker/stockholders!

If the labor movement, all the components of the All People's Front Against Reaganism, and especially Communists and the Left respond quickly and decisively to aide the Wheeling-Pittsburg workers, this strike can be won. □

The Working Class And the Import-Export Crisis

GUS HALL

To the monopoly corporations and the banks, imports and exports are all the same—a source of huge super-profits. They have it made, coming and going. On the other side of the class line, for workers and the people of the industrial capitalist countries, it also doesn't make any difference whether goods are imported or exported. Both ways, they get it in the neck—coming and going.

Internationalization of production, the new level of technology, finance capital that knows no national boundaries, crisscrossing of investments between countries, development of worldwide industrial and financial conglomerates—all have added a new dimension to the class struggle. And this new dimension has created new contradictions and new problems for the working class in capitalist countries.

The working class of each capitalist country confronts the challenge of their own country's ruling class, monopoly capital. However, now the workers are increasingly forced to deal with the maneuvers and machinations of monopoly corporations that operate as worldwide syndicates, syndicates that have no boundaries except maximum profits.

This is a process of internationalization of class exploitation. These new world relationships, these global syndicates of monopoly corporations banded together, have given impetus to the further development and increased role of state monopoly capitalism in each capitalist country.

In this new situation, the state acts as an umpire for the monopoly syndicates. In each country, the state clears the legal and diplomatic path for the crisscrossing of production and financing. The state gets laws passed and regulations issued that help to maximize corporate

profits from these new global relationships.

Thus, the state in each of these countries has become an important factor in manipulating taxes, import and export laws, investment regulations, etc.—to the singular advantage of the monopoly corporations and syndicates.

Because of the role of governments and their corporate relationships, the struggles, of necessity, must include forms of political and legislative action.

The new U.S.-Japan syndicate development is unprecedented and is a perfect example of these new relationships. This worldwide syndicate operates like a conspiracy against the working class in both countries.

It also operates like a syndicate conspiracy in Third World countries, as well as other capitalist countries.

This development presents some new, difficult and complex problems for the working class and trade union movements in the industrial capitalist countries. Therefore, we think this calls for a new look, a new approach and new tactics.

Each monopoly in the syndicate works to keep the workers of their countries divided. All promote empty, chauvinistic nationalism. They play on the contradictions that are inherent in the self-interests of the working class in each country. Thus, how to meet this new challenge of the capitalist world's monopoly syndicates is a most important question.

Because the U.S. is the chief culprit, the working class and trade union movement in this country has a special responsibility to help find solutions in the interests of the working class of all the capitalist countries and to help organize the fightback against this new assault on the international working class.

To start with, we are convinced the world trade union movements must reject any idea of

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

joining or cooperating with the syndicates of their own countries. Rather, we believe the starting point must be implementing tactics that will have the effect of cutting back the superprofits of the syndicates.

There are many ideas and possible solutions on which the trade union movements of the world can work together.

We would like to put on the table, for consideration, some of our thinking.

- First, because of the role of governments and their corporate relationships, we think that trade union struggles, of necessity, must include forms of political and legislative action.

- Legislation that would equalize syndicate wages and working conditions in the affected capitalist countries.

- Legislation that would equalize syndicate profits between domestic and foreign investments.

- Legislation that prohibits banks from making capital investments in the same industry in more than one country. For instance, a bank could not invest in the steel industry in the United States and also in another country.

- Legislation barring the closing of industrial plants if the purpose is to move production to another area.

- Legislation that prohibits investment or transfer of industries to countries where official policy is the destruction of trade unions, such as Chile and South Africa.

- Demand the shutdown of existing syndicate industrial facilities in countries like South Africa and Chile.

- Organization of negotiations on a syndicate-wide basis; one worldwide syndicate, one contract.

In the U.S. trade unions there is a need for new approaches and tactics because the U.S. working class is facing an import-export crisis for the first time in its history.

Therefore, the U.S. trade unions should begin now to work on basic positions, on ideas and solutions, before joint efforts with movements in other countries can be organized.

Here again, we would like to put some ideas on the table for consideration.

A starting point must be to adopt the approach that the unions are dealing with corporations and with a class that do not care one whit about workers of any country, a ruthless ruling class that is not one whit concerned about national interests, about patriotism or what is good for the country—if it in any way interferes with the drive for maximum corporate profits.

We think the basic approach must rest on the fact that there are millions of unemployed, homeless and hungry who are the direct victims of the import-export crisis.

Another premise should be that the culprit, the direct cause of the crisis, is the criminal monopoly corporations, who are willing to sacrifice livelihoods and lives and even devastate industries and whole regions to achieve their profit-seeking goals.

Yet another starting point must be the understanding that most of the foreign imports are not foreign at all. Many of the imported goods come from production facilities which are partially or wholly owned by U.S. corporations and banks.

- 1) The U.S. trade union movement should, therefore, call on Congress to ban all government-sponsored funding, including by the International Monetary Fund, for the purpose of paying debts owed U.S. banks by foreign governments or corporations.

- 2) Because of problems the import-export crisis creates, now is the time to raise the demand for a 6-hour day with no cut in pay.

- 3) The trade union movement should call on the U.S. government and Congress to implement the United Nations New International Economic Order, calling for special assistance to developing countries to overcome their underdevelopment and low standard of living.

This includes many-sided assistance to these countries to help them develop nationally-owned industries, enabling them to make reforms or carry out social revolutions in order to provide decent wages and get fair prices for their products.

This means canceling the huge debts im-

posed on these countries by the imperialist banks, which have made hundreds of billions in profits out of super-high interest rates and currency speculation. This policy would lead, among other things, to an increase in U.S. imports of nationally owned products made in these countries.

4) The trade union movement should call on Congress to pass legislation to tax all super-profits from foreign investments.

5) The trade union movement should call on Congress to legislate that, for every \$1 a bank or corporation invests abroad, it must designate \$5 for domestic, job-creating projects.

6) The trade union movement should call on Congress to prohibit export of production capital that creates unemployment in the United States.

7) The trade union movement should demand an end to anti-Communist, colonialist embargoes and boycotts, specifically those against Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, as well as the 90 per cent trade restriction on the Soviet Union and most other socialist countries.

End economic discrimination against Nicaragua and other countries fighting for independence and national liberation.

8) The trade union movement should demand removal of all U.S. troops from foreign bases, where they are always deployed to protect the interests of monopoly capital.

9) The trade union movement should call for the nationalization of U.S. banks, the money-lending insurance octopus and for slashing interest rates. Banks should be placed under socialized control and management.

10) The trade union movement should advocate the nationalization of international trade; for it to be controlled by democratically elected government agencies, who will run the nationalized banks and regulate international trade.

11) The trade union movement should demand that in the conduct of foreign trade, workers, through their unions and other organizations, should have major, direct representation in negotiating trade agreements, which would include the power to control prices on products under trade agreements.

12) The trade union movement should demand an end to the international trade in armaments, weapons and war production, which does not create as many jobs as production of non-military products.

13) The trade union movement should call on Congress to change the law on dumping—from placing restrictions on imports because of government funding of production to placing restrictions because of low wages and slave-labor working conditions in capitalist countries.

14) The trade union movement should convene an international conference of trade unions and workers' political and other organizations to adopt internationally agreed upon policies on trade, equalization of wage levels and other conditions in capitalist countries, the ending of apartheid and neo-colonialism and to increase employment by creating jobs in all capitalist countries.

Goals should include:

- Raising real wages in developing countries to the levels prevailing in the advanced capitalist countries;

- The formulation and enforcement of a full-employment program in all capitalist countries;

- Enforcement of affirmative action programs in the U.S. and other capitalist countries;

- Joint action against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Complete economic and political isolation of apartheid South Africa.

Combined international struggles, movements and tactics should be agreed upon to achieve these goals. This would reverse the current direction of developments.

- Because of the internationalization and crisscrossing of production, the workers and trade unions in the multinational conglomerates should consider not only identical contracts, but also united, simultaneous strikes.

- The unions should consider joint international funds and resources for organizing the unorganized.

- These considerations are necessary because there is no other way to react effectively to the syndicate strikebreaking tactic: when work-

ers strike a syndicate plant, management simply uses another syndicate facility to continue production.

- To develop these new worldwide union relationships, unions should establish syndicate-wide contact committees. These committees should arrange for exchanges of translated materials, including union papers and videotapes.

- There should be exchanges of union study groups and delegates to each other's conventions.

- The national unions in each country should set up special departments and provide necessary personnel and resources to deal with and coordinate working-class struggles on a syndicate-wide basis.

- There should be world conferences of shop stewards as well as international conferences of members of congresses and parliaments who are on the workers' side.

Types of responses, relationships and the apparatus to carry them out are necessary, first of all because the new developments are not temporary. In fact, they are features of monopoly-capitalist world relationships that will continue to grow and as a result the problems they present to the working class will increase.

Such an approach by the U.S. trade unions in adopting starting positions and tactics, both nationally and internationally, is the only process which will begin to solve the import-export crisis for the working class of the advanced capitalist countries. This has become a critical question for the U.S. working class.

It must be seen as a crisis that is now one of the most important issues before the working class and trade unions.

It should be noted here that, in the socialist countries and under the socialist system, no such problem can arise. The root of such a crisis, the drive for maximum profits by private corporations, is eliminated forever.

In its place is established a system whereby all production facilities are publicly owned and operated, all trade is conducted centrally in the interests of the working class and people, and all trade agreements are developed on the basis of mutual benefit, equality and international cooperation.

Finally, the approach and general framework for action laid out here is, we think, the only one that can mount a winning challenge against the transnational monopoly corporations, the new worldwide syndicates and the state monopoly governments that support and protect them. □

Winning for Peace

Impact of the Great Victory

BORIS PONOMAREV

Forty years ago there occurred one of the most important events not only of the twentieth century but in the entire history of world civilization. Nazism and Japanese militarism were defeated and, thanks to that great victory, humanity was saved from the danger of enslavement by the most reactionary, antihuman section of the imperialist forces. In May 1945 the Soviet people were victorious in their Great Patriotic War against the Nazi aggressors and enslavers. A few months later militarist Japan capitulated.

The defeat and unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany and its Japanese ally, whose participation in the war started with an aggression against the United States and Great Britain in December 1941, showed how futile and foredoomed were all hopes of dominating the peoples of the world, of enslaving them and imposing the barbaric fascist regime upon humanity by means of world war.

Today, forty years later, when imperialism has brought humanity to the brink of thermonuclear disaster, the lessons of the Second World War have acquired a special relevance to the crucial problem of the present day, the problem of preserving peace and life on Earth.

What are the main results of the Soviet People's Great Patriotic War, and of the whole Second World War? And what lessons may we learn from them today?

They are the following.

The outcome of the war proved the *viability and invincibility of socialism*.

The Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the defeat of the Nazi war machine and also crushed the Japanese militarists' largest concentration of land forces—the Kwantung

Army. On the eve of the Second World War the Soviet Union had been supported by the only other country that had taken the socialist road—the Mongolian People's Republic. Today, forty years later, socialism has become a powerful international force, the world's most reliable bulwark of peace, democracy and social progress.

Like their ill-starred predecessors, today's "crusaders" are striving to reverse the course of history, to take their social revenge on an international scale, and are openly declaring their aim of doing away with socialism as a social system. The futility of these attempts has been proved by historical experience—nearly seventy years ago, when the Great October Revolution was victorious in Russia, and forty years ago, when Nazism and Japanese militarism were defeated. All imperialism's attempts to decide the historic argument with socialism by force of arms are doomed to failure. The gains of real socialism are irreversible. There is no force in the world that could knock out socialism. The building, development and perfecting of socialist societies that actually exist have become a matter of crucial importance for the future of humanity as a whole.

The preparation and unleashing of two world wars led *not to the strengthening of imperialism's international positions but to their weakening*.

As a result of the First World War conditions were created for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the rise of the world's first socialist states. Revolutions occurred in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and other countries experienced a mighty revolutionary upsurge.

The Second World War led to the collapse of the capitalist system in 11 countries of Europe and Asia. The world socialist system was formed. The prophetic words which that ardent revolutionary Georgi Dimitrov had uttered in

Excerpted from *Winning for Peace: The Great Victory and Its World Impact*, Progress Publishers, 1985.

1939 were fulfilled. The imperialists had begun the war in their own interests, and the working class was "called upon to put an end to the war after its own fashion, and in its own interests and in the interests of the whole of laboring mankind and thereby to destroy once and for all the fundamental causes that give rise to imperialist wars."

A number of large-scale wars that the colonial powers waged in the postwar period against the peoples of Algeria, Vietnam and the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique ended in victory for these peoples and a weakening of the international positions of imperialism.

