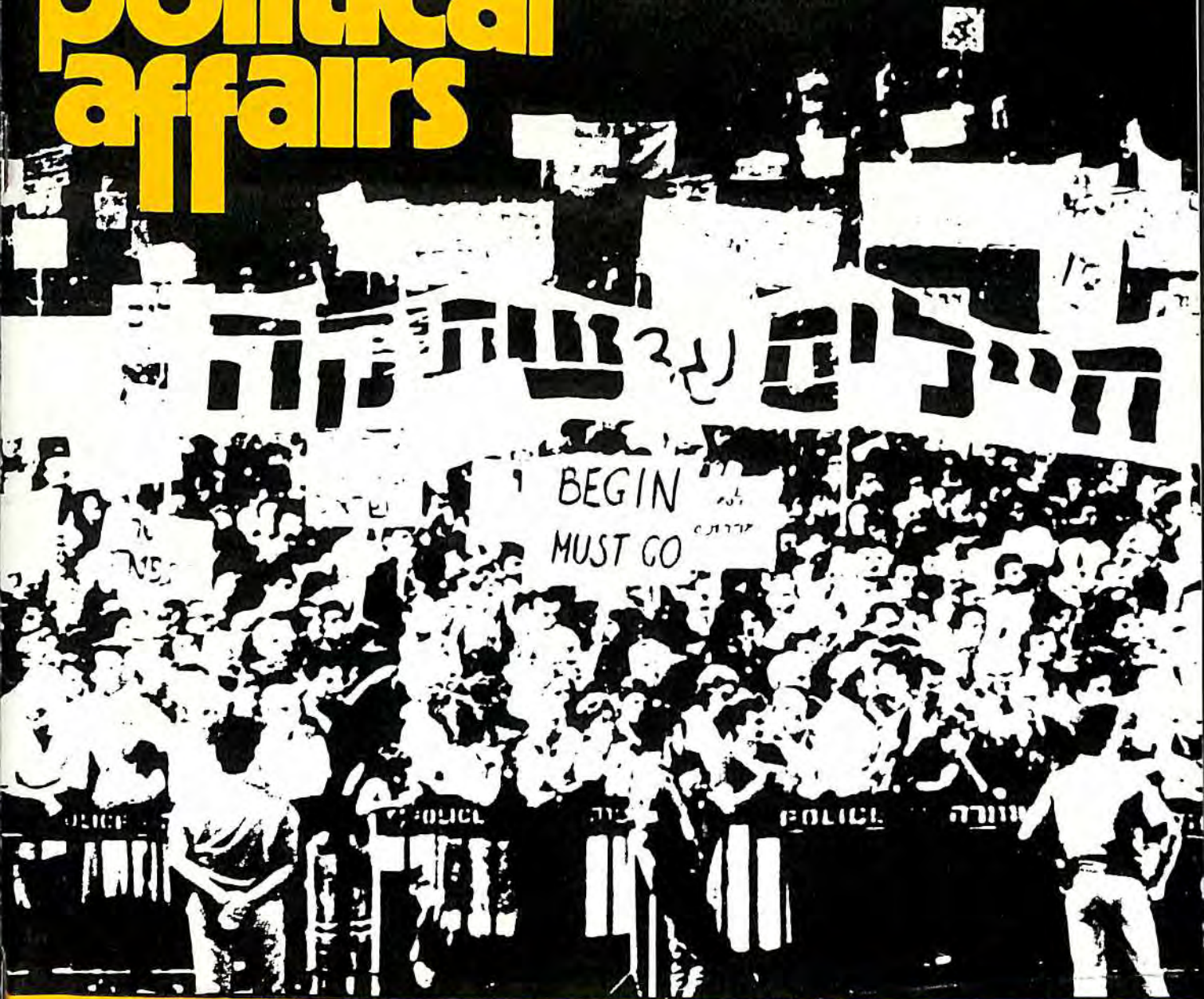


political affairs

JOURNAL OF MARXIST THOUGHT
October 1982
\$1



**Israel, Lebanon and the
Quest for Peace**
Herbert Aptheker

**Independent Politics in the
Chicago Black Community**
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**Electrical Workers Break the
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**Crisis of Class Collaboration
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Sam Webb

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From the Editors to You...

We would like to take this occasion to announce a change on the staff of PA. Our circulation manager for the past several years, Naomi Chesman, has left that position to resume her career as a public school teacher. We wish her all success at her new job. We are glad to welcome as the new circulation manager of PA Esther Moroze.

Let us also share with readers a sampling of interesting mail recently received. The following poem was sent from David Watkins of New York City:

Ev'ry issue of Political Affairs
Certainly keeps me up-to-date
Of how the "millionaire mafia"
Keeps our world in a poverty state
But Marxist truth is powerful
Because it answers people's needs,
For a human life, free of social strife
That's civilized—and a world of peace—succeeds.

Mr. T.J. Hill of Rhode Island sends \$25 for 5 student gift subscriptions.

Robert Seier from Massachusetts writes: "I liked Yuri Sherkovin's 'Terrorism and the Mass Media' in the July 1982 issue. Also, I'm looking forward to Norman Goldberg's next cultural piece in Political Affairs. I find his articles to be stimulating and well-constructed Marxist critiques."

Finally, Betty Jo Gordon from Texas says, "The September 1982 issue of Political Affairs is head-clearing, to-be-read-again, reference material."

Next Month

The November issue of Political Affairs will be devoted to bringing you the proceedings of the PA conference on 'Psychology and Changing Human Nature—A Marxist Approach.' Extra copies will be printed for those who wish to make special orders of the issue.

Political Affairs (ISSN0032) is published monthly by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc. at 235 West 23 Street, New York, New York 10011, (212) 620-3020, to whom all orders, subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be addressed. Subscription rates: institutions, \$15 per year; individuals, \$10 per year; single issues, \$1. New subscribers should allow six weeks for receipt of first issue. Second class postage paid at New York, New York.

political affairs

Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, USA

Volume LXI, No. 10

October 1982

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Israel, Lebanon and the Quest for Peace

HERBERT APTHEKER

After months of unconcealed—indeed, trumpeted—preparation, on June 6 Israel launched a full-scale aerial and naval assault and infantry-tank invasion, involving about 100,000 men, upon Lebanon. The scale of this blitzkrieg upon a country smaller than Connecticut with a total population of perhaps three and a half million itself belied the rationalizations offered by Israel for the act of war. The assault was launched, the world was asked to believe, because the Israeli ambassador to London had been shot. The Begin-Sharon government declared this to be the work of the PLO, though the latter at once denied this and although the British government quickly announced that the shooting was the act of the Abu-Nidal organization, a small, fanatical group of extremists bitterly opposed to the PLO.

Seeking a more credible pretext, Israel then declared its invasion was in response to the PLO's "shelling of civilian targets in Galilee." In reality the cease fire of July 14, 1981—quoting the Israeli monthly *New Outlook* (August-September 1982, p. 5)—"had been scrupulously respected by the PLO" for almost a full year; it was only the massive July 1981 Israeli air raid on Beirut—killing 300 and wounding 800—that led to a brief artillery response by the PLO.

A third lie was then offered. Israeli spokesmen announced, as the invasion was launched, that "our forces are replying to Syrian shelling of Israeli positions." In fact, Syrian forces were not engaged in combat with those of Israel until the latter had driven north of the Litani River and reached areas occupied by Syrian troops. (The Syrians were there in accordance with a 1976 mandate of the Arab League and with the approval of Lebanon; Palestinians in Lebanon were the refugees from the 1948 war and their descendants, and again were present with the approval of Lebanon.)

Herbert Aptheker is director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies.

This third lie badly backfired upon Israel since, as *New Outlook* reported: "Hundreds of Israeli soldiers and officers who knew, from their own experience on the battlefield, that they had been ordered to open fire 'in response' to non-existent Syrian shelling, were moved by this outright lie to flock to the large 'Peace Now' anti-war demonstration to put the record straight."

Then, in desperation, Begin—whose affinity for lying reminds one of Joseph McCarthy or Richard Nixon—told a startled world that what his government had launched upon Lebanon was not an invasion at all; it was, rather, a "Peace in Galilee" effort,* which would result in an incursion lasting only long enough to drive the PLO 25 miles north of the Israeli border (i.e., beyond artillery range). In any case, he solemnly promised on June 21 that "Israel does not covet one single square inch of Lebanese soil"—this being even more confining than the pledge made by Prime Minister Eshkol on the opening day, also in June, of the 1967 war: "Israel has no intention of annexing even one foot of Arab territory."



The worldwide denunciation of this criminal act of Israel moved Washington to produce some lies of its own—and in this department production has not decreased in the United States. Washington announced, with a straight face, that Israel's invasion—perhaps provoked by firing from the other side, said the ventriloquist's dummy who sits in the Oval Office—came as an utter surprise to the United States. The shamelessness of this lying would be incredible, if the world had not experienced the Big Lie technique of the Nazis.

On May 28, 1982, Tawfik Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth (center of the largest Arab population in

*Calling war "peace" is not new in the annals of imperialism. Thus, the atrocious war waged from 1899 through 1902 by the United States against the national liberation forces of the Philippines is known officially as the "Pacification of the Philippines."

Israel), and a member of the Knesset (the Israeli parliament), held a press conference while visiting San Francisco. The papers of the city reported that he warned that Israel would launch an attack upon Lebanon "at any moment"; that this entailed the larger threat of a confrontation with Syrian forces and that whatever the "successes" of this attack, it could not and would not "solve the problems of the Middle East, and would only contribute to the problem."

Indeed, Ariel Sharon, Israel's defense minister, was in Washington during that same month and he was not there to discuss the weather. On June 16, Sharon publicly declared that—quoting Christopher Hitchens in the *Nation* (September 4, 1982)—"the U.S. government knew in advance of his military intentions." Defense Secretary Weinberger waited until August 12 to issue a denial of Sharon's statement, though he limited this to saying that on the occasion of Sharon's visit to him on May 25 Sharon did not "imply that Israel was planning an invasion of Lebanon." Hitchens suggests that unless Weinberger "means that Sharon told the Administration on some date other than May 25, that statement is a lie."

General Sharon not only visited Mr. Weinberger last May; as is appropriate, he stopped by at the offices of the *Wall Street Journal* also. Walter Mossberg reported in that paper, May 27, that Sharon "is making the rounds of several American news organizations during his current visit, apparently in an effort to make the Israeli case in advance of any potential fighting with the PLO."

No doubt reflecting such visits by Sharon, Anthony Lewis, in his *New York Times* column of September 9, 1982, wrote: "General Sharon argued for months before it happened that an invasion of Lebanon would do much more than crush the PLO militarily." (Italics added.) He thought, wrote Lewis, that it "would destroy the Palestinian national movement, giving Israel extended or even permanent relief from pressures for solution of the 'Palestinian problem.' "

That Sharon was as grievously in error concerning the Palestinian question as were U.S. hawks concerning the Vietnamese question is not the point at the moment; the point is that a *New York Times* columnist confirms that General Sharon

was arguing for the invasion of Lebanon "months before it happened." Is it credible that the journalist knew this and the U.S. Defense Secretary did not?

Is there published evidence as to what Sharon was doing concerning a Lebanese invasion "months before it happened"? Consider the article by William E. Smith in *Time* magazine, February 15, 1982. Its subhead reads: "Israel comes close to launching an assault on southern Lebanon." Here one learns that the "assault was narrowly averted last week, though perhaps not for long." Further, *Time* noted that "Sharon has been pressing for just such an attack for several weeks." Then this follows, anticipating the precise developments to unfold after June 1982:

In mid-January [1982], he [Sharon] met with Bashir Gemayal, commander of Christian Phalange forces in Lebanon, aboard an Israeli gunboat off Jounieh, a port city north of Beirut. The main subject: coordination of efforts between Israelis and Phalangists in the event of an invasion that would bring Israeli forces as far north as the edge of Beirut International Airport.

Plans for the invasion were widely discussed. Examples abound; one is the piece by Joseph Kraft—known to be close to the State Department—in the *Washington Post*, March 16, 1982, headlined: "If Israel Should Move in Lebanon," and with a key sentence affirming that talks had been going on in Israel with unnamed Americans and Arabs which "suggest a deep strike, cutting off PLO units on the border and including a crack at Syrian forces in central Lebanon."

Joseph C. Harsch, in the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 10, 1982, offered an "Arab-Israel chronology" which traced the immediate source of the June 6 invasion back to July 1981 and then concluded: "The Israeli invasion which Mr. Sharon has apparently wanted since last summer was unleashed."

Additionally, the organization of material and men for a land, air and sea assault of the dimensions of last June could not have been hidden from foreign powers if they controlled intelligence resources available in 1914, not to mention the

sophisticated devices of 1982. It may be affirmed, therefore, with great confidence, that Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 was undertaken with the foreknowledge and clearly without the disapproval of the United States.



Equally notorious and quite indubitable is the fact that Israel's financier and armorer is the United States. Defense Secretary Weinberger insists that Washington has "no control" over the military activity of Israel. Dan Morgan, in the *Washington Post*, July 21, 1982, quotes "a former Pentagon official" as saying in that regard: "It isn't that we have no control over Israel. It's that we have chosen not to exercise that control."

The fact is that Israel's military and financial dependence upon the United States (and the interrelationship of the two states) is absolute. Israel's budget comes to \$20 billion a year. Of that amount \$5.5 billion goes to military costs—this in a nation of less than four million people! Such expenditures are possible only because U.S. government aid each year comes to \$785 million in economic assistance plus \$1.8 billion in military grants and loans. In addition, about \$600 million is raised by Israel each year from various mainline Jewish organizations in the U.S. Except for some relatively minor supply of British-made tanks and French-produced aircraft, all of Israel's major armament has come from the U.S., from which Israel has received \$15 billion out of a total of \$28 billion of military arms distributed worldwide since 1951.

Cluster bomb sales were briefly halted by Washington after Israel's assault upon Lebanon because Tel Aviv's indiscriminate use of that awful weapon had evoked a global outcry. Otherwise, said a Pentagon official to Mr. Morgan, "We are conducting business as usual, following a national policy." As of the close of July 1982, "a total of \$1.5 billion worth of aircraft, self-propelled howitzers and armored personnel carriers is still in the pipeline."

Mr. Morgan makes the point that there are now powerful jointly-owned U.S.-Israeli armament corporations, like Tediran, based in Israel, which

represent enormous capitalization. In general:

Intimate cooperation between the armed forces and arms industries of the two countries have created a two-way street that makes the prospect of U.S. retaliation against Israel extremely unpopular with powerful elements in the American military and arms industry.

In addition, the U.S.-Israeli intelligence services work closely together and many U.S.-made weapons have received their first combat use by Israel. The consequent information is invaluable to the Pentagon.



What were the purposes to be served by the invasion of Lebanon?

They were, in the first place, the extermination of the PLO and the decimation of the Palestinian population in Lebanon. It was hoped that the military annihilation of the PLO would so attenuate the Palestinian question that the Begin plan of locating Quislings from among them would finally be realizable in Israel and in the occupied areas. This kind of blow, it was also believed, would make firm the annexation of the Golan Heights and all of Jerusalem, and make smooth the obvious intention of annexing the Gaza Strip and, especially, the West Bank.

This accomplished, further "positive" results seemed likely: either acquisition of parts of a dismembered Lebanon—particularly the southern quarter controlled by the traitor Major Haddad—creature as he is of Israel—or, if Lebanon remained whole, then a Lebanon ruled by the fascist traitor Bashir Gemayel—participant, as we have shown above, with Sharon in plans for the invasion of his own country and favorite "candidate" for the presidency so far as Begin and the monopolist elite of Lebanon were concerned. In Gemayel, Washington's favorite also, one had a sadistic murderer in the mold of El Salvador's Roberto D'Aubuisson, another protege of the Pentagon.

The PLO eliminated, the Palestinian question at least on hold, the Syrians forced out, the backing of Washington firm, Gemayel installed, a "treaty" signed between Israel and Lebanon and then, on

the Lebanese front all would be as "quiet" as was Spain—under the Phalange.

Lebanon provides a grip on a significant section of the Mediterranean, with several excellent ports. And Lebanon has been the center of Middle East banking and commercial activity—mostly under U.S. corporate domination.

All this done, a significant blow would have been dealt to the possibility of Arab unity and, especially to the Arab Left. Hence, a basic purpose of Washington-Tel Aviv policy—thwarting the Arab people's national liberation movement—would have been furthered.

Moreover, Lebanon has important sources of fresh water—more precious than gold or even oil in the Middle East. In Lebanon, flowing east and west is the Zahrani River and, in particular, flowing north and south through the Bekaa Valley is the very important Litani River. Israel has long eyed both, especially the latter, with avidity.

The politics of Lebanon, while on the surface torn along religious lines—very much as in North Ireland (and both are the remains of deliberate imperialist policy, one French, the other English)—are profoundly torn by class struggle, with most of the rich being Christian and most of the Moslems being desperately poor.* Eisenhower's intervention in 1958 served to prevent civil war having basic class content. Such a development is the ultimate evil to Washington and Tel Aviv; a successful Begin-Sharon-Gemayel-Haddad regime (backed by Washington) might be expected to bring "stability" to Lebanon.

Further, the conquest of Lebanon was a necessary step in the realization of the Sharon Doctrine. One should examine first-hand, in full,** the authoritative enunciation of this doctrine contained

*For the fascist character of the Gemayel leadership see Robert Friedman in the *Nation*, June 19, 1982. For the class divisions, see Stanley Reed, op. ed. page, *New York Times*, July 19, 1982; the piece from Beirut by John Kifner in the *New York Times* of Sunday, Aug. 29, 1982, Sec. 4 and Letter to Editor from Keith Hansen, also in the *Times*, Aug. 29, 1982.

**The speech will be found on pp. 112-115 of "Documents and Statements on Middle East Peace, 1979-1982," being Committee Print, 97 Cong., 2nd session, June 1982, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, subcommittee on Europe and Middle East (GPO, Washington, 1982). This is an important source as a whole for the present subject.

in the speech (read for the absent Sharon by Major-General Yariv) at the December 14, 1981, conference at the Institute for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. The anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism in this speech remind one of Hitler. The quotations are either quite out of context or are made up out of whole cloth, as one attributed to Brezhnev, who is made to say that the USSR seeks control over "two great treasure houses on which the West depends: the energy treasure house of the Persian Gulf and the mineral treasure house of central and southern Africa." This is, of course, Sharon's concoction and at the same time summarizes his own deepest fantasies! Indeed, one page after this fake "quotation" Sharon puts forth precisely these goals as his own doctrine. Here are his words:

Beyond the Arab countries in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, *Israel's sphere of strategic and security interest* must be broadened to include in the 1980s countries such as Turkey, Iran and Pakistan and regions such as the Persian Gulf and Africa, particularly the countries of north and central Africa (cited source, p. 115, italics added).

Here the classical Zionist vision of a "Greater Israel" reaching "from the Euphrates to the Nile" is surpassed, for that encompassed "only" the area from Turkey down to the Red Sea and across the expanse of Egypt. Sharon's doctrine moves the vision thousands of miles east to encompass Iran and Pakistan and thousands of miles west and south to encompass "north and central Africa." (One guesses that Sharon omitted South Africa since that republic is one of Israel's very few allies.)

Two other considerations were consequential in precipitating the Begin-Sharon invasion and determining the massive nature of the undertaking. One was the very serious socio-economic crisis within Israel, with high inflation, serious unemployment, numerous bankruptcies and intense Palestinian resistance to occupation. All this produced a political crisis so threatening that twice in May 1982 the Begin government survived parliamentary challenges by only one or two votes. As

Theodore Roosevelt once remarked, nothing assists threatened incumbents better than a "good bloody little war."

Second, in the face of apparent preparations for an Israeli invasion, certain counter-moves certainly worried Tel Aviv. Thus, in May 1981, King Hussein of Jordan visited Moscow for the first time in five years; a final communique expressed mutual satisfaction and urged the convening of a general peace-making Middle East conference. After the United States and Israel signed, in September 1981, an alliance providing for joint military maneuvers, joint security planning and certain stockpiling by the U.S. in Israel,* the Soviet Union, in October 1981, invited a PLO mission to Moscow and at its conclusion announced that the PLO had been granted full diplomatic status in the USSR.

Shortly after the PLO mission left the Soviet Union, President Brezhnev issued a statement repeating a call for a Middle East conference along the lines of the 1977 proposal, but this time adding that concerned European powers should also be invited.

As though in response to this statement, on the first day of the fateful month of June 1982, the foreign minister of Lebanon, Fuad Butros, told an international gathering of journalists in Beirut that—quoting an AP dispatch in the *New York Times* the next day: "The United States must accept a role for the Soviet Union in solving this country's crisis, the Iran-Iraq war and the Palestinian problem." The Lebanese Foreign Minister continued that it was "'unrealistic' for the Reagan Administration to exclude the Russians from discussing solutions to Middle East issues."

It is not difficult to imagine the fury and exasperation this report must have evoked from the Begin-Reagan vaudeville team. Five days later the full-scale invasion began.

One final point on the sources of the invasion—a point to be developed later. Note has been taken of the fact that the PLO strictly adhered

*This alliance was announced although in June 1981 the UN Security Council *unanimously* denounced Israel for its air attack on the nuclear reactor in Iraq, and although Israel had bombed Beirut in July 1981, causing heavy casualties.

to the cease-fire agreement of July 1981. This reflected the dominance in PLO circles of the political approach toward achieving self-determination and statehood and a rejection of the tactic of terrorism—the latter generally an instrument of desperation and/provocation. One important reason for the Begin-Sharon decision of June 1982 to attack the "terrorists" was precisely because terrorism had yielded to statesmanship—a process clear within the PLO for about five or six years prior to 1982.



The special ferocity of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon included sustained point-blank artillery fire upon a populated city, the use of cluster and phosphorus bombs, the refusal to permit water, food and medicine into tortured Beirut, the use of notoriously bloodthirsty Haddad and Gemayel forces as allies in the fighting, the killing of some Palestinian prisoners by Israeli guards,* and the refusal by Israel to treat Palestinian fighters as prisoners of war.

This reflected the racism characteristic of the dominant Zionist attitude toward Arab peoples. This manifests itself in every-day conduct within Israel and the occupied areas. It infects elements of the Israeli Defense Force and especially the Begin-Sharon government.

John Goldberg, a leader of student activities in the Mapam Party, and a soldier in the Lebanese fighting, wrote in *New Outlook* (cited source, pp. 55-56) that many of his fellow soldiers say of the Palestinians: "The terrorists are animals," and he adds: "The terrorists captured or killed by Israeli forces are portrayed as smelly and dirty, less than human."

Robert Fisk reported in the *London Times*, July 17, 1982, a conversation with an Israeli soldier: "I

*The *Manchester Guardian*, June 24, 1982, quoted a Norwegian doctor and a child welfare worker, in Sidon, as stating that they saw "Israeli soldiers beat ten people to death." The *Toronto Sunday Star*, June 27, reported that a Canadian surgeon "saw hundreds of innocent civilians die" and that "he saw Israeli soldiers beat civilians to death...corroborating the Norwegians."

know you are tape-recording this, but personally I would like to see all the Palestinians dead because they are a sickness wherever they go." Amnon Kapeliuk, writing from Jerusalem (*New Statesman*, London, June 25) reports:

The government has gone to extraordinary lengths to dehumanize the Palestinians. Begin described them in a speech in the Knesset as "beasts walking on two legs." Palestinians have often been called "bugs."

This makes more comprehensible Jewish-organized and -controlled pogroms such as took the lives of hundreds of men, women and children in the slaughters that ravished Palestinian camps from the evening of September 16 until the morning of September 19—during the Jewish New Year!

Uri Avnery, editor of the Israeli weekly, *Haolam Haze* (and a former member of the Knesset), accompanied by a correspondent and a photographer, achieved a scoop by interviewing Yassir Arafat during the siege of Beirut. I shall have occasion to refer to this extraordinary interview later, but here—relevant to the Begin idea of Palestinians as "beasts" and "bugs"—is this. Avnery asked Arafat if he had had the opportunity to address the one hundred thousand Israelis who demonstrated against the war in Tel Aviv "what would you tell them?" Arafat replied in two sentences: "We are human beings. And we have the right to live." (*New Outlook*, August-September, p. 47.)

This racism induced Israeli officials to omit "terrorists" from their count of both casualties and displaced persons. This explains their absurdly low figures. According to David Shaham, an editor of *New Outlook* (August-September 1982, pp. 6-7), Israeli authorities "admitted that the number of dead quoted by them only referred to 'civilians' and did not consider 'terrorists'...and beyond this only to 'Lebanese citizens'...The same applies to the official number of homeless people." The International Red Cross in mid-August put the number killed by Israeli forces (and their "allies") at about 20,000; the number wounded at about 50,000; the homeless, about 600,000. The September slaughters and fighting probably add about 3,000 to the casualties. Israeli

casualties were about 359 killed and 2,500 wounded.*



The effort in the United States to present Yassir Arafat as a kind of disreputable gangster or a thoroughly unpleasant faker reflects not only the pro-Israeli posture of the U.S. government; it also manifests the profound racism in our country, in no case more blatant than in its depiction of Arabs in general. The fact is that Yassir Arafat—trained as an engineer, but selflessly devoting himself to his people's efforts—is one of the most remarkable of all leaders of national liberation struggles, and our century has produced many such extraordinary people. As the elected head of the broad Palestine Liberation Organization, he has maintained its collective and lived to see the PLO recognized by more states than recognize Israel. The PLO now has observer status at the United Nations and is a full member of the movement of non-aligned states and of the League of Arab States.

Under his leadership the PLO has moved from the stance of its 1968 Covenant—adopted after the shock of the 1967 War and Israel's grabbing of the territory of three Arab states—which set the task as Israel's destruction (and this carried with it the tactic of terrorism) over to its present position of accepting all UN Resolutions dealing with Palestine, recognizing the Israel of pre-1967 borders (in accordance with Resolution 242) and insisting upon the right of self-determination; the right, therefore, of a Palestinian state and the reality that the sole authoritative voice of the Palestinian people is the PLO.

Amnon Kapeliuk conducted an interview with Arafat on behalf of *Le Monde* and *New Outlook*. This is published in full in the latter's issue of August-September 1982 (pp. 9-11). Arafat here admitted that in the past, "We did not explain our positions

*The amount of Palestinian armaments, on the other hand, was wildly exaggerated by Israeli authorities. They totaled enough to provide infantry weapons and modest artillery and very modest armor for about one division. Zeev Shiff, military correspondent of *Ha'aretz*, in noting the above facts, added: "They definitely did not pose a threat to Israel's existence." (*New Outlook*, op. cit., p. 31.)

to Israel and we did not understand the Israeli mentality." He added that he had publicly affirmed that "we accept all UN resolutions concerning the Palestinian question." He continued, pointedly: "Don't forget that the State of Israel was created by a UN resolution." He remarked:

I have stated already on previous occasions that our National Council adopted several resolutions calling for the holding of discussions with the democratic forces of Israel. *We are ready to establish relations with all those who recognize our right to self-determination.* (Italics in original.)

Arafat drew the necessary tactical conclusion: "Concerning our National Covenant, we have already affirmed on many occasions that we no longer regard armed struggle as the only possible strategy." He then proposed that "after the war a conference be convened [in Europe] with the participation of Palestinian, Israeli and Arab intellectuals...to examine these problems seriously and attempt to reach conclusions."

Such an Arafat and such a strategy on the part of the PLO made it urgent for Begin-Sharon to attempt the annihilation of the "terrorists" as soon as possible.* This was put quite explicitly by Danny Rubinstein, who has covered the West Bank for the Israeli newspaper *Davar* since 1967: "It seems that Israel went to war precisely because the PLO had substantially reduced its terrorist activities. The threat perceived by the Begin Government was not PLO terror but, on the contrary, the absence of terror." (*New York Times*, op. ed page, September 14, 1982.)



What now? Begin and Sharon declared their war would eliminate the military capacity of the PLO and extinguish its political consequence.

*Especially useful on the shift away from the "maximalist" Covenant position is the essay by Walid Khalidi, of Harvard, in *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1981. Even in the April 1977 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, George Ball was able to write (p. 461): "There is accumulating evidence that Arafat, and such elements of the PLO as he can control, are moving toward the acceptance of a partitioned Palestine and, as the price for the return of the West Bank, would agree to recognize the sovereignty of Israel within her pre-1967 borders."

Everyone knows that the opposite is true and that the political consequence of the Palestinian people is at its highest point. What is at issue, indeed, is not the political viability of the PLO; what is at issue (as this is written) is the political life of the Begin-Sharon government.

Within two weeks after the invasion, Yuval Ne'eman, a professor and Right-wing member of the Knesset, published a long essay in the *Jerusalem Post* (June 24) declaring, with the very words of Hitler: "Israel now has an excellent opportunity to establish a new order in Lebanon" and urging that "a long stay in Lebanon will achieve peace in Galilee."

An AP dispatch from Tel Aviv (*San Francisco Chronicle*, August 15), reported that Israeli authorities planned "a long stay" in Lebanon and were importing winter clothing for their troops and laying down major installations to facilitate this occupation.

Begin-Sharon hope to bulldoze their way out of the global scandal caused by the pogrom of mid-September. But it was easier for their allies to bulldoze over *en masse* the slaughtered than it will be for Begin-Sharon to survive the mass protest shaking the world, and shaking Israel in particular, where hundreds of thousands will force a termination to that murderous clique. Their plans for a docile Lebanese "ally" governed by the Nazi-loving Gemayel family also will end in disaster; it is impossible that the enlightened world—no matter what the Reagan-Schultz team of deceivers say—will permit such an eventuality.

In July 1981, Begin, addressing a group of Jewish people visiting from the U.S., assured them: "Very soon the fighting will be finished and then perhaps that famous verse from the Book of Judges will be brought to realization: 'There shall be peace in the land for forty years.'" Even so did Moshe Dayan remark, while standing at the Suez Canal at the end of the fighting in 1967, "There will be no more Arab-Israeli wars for at least ten years, not even a skirmish."

These racist, annexationist servants of imperialism—Jews who will cooperate with Hitler-admirers, with Phalangists, Jews who will label another people "beasts" and "bugs" who

represent a "sickness"*—such Jews, who spit on the best teachings of the Prophets and defame the resistance to Hitlerism and the martyrs then produced—such Jews have earned the contempt of all humanity, and in the first place of those Jews who value those traditions and hold sacred that struggle and that martyrdom.

For Begin-Sharon there are the warnings of Isaiah: "*You may multiply your prayers, I shall not listen. Your hands are covered with blood... Take your wrongdoing out of my sight.*"

And, again:

A covenant has been renounced, cities rejected, mortal man despised, the land is wilted and withered and Lebanon disgraced and moldering.

And yet again, from Jeremiah:

*For among my people are found wicked men;
They lay wait, as he that setteth snares;
They set a trap, they catch men.
Shall I not visit these things, saith the Lord;
Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?*



What is to be done?

There is proceeding now a mighty mass movement inside Israel representing a majority of its Jewish-Arab population, for the overthrow of the Begin-Sharon government, the termination of its brutal occupation policy, an end to its "settlement" scheme and its insulting so-called "autonomy" proposals which camouflage actual annexation. This mass movement also derives from the severe internal socio-economic crisis, but its main source is detestation of the aggressive, war-making policy associated with the insane Sharon Doctrine. Peoples of the world, especially we in the United States and most particularly Jews outside Israel, should exert every form of individual and collective struggle to assist the Israeli masses in their heroic effort to save the body and the soul of Israel.