Reaction's attempts to use military force to halt the progressive development of human society towards a more just, free and democratic society are doomed to failure. This is confirmed by the facts of contemporary history. Revolutions are brought about not by "the hand of Moscow," as the apologists of imperialism constantly allege, but by the objective processes of socio-economic development.

No one has the power to halt history, let alone turn back the development of human society. For thousands of years, pharaohs and emperors, kaisers and tsars, presidents and other rulers have tried to prevent social change. Their efforts have invariably ended in fiasco because that which has matured in the body of society, that which has been nurtured by the awakening consciousness of the masses, by the objective development of history, is unavoidable.

Those who started the Second World War, who were responsible for the loss of millions of lives, were punished in a way that no other aggressors in history had ever been punished. *The aggressors were not merely defeated; they were branded as war criminals by international courts of justice.*

For those who to this day have not abandoned plans for the preparation of aggressive wars there is a grim warning in the fate of the ringleaders of Nazism and Japanese militarism, who after the war went on trial before international tribunals in Nuremberg, composed of

representatives of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France, and, in Tokyo, where representatives of many countries of the anti-Hitler coalition took part in the trials. In the name of the peoples, the war criminals were declared guilty and sentenced to be hanged or to imprisonment. (Rudolph Hess, a leading figure in the Nazi party, is in jail to this day.)

The avenging hand of the people's wrath also meted out punishment to Mussolini. The sinister instigators of the Second World War, those who were directly or indirectly to blame for the most monstrous villainies, for the deaths of millions of people, suffered the retribution they deserved.

This means that the times when "the powers that be" could perpetrate crimes against humanity with impunity are gone forever. Such is one of the most important lessons of the Second World War. The war demons of the modern world should be constantly reminded of it.

Today, as never before, the policy of war stands condemned by humanity. This attitude is expressed in the resolution, proposed by the Soviet Union and adopted by the 38th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1983, which condemns nuclear war as contrary to human conscience and reason, and as the most monstrous crime against peoples and as a violation of the foremost human right—the right to life.

Even before this, in 1981, the General Assembly—once again on a proposal made by the Soviet Union—in its Declaration on the Prevention of a Nuclear Catastrophe decided:

1. States and statesmen that resort first to the use of nuclear weapons will be committing the gravest crime against humanity.
2. There will never be any justification or pardon for statesmen who would take the decision to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The contemporary antiwar movement can achieve a great deal by emphasizing the principle of the punishability of war crimes. It has the duty and the ability to unmask before the whole world those who are whipping up war psychosis, who are drawing countries and peoples into the arms race, who are pushing events

towards a new world war.

The ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan engineered the Second World War under the banner of anti-Communism. The so-called Anti-Comintern Pact, concluded by these states, formed the basis of the aggressive military bloc that launched the preparations for the Second World War. The basis for this bloc was the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, which was later joined by other states with reactionary regimes.

The organizers of the Reichstag fire provocation, the Nazi "judges" who tried to implicate the Communists, the thousands of fascist orators and newspaper hacks all joined in the onslaught against the Communist Parties and other revolutionary forces. Hitler and his clique assumed the "messianic" role of saving the capitalist system from the "threat of Bolshevism." But in reality all the political hullabaloo against Communism was nothing but a screen to conceal the bid for world domination by the Nazis.

In our day these tactics are being widely used by imperialist reaction, which under cover of the "Communist threat" is also striving for world hegemony, for the forcible suppression of the liberation movements and the imposition of its will on other countries. Contemporary reaction has the same inherent features as Nazism—rabid anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, chauvinism and racism, flagrant demagoguery, the use of force against the working class and the working masses in general, international terrorism and aggression against sovereign states. The fight against anti-Communism, against this corrosive ideology that poisons people's minds and paves the way for war preparations by forces of reaction, is an important element in the struggle against the danger of a new world war.

The experience of two world wars has shown that *both the ideological-political and the material preparations for war* must be combated. One element of these preparations is the arms race (before the First and the Second World Wars it was the arms manufacturers who provided the main class support and impetus for the policy of war preparation). Today the masses of the people are becoming increasingly

aware that the struggle for the limitation and prevention of the arms race is a vital component of the fight to save peace. They are beginning to comprehend the utter falsity of the claim made by imperialist propaganda that building more armaments can guarantee peace.

Preserving peace, ensuring the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, means perceiving, and being able to make others perceive, the specific source of the war danger; it means exposing, revealing to the masses how wars break out, what triggers them.

The watchword during all preparations for the Nazi aggression that started the Second World War was revenge, return of the "lost provinces," the integration of all lands where there was even a minority of Germans into a single "thousand-year Reich." The tragic and irrefutable lesson of the Second World War teaches us that peddling such slogans is a way of conditioning social consciousness. Such speculation provides public opinion with a "justification" for aggression against other countries and peoples.

The facts of international life show that trigger-happy groups are inclined to ignore the lessons of history. After its defeat in the First World War, German imperialism soon launched preparations for another war and was again defeated. Today, when the balance of socio-political forces has swung sharply in favor of socialism and against imperialism, imperialism's claims to world domination are even more certainly foredoomed.

Nazism openly proclaimed and, during the war, actually pursued policies of genocide, ruthless terror, plunder, and the extermination of whole peoples that had been dubbed the "lower races" (Slavs, Jews and Gypsies). One result of this policy was the barbaric murder of millions of people in the death camps at Oswiecim, Treblinka, Ravensbrück, Malthausen and elsewhere. Whole cities and villages (Lidice, Oradour, Khatyn, etc.) were mercilessly destroyed along with their entire populations. In the USSR the Nazi aggressors wholly or par-

tially destroyed and burned 1,710 towns and more than 70,000 villages. Prisoners of war were kept in appalling conditions with the result that they perished en masse. By defeating Nazism the Soviet Union carried out a great humane mission and saved millions of people, whole nations, from annihilation.

In our time the hardliners of imperialism have also resorted to barbaric methods, of which the war in Vietnam provides an example. The American generals wanted to "bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age." Another example is provided by the barbaric actions carried out by the Israeli military with the backing of the U.S. Administration, and by the practices connected with the policy of apartheid in South Africa. And finally, more evidence is provided through the development by the United States and its allies of one new mass annihilation weapon after another—nuclear, neutron or chemical, and the unwillingness of U.S. ruling circles to agree on a ban on these most inhumane of all weapons.

Exposure of the antihuman policy of imperialism is an integral part of the struggle against the threat of a new war, the struggle for the most fundamental right of man—the right to life.

The experience of history again and again affirms: *war must not and can not serve as a means of resolving international disputes*. In their efforts to justify the policy of preparing for war, the ideologists of imperialism maintain that war is caused by the difference between social systems. But the facts of history refute this deliberate falsehood. In the First World War the states that confronted each other all belonged to the same social system. In the Second World War the anti-Hitler coalition was composed of states with different social systems (by the end of the war it embraced more than fifty countries, including five great powers.) History clearly shows the possibility of cooperation between countries with different socio-political systems for a cause that benefits all peoples, for the cause of peace and international security.

In its progressive development humanity has achieved undreamt-of advances in science

and technology. It has obtained command of new, immensely powerful energy sources and begun the exploration of outer space. But imperialist, reactionary circles are trying to use the greatest achievements of the human mind and human labor against the interests of the peoples, for the purpose of preparing world war. American imperialism has already used the atomic weapon twice—at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

But today there is a restraining factor operating against the unleashing of nuclear war. This factor is the Soviet Union, which has at its disposal nuclear missile systems of no less destructive power. It is the combined armed forces of the socialist countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty. Awareness of the inevitability of retribution is the thing that prevents the unleashing of nuclear war by the forces of imperialism.

With the new alignment of forces on the international scene and the existence of formidable, equally powerful missiles on the other side, even certain segments of the ruling classes of the capitalist countries are becoming increasingly aware that world nuclear war is not feasible as an instrument of foreign policy.

The realization that such a war can not be allowed to happen is growing in the United States itself. This is natural enough. In the course of two world wars the USA was out of range of the enemy's armed forces, but the situation has now changed fundamentally. American imperialism can no longer "sit it out" on the other side of the ocean. The monopolists, the instigators of the First and Second World Wars, could send millions to the slaughter while they themselves (with their families and numerous menials) remained safe at home. Today nuclear missiles rule out any possibility of escape. If it is not prevented, the deadly breath of a nuclear war will not spare a single continent or a single nation.

In the nuclear age peaceful coexistence has become an imperative necessity. *Peaceful coexistence is the only rational alternative to the threat of mutual annihilation in a nuclear holocaust.*

The experience of history teaches us that every effort must be made to strengthen the socialist community, the main antiwar force, which opposes the aggressive actions and intentions of imperialism in the material, political and ideological spheres, that everything must be done to safeguard the peoples' socialist achievements from the incursions of imperialist reaction, and that vigilance must be constantly maintained to thwart imperialist schemes.

In the period between the First and Second World Wars the Soviet Union waged a tireless campaign against the aggressive policies of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists. But the Soviet Union's efforts alone were not enough. The leading circles of the capitalist countries, including those which themselves were later to become victims of aggression, encouraged the instigators of war in the hope of targeting the aggressors' blow against the world's first socialist country. This was one reason why it proved impossible to prevent the war.

In the postwar period the new socialist countries joined in the struggle for peace alongside the Soviet Union. Other peace-loving states, including a large group of countries that emerged from the ruins of the colonial empires, have given it active support. The increased defence capacity of the USSR—the main bastion of the socialist community—the Soviet Union's attainment of military parity with the USA, the consistently peaceful policy of the fraternal socialist countries, the social and political shifts in the international arena, the struggle for peace by the Communist and workers' parties and other antiwar forces—all this, despite the manifold difficulties in the international situation, has over the past forty years made it possible to prevent a third world war.

In the course of the four decades that have passed since Victory, the Soviet Union, whose foreign policy has ensured favorable conditions for building communism in the USSR, has actively championed the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries; it has supported the liberation movements and cooperated in all fields

with the developing countries; it has defended the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems; it has effectively rebuffed the aggressive forces of imperialism and done everything in its power to save humanity from a new world war. Support for this peaceful policy of the socialist community countries accords with the vital interests of the peoples of all lands and helps to prevent thermonuclear war.

During the Second World War the Communist Parties established themselves as the fighting vanguard of the masses, of the Resistance Movement. This was the beginning of a process that has made the international Communist movement into the most influential force of modern times.

The solidarity of the working class, of all working people, of all democrats, is a key factor in the struggle for peace. Lack of unity prevents the effective manifestation of the people's will for peace and plays into the hands of the militarists. If in the postwar period of World War I the antiwar movement did not act as effectively as it might have done, this was mainly due to a split in the working-class movement which undermined the forces of democracy. Because of this split it proved impossible to prevent the Nazi dictatorship from establishing itself and being instrumental in unleashing world conflict.

Historical experience highlights the enormous importance of concerted action by Communists and Social Democrats, trade unions, the whole working-class movement. It is now widely acknowledged that if, on the eve of Hitler's coming to power, the leadership of German Social Democracy had heeded the appeals of the Communists and agreed to unite the forces of the working class and the working people in general to resist Hitler's clique, it would have been possible to prevent the war and millions of lives would have been saved.

Consolidation of the Communist and workers' Parties, development of their interaction with the Socialist, Social Democratic and Labor Parties, and other political and trade union organizations of the international working class, and with the revolutionary democratic parties

and national liberation movements, is a crucial condition for making the mass antiwar movement a great barricade that will stand unshakable in the path of the instigators of military ventures.

In our time the mass of the people are becoming more and more actively involved in deciding the question of war or peace. *With the active support of the masses, united actions on the part of all peace-loving forces in the struggle against the course taken by the most belligerent imperialist circles can prevent another world war.*

The struggle against the war danger must be launched and in good time. This is the message of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the 40th Anniversary of the Soviet People's Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945." Noting the enduring significance of the lessons of the war, the CPSU Central Committee stresses:

The main thing here is that war must be combated before it begins. Historical experience shows that to defend peace there must be united, coordinated and active efforts on the part of all the peace forces against the aggressive, adventuristic course of imperialism. It is essential to alert the peoples' vigilance to preserve and multiply the gains of socialism.

It would hard to exaggerate the relevance of this conclusion to the present day. The history of the twentieth century shows that imperialism does its utmost to cover up the preparations for war. On the eve of the First World War the nations were unaware of the danger that threatened them. Although speakers from the revolutionary working-class movement warned of the preparations for war, its outbreak actually came as a surprise to the great mass of the people.