*Amnon Rubinstein, speaking in the Knesset, revealed that the Israeli army newspaper, *Bamahaneh*, reported that this was the opinion of the Phalangists: "One dead Palestinian, pollution. All the Palestinians dead, solution." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, from Jerusalem, September 26.)

In the United States all peoples, and again especially Jewish people, should exert their most intense efforts—for as long as it takes, and bearing in mind the November elections—to force a change in the foreign policy of the United States. The U.S. delegation to the United Nations must no longer prevent the implementation of resolutions calling for a halt to Israeli aggression and its occupation of other peoples' lands, and for sanctions against Israel.

The United States must be forced to terminate its scandalous economic and military assistance to Begin-Sharon. It would be well, too, if it recalled its ambassador to Israel, preliminary to breaking relations with Tel Aviv.

Back in the fall of 1977, the development of a demand for detente reached the point where Washington agreed to the issuance, on October 1, of a Joint Statement by the United States and the Soviet Union, through Secretary of State Vance and Foreign Minister Gromyko, which clearly outlined the way toward a lasting peace in the Middle East.

That statement called for "a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict." To be such, it would have to be "comprehensive, incorporating all parties concerned and all questions." This meant, the statement continued, that all "specific questions of the settlement should be resolved, including such key issues as withdrawal of Israeli Armed Forces from the territories occupied in the 1967 conflict; the resolution of the Palestinian question, including assuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, termination of the state of war and establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of mutual recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence."

The two powers agreed that for this kind of settlement, reconvening the Geneva Conference was needed. The statement affirmed that Washington and Moscow were ready to assume again their positions as co-chairs of such a conference whose participants would include "representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict including those of the Palestinian people." The signers agreed "to facilitate in every way the resumption of the conference not later than De-

ember 1977."

How much more secure the world would be had such a conference been held five years ago! How many Israeli and Arab lives would have been spared!

The promises were all repudiated by Washington within a matter of weeks. The full history of this fateful betrayal is not available. It is known that Moshe Dayan came to the U.S. and privately and publicly denounced the statement; the leading organizations of the Jewish bourgeoisie also denounced it.

In place of the 1977 conference came the process culminating in the fake Camp David so-called peace agreement of September 1978—which was actually a war alliance and which therefore intensified turmoil in the Middle East, culminating in the bloodbath of June-September 1982.

Now calls for substantially the Geneva Conference idea of 1977—strengthened with specific demands for Palestinian statehood and PLO participation—have reverberated throughout the world. They have come from Yassir Arafat, from a nearly completely united Arab world at Fez, Morocco (and Egypt has since made clear its agreement with that Charter). President Brezhnev has repeatedly called for the renewal of Geneva, including statements issued on July 21, 1981, and again on September 15, 1982.

Three of the outstanding figures in world Jewry—the late Nahum Goldmann, Pierre Mendes-France and Philip M. Klutznick—this past July called for an end to the war in Lebanon and insisted "that the time is urgent for mutual recognition between Israeli and Palestinian

people," and concluded: "Mutual recognition must be vigorously pursued, and there should be negotiations with the aim of achieving co-existence between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples based on self-determination."

Let the final words come from Arafat. He spoke these in July 1982, under seige in Beirut, addressing Israeli journalists:

We, the victim, have offered two solutions. Officially and openly. Sixty per cent of my people are refugees, homeless, stateless, and we have offered two solutions.

The first solution we offered in 1969: Let us all live in a democratic state, where Jews, Christians and Muslims can live on an equal footing. This has been rejected.

In 1974, our Palestinian National Council gave another solution: *We are ready to live in any part in Palestine from which the Israelis withdraw or which will be liberated. Any part.* (Italics in original; source cited earlier.)

And Arafat prophesied: "A day will come when the Israelis will feel ashamed and will wish to forget what their present leaders have done to the Palestinian people during this summer of 1982, in Lebanon."

That day is here. The shame has become anger—and both are felt not only by Israelis but by all who still possess human feelings. With that anger, properly organized and directed, all peoples may live together in peace. Then there will be rejoicing in the land of Israel, in the land of Palestine, beneath the Cedars of Lebanon, and throughout the four quarters of a celebrating globe.

Independent Politics in the Chicago Black Community

ISHMAEL FLORY

On June 30, Allen Streeter was elected alderman from the 17th Ward of the city of Chicago. He had been appointed by Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne to fill an unexpired term. The appointment had then been challenged in the courts, forcing Streeter to enter a bitterly-fought race to be formally elected to the post of alderman. In the developments leading to his election one finds a story of political independence reflecting movement away from the two old capitalist parties. All of these developments reflect and interconnect with the struggle for the election of a Black mayor in Chicago in 1983.

Gus Hall, in his special report to the Milwaukee Second Extraordinary Conference of the Communist Party, was insightful when he said, "There are clear signs that the slumbering 50 per cent of the voting public who did not participate in past elections are beginning to stir." Regarding the movement for political independence, Hall further observes, "But it also opens doors to a whole new electoral world. Our purpose, of course, is not to enter this big new world in order to be observers, or to get lost in it. The idea is to walk into it and to work with and influence the broader forces making up the anti-Reagan wave."

"Chicago," says the eminent urbanologist, Pierre de Vise, "faces three major challenges in the last two decades of the twentieth century—racial segregation, economic decline, and an archaic and undemocratic local government." (*Sun Times*, May 2, 1982.) Vise also asserts that "Chicago not only remains the nation's most segregated city, but it also leads the nation in poverty." In fact, recent U.S. census reports assert that "more than one in three Black persons live in poverty." (*Sun Times*, April 25, 1982.)

Add to this picture the fact of rampant police brutality. The murder of Black and Hispanic people by police all too often goes unpunished, hiding behind the ever-ready excuse of "justifi-

able homicide." Add to all of these negatives—lack of democracy and equality—the ingredient that the city of Chicago is the largest employer in northern Illinois, and is dominated by large banking and industrial capitalist interests operating through the notoriously corrupt Democratic Party, the so-called machine. This situation cries out for affirmative action backed by definite quotas to correct the consequences of the racism and sexism historically wielded against women, Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities and still maintained today.

A Historical Perspective on Independence

The movement toward political independence by Black people in Chicago has a rather long and honorable history, though with zigs and zags and ups and downs. These movements have been both inside and outside the two old capitalist parties. To mention a few examples: There was Oscar Depriest, the first Black Congressman since the turn of the century, who literally revolted inside the Republican Party to become congressman in 1928. The late William L. Dawson, a nationally known congressman, himself emerged in the political arena as an independent Republican, getting a very impressive vote running for Congress on the Republican ticket. There was also Earl Dickerson, a defender of the constitutional rights of Communists, among other distinctions, who became an independent alderman from Chicago's Second Ward in defiance of the city's Democratic Party machine. Within a decade after Dickerson's success the Chicago League of Negro Voters, later to become the Independent Political Organization, came on the scene. Among those involved in these movements, to mention a few, were such people as Congressman Gus Savage, Alderman Sammy Rayner, Luster and Olavena Jackson; William Cousin, later to become an alderman and now a judge; and Roland Burroughs, now comptroller of the state of Illinois. Attorney Lemuel

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Bently, the first African-American to run for citywide office, ran for the position of city clerk, receiving over 60,000 votes. Peggy Smith Martin was elected to the Illinois legislature. One could also mention Bennett Johnson, Al Janney and many others.

To this abbreviated history of Black political independence should be added the campaigns of two labor people who ran for alderman: Eddie Joseph, from the United Auto Workers, and Peter Brown, from the United Packinghouse Workers, now merged into the United Food and Commercial Workers. Edward Doty, a labor person from the building trades and one of the founders of the Negro American Labor Congress of the 1920s, was the first (1928) to run for the Illinois state legislature, on the Communist ticket. Moreover, Claude Lightfoot polled more than 33,000 votes for senator on the Communist ticket for senator in 1932, and again ran for the same office in 1946, when he was knocked off the ballot through the legal trickery of the Democrat William L. Dawson and the Republican Harrison B. Gaines.

Two important things should be added to this abridged history of Black political independence in Chicago. One is the role played by Black labor in the late 'thirties during the Roosevelt period. Through Labor's Non-Partisan League, under the leadership of Hank Johnson and in alliance with progressive white trade unionists, Black labor from steel, auto, packing and other unions came together in impressive array in support of the Roosevelt program and of more-or-less progressive candidates running in the city. In this mobilization, Communist trade unionists played an important role. Secondly, in 1948, through the Progressive Party, people like Earl Dickerson, retired judge Sydney Jones, Dr. Metz, T.P. Lochard, eminent journalist, and the internationally prominent attorney Richard Westbrook played important roles as candidates or administrators.

Background of the Streeter Campaign

The Streeter-for-Alderman campaign was a highlight in the movement for political independence. It drew citywide attention. It was a big challenge to Mayor Byrne, who had been elected in large part by the votes of the Black community.

It was a challenge to the whole Democratic-Party Big-Business machine.

One of the early roots of the movement centered around efforts of the Black community in 1980 to have a Black school superintendent, Dr. Manford Byrd, appointed. Byrd had been a high-ranking deputy superintendent in the Chicago school system. He was deliberately passed over in favor of an interim appointment of a white woman superintendent, also from the school system but of lower rank. The Chicago public school student population is some 70 to 80 per cent Afro-American.

Under public pressure, the Chicago Board of Education searched for an alternate Black superintendent. It ended up in defiance of the Black community's demand that Byrd be appointed. The Board, overseen by Mayor Byrne, chose a Black woman superintendent, Ruth Love, from Oakland, California. Whatever her qualifications, Ruth Love was not the choice of the Chicago Black community. In fact, many prominent people tried without success to dissuade her from accepting the appointment.

In the course of the decision-making, organized protests mushroomed in the Black community. Many organizations came together, including Operation Push; the Chicago Black United Communities, under the leadership of Lu and Georgia Palmer; the Westside Organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and others, including well-known Communists. Mexican-American and Puerto Rican organizations demanding the appointment of Hispanics to the Chicago Board of Education also joined the movement. Demonstrations were held over a period of time at City Hall demanding the appointment of Byrd. In spite of this united mass support for Byrd, the mayor, the "machine" and the downtown bankers and industrialists passed him over. However, the movement was successful in stopping the appointment of the former head of Commonwealth Edison electric company, who did not even live in Chicago, as head of the Board of Education.

This action brought people and movements closer together, and the question of a Black mayor for Chicago began to be bruited around.

Streeter Breaks with Byrne

Another thing that angered the Black community was the Mayor's appointment of financial overseers for the Board of Education, paying the main financial manager \$100,000 per year. Not long after this action, the mayor removed two Black members of the board and appointed in their place two racist, anti-integrationist white women. These appointments were resisted with united mass action before the Board of Education itself and before the City Council, which had the power to approve or to reject Mayor Byrne's appointments. It was here that Alderman Streeter, originally a Byrne appointee, broke with Byrne by voting against these two appointments. He did this along with a number of other Black alderpersons. This significant split reflected the fact that large sections of the Black community are demanding that Black elected officials be responsible to the interests of the Afro-American communities. However, the two racist nominees to the Board of Education were approved by the majority of the City Council.

During the above events, mass meetings and public activities were organized in the Black community by people's organizations. Of special note are the efforts of the Chicago Black United Communities, which meets weekly. This organization has been able to organize many successful large meetings on the questions of a Black superintendent, the firing of the Afro-American head of the Chicago Transit Authority, the appointment of the two racists to the School Board, etc. It involves people of all political beliefs, including Communists, Democrats, Republicans, non-partisans, new people entering the political arena. As things progressed, the questions of electing Black alderpersons responsible to the Black community and of electing a Black mayor in 1983 were heard more loudly and more often.

The next big issue which stimulated the development of independent political tendencies in the Chicago Black community was the question of redrawing the congressional, state legislative and aldermanic districts in Chicago based on the 1980 census. A coalition of organizations, including the Chicago Black United Communities, the Political Action Committee of Illinois, Operation Push, the

Chicago Urban League and the NAACP came together to press for equal and proportional representation for Black elected officials in Congress, in the state legislature and in the City Council. This coalition drew upon the work and research of many able people from the academic community, as well as the efforts of Black lawyers. The goal was to retain three Black congresspersons, to elect twenty or twenty one Black alderpersons and to add one more Black state legislative district. The coalition had ongoing working meetings to come up with redistricting maps that would accomplish these goals. This was the most thoroughgoing approach to redistricting and representation in any Black community in this writer's experience.

The Democratic Party tried to oppose the retention of the three Black congresspersons. The question of congressional district representation was taken to federal court and the three districts where Afro-Americans could be elected to Congress were retained. In the matter of state legislative districts, again through the courts, one more legislative district was established where a Black person could be elected.

However, in the case of aldermanic representation, some problems arose. The Democratic Party, under Byrne, actually reduced the number of aldermanic districts where Black people could be elected. To plan the redistricting, the Democrats hired former alderman Tom Keane, who was convicted of a crime and sent to the penitentiary while assigned to draw up the city's aldermanic maps. He reduced the number of areas where Black alderpersons could be elected. This attempted gerrymander was challenged by mass actions of large numbers of Afro-Americans, along with some Hispanic-Americans. They crowded in on the Chicago City Council meeting where the Keane map was to be presented.

Under City Council rules, ten or more votes against a redistricting map would compel it to be put up for public hearings. When the aldermanic map was presented, the Mayor maneuvered to have the council rules changed, making it necessary to have 15 votes to have the map put up for public hearings. Streeter, along with four other Black alderpersons and a few white alderpersons, again stood up to Jane Byrne and the Democratic

Party majority.

So outrageous were the tricks played by Mayor Byrne and the Democratic Party that PUSH leader Rev. Jesse Jackson asked the U.S. Justice Department to intercede against the city of Chicago regarding the maps. Moreover, the coalition on re-mapping mentioned above has now hired the lawyers and computer experts necessary to take the question into the courts.

Most of the organizations working together on these issues have pledged to work to reelect the aldermen opposing Jane Byrne and to defeat those Afro-American alderpersons who "voted against the Black community," supporting the Byrne-Keane map.

Moreover, forces representing the Hispanic communities have also filed suit in the courts challenging the Byrne aldermanic redistricting maps, and a coalition of Black and Hispanic organizations has been established on the West Side of Chicago.

Alderman Allen Streeter was, on the basis of his stands on issues, one of the alderpersons that the growing independent forces had pledged to support for reelection. However, for the same reasons, other forces were angling for his defeat. Streeter's appointment to the City Council was challenged in the courts on the grounds that an election should have been held in the 17th Ward. The lower court ruled that there must be an election. This forced a difficult and unnecessary campaign on Streeter, since an appellate court later overturned the lower court ruling and held that Streeter's appointment had been legal. Interestingly, this decision was handed down almost immediately after Streeter's election victory.

Allen Streeter is a rather modest and unpretentious person who listens patiently to others. He is intelligent and has shown great capacity to learn and to grow. He is a family man. His wife and daughter, also modest and pleasant people, worked in the Streeter campaign side by side with other volunteer workers, unpretentious, friendly and with a sense of humor.

In an interview last February (*Chicago Defender*, Feb. 27, 1982) Streeter declared (and this was before the court had thrown him into an election campaign):

The Democratic Party does not work in the best interest of the Black people although Black people have been very loyal to them beyond the call of duty. In turn, we have received very few benefits except for a chosen few which have not dealt with the best interest of the Black people.... To be with the Byrne Administration, you must show your loyalty to her at the expense of your people. I try to cooperate with Byrne, but I won't sell out my people to do it.