On the eve of the Second World War the people sensed and were aware of the impending military threat. But for a number of quite different reasons this feeling did not develop into resolute, coordinated actions by all those opposed to war. The blame for this lies specifically with the ruling class circles of the bourgeois-democratic countries, which hoodwinked inter-

national public opinion with assurances that the policy of concessions (at the expense of Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Spain and Austria) could "appease" the aggressors and stave off a world war. This policy was most vividly demonstrated in the Munich Agreement of 1938 on the partition of Czechoslovakia. It helped to build and consolidate the aggressors' military bloc and the result was that humanity gradually "drifted" into world war.

Today the world situation is different. The peoples know about the ominous threat of war. There is an obvious and conscious desire not to permit another world war which, with the use of nuclear weapons, would jeopardize the very existence of human civilization. The fortieth anniversary of the Great Victory reminds us that the struggle against the war danger can not be relaxed for a single day, that it must be waged constantly, persistently and resolutely, opposing and thwarting all the plans of the would-be aggressors. As Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the CPSU, emphasized at the March 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Union is prepared

to participate in continuation of the process of establishing peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between states on the basis of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs. An appropriate way of celebrating the Great Victory over Nazism and Japanese militarism would be to take new steps in this direction.

The historic lessons of victory do not belong only to the past. They live on in the memory of the peoples. The international consequences of the Second World War are irreversible. The lessons of the Great Victory today present an effective ideological and political weapon in the fight against reaction's line of plotting a new war, in the fight for humanity's future, for peace and social progress.

Having emerged victorious from the gravest of wars known in its own history and in the history of mankind, the Soviet Union never sought to use the fruits of its victory and its incontestable military might in order to encroach,

in a hegemonistic manner, on the rights and freedoms of other nations. As before, in shaping its foreign policy it continued to be guided by the Leninist strategy of peace.

V.I. Lenin bequeathed us a *scientific theory of war and peace*. The history of successive exploiter societies abounds in bloody wars interspersed with short periods of peace. War has always been inseparable from capitalism. Having reached its highest, imperialist stage, capitalism engendered world wars. Marx and Engels advocated combining the working masses' struggle for peace with the struggle for democracy and socialism. Having thoroughly analyzed the causes of wars that broke out in the epoch of imperialism, proletarian revolutions and the transition from capitalism to socialism, Lenin showed—in theory and practice—the way in which the working class can and should do away with war, ensure the victory of revolution and, at the same time, assure peace.

Lenin bequeathed us the strategy of peace aimed at delivering mankind from war, and gave a science-based assessment of the main enemy, imperialism, and of the socio-political forces capable of assuring a just, democratic and lasting peace. The Great October Socialist Revolution gave rise to the processes and created the material means that made it possible to put on the agenda, for the first time in history, the task of delivering the human race from the horrors of war even though imperialist rule persists in a considerable part of the world.

Lenin bequeathed us the *fundamentals of the tactic of the struggle for peace*. He formulated the principles and methods of the foreign policy of peace to be pursued by socialist states and the principles and methods of the struggle for peace to be waged by all political and public organizations of the working class and all the working people.

This heritage is being creatively developed by the CPSU in the course of its international activity in the nuclear age context. One should emphasize two principal factors determining the main strategy of peace in our days.

First, the change in the balance of forces in the world arena and the growing role of the so-

cialist community of countries as a decisive factor in securing peace and social progress.

Second, the scientific and technological revolution, which has spread in the military area and led to the development of nuclear-missile weapons. With the advancement of a nuclear age a grave danger Lenin warned against emerged. As he put it, military application of the far-reaching achievements of science and technology would "undermine the very foundations of human society."

In the nuclear age, both the danger of world war and the forces capable of forestalling it have increased. Taking this into consideration has been essential to elaborating the Soviet foreign policy program. Of greatest importance for its implementation are efforts to combine a consistent peace policy of socialist states with the anti-imperialist, antihegemonistic struggle waged by newly free countries, and with all the antiwar movements.

Great is the danger looming over the world. Still greater are the possibilities for averting the war threat.

Where do these possibilities lie?

Whence our historical optimism?

It is rooted in the understanding that the forces of peace dispose of an enormous potential and are capable of foiling the plans mapped out by the bellicose imperialist circles.

The forces of peace rely on:

- the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist countries boasting a tremendous economic and defense potential;

- the emergent antiwar movement, unprecedented in its scale and the variety of social forces involved;

- the anti-imperialist forces in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Non-Aligned Movement opposed to the aggressive and neocolonialist policies pursued by the imperialists;

- the Communist movement, i.e., the most consistent and organized part of the world's working-class and democratic movements;

- the more clear-thinking and sober minded public figures and groups in capitalist countries.

In their struggle for peace, the Soviet Com-

munists have always addressed both governments and peoples. This policy originated in Lenin's Decree on Peace and is *part and parcel of the Leninist strategy of peace*.

World war can be averted. For this, three things must merge—the foreign policy of the socialist countries, the striving of the peace-loving countries and nations, and grassroots popular action.

The antiwar movement, which in recent decades has become a serious factor in world politics, is a noteworthy component of the new structure of international relations. The scale and visible influence of the popular struggle against the war threat has reaffirmed the Marxist-Leninist tenet concerning the growing role of the popular masses in history, which Lenin described as one of the "profoundest and most important precepts" of Marxism. The diplomacy of the people, he used to say, has more than once been "strong enough to blunt the edge of the imperialists' bellicose policy."

The influence of the peace-loving public on the elaboration and conduct of the government's foreign policy has grown many times over in our time, when the basic demands and slogans of the antiwar movement coincide with foreign policy programs of socialist states, which back them with their entire political, economic and defensive power.

The dialectic of development of the present-day antiwar movement is that, having emerged as an expression of the will of the masses, it is becoming a factor influencing the mood of the masses, a factor cultivating antiwar consciousness among ever increasing sections of the people. This is reflected in the platform of various political parties, organized movements, churches of various religions, etc.

The antiwar movement is the broadest conglomerate of political and social forces in the history of human civilization. It encompasses Communists, members of the democratic public, of various progressive parties and organizations, Socialists and Social Democrats, organizations of liberal, even conservative, trends, and groups from among the ruling circles in capital-

ist countries. The motivations of their behavior vary. So do their platforms. Some see the link between detente and social progress, others approach the matter from the angle of religious morality, some from the traditional pacifist angle, others are troubled by the threat to the natural environment, and some act chiefly on patriotic grounds. But all of them are single-minded in their wish to save mankind from the ravages of an adventurist "limited" or "protracted" nuclear war.

The key factor is *the working class and the trade union movement*. The working class is experiencing the immediate effects of the militarization of the economy: the rising cost of living, unemployment, the growing tax burden and cutbacks in spending for socio-economic needs. A considerable percentage of workers are employed in military industries and compelled to produce weapons that are intended for the extermination, first and foremost, of the mass of the working people. The understanding that the arms race must be stopped is sinking in more deeply among workers in capitalist countries.

The victory over Nazism and Japanese militarism was won at a tremendous price. The memory of the heroes and victims of the war cries out to us to prevent another world conflict. Another world war can and must be prevented. It *must* be averted because its destructive effects would be greater than those of all the previous wars combined. It *can* be averted because there are powerful forces today which can bridle the warmongers.

To conquer war, to eliminate it from the life of society, is a cause for all nations, a requirement of human reason. Victory over war will be the greatest victory of life on earth and a guarantee that the civilization created by the hand and brain of man, that greatest creation of life, will be preserved.

The battle for peace will not be easy. But it can and must be won. The prime need today is to translate the mounting alarm and anxiety of hundreds of millions of people into concrete and purposeful mass actions aimed at preventing war. □

The Triple-Layered Crisis And the Sharpened Edge of Racism

CHARLENE MITCHELL

Our conference takes place at a time of unprecedented attacks against gains made by Black people during the last 50 years.

We meet at a time of massive struggles against this erosion of gains, of struggles to reverse the onslaught of monopoly capital directed through its main spokesman, President Ronald Reagan.

Nationally syndicated columnist William Raspberry recently wrote, "By its attitudes, by its appointments and by its actions, the Reagan Administration has become the most actively anti-Black Administration in recent memory."

Chairman of the Board of the NAACP William F. Gibson, speaking in the same tone, said that Reagan is "basically a reactionary and a racist."

In the words of Gus Hall, "The four years of Reagan's racist rhetoric and openly racist policies are now showing up in grim statistics, in terrible new conditions and new poverty and suffering."

Overall unemployment stood at the high rate of 7.3 per cent in May (which the *New York Times* described as "extraordinary stability of the unemployment rate"). Among Black workers the rate was more than double, 15.2 per cent, and among Black youth between the ages of 16 and 19 the unemployment rate was an unconscionable 41.9 per cent. Reagan Administration's spokesman Larry Speakes termed the job growth in May a "significant finding" that indicated "continued solid gains in employment and growth in the overall economy."

In his report to the Central Committee/National Council, June 1, 1985, Gus Hall said, "high unemployment afflicts the working class of almost the entire capitalist world" and "the structural crisis afflicting basic industries of the

Report to Conference on the Present Stage of the Struggle for Afro-American Equality, June 1985. Charlene Mitchell is chair of the Nationalities Department of the CPUSA.

U.S. and Western Europe remains unresolved." "In a sense," he said, "the industrial sector is now in an economic crisis."

Hall continued:

In the months since Reagan's second inaugural 150,000 industrial workers have lost their jobs. Unemployment among industrial workers is at a crisis level.

Among Afro-Americans and other nationally oppressed industrial workers there is now double digit unemployment. The industrial sector continues in the grip of the triple-layered crisis, and there is nothing on the economic horizon that can reverse this trend.

While the *New York Times* raves about "the extraordinary stability of the unemployment rate" it is forced to agree with Gus Hall when they quote figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics that show 2.3 million jobs in manufacturing have been lost since 1980 and, according to a senior economist for Bankers Trust Company, "probably 90 per cent of those jobs will never come back—they're gone for good."

These are jobs previously held by tens of thousands of Afro-American workers. The AFL-CIO's *American Federationist* (May 25, 1985) paints a revealing picture of the effects of this job loss:

In the work of Professor Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health, we have measures of the impact of unemployment on health and social breakdown.

He found that a sustained 1.4 per cent increase in unemployment was directly responsible for 51,570 deaths, including 1,540 suicides. This rise in unemployment was also directly responsible for 7,660 additional state prison admissions and 5,520 as state mental hospital admissions.

In the same issue of the *Federationist* another article says:

In January 1984 there were 49,000 jobs in the steel mills of Gary and East Chicago in Northwest Indiana. At the end of the year in December there were only 38,300 of those jobs left, a loss of almost 11,000 jobs in one year.

Unemployment in the Northwest Indiana counties of Lake and Porter is up over 16 per cent—so one of every six workers is without a job. And only one of every four workers in Indiana gets unemployment compensation benefits.

This triple-layered crisis affects all workers, but the added sharpened edge of racism places a disproportionate burden on Afro-American workers. In cities such as Newark, New York, Baltimore, Washington D.C., Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Gary, St. Louis, Cleveland and Los Angeles, and in states such as Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama, where Black people are high percentages of the population, unemployment and the problems in its wake are felt even more by Black workers.

Adding insult to injury, Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds has stepped up the racist offensive to halt and reverse affirmative action, school integration, desegregated housing, and generally to enforce the Reagan demagogic "principle of color blindness." For a job well done, Reagan worked overtime to get Reynolds promoted to associate attorney general, the third highest post in the U.S. Justice Department. The persistent struggle waged by the civil rights movement forced the U.S. Senate Judiciary committee to reject his nomination.

The assault on youth has especially affected Black youth. On the one hand, the Reaganites talk about strengthening the family and, on the other, seek to offer youth nonexistent jobs in "Free Enterprise Zones" at less than minimum wage. The free enterprise zone is a cynical hoax, which, unfortunately, has found some adherents in cities hard hit by high unemployment. These zones are projected as non-union, low wage, tax-free areas run by small businesses and would not result in a significant increase in jobs.

Reagan's proposal for a subminimum wage of \$2.50 per hour for youth between the ages of

16 and 19 picked up endorsement from Black mayors of cities where unemployment and frustration are very high. However, the labor movement, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Urban League and others continue to oppose this.

Six of eight Black youth interviewed by the *Afro-American* newspaper were very clear:

"I just don't think I'll work at below minimum wage because it is not enough as it is."

"If kids put in 40 work hours and work basically manual labor jobs we should be paid just as adults who work at minimum wage."

"Let's face it, there is not much you can do with minimum wage. What does Reagan expect us to do with less than that?"

"I don't think it is fair for teens to work at less than the minimum wage. It really is not enough to help support the family even though every little bit helps. I also feel it may discourage some kids from looking for summer jobs and possibly encourage some to find illegal ways to make money."

"It is wrong for kids to get less than minimum wage. Youths deserve the same pay as anyone else who works hard. I feel Reagan should cut his defense budget instead of our paychecks."

"We should at least make a minimum wage."