The Chicago ruling party and Jane Byrne placed all kinds of obstacles in Streeter's path after he declared his independence. We have already mentioned the lower court judge's decision. And in the election itself 12 candidates for his post were on the ballot, some of them part of the reactionary and corrupt ward "machine" seeking to split the vote so that Streeter would not get a majority. In this way the corrupt wardheelers aimed to force Streeter into a runoff against their man Friday and, they hoped, have a chance to steal the election. The Streets and Alleys supervisor was fired by Byrne and replaced by a white for failing to give service to the ward. This was an effort to defeat Streeter by promoting the notion that no Black elected official who is not subservient to Byrne and the machine can get anything done.

Streeter still has a libel suit pending against the mayor for the false charge that he was under federal investigation for corrupt political practices. In addition to some of the opposition beating up on some of Streeter's people, people working for the city are alleged to have been sent into the ward to defeat the alderman. To top it off, Byrne-controlled aldermen from nearby wards, Congressman Gus Savage and the Cook County Democratic Party chairman known as "Fast Eddie" Vrydolak forayed into the ward to defeat Streeter. So tense was the situation in the ward that both the U.S. Attorney and the Cook County Attorney sent large crews in to protect against fraud and theft of votes.

Why Did Streeter Win?

In the first election on June 1, Streeter was the top vote-getter, with over 46 per cent of the vote. In the runoff election, Streeter won with some 56

per cent of the vote. The runoff produced a relatively heavy turnout of voters—46 per cent, while only some 39 per cent turned out in the first election.

How did Streeter win? The answer to this question suggests some lessons for the building of the independent movement, especially in Black communities.

1. It should be noted, as mentioned above, that a process of mass struggle lead to the coming together of many currents in the Black community. Most of the leading Black organizations were involved around the redistricting question. Struggles and demonstrations were part of the campaign for reapportionment.

In the course of this struggle, sections of the Black and Hispanic communities were brought closer together. The question of political action more and more was emphasized as a need by the people. It reflected itself through a growing notion among those who had never before even registered to vote as well as regular voters that political action is needed to elect officeholders responsible to the people and not to Byrne and the banks.

It reflected itself in a growing cry for a Black mayor in 1983. This new level of political awareness and these mass actions helped Streeter to victory.

2. It is worth noting that one of the forces around the Streeter election was the Chicago Black United Communities. This group met every Wednesday night, at which time there was a discussion of the issues and the role of the city administration. Even more, the Chicago Black United Communities organized political action education classes, bringing in experienced lecturers and successful political activists to teach how to be effective in the political arena, in the wards and precincts. Over a period of time, some three or four such classes were held, with sizeable attendance. At the end of each series of classes, diplomas in political education were given to the students. CBUC also put on a number of big affairs on serious community issues, with relatively large turnouts, creating more and more interest in political independence and the election of a Black mayor. CBUC was also greatly helped in this independence education process through its chairman, Lu

Palmer, who has a popular radio broadcast on which pertinent community issues are discussed and many people express their views.

3. Streeter had a headquarters staff and an organization made up largely of friends and dedicated volunteers, including a sizeable number of Black trade unionists operating as individuals.

4. In the course of the campaign, a women's committee under the leadership of Georgia English Palmer, public relations person for CBUS, and Rev. Willie Barrows of PUSH was set up.

5. Danny Dais, alderman of the 29th Ward, brought in forces around him from the West Side.

6. The Black United Front members (unofficially) and the Black Political Party participated.

7. Representative Harold Washington, with some 25 or so precincts in the Streeter ward, also mobilized forces to work precincts, do mailings and telephoning to the voters.

8. Also, there were volunteers and office help from operation PUSH.

9. Many people not affiliated to any political organization would come out and lend a hand when they were called upon. This was reflective of the grassroots character of the campaign.

10. On election day, ten young Black lawyers spent all day poll watching and helping to challenge any illegal or obstructive actions at the polls.

11. On the whole, the Black press was for Streeter. Even the capitalist *Sun Times* endorsed him.

12. As far as could be observed, all segments of the Black community were welcomed into the broad coalition around Streeter directed toward independence. This included Communists, but not, in a formal sense, the Communist Party. The *Daily World* was distributed rather widely and freely and many of the forces around the coalition, including influential people, subscribed to the paper.

In both the June 1 and June 30 elections in which the various forces enumerated above merged for a great victory, most of the participants were volunteers. Volunteers took the initiative to organize a committee of women for Streeter. Another woman, who works in an automobile parts plant and has two children at home, came directly from the job, sometimes two or three times a week, sometimes every day, systematically working in a

precinct. Another volunteer trade unionist brought trade unionists working in the campaign together in a group called "Trade Unionists for Streeter," who then issued a leaflet at their own expense raising the question of affirmative action in the Chicago city government, the biggest employer in Illinois. A shop worker and member of the grain workers' union organized a group of five volunteers, including this writer, to work in his precinct. During the last week a borrowed van and loud speakers were driven around the ward and through parades; sometimes riding in the van and speaking to the people through the loud speaker was Congressman Harold Washington, or Alderman Danny Davis, or Lu Palmer, or Georgia English Palmer. Senior citizens, including one partisan over 80 years old, came out to leaflet, some climbing steps to peoples' homes in the ward. Such people came from all parts of the city—West Side, North Side, Central City, South East Side, West Side, some as individuals and some as members of organizations.

During the two campaigns Streeter's own organization, men and women, rank-and-file Black trade unionists, practically all volunteers, met on Thursday nights. It was this writer's pleasure to be a participant in these meetings; they were planning meetings and pep rallies, and the volunteers put their own money in for the campaign, some putting in as much as ten dollars each week. With intelligence and with passion they discussed how they would beat Streeter's opponent, and thereby defeat the white overlords of the Democratic machine.

On the first election day, June 1, at the end of the voting day, as reports from the precincts came in, Streeter's headquarters overflowed with confidence and enthusiasm, in spite of the fact that the candidate's plurality of the vote forced him into a runoff.

In the June 30 runoff, even more people poured in, largely volunteers coming in from precincts where they had worked as poll watchers, vote mobilizers, as legal or official supervisors or emergency people to make sure that illegal acts at the polls would not go unchecked. Victory was theirs. The celebration of the victory for political independence couldn't be contained in the large

hall, and many had to celebrate outside.

Lessons of the Campaign

Below are some of the lessons of the campaign:

1. The Streeter campaign clearly affirms the main estimates of our Party as regards possibilities of movements for political independence. This may be particularly true in the Black communities. New possibilities were revealed in this Chicago campaign; as Gus Hall indicated, doors are being opened to a "whole new electoral world." He is further right that "Our purpose...is not to enter this new world in order to be observers, or to get lost in it" but "to influence the broader forces making up the anti-Reagan wave."

2. While specific programs to meet the crisis were not emphasized—the focus of the campaign being "the Black people vs. Mayor Jane Byrne and the machine"—what came through more or less clearly in the campaign was the idea of affirmative action or equal and proportional representation in the political arena. This general idea was reflected in such slogans among many of the components of the coalition that elected Streeter as "Black empowerment," "Black self-determination," "Black control of the Black community" and "selection and election of our own Black candidates."

There are and were petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies in this movement, expressed at times by both leadership and by the ordinary participants. But there are also opposing currents. For example, there are those who seek the election of a Black mayor for Chicago knowing that some alliances with sections of the Hispanic and labor communities will be necessary. Others, like Harold Washington, know that to elect a Black mayor some sections of the white community must be won. And there is the growing alliance of Afro-Americans and Hispanics on the West Side.

Our job is to win and educate the masses away from the narrow and isolationist tendencies. This we can not do unless we are in there working with the people, part of and pushing the positive currents. Moreover, unless we understand and respect the national heritage and pride of the people, though expressed sometimes in nationalistic or unconstructive terms, we can not move the Black community. Conscious forces

must be able to illustrate by example and by literature that "affirmative action in the political arena" or even "self-determination" in these United States can not be won without unity of all the oppressed—the working class, Black and Hispanic people and other "minorities" and women.

3. One weakness of the campaign was the limited role played by trade unionists, in the first place Black trade unionists. While the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists endorsed Streeter, there seems to have been no mobilization of rank-and-file trade unionists in the campaign. The small group of rank-and-file trade unionists who put out a leaflet was a far cry from the potential for political independence from Black and labor strata of the population. Moreover, there were few, if any, white trade unionists, rank-and-file or leadership, involved in or supportive of the Streeter campaign. And few have shown interest in the election of a Black mayor. It seems to this writer that conscious forces must give more attention to the problems of mobilizing rank-and-file trade unionists in election struggles, especially in the Black community, but not to the exclusion of white and Hispanic workers.

4. One important thing that was indicated is the need for experience in the ways of capitalist politics and expertise in working among masses of people in the movement for political independence.

The above point needs underscoring, for the plants and the precincts are the two most important areas for defending the interest of the working class, building the Party and the *Daily World*, and educating for socialism. As class consciousness must be taught, so must effective involvement in the political arena. Indeed, experience in the political arena enables workers to a considerable extent to see and understand the nature of capitalist state power and how to overcome it.

5. The experience of the Streeter campaign, as well as the efforts to elect a Black mayor, show that work for political independence helps to defeat the long-time efforts to isolate the Party and Party members from workers and from the progressive strata of the people. It presents, if we work correctly, opportunities to build the *Daily World* and to build the Party. Such work also opens a dialogue with some of the leading democratically-minded elements in the political

arena. Where there is friendly and respectful dialogue, there is greater chance to influence people.

I has the pleasure of working a precinct in the Streeter campaign. My coworkers and I won our precinct by a substantial margin. People conversed with us; many let us into their homes; they were friendly. All of them discussed ideas and issues. I was excited by the experience and dreamed about the great opportunity, with consistent work, to build the *Daily World* as well as the Party.

6. Gus Hall's report emphasized the need for voter registration campaigns. The forces that built a broad united front to elect Streeter and are carrying on for the election of a Black mayor are working on the building of a United People's Organization for Registration. Critically, our Party has not addressed itself seriously to such a campaign. I believe we will correct this weakness in the near future. Participation in "voter registration" is important here and in other areas, for our Party would be able to do the following: sharpen up the issues in the campaign; show that voter registration is an important instrument in the class and people's struggle; influence greater participation from the trade union movement or sections thereof; and further whittle away at efforts to isolate us from the mainstream of struggle and fight-back.

7. One other problem stands out in reference to this report and to political independence. That problem manifests itself in tendencies not to boldly build Left-independent formations at the ward and/or precinct level. Comrade Hall, in his Milwaukee Conference discussion, justifiably emphasized that unless Left-independent formations are built the independence movements will have limited or no control over some of those who run for political offices and are elected. This means that without such formations independents and so-called independents can shift to the Right or make unprincipled compromises without being checked.

This problem can not and will not be solved, in the writer's opinion, except by strict leadership. The Party must place this question at the front of agendas, with a place almost equal in importance to the question of industrial concentration.

Electrical Workers Break the Takeaway Pattern

ROBERTA TURNER

As 1982 opened labor was on the defensive, facing a double-barreled assault from the Reagan Administration and U.S. corporations. Their answer to our country's deep, ongoing economic crisis is an all-out offensive against the working class through unionbusting, plant closures, wage and benefit takeaways and attacks on working conditions. U.S. industry's concession campaign aims to make workers pay for its real or imaginary financial declines. Contracts negotiated by some top trade union officials, such as Fraser of the UAW, capitulated to these corporate pressures. The takeaway contracts wrested from the automobile workers and truckers during the first half of 1982 were projected as the pattern for all U.S. industry.

But electrical workers began to break the pattern. In May 3,800 members of the United Electrical Workers at Westinghouse Air Brake and Union Switch and Signal won increased wages, cost-of-living adjustments and pensions after a seven-month strike provoked by corporate takeaway demands. Their victory signalled a turn at a time when General Electric and Westinghouse workers were negotiating contracts which would set the pace for the rest of the electrical industry. The subsequent accords did more than win modest wage and benefit gains and new breakthroughs in contract language on job security for electrical workers. They also gave encouragement to a rising militancy among steel and auto workers in the fight against concessions.



General Electric intended to ride the takeaway tide. William Angell, GE's chief negotiator, told employees that "American industry just can not continue to pile on new costs without getting offsetting savings somewhere" and that "Take-

ways are a bad label for a very necessary part of collective bargaining." In the shops many workers faced what one local president identified as a "campaign of intimidation," a "carefully premeditated prenegotiation strategy" combining speedup, layoffs, stonewalling on grievances and rumors about plant closings.

GE was setting the stage for its usual "take it or leave it" bargaining stance, a strategy it has pursued since it successfully promoted the breakup of the United Electrical Workers with red-baiting attacks at the start of the cold war. At that time workers at the main plants in the United States and Canada had all been organized by the UE, but during the late 1940s and 1950s the AFL's International Association of Machinists and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and a new "dual" union set up by the Rightward-swinging CIO, the International Union of Electrical Workers, raided the UE and divided the national representation of GE workers. The company then played one international union against another, undermining the power of the workers in collective bargaining and blocking the organization of the unorganized. Today less than 40 per cent of GE workers are represented by any union, and their average hourly earnings, once on a par with those of automobile and steel workers, has dropped significantly below theirs.

It took twenty years for the unions representing GE workers to come together to coordinate bargaining. Six unions made the initial attempt in 1965. General Electric boycotted these negotiations until forced to the table by the Supreme Court. By 1969 all the unions engaged in joint consultation. Thirteen unions are now members of the Coordinated Bargaining Council (CBC). Together they represent 100,000 of GE's 285,000 United States workers. The IUE, representing 60,000, and the UE, representing 13,200, hold national contracts. The other 11 unions ratify the contract on a local by local basis.

Roberta Turner works in a General Electric Plant.



GE workers entered the 1982 contract negotiations faced with a deteriorating standard of living and the threat of job losses. The demands agreed to by the unions in the CBC therefore emphasized the wage and benefits package and contract language to improve job security. Other issues raised by the CBC included establishing a union shop, shortening the probation period, winning cost-of-living adjustments for pensioners and strengthening seniority provisions, health and safety rights and grievance procedures.

In 1981 the average GE worker was earning \$16,619 per year, \$7,000 less than the government estimated as necessary for a moderate standard of living for a family of four. Over the life of the 1979-1982 contract cost-of-living adjustments had trailed after inflation, cutting back the purchasing power of GE workers by \$.88 per hour. The CBC demanded a less regressive cost-of-living formula with more frequent adjustments, and a percentage wage increase accompanied by an additional raise for skilled workers. It also sought more paid time off for the workers, and improved insurance benefits and sick pay.

The job security demands called for improvements in the supplemental income paid to unemployed workers, and retraining for all workers displaced by technological changes. The CBC insisted on an end to subcontracting work outside the plant while workers are on layoff. The unions also wanted prior notification and more information on plant closures, movement of work and the introduction of new technology.

These demands were necessitated by GE's policy of moving work abroad, and by its projected automation program, in combination with the U.S. economic crisis. Since 1970 25,000 jobs have been lost. The high interest rates and reduced purchasing power that crippled the housing industry, in turn cut the demand for new appliances, and thousands of workers at GE's Appliance Park in Louisville were thrown out of work.

Thousands more lost their jobs in the past few years as General Electric closed down its foundry in New York; moved its flat iron production from

California to Singapore, Mexico and Brazil; moved electric plug production from Rhode Island to Mexico; and transferred its toaster oven controls from Pennsylvania to Singapore. The company has transferred almost 100 plants abroad in the past 20 years. GE will consider closing or moving any product line that fails to give them a return of 20 per cent on their investment. Since 1970, GE has increased its employment abroad by 33 per cent, while reducing its domestic workforce by 8 per cent.