This assault on Black workers takes place at a time of sharpening class struggle, Black workers are now experiencing the long-range impact of the triple-layered crisis, including permanent job loss for hundreds of thousands of Afro-American workers. Many young Afro-Americans will become adults without ever having had a job.

Black people are still subjected to the racist, ruling-class tactic of "last hired, first fired." This sets the stage for these workers to become "social pariahs"—the homeless, the hungry, the targets for racists cops and vigilantes.

This racist offensive is part of the overall domestic and foreign policy of the most reactionary segment of the military-industrial complex. It is part of the drive for maximum profits. It is in this context (i.e., the structural crisis and the Reagan racist offensive) that we must discuss affirmative action.

There are incorrect views about affirmative

action, including that: 1) affirmative action programs produce reverse discrimination; 2) affirmative action programs are fine but should not establish goals or quotas; 3) affirmative action is a proper demand only when there is full employment or at least when plants are opening and not closing.

The Reagan Justice Department has waged an all-out attack on affirmative action. Reynolds argues that neither civil rights law nor Supreme Court rulings permit voluntary affirmative action programs that require employers to hire or promote minorities or women to meet quotas or goals. Reynolds stated, "the voluntary use of skin color to confer upon, or deny to, employees or potential employees, available job opportunities would needlessly trammel the interests of those more qualified [whites] who are turned away on account of race." Based on this twisted reasoning the U.S. Justice Department has challenged consent decrees of 53 jurisdictions. Suddenly—if one were to believe Reynolds—the only discrimination that exists in the USA is against white males.

Reflecting the positive effects of struggle, only two cities agreed with the Justice Department. It is interesting also that the Justice Department has used the challenges to affirmative action hiring in city and state jobs (e.g. firefighters and police officers) as an opening wedge in an attempt to break the strength of the trade unions in the public sector, which are the fastest growing unions in the labor movement. Reynolds' demagoguery would have us believe that he is guaranteeing the equality of minorities and women in spite of themselves.

While giving direct leadership to the racist anti-busing campaign, Reynolds bemoans the fact that public schools in the inner cities are not preparing Black people for jobs as well as people in the suburbs prepare their children.

Part of the Reagan domestic policy calls for major cuts in social programs that affect quality education, such as library funding, AFDC, Medicaid, and food stamps and other welfare services. This policy encourages poor education in the ghettos of the nation.

The time to fight for affirmative action is all

the time. It is an imperative for the unity of the working class. However, part of any real fight for affirmative action is a struggle for government intervention to put the country back to work.

The overbearing weight of unemployment on the Black community makes all the more important the organizing of the unemployed. The unemployed can be a militant, powerful force if organized. If they remain unorganized, the efforts by the ruling class to divide the working class stand more chance of being successful. It will be more possible to defeat Reagan's attempts to break the back of the trade union movement when Black workers—employed and unemployed—are organized.

Our Party has issued a draft trade union program. The program answers Reagan's demagoguery of solving all questions through private industry. We think the program will be a very important guide to our class and to our people.

The Reaganite domestic policy, of course, goes hand in glove with U.S. foreign policy. The Big Lie of anti-Communism and the lie of the Soviet threat is used to support the insane nuclear buildup, the continued attempt to sabotage the Geneva talks, the aggressive acts against Nicaragua, the policy of constructive engagement in South Africa and the huge military budget.

The Afro-American people historically have seen the relationship between their own oppression and the imperialist oppression of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. But the recent mass actions organized by the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) require some special attention. FSAM, led by TransAfrica, has gained the support of every major Afro-American organization, church and elected official, and has propelled action on the part of top-level trade unionists, civil libertarians and peace activists. It has prompted a coalition whose key element of unity is the Black community as a whole and most sectors of the labor movement. As Kevin Mercadel wrote, "this unity between the Afro-American community and the labor movement is a decisive el-

ement of the vitality and success of the FSAM. It also has a profound significance for struggles on other fronts."

We can be proud of our Party's initiatives in this movement and the timely leadership of Comrade Henry Winston 12 years ago. But we must also be self-critical because there is no conscious anti-imperialist organization to guarantee the anti-imperialist content of the struggle. This struggle must include not only the demand for divestment, but also the demands for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, and unqualified support for the armed struggle and the principle of majority rule. We must increase our participation in the Free South Africa Movement and ensure the reorganization of an anti-imperialist force in the U.S. in solidarity with the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia.

The issue of South Africa is high on the agenda of every major Black elected official, another reason to work to increase the number of such officials. Building the all-people's front against Reaganism means the defeat of Reaganites in every election. One does not need to ponder very long to know what the vote on aid to the "contras" would have been had there been even simple proportional representation in Congress.

The mayoralty elections in New York are upon us. Hopes for a meaningful opponent to Koch have been thwarted but there is to be a Communist-Left-progressive slate that will encourage even further independence and raise the issues that are important to the unity, democracy and progress of the whole city.

Reactionaries in Chicago, including the machine-controlled Democrats, are out to defeat Mayor Harold Washington. Such a defeat would be a setback not only for Chicago, but for Illinois and the whole country. The struggle for working-class unity to defeat the aims of the Vrdolyak gang is key to not only to reelecting the Mayor but to removing a sizable number of the Vrdolyak "Gang of 29" from office. Unity of the Afro-American people is essential. Unity of

Afro-Americans and Latinos will make a tremendous difference. But the key will be winning white workers to see Vrdolyak as the representative of the bosses' interests as opposed to their interests as workers. This task means struggling with the organized trade union movement in Chicago around the issues that immediately confront all workers, Black, white and Latino.

Left-progressive-Communist candidates for local office will help to clarify the issue. Now is not too early to begin the process to defeat the 29. The favorable U.S. Supreme Court decision to allow redrawing the lines of some aldermanic wards will not by itself guarantee a favorable outcome at the polls on election day.

The winds of independence from the Democratic Party are more evident in the Black community than possibly any other segment of the population. This does not mean that Afro-Americans are prepared to bolt the Democratic Party. Nor does it mean they are looking to form an all-Black political party. As an electoral form, a solely Black political party was an idea whose time, at best, had passed and would never become a force among masses of Black people, especially organized workers.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign and the development of the Rainbow Coalition were part of an important process. At the time we said:

This new movement—the Rainbow Coalition of Afro-Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, whites and women—is one of the most positive historical developments within recent times. This movement is not, however, an organization. It is not the formation of a new political party. It is a movement that takes place within the Democratic Party. It does not seek to bolt that party, but to struggle for independent politics within that party.

Black people have projected a number of themes in the course of the struggle for equality. In the late '60s and early '70s, the dominant theme was "Black Power." This slogan was a call for Afro-Americans to gain a more equitable share of political and economic power. The call did not recognize class differentiations within the Black community.

The projection of a Rainbow Coalition is the recognition of the need to include all the racially and nationally oppressed, women, poor Black and white—all those who are "locked out."

Although advanced, this concept also does not take into consideration the class stratification within the Rainbow Coalition and consequently does not yet see the need to win labor. Most precisely, it does not see the imperative of winning white workers who are in the organized labor movement.

This development, the Rainbow Coalition, must be seen as a process taking place in the context of a people struggling for equality. It is an important democratic struggle.

The challenge for Communists and all class-conscious workers is to find the way that will help bring labor together with the Black people's movement. The handle must be found to bring about that strategic alliance without which all working-class struggles, struggles of Afro-Americans as a people, and other oppressed minorities become increasingly more difficult. (Charlene Mitchell, *Black Liberation Journal*, Summer 1984.)

The Rainbow Coalition remains the underpinning of many independent forms and candidates. It is an important arena of struggle and Communists must be involved. We must bring the Communist essence—the class content—to the struggle, showing the labor movement as an ally that is also under attack.

Our most important contribution is to bring clarity on the only winning strategy—the unity of the multiracial, multinational, male-female labor movement and the Afro-American people's movement for equality.

The Reaganite racist offensive against the Afro-American people has opened a major assault on democracy.

In the political field the dominance of the military-industrial complex nourishes the most extreme forces of reaction. Limiting the material and cultural requirements of working people, restraining their mass discontent and suppressing the working-class and antiwar movements require methods of government that violate bourgeois democracy. This means an intensification of control over minds, of the cult of vio-

lence and racism and of chauvinistic and military psychosis. As the experience of the 1930s teaches, in the conditions of mass social ferment and unemployment, the breeding ground for fascism may expand with extreme rapidity. (*Kommunist Editors, Political Affairs*, October 1984.)

Proof of this is the increased anti-working-class, anti-Black violence in movies and on television, including the glorification of cops, and the real murders by racist police in the Black community, the latest of which was the killing of 17-year-old honor student Edmund Perry in Harlem on June 13.

The racist bombing of a Black working-class community in Philadelphia on May 13, resulting in the slaughter of 11 men, women and children, leaving 260 people homeless, can not be excused and must be condemned. This is not an issue that can be permitted to fade away. The precedent-setting action must be continually exposed. Public tribunals should be demanded.

Laura Blackburn, counsel to the New York Conference of NAACP branches, said, in testifying against confirmation of Reynolds, that she had been part of a delegation that met with Reynolds about police brutality. Later, she said, he stated that he found no evidence of police brutality in New York. Blackburn said that if Reynolds had acted Michael Stewart and Mrs. Bumpers might be alive today. If we intensify our work in this area through action and leadership with others we can help prevent a police bombing of another Afro-American community.

Speaking as executive secretary of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, at a public hearing in Los Angeles in 1981, I said,

— In looking at the numerous individual instances of police assaults on our persons and on our rights as citizens to organize and protest, we must not lose sight of the true meaning of all this; we must not fail to recognize that in large measure what we are dealing with politically is an officially-inspired reign of terror in our respective communities. It is officially inspired because the reactionary forces of Big Busi-

ness, whom Ronald Reagan now proudly proclaims to be the backbone of his imperial presidency, clearly understand that racist repression is the prescription so long as our people are the foremost victims of the current financial crisis and urban deterioration.

Our Party clubs can become active in the demand to democratize the police departments in every city, including the firing of racist and fascist cops. They can become movers and shakers in the campaign to achieve democratically established civilian control of the police as put forward by the NAARPR.

The February 15 *New York Times* story by Wayne King reveals that:

An Idaho-based neo-Nazi organization has established a computer-based network to link rightists groups and to disseminate a list of those whom it says "have betrayed their race."

One list available from the computer, titled "Know Your Enemy," includes the addresses and telephone numbers of regional offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the offices of the Communist Party, U.S.A. It also includes names and addresses of "race traitors" and "informers."

In his Central Committee/National Council report Gus Hall said,

The ultra-Right and the "whiff of fascism" remain a danger. What's new is that for the second term Reagan is surrounding himself with even more Right-wing elements like Buchanan, Regan and Meese. More of the fanatical and fascist groups have gone public.

What is also new is the growing public concern and the increase in rejection of and activity against the ultra-Right.

The base of the ultra-Right has not expanded. In fact, the Bitburg fiasco stimulated serious anxiety about the extreme Right and fascist-like activities.

We must do more in exposing not only the ultra-Right organizations, but the base of their support, both political and financial.

The process of change in many areas has accelerated. Therefore, we must be much more alert, much more tuned in and prepared to make changes ourselves in order to keep pace with our policies and especially with our tactics at the club level.

In this period of the triple-layered crisis and the reactionary onslaught of the Reaganites there are many struggles in the Afro-American movement. The recent convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) focused its attention on the fight for jobs. Rank-and-file victories are being won against Shanker forces in the American Federation of Teachers. Progressive slates are winning in many local union elections. The militancy and unity of the hotel workers' strike in New York were on a high level.

Added to the electoral struggles and those around the Free South Africa Movement, there is tremendous ferment in the peace movement (especially the April 20 action), and the women's movement. Our vice-presidential candidate, Angela Davis, was elected to the executive board of the National Black Women's Political Assembly. Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) is playing an exceptionally fine leadership role in planning for the U.S. participation in the International Conference on Women to be held in July in Nairobi. Preparations for the World Youth Festival are enjoying warm support in the Black community. Generally the all-people's front against Reaganism gathers tremendous steam in the struggle for Afro-American equality.

In spite of the possibilities and the challenges before us there are forces that act as brakes on the forward movement. With such assaults being unleashed against Black people there are bound to be periods of frustration and pessimism. The role of the Left is not to give leadership to frustration but to present a plan of struggle that shows a way out.

In this regard groupings like the Erie Movement and Line of March, while claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, are opportunist. The Erie Movement develops nationalist distrust of white workers. When one concludes that uniting white workers with Black workers is not possible, the only recourse is the suicidal proposal of going it alone. Marxist-Leninists would never utter such nonsense, so the pretenders couch their propositions by suggesting that

unity can be found by allying with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and "third world nations," thereby internationalizing the class struggle. Here internationalism is vulgarized and turned on its head.