General Electric has also been moving plants within the United States to low-wage nonunion areas in the Sunbelt and Northern New England. It has developed "twin" facilities to unionized plants and numerous smaller "satellites" which it portrays to organized workers as competitors. Use of these new plants, combined with massive subcontracting of work to nonunion companies, has cut the workforce at Schnectady's turbine works from 21,000 down to 8,500, and is a continuing threat to the jobs of workers at the Erie locomotive plant, the New York capacitor plants and all other organized plants.

General Electric's move toward automation poses still another threat to the future of these workers. GE is investing heavily in robotics, silicon chips, CAD/CAM (computer assisted design/manufacturing) and computer software, and in the acquisition of companies which specialize in producing this new technology. CAD/CAM technology has already been introduced into GE's jet engine plants. Each new machine in its Massachusetts facility is being duplicated at a nonunion plant in North Carolina—both directed through the same New Hampshire-based computer, which adds a new dimension to GE's threats to transfer work.

GE is producing robots in Canada and at its largest nonunion plant in the South. It already has 200 robots in operation for welding, painting, machine loading, light assembly and testing. The company intends to fully automate the Erie locomotive plant and the Louisville dishwasher plant. *Business Week* predicts that nearly one-half of GE's 37,000 assembly workers will eventually be displaced by robots.

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During the negotiations the unions enumerated their demands and spelled out their concerns for job security, increased incomes and better working conditions, while GE pursued its usual policy of refusing to respond. In the shops, company newspapers complained of intense pressure from the competition and "poor" profits of 6 cents per dollar of sales. They hinted at the impossibility of maintaining production in the older plants and insisted that changed economic conditions necessitated "lower levels of settlement" in contract negotiations.

The unions responded by comparing GE's 6 cents on the sales dollar to Japanese industry's 1.8 cents on the dollar return. They pointed out that GE's profits could also be expressed as \$6,584 in profits per employee in 1981—a 323 per cent increase over 1970. And they publicized that during the decade of the seventies GE's net profit more than tripled, reaching \$1,652 million in 1981. The company's return on invested capital has been almost consistently 50 per cent higher than that of its major domestic competitors. Its 1980 net profits were greater than the combined profits of the seven largest European electrical manufacturers and virtually the same as the combined profits of the five largest Japanese electrical manufacturers.

Leaders of some local unions held meetings, in addition to their consultations with the CBC, to assure their mutual commitment to fighting for the job security demands. In the shops, rank-and-file militance was expressed in a variety of job actions and community outreach projects. UAW workers at GE's Evandale, Ohio, jet engine plant went on strike for a week in late March over the company's stonewalling on grievances and subcontracting of work. In April 8,000 IUE workers struck the Schnectady turbine plant for three days, setting up mass picketlines protesting subcontracting. UE workers at the Erie locomotive plant went to the community for support in their campaign against the relocation of diesel engine production, and in June 2,500 rallied at the plant gate to support their contract demands. At Massachusetts jet engine and turbine plants, 9,000 held work stoppages and plant gate rallies in late

June to protest management's absentee policies and GE's stonewalling on negotiations.

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General Electric made its offer at the 11th hour. The brief but intensive negotiations that ensued were backed by the months of united demands by the CBC and the militancy of their rank-and file. The pact they produced turned back the takeaway tide. Not every demand was met, but no concessions were made and several advances were won.

The wage and benefit package represented a modest gain—one that could allow workers to hold their own at an assumed 6 per cent inflation rate. It provides for a 7 per cent wage increase in 1982, and a further 3 per cent in 1983 and 1984. Skilled workers won one-time wage increases raging from 2 cents to 36 cents per hour. The cost of living formula was changed from a 1 cent per hour wage increase for every .2 per cent rise in the Consumer Price Index to 1 cent for every .175 per cent rise.

Improvements were won in medical and dental insurance, pension formulas, and upgrading procedures. For the first time in history GE agreed to bargain with the union on retirees' rights and improvements were made in retirees' hospital and medical care plans. No new sick days or holidays were achieved.

New contract language was adopted on the issue of job security, though it is limited to smoothing worker adjustment to management-initiated and -controlled changes. It calls for advance notification to the union—six month notice of plant closures or the transfer of work, and two month notice of the introduction of new machinery or robots. Workers whose job rates are lowered by technological change will continue to get paid at their former rates for 26 weeks. If new technology leads to job losses, the affected workers may have an early retirement option. Displaced workers will be entitled to an improved supplemental unemployment income and to \$1,800 toward retraining.

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These contract provisions were an important advance for workers under the gun of Reaganomics, but more will be needed if electrical workers are to maintain and improve their standard of living and their working conditions. The potential strength of GE workers can not be achieved while over 60 per cent remain unorganized, and while the company succeeds in using racism and discrimination against women to divide the workers and extract superprofits.

Some localized progress has been made in reversing GE's discrimination against women, although this has not yet been reflected in the national contract negotiations. Earlier this year the IUE in Lynn, Massachusetts, concluded a settlement with General Electric after years of both court and strike action. The local supplement to the national contract now has upgraded payrates for work that had been labelled as "women's work" by GE and has improved childcare provisions, training programs and job mobility for all workers.

Similar victories have not been recorded against GE's racist hiring policies. This is an indictment of the unions' failure to address racism in their own ranks, a weakness GE doesn't hesitate to exploit. An organizing drive a few years ago in North Carolina was lost when the company's promotion of racial divisions went unchallenged by the union.

The militancy of rank-and-file workers has toughened the stance of union leaders at the bargaining table. It could go further and spur the unions on to fight for affirmative action, and to work in cooperation on other issues. Coordination is needed at more than the bargaining table. A unified drive to organize GE plants in the South and elsewhere is long overdue. Unity is needed in

political action as well to fight for the shorter work week and other political remedies to the economic burdens being forced on the working class.

There is motion, but as yet no organized movement among the rank-and-file General Electric workers. The Communist Party's policies of building the Left in trade unions and working for Left-Center coalitions are called for here. A rank-and-file movement around a program of class struggle trade unionism could forge the required unity of action among the union internationals.

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685).

1. Title of publication: POLITICAL AFFAIRS. 1A. Publication No.: 437240. 2. Date of filing: Oct. 1, 1982. 3. Frequency of issue: Monthly. 3A. No. of issues published annually: 12. 3B. Annual subscription price: \$10.00. 4. Location of known office of publication: 235 West 23 Street, New York City, N.Y. 10011. 5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 235 West 23 Street, New York City, N.Y. 10011. 6. Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher: Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., 235 West 23 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Editor: Gus Hall, 235 West 23 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. 7. Owner: Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., Barry Cohen, 235 West 23 St., New York, N.Y. 10011. 8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: none. 9. N.A. 10. Extent and nature of circulation:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Single Issue Nearest To Filing Date
A. Total no. copies printed	5,700	5,400 ⁰
B. Paid circulation:		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	1,167	1,063
2. Mail subscriptions	4,223	4,065
C. Total paid circulation	5,390	5,128
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier, or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies	25	25
E. Total distribution	5,415	5,153
F. Copies not distributed:		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	260	222
2. Return from News Agents	25	25
G. Total	5,700	5,400

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Barry Cohen, Associate Editor

The Crisis of Class Collaboration in the Auto Industry

SAM WEBB

The United Automobile Workers (UAW) is going through turbulent times. Sales of automobiles are at their lowest levels in decades; unemployment of auto workers is at the highest level in decades; international competition, new production technology and the oil crisis are changing the face of the industry and jolting all relations out of patterns which have been long established. The determination of the auto monopolies to overcome all obstacles to their power and profitability at the expense of their workers poses a fundamental challenge to the auto workers and their union. As a result, not since the 1930s and early 40s has there been such flux and struggle within the union.

The main focus of this struggle in recent months has been the General Motors, Ford and American Motors contracts. (This article was written before the conclusion of the Chrysler-UAW negotiations.) Ratified this past spring, these contracts destroyed the outer shell of the whole collective bargaining edifice which had been put in place 34 years ago, and, in the process, initiated a deep crisis in the policies pursued by the International leadership of the union.

How and why it happened, and what the implications for the months and years ahead are, are fundamental questions which this article will attempt to answer.

The Latest Auto Contracts

But first a look at the contractual settlements.

The Ford, General Motors and American Motors contracts are filled with giveaways. Cost of Living Allowances (COLA) are deferred and sacrificed, and then restored gradually. Not only wages, but also benefits which depend on wage levels will be negatively affected.

Paid personal holidays (PPH), the UAW road to a shorter work week, are eliminated, along with other holidays. It is estimated that 20,000 jobs will be lost as a result of this provision alone.

The Annual Improvement Factor (AIP is, in effect, a general wage increase supposedly tied to the trend in productivity), the brainchild of GM President C.E. Wilson, has been given up over the life of the contract. Depending on the job classification, this means a loss of 70 to 80 cents per hour.

Pensions for GM and Ford workers are frozen at existing levels. Undoubtedly this will amount to a substantial decline in real purchasing power.

Production workers hired in will start at sub-minimum levels for up to 18 months. This two-tier system is anti-union, anti-youth and racist.

These are the main—though not the only—giveback features of the contracts. There are also letters of understanding and oral agreements which often are costly and weaken the union's fighting strength. A good example is a letter of understanding attached to the contracts which allows the companies to reopen local contracts at any time if changes in labor costs could affect the companies' decision to maintain work at the affected plant.

Most business publications put the loss at about \$9,000 per worker over the life of the contract. At the same time, GM plans to pocket \$3 billion and Ford \$1 billion. AMC will take \$150 million to the bank.

In return for these unprecedented losses the union receives very little indeed.

The hallmark of the GM and Ford contracts is the Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS). It promises half pay for life to workers with more than 15 years seniority. But there are some hitches. To maintain eligibility requires, among other things, that a worker accept placement at any Ford/GM plant anywhere in the country and any job arranged by the State Employment Service or the company within 50 miles of the worker's home or plant. In other words, if McDonald's has an opening, an unemployed worker with 15 or more years seniority could be forced to accept it. Another hitch is that the company's obligation is limited to total payment of no more than \$45 million for the program. This would carry 3,000 workers for only one

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year.

Seventy million dollars will be added to the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit Fund (SUB) at GM and Ford if needed in order to keep the fund at a minimum level. In all probability, however, this will not happen for two reasons: the payments at this level are 80 per cent of normal SUB, and SUB credits which are accumulated over the course of the year by each worker with less than 10 years seniority are used up at a quicker pace when the fund is at or approaching a minimum level.

The real improvement is a company kick-in of 3 cents per hour to the fund and the right to build up SUB credits to 104 instead of 52 for workers with 10 years seniority.

Plant closings due to outsourcing are restricted. But there is no restriction on outsourcing itself. This weakness—to be fully understood—should be set against a University of Michigan study which predicts that “Detroit will go outside the U.S. for 26 per cent of its auto components by 1986 and 36 per cent by 1990.” (*Business Week*, June 21, 1982.) Furthermore, the GM and Ford contracts state, “Closings will be permitted for volume-related reasons attributable to market conditions or other reasons beyond the control of the company, or internal company consolidation of operations within the units represented by the UAW,” while the AMC contract allows closings in “the gravest economic circumstances.”

Profit-sharing at GM and Ford and employee investment plans (EIP) at AMC are contained in the contracts. Ostensibly intended to offset the wage sacrifices, they fall far short of that goal.

On the whole, the contracts are a bad deal, a colossal ripoff of auto workers and a bailout for the auto monopolists at the workers' expense.

To argue, as the UAW leadership does, that the new agreements trade off wage and other concessions for job security is simply a cover-up. Here is what *Industry Week*—by no means a Left journal—has to say about the Ford contract (the comments could apply in equal measure to all the agreements):

The contract can only be interpreted as a corporate relief plan. Despite some argument to the contrary, the contract contains

precious little for the workers. The gains achieved by the UAW—items such as profit-sharing, job guarantees, and plant closing language—are so rife with qualifiers that they are virtually meaningless to the vast majority of Ford's UAW members. (*Industry Week*, March 8, 1982.)

And the new round of layoffs and plant closures, as well as company quarterly profit reports, corroborates this view. No wonder a grinning Peter Pestillo, chief Ford negotiator, exclaimed, “If you like the language, I like the money.”

The Phony 'Partnership' in Auto

Yet Pestillo is guilty of a half truth because he, like the rest of the auto bosses, also likes the language and, for that matter, the whole process of negotiations.

First, the UAW International leadership swallowed hook, line and sinker the capitalist idea that labor costs are out of line and a major cause of the industry's crisis. At one point during the negotiations with GM, the lie was briefly given contractual form when price reductions were tied to wage concessions.

Second, the fighting strength of the union has been fragmented and thereby weakened by the new provision which allows the company to reopen local contracts. This permits the auto magnates to pit local against local for the “best” deal.

And third, the companies relished the air of solicitous attention to their problems which characterized the talks. There nothing was nothing harsh or grim-faced about the talks. Both sides were lavish in their praise of each other. Somebody caught unaware might have thought a family reunion, not a contractual struggle between some of the biggest industrial monopolies in the world and a powerful labor union, was taking place. Echoing the sentiments of the auto corporate elite, Ford Chairman Philip Caldwell summed up the negotiations this way:

The new agreement will moderate our labor costs, of course. But the long-term impact will be *far more important* because it provides the foundation for a new relationship between the employees who build our products and the management of the company...

For the first time, we have an agreement

that relies on trust—and not just legal rights. It relies on cooperation—and a new spirit of togetherness—as we chart our future course. (Remarks to stockholders, May 5, 1982. Italics added.)

To reinforce this “spirit of togetherness” new forms of partnership, or, to use the language of the UAW, “workplace democracy,” are woven into the agreements. The most important are profit sharing and employee investment plans, a continuing commitment to Employee Involvement (EI) or Quality of Work Life (QWL) programs, greater access for production workers to non-supervisory white collar jobs, and Mutual Growth Forums. These forums, among other things, allow the UAW to address Ford stockholders twice a year and are seen as a first step toward a slot on the Ford board of directors.

In effect, the auto monopolists, with the complicity—no, the active help—of top officers of the UAW, have done all they can to muffle, to suppress, the struggle between the workers and the bosses of the industry and to raise to a new level “class partnership” policies. Substantiating this view, *Automotive News*, an authoritative trade publication, observed, “The new UAW/Ford Motor Company contract is just the first piece of a giant puzzle that will totally rearrange the shape of labor relations when completed.” (March 1, 1982.)

Fortunately, as subsequent events show, it just isn't that easy to erase the legitimate struggles of the auto workers for their vital interests. Still, the new dangers and the new problems should not be underestimated. The negotiations left many confused. They felt disoriented by the fact that a powerful union, a pacesetter in the U.S. trade union movement for many years, could negotiate such agreements. Yet there were definite objective and subjective factors which shaped these developments.

The state of the economy and of the auto industry have had a devastating impact on the economic well-being of auto workers. By February 1982, the auto industry was in its third year of depression and the U.S. economy was not far behind. Joblessness among Big Three workers alone has topped 200,000 for over 40 months. In many auto plants, workers with 10 or more years seniority find themselves on the streets due to layoffs. And more devastating still are the plant closings which

cut off the economic lifeline of all workers regardless of service. To make matters worse, there is little chance of callback or of finding work outside the industry at similar wages and benefits, thanks in part to the policies of the Reagan Administration.

In this climate job security became the number one issue. And it was on this issue that the workers were deluged with propaganda from all sides—including from the union leadership—that it was necessary to make concessions to corporate interests to protect jobs.

The auto monopolists' war of words left its imprint on the overall climate leading up to the negotiations. For several months there was an all-out campaign against “excessive labor costs,” even though unit labor costs, i.e., the cost of labor per unit of output, has not changed appreciably since the 1950s. This verbal assault was led by GM chairman and ideological hit man Roger Smith. He, along with Caldwell and Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca, painted a picture of more layoffs, more plant closings, more outsourcing, more penetration of the U.S. car market by the Japanese for as long as a labor cost differential exists between U.S. and Japanese auto workers. Unquestionably, the campaign influenced the thinking of the top UAW leadership, a section of the workers, and large sections of labor's allies. In the country's auto centers, the traditional friends of the auto workers could often be heard whistling the same tune as corporate officialdom.

Two Options for Labor

Of course, economic bad times and corporate arrogance would not by themselves have been enough to compel the auto workers to accept concessions. Even during the early going there was sidespread sentiment against concessions and against reopening the contracts. Fraser himself acknowledged this when he began secret, unauthorized talks with Roger Smith, GM chairman. And this sentiment was fueled precisely by a changing perception of the depth, duration and nature of the economic crisis, by corporate heavy-handedness and by a growing scepticism about concessions as a way of saving jobs. The most advanced expressions of the trend were the stubborn resistance of Canadian and GM auto workers to Big Three thievery.

In this situation, the UAW top leadership had two options. One was to work out a set of collective bargaining demands clearly anti-monopoly in character which would protect and create jobs and maintain living standards, and then to mobilize the membership and all the union's resources to fight for them. The other was to reopen the contracts, accept concessions, and dampen the militancy of the workers.

In following the latter course, the UAW negotiating team appeared to depart from the traditional policy established by Walter Reuther in 1948. But such is not the case. Indeed, there is a clear continuity in policy from Reuther to Fraser.

Like Reuther, Fraser believes that capitalism is the best of all possible social systems, that the interests of labor and capital can be harmonized, that the struggles of the workers and the excesses of capitalism are the result of short-sighted policies of the monopolists, that a steady growth of partnership arrangements is to the advantage of capital and labor. The differences lie not in the realm of policy or principles, but in their application in radically different situations.

Reuther took control of the UAW in 1948. For about the next 20 years the U.S. auto industry experienced relatively high long-term growth and high profitability and enjoyed unchallenged domination of world auto markets. In these circumstances, Reuther was able to secure contractual concessions from the corporations even though the auto workers' share of the economic pie which they created was declining.

Fraser, on the other hand, operates in different conditions. There is a fierce competitive struggle among the world auto monopolies; technology is being applied to the production process at break-neck speed; the market is global in scope and is in the midst of a long-term slump; capital investments abroad are increasing at a stepped-up pace. And all this plays itself out in a "boomless era of decline and contraction." (Gus Hall, Report to Extraordinary Party Conference, April 1982.)

Consequently, the practical demands of the union leadership and the response of the auto brass are molded by this new economic reality. And no better evidence can be offered than the just-negotiated auto contracts. The class-collaborationist outlook of the top union officials lead them to adopt a policy of retreating without a

fight and of granting concessions to the companies, which they attempted to justify by reference to the new economic realities, particularly the competitive strength of the Japanese auto companies, and by opportunistically playing on the workers' fear of losing jobs. The companies have gleefully seized upon this opportunity to overcome the problems of the industry at the workers' expense, and in return have agreed to a completely ineffectual "partnership" with the union in some areas of "management prerogatives."

The Opposition to Concessions

Almost immediately, a hitch developed in the first set of negotiations over the reopened contracts, the GM negotiations. The negotiating team could not fully agree on the size of the givebacks and was coming up against a self-imposed deadline. Because of this, the leadership went back to the bargaining council to seek authorization for an extension of the talks.

In the meantime, a meeting of local union leaders and some rank-and-file members took place in Flint, Michigan, in early January. Participating were representatives of some of the largest locals in the UAW, particularly the GM division. While a unified attitude towards concessions did not emerge, there was unanimous agreement that the magnitude (nearly \$5 per hour per worker) of the concessions and some of the specific concessions (e.g., giving up cost-of-living raises) being sought by GM were not acceptable. Of equal importance, an organization named Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC) was formed. From then on, LOC worked actively to widen the fightback movement, to give it a more organized character.

The UAW top leadership was caught off guard. After heated discussion, a motion to continue talks with GM was put to the delegates at the bargaining council. Although it passed, it was clear that nearly half the delegates and an even greater number from the larger locals did not support the extension. Faced with this mass rebellion, the leadership decided to cut short the negotiations with GM.

But once down, not out. The International Executive Board, after some maneuvering, moved on to Ford. The discussions, like those at General Motors, proceeded quickly and a tentative agreement was reached.

Then the combined strength of the Big Three, the UAW International Executive Board and the news media went to work. GM announced plant shutdowns and production cutbacks in the wake of the aborted GM agreement, singling out in some cases plants where the opposition had been strongest. There were joint and separate interviews with Ford and UAW negotiators hailing the proposed UAW-Ford agreement as "historic." Favorable analyses and editorials calling for ratification appeared in print and on radio and TV; no punches were pulled by Fraser and the top UAW officers in moving to isolate the leaders of the anti-concession movement.

A notable instance took place at the UAW Skilled Trades Collective Bargaining Conference in Detroit. Speaking to the delegates, Fraser accused the no-concessions movement of having "tunnel vision" and "a stupid policy." He went on to say, revealingly, that "anybody can man the barricades when there isn't an enemy within a thousand miles." And he ended with a vicious attack on Al Gardner, president of the Tool and Die Division at Local 600, UAW. He attacked everything from Gardner's manhood to his honesty. Seen in isolation, the incident could be passed off as "just good old politicking." But it goes much deeper. The verbal assault revealed the deep cleavages that have developed between the top leadership and a significant section of the secondary leadership and the membership. Not for decades has there been such a powerful challenge to the policy direction of the union. And the union leadership was reacting to it.

Much to its relief, the tentative pact with Ford was ratified by a 3 to 1 margin, with about half of the eligible workers abstaining. With this momentum, the UAW went back to GM. In a few weeks, a new tentative contract with GM was signed and ratification by a wide margin was expected. To almost everyone's surprise, however, the final result showed that 48 per cent of the GM workers had voted against the agreement, while half had stayed home. Of those who voted affirmatively, the overwhelming majority, like those at Ford and AMC, did so with big reservations and largely out of fear. Very few got really excited about the agreement. Some of the workers on layoff and others with low seniority liked the temporary infusion of money into the SUB fund, just as sec-

tions of high seniority workers saw the Guaranteed Income Stream as a step forward. In the end most said, "Right now it stinks. But I'll take a chance. Who knows what the company might do if we don't!" While it may stretch the analogy a bit, it can be compared to the act of some workers who voted against Carter and for Reagan in the 1980 presidential elections.

From there the leadership moved on to AMC. An agreement was hammered out—with some difficulties and differences—which was also takeaway in nature. Still, the International leadership did not anticipate any problems. Much to their surprise, the pact was defeated the first time around when a local in Toledo voted it down.

Undoubtedly the contracts negotiated would have been even worse than they were had there not been these expressions of opposition to concessions from the rank-and-file and local leaders.

The Local Contract Battle

From the overall vote a number of things stand out. Chief is the spreading spirit of struggle against the corporate offensive, the crisis in the position of the UAW International leadership, and the deep concern about jobs among the workers.

While the national contract talks and agreements captured front page headlines, a less known, less talked about, but equally important battle continues: local contract negotiations. These negotiations cover such matters as work rules, production standards, lines of demarcation in the skilled trades, relief time, job classifications, etc. From the standpoint of the auto big shots they are the other side of a two-sided cost-cutting coin:

Alfred S. Warren, Jr., the GM vice president who negotiated the agreement, acknowledged that the new contract doesn't solve GM's labor cost problems. He disclosed that under provisions that permit a renegotiation of local plant contracts within the next 100 days, GM intends to seek further cost concessions. "Every operation we have has to be looked at," Mr. Warren said. "Unless we pull every stop there is, we can't get all the money we need." (*Wall Street Journal*, April 12, 1982.)

Thus the auto monopolists are determined to wring additional billions from the auto workers. But the resistance is stiffening. Local after local,

following the lead of the Brook Park Ford plant, is rejecting contract concessions as more and more workers realize that the recently negotiated national contracts have nothing to do with job security and economic well-being and everything to do with corporate profits.

Thus the anti-concessions fightback is spreading still further. The principal no-giveback forces, like LOC, UAW-Canada, the Independent Skilled Trades Council and important UAW locals, are now being seconded by the majority of workers.

The Canadian auto workers—rank and file and leadership—have opposed givebacks from the very start. As expected, this has caused a rift between the region and the International. But the Canadians remain steadfast in their fight and have the support of the entire Canadian trade union movement. Unquestionably, their struggle and the upcoming struggle of Chrysler workers will create difficulties for the class partnership policies of the top UAW leadership. It goes without saying that they deserve the full support of the anti-concessions movement.

Key Tasks Ahead

To extend the influence of the movement, a number of key tasks loom large.

First, there needs to be much wider and more popular dissemination of a scientific explanation of the causes and consequences of the crisis. Very seldom, in the discussion available to auto workers, is the auto depression and its future prospects organically connected to the law-governed development of capitalism as a system and the new stage of U.S. capitalism's crisis. Instead, the crisis is seen as the result of bad management decisions or the penetration of the U.S. market by foreign imports or excess labor costs or high interest rates or government regulation or a combination of all of these. And this is no minor matter.

If, for example, bad management decisions are seen as the cause of the crisis, then the programmatic alternative might be to replace bad managers, say former Chrysler Chairman John Riccardo, by good managers, say Lee Iacocca, or to involve the union in the decision-making process. The latter is a familiar theme of the UAW leadership and social democracy. But this view is seriously flawed.

Or, if import penetration is viewed as the cause

of the collapse of the U.S. auto industry, then the policy alternative becomes import restriction (not to be confused with local content requirements on U.S. and foreign manufacturers) of one form or another. This, clearly, is a dead end for the auto worker.

Hence, a wide understanding of the underlying causes of the crisis is an essential ingredient of a successful fightback. Otherwise the anti-concessions struggle will be unable to advance a program in the face of the crisis that consistently and effectively defends the auto workers' interests.

Second, a sound program to protect and create jobs and to maintain living standards needs elaboration. Among the most important demands of such a program are a shorter work week with no cut in pay, clear-cut restrictions on outsourcing and democratic takeover or nationalization of the auto industry. Moreover, the fight for these demands in the political and collective bargaining arena must be closely connected to a fight for radical anti-corporate measures in the economy as a whole. A program along these lines was proposed in the Economic Bill of Rights issued by the Extraordinary Milwaukee Conference of the CPUSA.

Third, a class appraisal of workplace democracy under conditions of capitalist exploitation is in order. From a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, democracy in the workplace and elsewhere is conditioned in a decisive way by property ownership. In capitalist society, because the means of production are owned by a handful of monopolists, workers' rights are quite restricted. The capitalists' management has the right to hire and fire, to close plants, to set up operations overseas, to determine production schedules, to set prices, etc. And any abridgement of these rights of the capitalist owners is due to the workers' struggles in the economic and political arenas. Thus, while an expansion of workers' rights in the workplace is possible under capitalism, workplace democracy is severely limited, and such rights as are won are constantly threatened by erosion as long as capitalists own the productive apparatus.

The present UAW leadership and social democrats challenge this view. As they see it, monopoly power need not by nature be rapacious, raw and

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Reaganism in Nationality Policy at Home and Abroad

JAMES JACKSON

Last Thursday night, on Avenue X in Brooklyn, three Black men, transit workers, were mobbed by a street gang of white supremacists screaming vile racist invectives and wielding broken beer bottles and steel rods. One of the Black workers, William Turks—active member of the Transport Workers Union—was left dead in the street; the others, though gravely injured, escaped the scene.

This was the day that Israel renewed its merciless assault upon Beirut and Lebanon in furthering its mission of genocide against the Palestinian people. Not beer bottles but the most modern lethal arms that U.S. technology could supply were used in the invasion, which continues to feature anti-personnel cluster bombs (made in the USA for "civilian" use only).

The nationality policy of the U.S. imperialists fostered a heinous crime of racist lynch terror at home on the same day that its national policy in foreign affairs saw its Middle East ward, Israel, reopen its attack in Beirut to murder a whole people, to cow the Arab world and to secure its domination over the Middle East. Such are the fruits, the bitter fruits, of imperialist policy on the national question in a single day's practice.

U.S. imperialism's record in respect to its nationalities policy is writ in blood in the headlines of the world's press. It is their blood, the blood of innocents, of human beings asking to live as free as Uncle Sam claims to be. It is a policy of racism, of chauvinism, of superexploitation, of domination, of death: It is lynch terror in the night on a Brooklyn street against Black Americans, and genocide afar against the Palestinians.

Furthermore, on a nice day such as this, Reagan's raiders, his puppet brigades abroad, are working at the bloody business of destabilizing and subverting the manifested political will of the peoples' sovereignty and causing the death of people—in El Salvador, Afghanistan, Namibia,

Kampuchea, South Africa, Angola, and on and on—wherever peoples rise to secure their sovereign rights and national dignity. The wide world over, U.S. imperialism flaunts the fact that it is the patron of *hit men* who seek to kill the flame of liberty that burns in the vision of all peoples under the yoke of political tyranny and class exploitation and who ceaselessly struggle to be free. Alongside brute force and direct military means of repression and recolonization, U.S. imperialism and its associated states continue to enlarge upon their bag of neocolonialist tricks and stratagems. Imperialism pursues a wide-ranging, sometimes flexible, pattern of means to block and frustrate the historical advance of the national emancipation struggle of oppressed peoples for democracy, development and social progress.

The imperialist ruling class tries to break up the natural process of the national emancipation movement effecting combination with the class struggle of the workers and the resultant emergence within the national democratic movement of an anti-imperialist oriented and working-class leadership. It carries on an unremitting effort to prevent the realization of practical bonds of ideological exchange and relations between the national liberation movement, the working-class forces and the bastion of progress in our time, the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states. Imperialism is tireless in its efforts to seed the national movement with anti-Soviet myths, to fan prejudices and all kinds of anti-Communist slanders. True to the dictum of all oppressor regimes, that is, to "divide and rule," the bourgeoisie nurtures national egotism and pushes separatist "solutions" on the one hand, while ruthlessly enforcing its own imperial, chauvinist, nationalist privileges and acquisitions on the other. Imperialism has no scruples about utilizing for its own domination the anti-working class traits of the extremes of separatist nationalism and of anti-national nihilism, which they encourage in the national movement.

James Jackson is a member of the Political Bureau, CPUSA. Talk given at a conference on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR, June 26, 1982, Riga, Latvia.

To further divisionism among the working peoples, the factors of ethnic origin and color distinction are woven into patterns of racist prejudices and used as wedges against the requirement of working-class and progressive peoples' unity. Racism, in its subtle as well as savage forms, is kept alive as a capitalist tool. In like fashion do the ruling imperialist forces seek to foster and keep aflame communal, religious, partisan hostilities and counterpose them to the unity demands of people for social progress.

Whatever the special features of a given configuration of the national question, a rich body of successful experience exists in respect to the real living solution of the national question in the Marxist-Leninist life history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the great and successful accomplishments of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Look now at the USSR on the 60th anniversary of its formation: This monolith of all-peoples' progress, this mighty union of nations, nationalities and multiple varieties of communities of peoples heralds in its example in living color today how the different peoples and races of humankind can and will relate on the scale of the whole wide world tomorrow. They will relate as Soviet people do one to another: friendly cooperators, brothers and sisters strong in their love of one another and in their care for the peace and well-being of all humanity and its world.

The national question in the capitalist world can not find solution abstracted from the all-humanity task of rallying round the banners of the struggle for an end to the threat of a war of nuclear annihilation. The struggle for an end to the arms race, for disarmament, is at the same time a struggle to create conditions favorable for realizing the goals of national freedom and equal development aspirations of the peoples who suffer national indignities, underdevelopment and violation of their territorial sovereignty. Freedom needs peace for its victory and peace needs freedom for its fulfillment. Indeed, the national liberation of oppressed peoples is a vital component of the multi-faceted front of the global struggle for peace in the total interest of all humanity's survival and social progress.