Internationalism is integral to the Communist movement. Only a class approach and the realization of what particular class is central to this times can serve to work out an effective national strategy for the working class and develop the proper solutions to both domestic and foreign policy problems. Only internationalism, which is fundamental to working-class and, especially, Communist ideology and practice, correctly reflects the dialects of contemporary world development in the area of national relations, the growth of national self awareness and the internationalization of the whole life of humanity. Communist internationalism is playing an irreplaceable role as counterbalance to the bourgeois ideologies of chauvinism, racism, national narrowness, cosmopolitanism and national nihilism. (*Kommunist* Editors, op. cit.)

In the end there is not really much difference between the Erie Movement, which is an Afro-American form, and Line of March, which is predominantly white. The ideologues of Line of March have relegated so many white workers to the labor aristocracy that the few remaining are insignificant. Line of March concludes that only Black workers are radical enough to save the nation. While it is true that proportionately more Afro-Americans are in unions, it speaks more to their seeking unity than having to struggle without their class brothers and sisters. Whatever Line of March may want, Afro-American workers are not about to become their cannon fodder no matter how revolutionary it may sound. The bottom line is that the position of the Line of March is patently racist opportunism.

There is confusion being heaped upon the Afro-American community, much of which emanates from middle-class impatience and frustration. It is the task of Communists to bring clarity, to win the honest forces, to win the masses away from wrong and self-defeating leadership.

Some gains have been wrested by Black people—after all, struggle does produce results. We know that Afro-Americans do not own major heavy industry: steel mills, auto, aircraft, aerospace or munitions plants, or mines. While there are some capitalists among Black people, they are not part of monopoly capital, they are not a part of the military industrial complex, and are overwhelmingly antimonopoly.

There is a middle class in the Afro-American community, e.g., small business people, doctors and lawyers in private practice, and those who may not fall strictly into the Marxist definition, such as academics, middle level management, etc.

There is a quickly-decreasing number of Black farmers.

But the overwhelmingly majority of Black people in the United States are working-class, employed and unemployed. The Afro-American people have an all-class character and are economically, racially and nationally oppressed. Black people within the U.S. are an oppressed national minority.

While there is a growing middle class among Afro-Americans, the major new area is the growing numbers of middle-income earners, i.e., those who earn \$25,000 to \$35,000 per year. These workers are to be found in industries related to the new technology and in organized basic industry. In an article in the *Washington Post*, Juan Williams made the point that there is relative lessening of Black progress:

Life is better for Blacks; their standard of living as a group has improved, and educated Blacks are approaching parity in income with whites. The Black middle class [sic] has increased in size and income. While 4.8 per cent of the people in college were Black in 1965, 10.2 per cent were in 1984. . . .

The number of Blacks in college doubled from 1965 to 1975, but it has remained about the same ever since, even though the percentage of Blacks completing high school has gone up. The number of Blacks making more than \$25,000 in constant dollars, which doubled from 1965 to 1975, dropped between 1975 to

1985. For Black men the drop was from 11.7 per cent to 10.8 per cent; for Black women it was from 2.5 per cent to 2.3 per cent.

In the new vernacular, these workers are "middle class." Workers who are less skilled, unorganized, or paid low wages are termed "working class." The unemployed, those on welfare, the homeless and hungry are termed "underclass." The not-so-subtle suggestion is being made that there are only two important classes in the United States: the middle class and the underclass. These theories stem from and directly benefit the Reaganites.

While there may be confusion from the Left there is a conscious ideological Right which has been given sustenance by the Reaganites. The following from an article by Juan Williams is worth studying:

According to a strategy memo prepared for Reagan by James W. Cicconi, a special assistant to the president in Chief of Staff James A. Baker's office, the administration could send its message to that audience through proposals such as lower minimum wages for youth to help decrease Black unemployment; renewed support for enterprise zones to rebuild Black neighborhoods; housing vouchers to allow the poor to shop for housing; and increased assistance to crime victims, who most often are Blacks in crime-ridden areas.

The Administration plans to start its work with Blacks by appealing to receptive pockets of Black Americans, mainly business people. It expects that inroads made with that group will spread to professional and middle-class Blacks who may be beneficiaries of the economic recovery and thus inclined to support the president except for their racial loyalties.

Administration officials believe that enough Blacks are in middle-income brackets to provide a target audience for their appeal, and that the audience is influential enough to start reshaping Blacks' opinions about Reagan and the GOP.

"We want to segment the Black community essentially the same way we segment the rest of America," said Steven J. Rhodes, assistant to the vice president for domestic policy. "You wouldn't see the president going out to talk to [liberal white women],

so why should he go to the Urban League and the NAACP where we know we can't agree. We don't get anything from those groups but grief, so why give them a platform. What we want to do is identify groups with the same preferences."

Rhodes said Administration officials might speak to groups of Black insurance agents, morticians and bankers, or address business schools to reach the targeted audiences. (*Washington Post*, January 20, 1985.)

Clarence Pendelton, Samuel Pierce, Clarence Thomas, etc., are not simply window dressing for the Reagan Administration. They actively aid and abet the crimes against Afro-American people. A few such misleaders are also to be found in academia.

The Right is seeking to influence the Black community. It is certainly not the dominant pressure, but it is there. It bears watching and must be constantly exposed.

If any conclusions can be drawn from this report it is that the problems facing Black people, especially working-class Black people, are acute and the entire community is in action. We can also conclude that Communists are needed to bring further clarity to the movement for Afro-American equality. The primary conclusion must be that it is possible and important to build our Party among Afro-Americans in the shops and in the neighborhoods.

We must make the building of our Party among Afro-Americans a priority task. It means breaking with any "business as usual" discussions. We should creatively and thoughtfully probe what is necessary. Do our plans of work always include a special approach to the fight for equality? Do we respond to the racist offensive with enough passion and mobilization? Are we always sensitive to the influences of racism?

Are we underestimating the radicalization of the Afro-American people? Are we paying particular attention to the class content of our participation in the struggles for equality?

We hope this conference will be a giant step toward fulfilling our Communist commitment to the fight for equality, peace and socialism. □

A New Moment in the Struggle For Equality and Against Racism

GUS HALL

In many ways this is a new moment in the struggle against racism and for equality. There is still the old. But there is also the new, growing and developing. The developments are in two directions, positive and negative.

At such a moment we should take a fresh look at our work in the struggle against racism. With some weaknesses, of course, our Party's policies are sound. Our tactics are correct. We are on solid ideological footing. The main question, then, is why, in spite of this, doesn't the weight of our impact on movements and struggles match our ideological level? If we can determine why we are not doing better, then we can examine how to correct the weaknesses so that our results measure up to our capabilities.

To get at the root of our problems we should try to separate which weaknesses are influenced by objective developments and which are mainly due to subjective factors. We should also consider the nature of the objective changes taking place and their influence on the different sectors of the people's movements.

There are a number of new factors that hold back the struggle against racism. It is important to understand the nature of these factors and their effects on struggles and movements, on the trade union movement, the peace and youth movements, on all the people's movement, the Left forces and our Party. We need this understanding for tactical fine tuning.

In order to counteract, to argue against wrong conclusions, we must more precisely know what people are thinking, what mass thought patterns are. We need to learn the nature of the wrong conclusions that are drawn from objective developments.

In general, the wrong conclusions are:

- that the struggle against racism is not as crit-

ical, as important, today because of objective developments. For example, that the issue of Afro-American political representation and electoral struggles are no longer as critical because of the increased number of elected Afro-American public officials, as well as the fact that we now have the Voting Rights Act.

- Or that because of the breakthrough in minority college enrollment ten years ago, education and questions like open enrollment are no longer critical. Most do not know that enrollment of minority students is now declining.

- Or wrong conclusions are derived from some increases in government employment.

- Or the breakthroughs in the field of sports.

- Or wrong conclusions because of breakthroughs in the struggle against job discrimination, especially in areas like mass transit, service and high tech industries and the entertainment and cultural fields.

In the minds of many, these objective changes have lowered, or in many cases set aside, the issue of racism and discrimination as a priority issue. Some have even concluded that because of these advances racism is not even an important moral issue.

If we start from the premise that there have been no changes in the objective situation we will lose the battle before we fire our first shot. We must begin by viewing these changes as victories, as advances resulting from past struggles.

Our approach must be to build on the advances. However, we must then show that many of the changes, many of the advances, are only on the surface. Many are very temporary. Many of the gains affect only small numbers in the Afro-American community.

Then we must focus on the more basic, widespread, long-term effects of racism, on the areas of life where there have been no advances.

Address to National Conference on Afro-American Equality, June 15, 1985, New York City.

For example, the effects of the three-layers of racist discrimination in the economic framework of the three-layered economic crisis.

There are changes in the economics of racism. But they are all negative. The economic gap widens and deepens. The lines of Black permanently unemployed and the lines of those who have never broken through the racist job market grow.

There is the reality of the raw racism of the Reagan Administration. The Reaganites are conducting a many-sided assault on all the gains won through bitter struggle in every area of life.

The long-range effects of this are taking hold as a process. There are the effects of the destruction of progressive laws in civil and human rights, the challenges to and cancellation of successful desegregation and affirmative action programs and court decisions that undo advances and victories.

There is a creeping effect. There is the everyday reality of increased police brutality, official racist terrorism, like the bombing in Philadelphia.

Our tactics, our slogans and demands, must be based on a rejection of any and all ideas that imply the struggle against racism is in the past, that we are now entering a new period of a "color-blind" society. Racism remains a most dangerous pollutant. In some ways it is even more dangerous precisely because it is a new moment presenting many confusing, complex and contradictory changes and trends.

Thus, we must take into account the changes and the wrong conclusions. But then we must base our tactics and policies on the real essence of racism, the class essence of racism: that racism always was and remains an instrument of superprofits and a ruling-class weapon used in the class struggle to divide and rule the working class and people.

For all these reasons, we need a new Party program on the struggle against racism and for justice and equality, a new program molded in the framework of all that is new, such as:

- the new relationships that emerged among independent forces in the 1984 elections and

their effects on the struggle against racism;

- the new unity of the class forces in the struggle against racism;

- the new thought patterns in the Afro-American community, especially in the higher level of political sophistication and struggle against racism;

- the new that is reflected in election victories, especially in Chicago, Los Angeles and most recently in Jersey City, and the struggle against racism. What is most important in these electoral victories is that the same coalition of forces, the independent forces, are the backbone that are electing both Black and more progressive white candidates to public office.

- Also new is that these coalitions are not simply electoral coalitions. They have within them a growing antimonopoly, anti-imperialist, all people's front essence. Just as important, they potentially have the power to raise the struggle against racism to new, higher levels.

Thus, we must make a bigger contribution in this area. We must see the struggle against racism as a feature of the class struggle, but also as a feature of the rise of these independent forces. Our most critical input must be to convince these forces that their political power will have a built-in limitation if they try, in any way, to evade or sidestep the struggle against racism.

One of the most devastating effects of wrong conclusions is that we do not take enough concrete initiatives. We do not take concrete actions in the struggle against racism. For example, as a slogan, "affirmative action," no matter how many times it is repeated, does not have clout. We can not rely on spontaneity. The fight for affirmative action programs with teeth must be a many-sided struggle. It must be thought out and planned. For example:

- 1) There must be a period of preparation, which means education, agitation, raising the moral issues, the self-interest issues and the need for class unity. We must be prepared to answer the arguments of the opposition.

- 2) Then the concrete proposal must be presented, as much as possible in the framework of the workers against the bosses in the class struggle.

Proposals for affirmative action programs should be included in the club plan of work, not in general but for selected shops and/or offices.

At moments like this there is always some confusion because the positives are breaking new, unfamiliar ground. There are both Right and Left forces who add to the confusion by covering up that which is new. Forces who can not deal with the new, developing factors not only deny the new, but proclaim that nothing has and, in fact, nothing can change.

Some phony Left forces have, in a sense, adopted the concept of the unchanging two societies, with phony Left signposts. We know this is wrong because our science, Marxism-Leninism, studies all objective and subjective socio-economic developments in the process of change, and the laws that govern such changes.

Along with other negative aspects, these wrong conclusions can become the soil in which the racist concept of reverse discrimination take root. How to approach honest forces and movements that have drawn these wrong conclusions is an important tactical question. How to deal with the influences of these conclusions in the ranks of our Party is an important ideological question. It is understandable that broader forces come to wrong conclusions based on objective developments. But we can not permit these errors in the Party to go unchallenged.

The subjective and objective foundations of our anti-racism gives us both a deeper inner-Party understanding and the ability to make a unique contribution to mass struggles.

For example, we must take into consideration that, increasingly, white workers do not want to be called racists. They now think it something to be ashamed of, something to hide. Nevertheless, many still have the old ingrained racist prejudices and behave in ways that reflect this contradiction. This contradiction will only be resolved when the new anti-racist conscious-

ness is dominant over the old racist concepts.

How to build on the sprouting new consciousness is a critical tactical question.

Because of the many new objective developments we must learn to fight racism more creatively, more boldly and concretely. For example, we must fine-tune our arguments, our tactics, our ideological sharpness. To be creative one must have a deeper understanding of all the forces and objective factors, as well as a strong sensitivity to racist and chauvinist manifestations, both blatant and subtle.

For instance, we have to carry on the struggle against racism in the framework of such new developments as the two-tier wage structure, in the framework of the three-layered crisis, the dispersal of industries into new industrial regions and the sprouting below-minimum-wage schemes. We must find the best, most convincing approaches and arguments to combat the racist nature of all these new ruling-class methods.

Our recent Central Committee/National Council meeting focused on the Party clubs. We must also focus the struggle against racism in the clubs. We must take a fresh, creative look at how all these new developments and changes are reflected in the Party's ranks.

We must do this in the framework of the question: Do wrong conclusions drawn from objective developments open the door to penetration of influences of white chauvinism? We must examine to what extent the lack of initiative in concrete struggles is related to the influence of wrong conclusions from changing objective conditions.

This national conference on the struggle for Afro-American equality should not be an end to a process; it must be the opening gun, the beginning of a new chapter in the Party's struggle to raise the fight against racism to a new, higher level. A new Party program can serve as a guidepost to this new beginning. □

The 'New American Poverty' Of Michael Harrington

GIL GREEN

Michael Harrington's *The New American Poverty*, 1984) contributes to a greater understanding of the widening dimensions of poverty in the United States today. The author is no stranger to the subject. His book, *The Other America*, which appeared in 1962, soon became a classic. This new book suffers, however, from some serious defects. Before treating them, I will first outline the substance of Harrington's views.

The main focus of the book's analysis is on the difference between today's poverty and political climate and that of the '60s. The relative "generosity" of the Kennedy-Johnson years has been replaced by the "meanness" of the Reagan years.

In the '60s, the poor were seen as being in marginal sections of the population, referred to as "pockets of poverty." These contained the millions of Black, Latino and Asian poor, the people with the least education or skill, the women and children in single-parent homes, old people unable to make ends meet, etc. Today's poverty consists of the same deprived groupings but with significant mass recruits of working people who only yesterday were earning relatively high wages, often in industries where unions carried considerable clout. These are the new poor; and where the permanently displaced still have bank savings and own their own homes, they constitute a growing army of "potential poor," slipping steadily into a bog of destitution and despair.

Major structural changes account for this, explains Harrington. First is the constantly increasing internationalization of capital and competition. U.S. corporations export production and jobs to other lands where labor costs are

much lower and profits therefore much higher. A second factor is the vast, ongoing, yet still quite young, revolution in science and technology. Microcomputers and robots are beginning to replace workers on the job as tractors replaced horses on the farm. This process is at work in manufacturing, but also to be seen in offices, banks and elsewhere.

Harrington correctly notes that traditional work patterns will not disappear all at once. They will continue to be with us well into the twenty-first century, but side by side with a steady and growing job attrition. Should there be, however, a shift in policy toward meeting the nation's acute infrastructural needs, the smokestack industries could even witness expansion.

A report published by the AFL-CIO in 1983, "The Future of Work," takes the same position. But it also indicates the pace at which robotization is expected to penetrate industry, from 4,000 robots in 1981, to 50,000 to 100,000 in 1990—15,000 to 25,000 of these in auto.

Harrington attributes the change in political climate to the vastly altered economic conditions and perspectives. The rosy outlook of the '60s, when all the economic indices pointed upward, has been replaced with a grave world capitalist crisis and a falling U.S. share of the world market.

In the earlier period, when official optimism held that Keynesian economics had removed the downside of the economic cycle, it was shocking to learn from Harrington's *The Other America* that forty to fifty million people in the country lived in harrowing need. This appeared to be an anomaly and became a spur to action. Thus, the much touted "war on poverty" was born. This war turned out to be less than a skirmish, yet it reflected a general recognition that society, through the government, had the responsibility to end poverty.

Gil Green is a member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA. Based on a paper delivered at the Marxist Scholars' Conference, Chicago, March 1985.

How different the climate today. Even the pretense of a war on poverty is gone. It has been replaced with an all-too-real and cruel war on the poor and, increasingly, also on the working class and sections of the middle class.

This dismal turn of events leads Harrington to conclude that a real war on poverty today requires a far more radical response. Merely asking for increased public spending, he believes, is insufficient, for there are limits to what can be obtained this way. The crisis requires nothing less than a redistribution of income and wealth.

His stated goal is full employment, for nothing short of that can really abolish poverty. He calls those who believe this goal unattainable under the present economic system the new "crackpot realists." He believes that full employment would benefit everyone, with those working gaining even more than the jobless, and corporate business also profiting.

The way this goal is to be attained is through planning, and Harrington foresees the formation in time of a broad-based coalition to bring this about. He believes such is possible because growing unemployment and poverty will adversely affect the overwhelming majority of the American people.

This, in brief, is Harrington's message.

Now for a critical appraisal: I have no quarrel with the goal of full employment, a radical redistribution of income and wealth, the importance of planning and the need for a broad-based peoples' coalition. What troubles me is how Harrington envisions reaching these objectives. Here are a few of the questions that come to mind.

1 *Military Spending*

It is incredible that Harrington's analysis makes no mention whatever of bloated military spending as a factor in the growth of poverty. He points out that even the meager anti-poverty efforts of the '60s were doomed by the costs of U.S. military intervention in Vietnam, but he fails to relate this to the gargantuan military expenditures of recent years.

With good reason he condemns "waste and speculation of American business" and the "unconscionable diversion of real assets to intercorporate games, partly paid for by taxpayers" (p. 243), but he totally ignores the even greater unconscionable waste of the nation's resources on the Pentagon war machine, all of which is paid for by taxpayers.

Harrington favors the spending of many billions to counter the decay of the nation's infrastructure, and notes the millions of new jobs such would create, but does not explain how this is possible with a growing budget deficit brought on mainly by the drive for world military mastery.

This is a Harrington blindspot. He challenges Reagan's claim that the economic upturn of 1983-4 was brought on by "supply side" economic policies. No, he says, it was "demand side" spending that did it, pointing to the increasing deficit spending as proof. But he says nothing about the kind of spending this was, partly financed by a cruel diversion of funds from human needs to the military.

Surprising also is Harrington's high estimate of Reagan as an "authentic radical," "a man of principle," "even a utopian," whose politics serve the rich and corporations "whether he knows it or not" (p. 253-4). William Winpinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, judged Reagan more accurately as "not a 'nice' man at all, or even an honest man, but a deceitful man, flawed by the Nixonian ethic of saying anything and doing anything regardless of truth, veracity and principles." (*Let's Rebuild America*, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 4.)

Nor does Harrington say anything of the ideological underpinning that makes possible the wholesale robbing of the poor and the nation in the name of a fictitious Soviet military threat. This is unfortunate. It has been a weak side of Harrington's outlook over the years, responsible for his grievous errors during the Vietnam War, errors he has since criticized. These stem from an ingrained anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism from which he has not freed himself. Yet how he hopes to build a great

people's movement for radical structural change without challenging the current ideological climate that enables Reagan's reactionary policies to continue is hard to understand.

2 Full Employment

Harrington persuasively presents the many immense benefits to be derived from full employment. It would do more to end racial and sex inequality, he argues, than even the strongest pro-equality legislation. Furthermore, if jobs were available to all, this would provide a steady upward pressure on wages, while mass unemployment does the very opposite. But he does not indicate how full employment is attainable in a society in which unemployment is endemic. Karl Marx showed that in capitalist society unemployment is a byproduct of the process of capital accumulation, and "this to an always increasing extent." *Capital*, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1967, p. 631.) This is not a matter of good or bad capitalists, he makes clear, for it is in the interest of every capitalist to get more production from ever fewer workers. "Taking them as a whole," Marx wrote, "the general movements of wages are exclusively regulated by the expansion and contraction of the industrial reserve army." (*Ibid*, p. 637.)

When corporations move their production to countries with a lower standard of living, they immediately gain the direct benefit of lower labor costs, but also the indirect advantage of pressure on wages at home due to increased unemployment. Even when a relative tight labor market occurs, the capitalists counter its effect on wages by encouraging the immigration of cheap labor from abroad. Hence unemployment is integral to capitalist economy, and a major regulator of the price of labor power.

The only countries with full employment are socialist. Yet, despite Harrington's recognition of the decisive importance of full employment, he has nothing but scorn for these Communist-led nations and doesn't consider their economic systems as socialist. He will not even grudgingly admit that they must be doing

something right.

From all this one must conclude that full employment is indeed a goal to be fought for, but one that can not be fully realized under capitalism, for the economic laws of the system operate in an opposite direction. These laws can be modified through mass struggle, as can be seen in the historic movement of workers for a shorter workday and workweek, but they can not be abolished without abolishing the system of private ownership and production for private corporate profit. This is particularly so in face of a worldwide capitalist crisis and a technological revolution aimed at drastically reducing labor costs by automated processes.

3 Planning

Harrington says that there must be planning if the goal of full employment is to be reached. He notes that all political tendencies favor some kind of planning. He is for democratic planning. How this is to be attained in a society where each corporation also plans, but solely for its maximum profits, he does not explain. Even a modicum of such planning requires the ability to enforce the will of the majority upon the corporations, even to the point of takeover.

Harrington favors a policy of "pro" to the corporations that create jobs, and "con" to those that do not. Government support and subsidies should go only to the first category. Where a company decides to close a plant or move elsewhere, there should be a public determination of the social costs involved, not merely the economic ones. And he would also withdraw the massive tax subsidies given to "a welfare dependent American industry."

With the magnitude of the unemployment problem bound to grow, other emergency measures are needed. It is now fifty years since the 40-hour week became law. The time has come to move to a 30-hour week, and first of all in the industries and occupations undergoing technological change. It is also necessary to recognize that most of the hiring ahead will have to take place in the public sector, even if shutdown plants are to reopen. The country faces vast in-

frastructural needs—urban and interurban rapid transit, a modern and efficient railway system, affordable housing for all, new needs in health, education and conservation, etc. These can only be met by government. Thus, when Harrington warns about “budgetary restraints” and in the “short run,” he is closing the door on a meaningful increase in employment for the immediate period ahead. This is especially so, as he does not call for a shift in spending from the military to social needs.

4 *Coalition*

Harrington does not discuss the dynamics of bringing about the broad-based political coalition that he favors. Yet the grater class polarization he foresees will not automatically produce popular unity. These same conditions can be used by reaction to exacerbate differences, pitting one person or group against another, whether over jobs, income, race, nationality, sex, age, religion, or cultural and political differences. This is particularly true of racism.

The Reagan Administration and its reactionary supporters are actively engaged in undermining all the gains won by the civil rights movement over the past three decades. An ever greater burden of joblessness and poverty is being placed on the backs of the Afro-American people and on the Latino and Asian peoples. The struggle for full racial equality is therefore urgent. Harrington discusses the terrible plight of the Afro-American people, but says nothing about the special struggle for their rights. He stresses that full employment is the best condition under which people can work together in unison. But that goal can not be reached without a consistent struggle against racism and for interracial unity.

The dynamics of bringing into being a peoples’ coalition (something the Communist Party has advocated for a long time), includes the building of a multiplicity of organizations and movements around specific issues affecting the lives of people and working to coalesce them, in time, around common immediate and long-range objectives. What is needed is a highly or-

ganized people battling for rights and needs against the corporate oligarchy and its representatives in government.

Of all the peoples’ movements, organized labor holds central importance. Harrington understands this. Yet he seems to think that the labor movement, as it is today and with its present policies, is capable of playing that decisive role. This is a mistake. The labor movement needs to divest itself of the illusion of class harmony and recognize that only its own militant and united organization and struggle can beat back the offensive of capital. The labor movement needs to regain the image it once had in the formative years of the CIO, and before the Communists and other Leftwing workers were expelled from its ranks.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has recently adopted a document calling for changes in structure and outlook. A number of its proposals merit consideration, but the key to the labor movement’s future lies in how it restores the militancy it once had, both in the arena of economic struggle as well as that of political action. This calls for a labor solidarity expressed in a one-for-all, all-for-one spirit. And this solidarity should be extended on a world scale, for the internationalization of capital demands the international cooperation of labor.