In the United States, of some 220 million citizens, 50 million are to be counted in the category of oppressed nationalities. They are the Native American Indians, the Chicanos (or Mexican-Americans), Puerto Rican and other Latinos, Asian and other peoples. The most numerous and most politically critical of the oppressed peoples are the 30 million Afro-Americans. Descended from those African peoples who were brought in chains and worked as chattel to generate a capital accumulation for building the country, they remain to this day an unfree and unequal constituency in the multinational, multiethnic U.S. nation.

The outcome of the ever-embattled Afro-American people's struggle for equality and justice in the economic, political and social life of the country is decisive to the solution of the national question in its several parts in the United States.

Because of the overwhelmingly working-class composition of this Afro-American population, it links, even locks in, the national democratic struggle with the class struggle of labor in a special bonding of mutual dependency and fighting partnership. The shining example of the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union on the basis of the flowering and fulfillment of the development aspirations of the formerly oppressed people, in accord with the dignity and equality aspiration of the peoples for lofty cultural and social progress as an integral, not isolated or segregated, part of the whole society, is increasingly becoming known to the oppressed nationalities in the USA. Truth will out, and the most distinguished personalities in the modern pantheon of Afro-American leading figures—Du Bois, Robeson, Henry Winston, notable artists of the theater and film and prominent public personalities, penetrate the smokescreen of anti-Soviet lies and bear witness to what real socialism has wrought in the abolition of all manner of national oppression.

Our Party wages a ceaseless struggle against racism and all of its manifestations in intimate and broad-based action with the masses—especially with trade unionists and the youth. It seeks to combine and relate the struggle for national equality to all the issues of social and economic and

political urgency, above all, with the fight for peace. Our Party builds its policies and tactics on the struggles of the vital sector of the broad people's front against Reagan reaction and war danger, that is, the sector of the battles for national freedom and equality; against neocolonialism and colonialism. It builds on the foundations of Marxist-Leninist teachings on the national question and the full use of creative developments in the theory and practical program before the masses on the questions of national freedom and equality. This policy flows from a deep and sustained Marxist-Leninist analysis of ever-changing

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cutthroat; class divisions and class warfare are a relic of the past; the curbing and then nationalization of the big capitalist trusts are not basic ingredients of the extension of workers' rights under capitalism.

They argue that workplace democracy can be expanded and economic power shared equally without bitter class struggle and without restructuring capitalist property relations. All that is required is a "new social contract" according to which each side moderates its views and recognizes the mutual interests of both, namely ensuring the competitive strength and profitability of the auto industry and U.S. capitalism.

Naturally, the monopolists lick their chops when they hear such high-sounding chatter. Fighting to maintain their position in the world capitalist market, they are willing to offer empty language about workplace democracy—but never its substance—in exchange for a higher level of exploitation.

Thus it becomes imperative that the anti-concessions movement challenge these ideas, which are untrue and which are refuted by the actual experience of the international working-class movement. Equally important, the anti-concessions movement must not concede this turf of struggle to the class collaborationists. Concrete initiatives to curb management prerogatives, including a call for nationalization, should be on today's agenda.

Fourth, the drawing of the rank-and file, including the unemployed, into more active involvement is a basic requirement for further advance.

reality in conjunction with wide-ranging engagement with the daily struggle experiences of the masses.

We give special attention to the furtherance and extension of the movements of solidarity with fighting peoples of Southern Africa, of Namibia, and of all the many victims of U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary export business.

Under the banner of Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our Party is confident of making further signal advances on this area of the common front for peace and progress, for democracy, and socialism's triumph in this era of the great Lenin!

Of course, there are some formidable obstacles. One is a lack of adequate forms at any level through which the membership can express its strength and militancy against the corporate attack. Currently the main formations in which the rank and file participate are geared to electing candidates to union office. Another obstacle is the continued division between Black and white, which undermines the very foundation of a united and successful struggle against corporate profiteering. Communists and other militants have a special role to play in winning their white brothers and sisters to battle racist discrimination in all its forms. Still another obstacle is the company practice of pitting one local union against another. To counter this, new forms of across-local and industry-wide coordination are needed. And finally, the influence of the "Buy American" campaign, which has an unmistakably racist, anti-Japanese thrust to it and which contradicts a class approach and expresses the interests of the U.S. multinational auto companies, must be countered.

The fulfillment of the above tasks rests in large part on the rebuilding of the Left and the Communist Party in the industry. Only a bigger Communist Party, armed with its scientific outlook, drawing upon sixty years of experience in the class struggle and rooted deeply in the fightback movement, can bring higher levels of class and socialist consciousness, and that is a necessary condition for defeating class collaborationist policies and for a mighty working-class offensive against the auto trusts.

Soviet Nationalities Policy at the Stage of Developed Socialism

BORIS PONOMAROV

The origins of the just solution of the nationalities question in our country go back to the early years of our Communist Party, to long before the Revolution. The theory of the nationalities question worked out by Lenin for the epoch of imperialism and transition from capitalism to socialism ranks as one of his most outstanding services to the world revolutionary movement. In his comprehensive doctrine on the laws governing the development of nations, their transformation from capitalist into socialist nations, Lenin conclusively proved that any genuine solution of the nationalities question must be associated with socialist revolution, with the victory of socialism. He showed the necessity for merging in a common stream the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples.

One of the central places in Lenin's legacy is held by the principle of *proletarian internationalism*. Lenin and the Bolsheviks revealed in theory and proved in practice the all-important role this principle of Party construction and the working-class movement plays in the struggle for social and national emancipation. Speaking about the Party, Lenin said: "We must act as a single and centralized militant organization, have behind us the whole of the proletariat, without distinction of language or nationality, a proletariat whose unity is cemented by the continual joint solution of problems of theory and practice, of tactics and organization." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 333.) Lenin and his followers defended these principles in an irreconcilable struggle against separatist and opportunist ideas and postures, and notably against the Bund's nationalism and organizational "federalism." The establishment of the Party on the principles of democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism was, indeed, the decisive

condition for success in securing the militant unity of workers of all nations of our country.

In the fight to uphold the fundamental principles of the nationalities program against Right opportunists and "Left" dogmatists, Lenin demonstrated the danger both of nationalist attempts to obscure or distort the class content of ethnic problems, and of ethnic nihilism. Lenin's approach in no way ignored national distinctions or underestimated the significance and role of the history, culture and traditions of any nation. He stressed that the striving to advance all the progressive, democratic and good that inspired national pride, completely coincided with rather than contradicted the interests of socialism, the interests of the working class.

The fact that the Bolsheviks united the workers and other working people of all nations and ethnic groups of Russia around the Russian proletariat as the chief nucleus and leading force of the working-class movement was one of the most important conditions for the victory of the October Revolution.

The October Revolution spelled a radical change in the destiny of all the peoples of our country. Already in its first legislative acts, the Soviet government took decisive steps towards complete liberation of previously oppressed nations and promotion of their juridical and, finally, factual equality.

The Bolsheviks had to work out fundamental principles of national-state development that suited the tasks of society's socialist reconstruction, and to guide this development, in a setting of bitter struggle against many nationalist parties and organizations that existed in Russia at that time. The Mensheviks in Georgia, the Ukrainian Central Council, the Tatar and Bashkir bourgeois nationalists, the Musavitists in Azerbaijan, the Dashnaks in Armenia, and other nationalist parties and groups capitalized on the principle of self-determination and, distorting its meaning, sought to stoke up national strife and hostility.

Boris Ponomorov is an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This is excerpted from a conference held in preparation for the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR on June 26, 1982 in Riga, Latvia.

The mighty will for unity of the multinational working class of Russia, compounded with the tremendous political and organizational efforts of the Bolshevik Party, surmounted all difficulties. The mass of the working people of all nationalities expressed firm determination to unite their forces and resources in the name of the common goal—the building of a new and just society.

In the fight against the White Guards and interventionists, against hunger and dislocation, all Soviet republics gathered more and more closely round the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, and consolidated their politico-military and economic alliance. This was made imperative by the need to ensure the external security, economic progress and free national development of the Soviet republics.

The First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which convened on December 30, 1922, was a logical culmination of the unity movement of the fraternal peoples. Envoys of the four Soviet republics—the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian SSR, the Transcaucasian Federal Republic and the Byelorussian SSR—endorsed the Declaration and Treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In the concluding speech at the closing of the Congress, Mikhail Kalinin said: "For millennia the best minds of humankind have grappled with the theoretical problem of finding forms that would enable peoples to live in friendship and fraternity, without agonizing torment and without struggle against one another. And only now, today, the cornerstone is being laid to achieve this."

The task at the center of the nationalities policy was to end the inequality of nations on the economic and cultural planes, because this and this alone could secure their factual equality. This task, the Party pointed out, could be fulfilled only with the effective and long-term aid of the Russian proletariat. The Russian people, themselves the victims of dislocation and hunger, pumped huge material resources into development of the outlying regions inhabited by various nationalities, and sent thousands of Party workers, industrial workers and specialists there, who shared their knowledge and experience generously. Thanks to internationalist assistance these regions managed in just a few years to resolve problems that would

have in other conditions taken up an entire epoch.

In our country, the nationalities question was resolved in the course of socialist construction. In substance, these were two sides of a single process. The socialist remodelling of social relations and the abolition of the exploiting classes changed the life of every nation. And the pooling of resources, of the labor and will of the peoples, multiplied their strength and laid a powerful material and spiritual foundation for successful socialist transformations.

Deep-going progressive changes occurred in the life of every nation and ethnic group, encompassing the economy, social relations, and culture. Nations and ethnic groups of a new, socialist type, came into being. And evening out of development levels of the Soviet republics was the common indicator of these changes.

In the economic sphere this meant building modern industry and large-scale farming everywhere. In the course of industrialization and collectivization the outlying regions inhabited by various nationalities developed at a faster pace, and many peoples attained socialism by-passing capitalism. The merging of all republics into a powerful union-wide economic organism raised their cooperation to a new level, and additionally accelerated economic development.

In the social and political sphere, the Leninist nationalities program strengthened the alliance of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of all the country's nations and nationalities. In the course of socialist transformations, the working class of all the republics grew and developed, the peasantry changed and large national contingents of the intelligentsia took shape. It was especially important that in many of the Union republics which had had no developed industry before the Revolution, there was a considerable increase in the percentage of national personnel in the working class, the chief force bringing closer together the country's nations and nationalities.

Complete political and legal equality of all peoples in the framework of the single federal state was secured. Flexible and diverse forms of Soviet national statehood, common in essence, took shape in the interests of each nation and of society as a whole. The endurance and firmness of the alliance of Soviet nations stood the grim test of

the Great Patriotic War. In that war, the Soviet Union fought for and upheld not only its own independence, but also the very right of all peoples to national freedom. Our victory saved whole nations from extermination, because Hitlerism intended in fact to construct a gigantic, all-but-worldwide prison of nations.

The tremendous changes in the economic, social and political life of the Soviet peoples were facilitated and accompanied by a *cultural revolution*. Illiteracy became a matter of the past. More than 50 peoples which had had no written language acquired writing. Millions of people of all nationalities gained boundless opportunities for showing their aptitude and talents, and for applying them to the benefit of their people. In each Union republic there have sprung up large collectives of creative workers, and academies of science are functioning fruitfully in each of them. There is no republic these days that has failed to gain renown for its outstanding and often internationally recognized success in various fields of science, literature and art. A Soviet culture has come into being, single in socialist content, in the main direction of its development, and diverse in national form. Its tremendous life-asserting and creative power is evidence of the great fertility of the internationalist cooperation of nations, and the progressiveness of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of national cultures.

In the Soviet Union we have recorded truly unique facts proving the successful solution of the nationalities question. The small Caucasian republic of Daghestan is peopled by citizens of 32 nationalities. And where national hostility and bloody strife had been the rule before the revolution, there now reigns friendship and joint work is afoot in fraternal unity with the Russian and the other peoples of the USSR.

Or take the peoples of the Far North, Siberia and the Soviet Far Eastern regions, the Evenks, Nenets, Chukchi, Evens, Nanais, Mansi, Koryaks and others. Many of them have a population of no more than several thousand. Under tsarism they were dying out. Under socialism, notwithstanding their small numbers, these ethnic groups enjoy equal rights with all the other nations. They emerged from their backward patriarchal way of life and have risen to the summits of socialist civilization.

The construction under the leadership of Lenin's Party of a *developed socialist society* is the most important outcome of the strenuous and constructive labor of all the nations and nationalities that have come together in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The country has arrived at a new historical frontier.

It should be stressed that socialist relations between nations have already crossed the border of our country, because there exists and grows stronger the socialist community of nations.

The main trend in the development of relations between nations in our country at the present time is a further all-sided convergence of the Soviet nations leading to ever greater consolidation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

It stands to reason that even in the stage of developed socialism the unity of the international and the national, and their harmonious combination, does not come about by itself, by the wave of a magic wand. It is secured only through consistent implementation of the scientifically elaborated and realistic nationalities policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government. That is why, though the Party is legitimately proud of its historic gains in solving the nationalities question, it never relaxes its attention to the problems of the development of socialist nations and relations between nationalities.

Let us take *economic development*. The growing scale of the economic interconnections and cooperation among the republics can be judged, for instance, from the fact that in material production the Kazakh Republic now uses goods from 96 industries in other republics, to which Kazakhstan, in turn, supplies goods put out by 74 branches of its economy.

Rapid industrial growth and the big virgin lands development program brought a vast influx of people to Kazakhstan from all the other Union republics. The life of the multinational population of the Kazakh Republic is now, in essence, based on ownership of the means of production by all the people.

Among the workers of practically every enterprise in our country there are men and women of dozens of nationalities. These enterprises send their products, in the manufacture of which sub-

contractors usually take part, to hundreds and thousands of consignees.

The present stage *heightens the role of social policy in the development of relations among the nationalities*, and, above all, in solving such problems as shaping the optimal social structure for each republic, raising the people's living standards and cultural level, and regulating migration within, and among, the republics.

A substantial convergence of the classes and social groups is also common to all the republics. The seventies witnessed a noticeable bridging of the gaps between the Soviet republics as regards the social composition of the population, and, what is especially important, the relative size of the working class.

Deep-going changes are taking place in the way of life in the Soviet Union's rural areas. The living standards of the collective farmers and state farm workers have improved noticeably in recent years. However, substantial regional differences still exist, leading in some cases to an excessive outflow of rural inhabitants and in others to a superfluous rural population. Solution of this problem depends largely on doing away with the social and economic distinctions between the urban and rural areas and on providing equal material and cultural opportunities in various districts of our country.

An important socio-economic and political task is to attract young people from a number of constituent republics to construction projects in Siberia, the Soviet Far East and the non-black-earth zone of the Russian Federation. These projects are not only milestones in the further consolidation of the Soviet Union's economic potential but also new itineraries of the friendship of the peoples of our country.

The growing numbers of the local intelligentsia in all the republics are a noteworthy feature of socialist reality. This fact is indicative of the Soviet people's flourishing spiritual life, their intensive striving for knowledge and culture.

It is important that personnel should be used correctly. We can not reconcile ourselves, for example, to the fact that many agricultural specialists prefer city pavements.

More painstaking attention should be paid to the training and job placement of the local intelligentsia. The main thing is to study the real re-

quirements of the republics and of the country as a whole. There are quite a few shortcomings in this respect, it must be admitted. Leonid Brezhnev frankly pointed these out in his speech in Tashkent.

The thesis put forward by the 26th Congress of the CPSU that a classless structure of society will take shape mainly within the historical framework of developed socialism clearly shows the prospects for further consolidating the Soviet people's social and internationalist unity. This thesis should be the guideline in considering the future development of the Soviet nations. Obviously, the rise of classless socialist nations will be the new historic frontier in this development. This new social quality will undoubtedly be a still broader and stronger foundation for their cohesion and progress within the framework of the Soviet people as a social and internationalist community. In the subsequent stages the nations will come still closer together. Then it will be possible to concretize the forms and prospects of this process.