5 *Politics*

There is one more important, even decisive, problem to be faced if a great new peoples’ coalition is to be forged: the approach to the Democratic Party. Harrington still believes the Democratic Party is the electoral vehicle for the coalition he favors. He notes in his book that the program of full employment is to the Left of the majority in the Democratic Party, but he apparently assumes this is only temporary.

Obviously this is not the moment when a new peoples’ party can be formed. Most people are not ready to consider such an alternative in the face of the need for unity against the extreme Right and the legal obstacles that confront third party ventures. But one course of action is both possible and essential—the building of an

independent electoral force that operates outside of and also inside the Democratic Party and, here and there, in the Republican Party. A coming together of all the progressive forces in the Democratic Party is necessary to counter the growing efforts to make it a carbon copy of the Republican Party.

Such a progressive formation could put forth its own program, fight on specific issues of policy, and build support for its objectives on an election district, city, county, congressional district and state level. It could also field candidates in party primaries, refusing to endorse or give aid to those who offer no progressive alternative to current policies, and run candidates on independent tickets where that becomes necessary.

Harrington explains why there is so low a turnout in national elections: the poor, the jobless, the working people, often see nothing to be gained by voting for candidates who by no means represent their interests. Yet, he does not conclude from this that no great electoral upsurge can take place with Mondale-type candidates to rally around.

6 *Socialism*

Harrington presents his program as one that can be won under capitalism, and has nothing at all to say about socialism. In this respect. *The*

New American Poverty is different from other books that he has written. Yet, in face of the revolution in science and technology now only in its first phase, the issue of socialism can not be shelved for the far distant future.

With robots and computers increasingly replacing workers on jobs, how is the vast increase in productivity going to be consumed? Robots may some day do all the manual labor in auto production, but there will never be a robot that buys an auto or even a MacDonald's hamburger. This is a contradiction that capitalism can not solve. Only increasing measures moving in a socialist direction can do so.

Thus the perspectives of socialism will arise in the foreseeable years ahead as an ever more potent issue. Nor will it be seen as some kind of foreign "ism," but as the answer to the sharpening internal contradictions of U.S. capitalism.

This perspective should give hope and vision to a new young generation. The release of humans from arduous and humiliating types of toil is a wonderful prospect for the future. It is only a terrible nightmare in a society based on production for private gain, instead of for the good of all.

This is important to understand. We must fight with all our strength for full employment and peace under capitalism, but without illusions that this system can solve the even greater problems up ahead. □

The Politics of Cargo

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CLUB, CPUSA

San Francisco Bay Area longshormen, on Nov. 23, 1984, took the historic step of refusing to unload South African cargo from the Dutch ship, "Nedlloyd Kimberley." For eleven days, these members of the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 boycotted the cargo, and brought the struggle against the racist apartheid regime of South Africa to a new level. This action took place almost exactly 50 years after the San Francisco General Strike which led to the founding of the union. The effects of the boycott of the "Nedlloyd Kimberley" are still reverberating throughout the Bay Area and up and down the West Coast. This action has a special importance for Left and progressive people and Communists—in the labor movement and in the movements for peace and international labor solidarity.

The work stoppage electrified the working class of the Bay Area and beyond. As soon as it started, messages of support began to pour in from all levels of the trade union movement, especially the rank and file. Hundreds of trade unionists, workers and other activists helped to picket the ship every day the stoppage lasted. When the workers were finally forced by injunction to unload the ship, the picket lines were moved across the Bay to the Oakland offices of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), the longshoremen's employer. The picket line at the PMA has been maintained every day, since that time, protesting U.S. trade with South Africa and supporting the right of workers to refuse to handle the cargo.

In the labor movement, the work stoppage stimulated an upsurge of activity against apartheid, even pushing the Social Democrats in the leadership of some unions into action. Early in the spring, labor and community activists began pressuring Port Commissions on both sides of the Bay to stop the movement of South African cargo. Unions have also been actively involved in efforts to pass strong divestment measures in San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose. The ILWU International Convention recessed during its April meet-

ing and delegates, as a body, joined students at the University of California in Berkeley in rallying for divestment. Seventy-nine trade unionists, led by the Alameda and San Francisco Labor Councils, were arrested in May protesting at the offices of South African Airways. On May 23, the offices of the PMA were picketed in Seattle, Portland, Oakland, San Francisco and Los Angeles to mark the six-month anniversary of the longshore boycott and to spread the cargo-boycott movement up and down the coast.

The longshore action gave birth to the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement in the East Bay and the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee in the West Bay. It focused attention on the situation of workers and unions in South Africa and on the economic links between them and workers in the U.S. In Bay Area foundries, for instance, many workers have put on red ribbons as a result of lunchtime meetings discussing South Africa. Workers in these meetings remembered the boycott of the "Nedlloyd Kimberley." They recognized that stopping trade with South Africa would help African workers fight apartheid, and, at the same time, would help stop the flight of production and jobs out of their foundries to a racist, slave-labor system. This focus on cargo has helped to give the movement against apartheid in the Bay Area a class character.

Because the longshore action focused on trade, the boycott struck at the production and distribution of material goods. This marks an important development in the tactics of the movement for peace and solidarity, towards actions intended to affect the ability of the apartheid system to find markets. The U.S. is South Africa's number one trading partner. Diminishing this trade will cause serious economic damage to the apartheid regime. This focus on trade made an important economic link for the movement in the U.S.—the impact of South African trade on U.S. employment. It has given us a way to involve the working-class and labor movement, based on working-

class solidarity and mutual self-interest between U.S. and South African workers, and not based on national chauvinism.

The boycott of the "Nedlloyd Kimberly" also demonstrates the power of basic industrial workers on the job. It was the product of a high degree of class consciousness on the part of the participating workers. The boycott was overwhelmingly an action by Black workers, who are 70 per cent of the membership of ILWU Local 10. This propelled Black workers into the leadership of the movement in the Black community around South Africa. It tied together the question of national liberation, the struggle against racism and for equality, with the class struggle of the workers against monopoly. It targeted monopoly as the enemy, and exposed the roots of the racist U.S. foreign policy.

This work stoppage by longshoremen has roots that go back many years, and which give it a relationship with the Left, and especially with the Communist Party. The Party, since its founding, has concentrated its activity in the Bay Area on the longshore industry and union. The Party has had a historic relationship to the workers in this industry from the time of the Maritime Workers Industrial Union: before the 1934 San Francisco General Strike. Two Party members were shot on Bloody Thursday in the struggle that gave birth to the ILWU, and the Party turned its newspaper over to use as a strike bulletin for the strike's duration. The *People's World*, the descendant of that newspaper, broke the media blackout on the longshore boycott, and has carried the news of the anti-apartheid movement up and down the West Coast.

In 1979, the Party participated in helping to organize a trade union conference on solidarity with the South African liberation struggle. This conference led to the formation of the South African Liberation Support Committee of the ILWU Local 10. This committee based its work on the rank and file of the local. It struck deep roots in the consciousness of Local 10 members. That consciousness led workers to voluntarily refuse dispatches to work the South African cargo aboard the "Nedlloyd Kimberly" for eleven days. They were only forced back to work finally with injunctions, the withholding of the pay guarantee for the entire port, and the threat of fines.

The Local 10 South African Liberation Support Committee is an official committee of the lo-

cal. It is also a grouping of Left and progressive forces in the union. The members of the committee are progressive-minded unionists, active on all the basic economic issues of the union. Within the union, the committee has been able to force the Social-Democratic leadership of the international to play a much more active role in opposing apartheid than would have been the case without its influence.

The longshore boycott of the "Nedlloyd Kimberly" highlights the importance of building Left organizations like the South African Support Committee in the rank and file of the labor movement. The Draft Trade Union Program now being discussed in the Communist Party also shows the need to build the Left. It accurately describes the attack on the labor movement by monopoly capital and presents a program for meeting this attack. This program shows that class struggle and mass mobilization is the only way to move forward, whether in the struggle against apartheid and for international solidarity, or on the other basic questions confronting the working class. The important question is, of course, how to fight for this program and response within the labor movement.

The key to the Party's strategy is the development of the Left in the rank and file. This especially includes the organization of caucuses and Left and progressive groups where these forms don't exist. Without them, mobilizing the rank and file is more difficult, and it is difficult, as well, for the Left to gain support for its ideas. Had it not been for the South Africa Liberation Support Committee of ILWU Local 10 the boycott of the "Nedlloyd Kimberly" would never have taken place.

There is increasing acceptance of Left and progressive ideas among workers, especially at the rank-and-file level. The continuation and success of this Leftward movement requires Left and progressive-minded workers in unions to organize groups, caucuses, committees and other forms to influence the whole membership, especially the majority of workers in the political Center. This Leftward movement also isn't without its opposition—even within the labor movement the longshore boycott was not unopposed. For progressive trade unionists and Communists, therefore, the longshore boycott highlights particularly the importance of building the Left. □

Two-Class Public Education

In the splendid issue of *PA* on Marxism and culture (March 1985), Michael Parenti discusses the nature of capitalist control of the schools. Speaking as a parent who was involved in school struggles for more than twenty years, I want to comment on his observations.

Parenti says, "American public schools regularly indoctrinate their pupils into dominant class values and conformist attitudes, suppressing information and opinions that might be offensive to capitalist ideology." Throughout his article, he seems to characterize the main contradiction as the capitalist control over ideas in the classroom. This control exists, and it is important, but I believe a much sharper characterization needs to be made of the central dialectic, because this tells us where we must direct our main fire in the struggle.

As early as the '40s, a Marxist educator characterized the public schools as the "two class system of education." The upper class (the third class) trains for its role in *private* schools. The *public* schools train the working class (with minimum skills needed for its tasks) and the middle classes, who need another set of skills to function as managers, administrators and technicians. Since the schools must maintain a facade of equality, the segregation of the working class students from the middle class students is done through the "intelligence" scam. Tests set up with middle class standards, and teaching techniques

which are culturally biased, systematically funnel working-class youth into the non-college preparatory courses and into the "slow tracks" and "lower ability" groupings. These are taught by teachers who are poorly trained and poorly paid, using more "canned" materials and inferior techniques. The resultant poor performance is justified by "cultural deprivation" theories, which assert that working-class children do poorly in school because of the "cultural deprivation" of their families. Working-class young people are segregated in these ability groups. Further segregation is maintained by neighborhood concentrations in working-class areas where schools are dilapidated, understaffed and taught by underpaid teachers. The local school tax system inevitably decrees that schools in these areas have less money per child to spend than those in affluent areas.

The effects of such discrimination make it inevitable that, all over the country, working class children fall further and further behind their middle class counterparts in academic achievement as they progress through school. Young people of color are most victimized. The sacrifices made are not "fancy frills," but basic skills needed for life and work. When I went into a ghetto area with my Hall-Davis petition, a frightening number of youth had difficulty writing their names and addresses. We must feel

and respond to this as a primary *crime* of capitalism.

Millions of young people quit school—not only because of lack of money, but also because they rebel at the contempt which this system conveys for the working class and for nationally oppressed peoples. They quit out of boredom, out of anger, discouragement and frustration. This two-class system does not benefit the middle class students—they may be a little better off, but not well off. They too are simply "cogs in the wheel." And middle class children are now also threatened by the massive crisis which this educational system has generated.

Only by the process of separating out the "bright" students from the "dull" can the schools justify the fact that working-class students end up reading three or four grade levels below the "college bound" youth. But far more important to capitalism is the propaganda use of this difference in educational performance to justify in the public mind the fact that millions of young people end up in dead-end jobs in fastfood outlets—or on the waste heap of unemployment. Capitalism explains away this waste of lives and creative energies by selling the notion that the poorly employed and unemployed—and most especially the huge armies of jobless Blacks and Latinos—are in this position because they are "not very smart" and "not educated."

In a period of economic expansion, the "two-class system of education" offered at least some

growth in educational facilities and opportunities. As the capitalist system goes into its final illness, the capitalist class has a tremendous need for a continuous degradation of the educational system. The labels "not smart" and "not educated" must now be applied to an ever-growing number of youth to rationalize the ever-growing numbers of unemployed.

The lowering of all standards for education offered to working-class youth has another function for the capitalist class—by deliberately fostering illiteracy, they try to convince youth that "ideas" and "books" and "culture" are hostile to the working class—only for the eggheads. The capitalists want to make young people hate books—this keeps them away from revolutionary ideas. The capitalists expect that working-class youth will stay away from the polls

because lack of education and jobs make them feel powerless and disenfranchised.

The public schools are the place the working class gets—or does not get"—skills which profoundly affect their conception of themselves, skills which determine their place in economic life, skills which affect their access to culture.

Communists and other progressives must recognize a profound threat in the fact that millions of young people are not getting the basic skills they need to lead full, happy and productive lives. They must lead a fight to reverse the ongoing degradation of educational standards in the public school system. Communists who are cultural workers have a special responsibility and a special contribution to make in this fight.

Billy Wachter

2. This approach furthers, I am sure unintentionally, the bosses' contention that women are taking jobs away from men. It, therefore, does not promote the unity our class so urgently needs in these times.

Finally, I think the statement, "It becomes especially important for the labor movement to place priority on four issues—affirmative action, wage equity, opposition to two-tier and to subminimum wages—to give unions more organizing appeal to women, Blacks, Latinos and unorganized generally" undersells the class consciousness of these workers. It also leads to the false conclusion that the fight for full equality is a gimmick to attract Black, Latino and women workers and is not a basic tool of the whole working class.

Roberta Wood

Roberta Wood seems to miss the emphasis I placed on the Reagan Administration's drive against affirmative action, wage equity and for a subminimum wage for youths and the two-tier wage. These are weapons of its general design to lower the wage average and divide the workers. It is to that end that it targets, ever more aggressively, the sections of the working class most directly affected by those issues.

As government data show: in recent years, the *growth rate* of women in the labor force (including both employed and unemployed) was substantially above that of men. For a stretch of 25 years, from 1960 to April 1985, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the male work force above the age of 16, grew from 48.8 million to 65.3 million—34 per cent. The number of women in the labor force over the same period grew from 23.2 million to 50.6 million, or 118 per

Trends in Women's Employment

I enjoyed George Morris's article "Reagan Confronts Labor" (*Political Affairs*, May 1985) but felt that one section, under the "Pay Equity" subtitle, gave a wrong lead on an important question.

The article states that women are flowing into the work force at a much higher rate than men and are now employed in large numbers in many industries and services that traditionally only employed men, such as longshore, coal mining, steel, auto and other metal manufacturing, bus driving and even construction. It goes on to say that women are an "attraction" to employers because they are paid less than men for the same work and work of comparable worth.

There are two things wrong with this approach:

1. It is factually incorrect.

There are *not* now large numbers of women in coal, steel, auto, etc. In fact, women have basically only entered these industries in recent years through affirmative action programs and have been virtually wiped out by massive layoffs. The latest issue of *Economic Notes* has some excellent data on this subject. More women are entering the work force, but not because employers are giving them preferential treatment, but because economic pressures on the family are forcing mothers, especially mothers of young children, to work.

Furthermore, it just isn't true that employers are more "attracted" to women workers than men. If it were, there would be no need for affirmative action programs for women.

cent. More recently, since 1978, the male workforce rose from 60.2 million to 65.3 million—8.1 per cent, while the labor force of women for the same period rose by 9.4 million or about 44 per cent. This trend has found the employers using every exploitative weapon in their arsenal, especially against women from the oppressed minorities.

There is no contradiction between the employers' "attraction" to women workers and the need for affirmative action programs. The growth of employment of women is not because employers want to benefit women. It demonstrates that employers, particularly in the unorganized industries and shops where unions are weak, want to exploit lower wages for women.

Comrade Wood is certainly right in pointing out that many minority and white women did succeed in getting jobs through affirmative action, but lost them later through layoffs, plant closings or application of seniority rules. But, as the BLS data show, for the most part women stay on in the labor force, continuing to try for jobs and facing the harsh conditions of employment and wages offered by the "labor market," as the bosses term it.

Some confusion may be due to the failure of my article to make a clearer separation between the general massive rise in the flow of women into the labor force and the recently more publicized phenomenon of relatively few women getting into occupations historically classified as "men's jobs." As I wrote:

Government data show women flowing into the workforce at a much higher rate than men. They are now employed in large numbers in many industries that traditionally employed only men—such as longshore, underground coal mining, steel, auto, and other metal manufacturing, bus driving and even construction.

While I should have had a clearer separation between the two distinct but related facts in this statement, Comrade Wood reduced my two sentences to one, replacing the period with an "and." This suggests to the reader that women entering fields dominated by men may be counted in the hundreds of thousands, possibly even millions. That, of course, is by no means the general situation. In such cases, women's continued employment may depend on whether there is a union and if it is a union which will defend their rights. In many unions, enforcement of seniority may decide their job security, or insecurity.

Unfortunately, because of the low U.S. rate of unionization—only about 20 per cent—and because of heavy plant closings, layoffs and labor force shrinkage in the industries with the strongest unions, the breakthrough in employment has ended for many women in bitter disappointment.

There is still much violation, mostly in unorganized industries, of the generally recognized "equal pay for equal work" principle. Pay-equity for "comparable work" must still be won, both in organized and unorganized employment. Significantly, the AFL-CIO in its new study, *The Changing Situation of the Workers and Their Unions*,

suggests that the pay equity issue should be one of those featured in union organizing drives.

Comrade Wood writes that I "unintentionally" further the bosses' contention that women are taking jobs away from men. I think my response above to the "attraction" criticism answers this as well. But let me stress that the full weight of my article is against discriminatory racist and sexist practices by employers (and some unions) to divide the working class. I stressed the need to give more attention to the issues that unite working men and women. Marxism calls for analyses of facts as they are. Certainly, changes in the composition of the work force must not be ignored.

I can not agree that my article "undersells the class consciousness" of women, Black, Latino and the unorganized generally," that it leads, also, to "the false conclusion that the fight for full equality is a gimmick to attract" these workers, or that the issues of affirmative action, wage equity, opposition to two-tier scales, etc. are "not a basic tool" for the unity of the whole. At the very moment these lines are written, workers are involved in strikes on these issues. The experience of trade union organizing is a history of struggles that are often triggered by precisely such elementary issues which introduce workers to the necessity for unions. Our long labor history shows that unorganized workers usually begin to be won for unionization at the level of *job consciousness*. Class consciousness develops as organized struggle and unity develop. □

George Morris

'The Anatomy of Lies'

PHILLIP BONOSKY

Samuil Zivs, *The Anatomy of Lies*, Progress Publishers, 1982, 159 pp. Herman Rozanov, *Behind the Scenes of Third Reich Diplomacy*, Progress Publishers, 1981.

People should get used to reading documentaries like the two reviewed here, both by Soviet writers. By passing them up they're passing up a gold mine.

Difficulties, however, admittedly exist. First of all, though adequate, the translations usually lack the American zing that we've become accustomed to.

But more important, the reference framework, the moral context, the body of assumptions, which are taken for granted by Soviet writers, strike us (many of "us") as alien. For them it is self-evident that socialism is good, that the social system which exists in the Soviet Union is morally superior to other social systems, particularly that which exists in the United States, and they operate from these assumptions quite unself-consciously. But for many Westerners, including some of the Left, what the Soviet writers assume as self-evident is precisely what they believe is in question.

So it's hard to meet at some mutually agreed point. Which is a pity. For Soviet journalism in the last period has been extraordinarily rich in exposés and revelations of aspects of the world (not only the West) that add to our fuller understanding of the times we live in.

These two books are cases in point. The first one, *The Anatomy of Lies*, deals with the real history of Amnesty International, which the bourgeois West has done its best to elevate to the moral heights beyond reach of carping (let alone fundamental) criticism. The second deals with new information dug out of the archives in Munich which lays bare, even more intimately, the diplomatic comings and goings of Hitler's striped-pants flunkys preparing to take over the world.

Amnesty International was, it seems (at least, ostensibly) the brain child of a British lawyer, Peter Benenson, a Catholic of Jewish descent who brought the organization into the light on May 28, 1961. You would think that the situation in Northern Ireland alone would absorb all the energies of any group constituted to look after the human rights of a politically oppressed minority. And right in their backyard at that! But, no. Amnesty simply was crippled by a peculiar tunnel vision when it came to seeing Irish, and saw only what it wanted to see.

Rather, its eyes were turned eastward, mainly to the Soviet Union, where it found what it was looking for—"prisoners of conscience." True, other places, other prisons, other stories were culled and noted, but these cases began to look more and more like window-dressing intended to give the appearance of "balance" and "impar-

tiality." In fact, the real aim was to stigmatize the socialist system of justice and reclassify counter-revolutionaries (whose aim, often stated, was to overthrow socialism) into nothing more than well-meaning "dissidents" who simply wanted to be heard.

Here's one case, not included in the book. When Amnesty turned up in Kabul, soon after the "new phase" began there with Babrak Karmal at the close of 1979, their representative met with the government people. After admitting that Karmal's advent to power had saved the lives of hundreds slated for execution by Amin, Amnesty then put forward a list of those "prisoners of conscience," now in jail, whom they wanted freed.

Where did they get the list? Why, they went to the U.S. embassy and asked. Whom did they ask? Nobody but the chief CIA gazebo imitating a diplomat. And who was on the list he obligingly turned over to Amnesty? Why, nobody but his own CIA agents whom he now dubbed "prisoners of conscience," though they were notably lacking such when they slipped poison into the drinking water of Kabul's school children.

Amnesty finds it "embarrassing" that it can see no "prisoners of conscience" in the USA. Odd, indeed. Its definition of a "prisoner of conscience" is so narrow, so tooled to a certain political need, that no American who runs afoul of the law fits it. Thus, America is truly the land of the free—with half a million prisoners, of whom 20,800 are women (who have 30,000 children

among them), but all of them legally in jail.

But, what did Amnesty, a few years ago, say in response to Andrew Young, then UN ambassador to the UN, when he declared that there were 2,000 "political prisoners" (but Black) in America's jails? Did Young's definition fit Amnesty's? All Amnesty could see wrong with the USA was the death penalty. Would Hitler, writing his *Mein Kampf* in prison, fit their definition of a "prisoner of conscience" and the German Communist leader Thalman, in Buchenwald, the victim of Hitler, not?

In 1981, Amnesty, going far beyond its own stated limits, demanded that "East Germany [sic] review its criminal codes to bring them into line with international

commitments on human rights." (Associated Press, Jan. 5, 1981.) All they wanted was for the German Democratic Republic to come to heel—to overthrow itself!

What about those arrested resisting war? Or those arrested trying to stop the dismantling of steel mills? Amnesty, are you hard of hearing?

In a way, *Behind the Scenes of Third Reich Diplomacy* exposes, at least morally, Amnesty, though it doesn't name it. The Nazis tried to destroy the USSR with guns; Amnesty picks up where they left off—"by different means."

Richly documented, and an absolute must for students of the period, this book nails down even more tightly further elements of the conspiracy whose central aim al-

ways was the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The various intrigues leading up to Hitler's "march East" are here detailed. Some of the documentation is new, Churchill's role is further amplified, America's role more fully described.

At a time when an all-out attempt is being made to distort the facts, and more so, the meaning, of World War II, this book is a fine corrective. But, as already noted, it *assumes* that the Soviet cause was just. It doesn't fake the "balanced" point of view to which most Western writers pretend. When the Soviet writers see a villain, they name it as—a villain. They do not waffle; they do not conceal. □

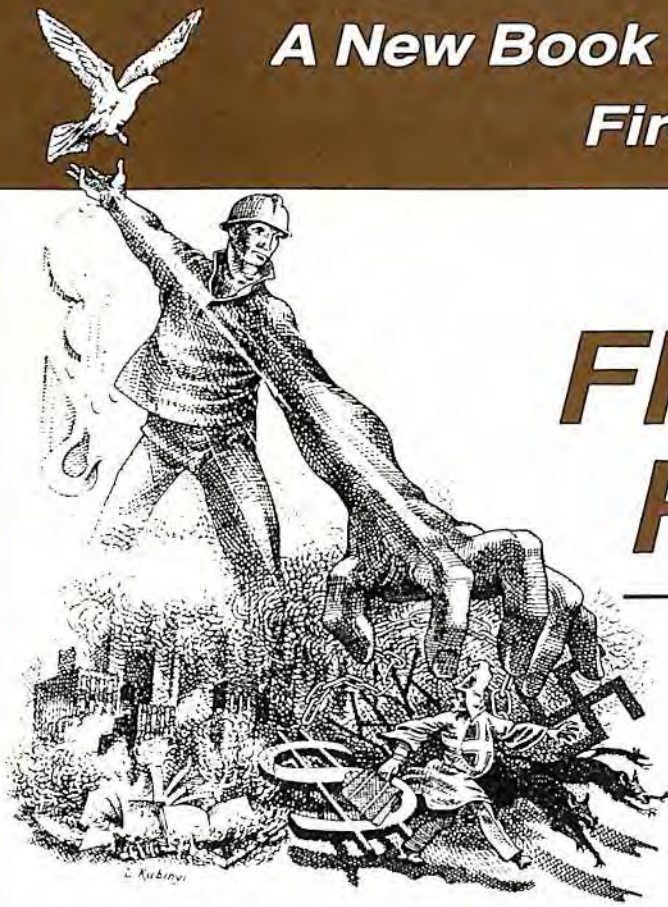
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