Our country's experience graphically shows that the more democratic a political system and the more access the working people have to the fruits of democracy, the closer all the nations and nationalities are drawn towards one another. This regularity underlies the consolidation of federal principles in the life of Soviet society and the internationalist nature of the national statehood of the peoples of the USSR.

The state machinery in each Soviet republic serves the interests of all its inhabitants, irrespective of whether or not they belong to its main nationality. It promotes a greater contribution by each nationality to the common assets of the Soviet people as a new historical community, and plays an increasing role in multiplying the fraternal interconnections among the nations and nationalities.

Personnel policy is an effective instrument in the internationalist approach to the development problems of the nationalities. All of our country's republics are multinational, and, as Leonid Brezhnev emphasized in his speech at the celebrations in Tashkent, "we must ensure that the nations and nationalities in each republic are adequately represented in the Party and government bodies; and, of course, the competence and ideological and moral qualities of each person

should be carefully taken into account."

The historic socio-economic and political transformations in our country have given a powerful impetus to the further *spiritual progress of the Soviet nations* in developed socialist society. This has found expression in the richer spiritual life of our society, its greater diversity and color, in the "new tide" in Soviet art that was mentioned at the 26th Party Congress. It is indicative that talented works which multiply the fame of Soviet arts are now being created in all the republics, by people of many nationalities.

The Soviet people's integral internationalist culture, a culture which serves the entire population, expresses its common ideals and promotes the ideological and political unity of the nations and nationalities of the USSR, is growing and gathering strength, nourished by developed socialist society. It absorbs everything that is of general value and overall significance in the achievements and distinctive traditions of the socialist culture of all the nationalities. At the same time it is broader and has more facets than the culture of any separate nationality, and is open to everything that is genuinely humane and progressive in world culture. Indeed, a visit to any of our republics or regions inhabited by various nationalities provides irrefutable proof of the above. Scores of delegations from abroad comment enthusiastically on what they see. They marvel at the cultural achievements and diversity of the various nationalities.

The cultural advancement of all our country's nationalities is taking place both through borrowing from the achievements of other nations and through further development of their own culture, eliminating its outdated, backward features and reviving the best traditions. A culture which strives only to preserve the traditions of olden times instead of enriching them with the spirit of today, with the achievements of other cultures, will inevitably decline and doom itself to provincialism and stagnation. In short, as Leonid Brezhnev so aptly said, the golden age of all-around development of the peoples of our country lies not in the past but in their present and future.

Questions connected with language are very important in further consolidating the Soviet people's socio-political and ideological unity. Indeed, the nations and ethnic groups of our country speak

more than 130 languages.

The genuinely free and equal use of their native language, or languages of other nations and nationalities of the USSR, by all Soviet people, clearly reflects the democracy and humanism of our system. Two trends are distinctly manifested here: on the one hand, a rapid spread of Russian as a medium for communication among our nations and on a worldwide scale; on the other hand, the languages of all the peoples of our country continue to develop, mutually enriching one another. In just the nine years between the last two censuses the number of people of non-Russian nationalities who were fluent in Russian, as their second language, increased by nearly 20 million, and the share of these people in the Soviet Union's total non-Russian population grew from 37 to 49 per cent. Thus, bilingualism—fluency both in the native language and in the language of communication among the nationalities—is a characteristic feature of Soviet reality.

All the peoples for whom Russian is not their mother tongue have a great craving for that language. And that is quite natural. The knowledge of the Russian language allows one to communicate freely with the people of other nationalities in one's republic and beyond, to master rapidly scientific and technical achievements, to get acquainted with the culture of other peoples, to do well in the military service.

The development of such a large multinational state as ours, Leonid Brezhnev declared at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, gives rise to quite a few problems in relations among the nationalities, problems that call for a sensitive attitude from the Party. The Party is thoroughly studying them, constantly takes them into account in its everyday work, pays much attention to internationalist and patriotic education of the working people, is creatively developing the Marxist-Leninist theoretical heritage and is refuting the bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers of Lenin's nationalities policy.

Guidelines for a nationalities policy in developed socialist society have been drawn up in Party documents of recent years. The Party has taken important decisions on the further socio-economic development of a number of Union and autonomous republics and autonomous regions and areas. It has outlined concrete ways and means of making ideological and political-educational work

more effective. The Party committees of republics and regions are paying considerably greater attention to relations among nationalities, and to patriotic and internationalist education.

The Party committees have drawn up and are carrying out large-scale, long-term measures, in substance, goal-oriented programs to improve the system of internationalist education of the working people. It is gratifying to see that this work is closely linked to efforts to attain national-economic objectives and to strengthen cooperation among the republics.

Much attention is being paid to setting up and developing internationalist work collectives at major construction projects and in territorial-production complexes, and also to heightening their role in the education of the working class, especially its young reinforcements.

The Party committees have begun to make better use of the Soviet Army's vast facilities for the patriotic and internationalist education of young people. Military-patriotic education councils are working actively; and noticeable progress has been achieved in preparing young people for service in the armed forces.

Party organizations in the Ukraine have accumulated considerable experience in combatting manifestations of nationalism and anti-Soviet activity by various imperialist, emigre and clerical circles, and in organizing ideological-educational work to counter that activity. Comrade A. Kapto will evidently dwell on this in greater detail in his speech. The experience of the Party organizations of Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and many territories and regions in the Russian Federation is also interesting in this respect. Centers to study and sum up the methods and results of internationalist and patriotic educational work are being set up in the republics. Among these centers, for example, are the Museums of Friendship of the People in Tbilisi, Baku, Tashkent and Kishinev.

The image of the Soviet man is incompatible with nationalistic narrow-mindedness. Sociological studies show that as far as most people in various parts of our multinational country are concerned, what the nationality of their fellow workers, friends or neighbors is does not matter much. The important thing, for them, is the competence, ideological, moral and human qualities of those

who work and live side by side with them.

At the same time, the whole of our experience teaches us that the disappearance of antagonistic classes and the establishment of socialist social relations do not, in themselves, guarantee corresponding changes in the socio-psychological sphere, in the relations among people of different nationalities; that they do not automatically lead to the disappearance of nationalistic prejudices and manifestations. More than once Lenin drew the Party's attention to the fact that survivals of the past do not disappear from the mentality of the masses all at once; they can not be put into a coffin and lowered into a grave as remnants of an old and deceased world.

Hangovers of nationalism are particularly viable and stable in everyday, personal relationships, and are often closely intertwined with survivals of religious beliefs. We must therefore work constantly to ensure that proletarian internationalism takes root as a norm of daily behavior, as an inseparable feature of everyone's active approach to life. Party organizations should pay constant attention to molding the world outlook of the masses on genuinely internationalist foundations.

It is no secret that in its fight against existing socialism, hostile propaganda in the West is making special efforts to undermine the friendship among the peoples of our country, to revive nationalistic trends and moods. The imperialist espionage agencies, sundry emigre groups and lie-mongering radio stations in their service are doing this day and night.

The intensive subversive work of this kind being carried out against the Soviet Baltic peoples calls for close attention from the Communists and the guiding bodies of those republics. Constant efforts should be made to consolidate internationalism and friendship of the peoples and to overcome negative phenomena in the nationalities question wherever they occur.

Ideological-educational work should thoroughly reveal the essence of the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU and should constantly strengthen friendship among the working people of all nationalities. Special attention should be paid to the young people, to fostering a spirit of devotion to the socialist homeland and an irreconcilable attitude to bourgeois ideology and morality.

The press, radio and television, lecturers and other Soviet public speakers, the lecture groups of Party committees and cultural education establishments should take a most active part in the internationalist and patriotic education of the working people.

As we know, internationalists are not born but are educated. The Communist Party regards constant improvement and perfection of internationalist and patriotic education, of its forms and methods, as one of the chief means of consolidating the Leninist friendship of the peoples, as a cardinal condition for accelerating our society's advance along the road of building communism.

III

The struggle for liberation from foreign national oppression goes back thousands of years. In our time, too, the nationalities question is crucial to the development of human society.

That is why the theory and practice of restructuring national relations in the USSR have acquired such epochal importance. Soviet experience is exerting a tremendous influence on the peoples' struggle for national independence, freedom and equality. Many aspects of Soviet experience are being widely used by progressive states, parties and social movements throughout the world in their political and ideological struggle against imperialism, for national independence and renewal.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are the most resolute and consistent fighters for full national equality. If we were to single out the basic reasons why the Communist movement has devoted so great and unrelaxing attention to the nationalities question over many decades, we could point to the following.

First, the fight for national freedom and independence, for full equality, trust and friendship between nations is an inalienable part of the genuine social renovation of the world in our age and, consequently, of the struggle Communists are waging for a better future for humanity.

Second, the fight for national equality, just international relations, is a cardinal factor in successfully countering the imperialist policy of aggravating the international situation, and a factor, too, in

the fight against the war danger and the arms drive. "Our experience," Lenin emphasized, "has left us with the firm conviction that only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust, can remove the fear of any intrigues and create that confidence, especially on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which there absolutely can not be peaceful relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilization." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386.)

The unleashing of aggression and of wars of conquest has usually been preceded by the fomenting of national strife and chauvinism. On the eve of the First World War the imperialist powers poisoned the European atmosphere by a campaign of nationalism and chauvinism. In preparing for the Second World War, Hitler fascism carried chauvinism and racism to the extreme, spreading the maniacal idea of dividing the whole of mankind into master and slave nations. This was embodied in the policy of destroying such nationalities as the Jews and the Gypsies, and condemning the Slavs and other peoples to slavery and extinction. Imperialism has waged countless colonial wars of aggrandizement under the flag of nationalism and chauvinism. It has exploited the idea of national exclusiveness to divert peoples from their pressing internal problems.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is also employing these methods today. The examples are many. Chauvinistic slogans have been used by the Israeli militarists to launch their full-scale, Washington-supported aggression against Lebanon and the Arab people of Palestine. The Israeli rulers' policy towards the Palestinian people is one of outright genocide; they brutally exterminate the people of Lebanon. Obsessed by the vision of a "greater Israel," the Zionists are out to crush the sovereignty of independent Lebanon. Or take the recent war in the South Atlantic. Britain's ruling circles started a clamorous chauvinistic campaign as a prelude to the military campaign actually meant to re-establish colonial rule.

Chauvinism is being especially widely used in the United States, which is escalating the arms drive without restraint, stoking up tensions in in-

ternational relations, brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and bringing to a head the crisis situations in different parts of the world. The USA is trying to reverse detente and bring back the cold war. It is becoming increasingly clear that this policy is contrary to the vital interests of all nations, big and small, including the national interests of the American people.

American imperialism's aggressive strategy is directed not only against nations and countries refusing to submit to imperialist dictation, and upholding their right to shape their destiny, but it also restricts the sovereignty of America's allies and subjects their policies to the interests of the U.S. ruling element.

All the facts show that the dominant tendency of imperialist strategy today is economic and political militarization, aggravation of international tension, an unrestrained arms drive complemented by intensified struggle against national liberation movements, and by a desire to harden the economic dependence of newly-free countries and freely exploit their natural resources.

This policy is being countered by that of the socialist states and of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The Marxist-Leninist approach to the nationalities question and the consistent defense of the right of nations to self-determination are one of the foundations of the international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The USSR Constitution legislatively consolidates the fundamental principles that determine the Soviet Union's relations with other countries.

Soviet experience in resolving the nationalities question finds its fullest reflection in the activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the *countries of the socialist community*, in the life of society and in their conduct of international relations.

In each socialist country the Marxist-Leninist party pursues its nationalities policy by methods appropriate to its internal specifics and history. However, common principles and regularities manifest themselves despite all the differences in resolving the nationalities question, as also in the building of socialism generally. It is important that the countries of the socialist community find a correct combination of their national interests and those of the community, that they cooperate and remove everything likely to impede their common

advance.

Socialist internationalism, which is proletarian internationalism in the conditions of socialist and communist construction, is being developed in the community of fraternal countries. It determines the principles and norms of interaction of nations and nationalities within the framework of each socialist country, and regulates relations between sovereign socialist states.

Essentially, socialist internationalism encompasses all spheres of international and inter-party relations.

Socialist internationalism embodies respect for the national and historically specific features of each country, readiness to give mutual support and disinterested mutual assistance, and jointly to defend the gains of socialism. The continued strengthening and development of the principles of socialist internationalism—what I would call their day-to-day translation into practice—is increasingly becoming an urgent task, especially now that world reaction is stepping up subversion against the socialist community.

Public opinion, government and political leaders and parties in the *newly-free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America* are displaying a keen interest in the Soviet Union's solution of the nationalities question.

There the nationalities question has acquired special acuteness. It involves the people's struggle against imperialism, for full national liberation, freedom from exploitation by the multinational corporations and realization of the right to independent development. Imperialism can not reconcile itself to the loss of political domination over dozens of once-colonial and semi-colonial countries. Many liberated countries are now the scene of dramatic events resulting from long-standing, but unsolved, national, tribal, religious and language problems. Imperialism's neocolonialist strategy is largely based on aggravating this national strife.

Imperialism—not infrequently with the support of Chinese hegemonism—is counting on provoking separatism, which it wants to use to pressure multinational, multitribal states, and undermine their anti-imperialist policy. We know, for example, that the U.S. special services and Beijing were implicated in the divisive revolt in Nigeria in the '60s, separatist activities in Burma, North-East

India and, more recently, in Punjab, the Indian state bordering on Pakistan. The imperialists are trying to split the non-aligned movement, undermine regional organizations of the young states, such as the Organization of African Unity.

The link between the nationalities question in developing countries and their choice of social and political development now stands out with special clarity. For these countries the question is: either a "repetition of the past," that is, capitalist development with its built-in national enmity and inequality, exploitation of the laboring people, hardship, poverty and hunger; or the new road blazed by the Great October Revolution, a road that leads to socialism, a society free of national conflict and in which friendship and equality of nations have become an immutable law of social development, in which there is no exploitation of man by man.

In every concrete case, the criterion of the progressive or reactionary nature of any national movement, Lenin teaches us, is the question: Does it promote consolidation of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces, or lead to their disunity; does it support the interests of the laboring masses, or is it motivated by the egoistic proclivities of the exploiting top crust; does it serve the social liberation of the working people, the interests of social progress, or is it exploited by imperialism and internal reaction to subvert progress in the interests of the exploiting classes? The duty of Communists, as defined by Lenin, is to "render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 151-152.)

One of the most characteristic features of present-day world development is, undoubtedly, aggravation of national relations in the *industrial capitalist countries*. This is an inalienable element of the continued deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system. Hence, the struggle to preserve and consolidate national sovereignty, to oppose imperialist dictation and to uphold the equality of national minorities and groups, blends with solution of the entire complex of pressing social problems, and, in the final analysis, with the socialist restructuring of social relations.

As a rule, protests by unequal nationalities are either ignored by bourgeois governments or, in the

case of vigorous protests, are cruelly suppressed. This was the case in the American South, this is now the case in Northern Ireland, where the Thatcher government, refusing to grant imprisoned patriots elementary rights, condemned six of them to death from starvation.

National demands are an important component of the political programs and activity of fraternal parties in many industrial capitalist countries.

Whether it is a matter of the thorny Northern Ireland issue, or the struggle against racial and national oppression of the Blacks, Indians and other ethnic groups in the United States, the position of foreign workers in the FRG, France and other countries, of French-speaking Quebec, the dispute between the Walloons and Flemings in Belgium, or national autonomy for a number of Spanish provinces, or for Scotland and Wales in Britain—the Communists define their position in keeping with Lenin's thesis on combining the struggle for a settlement of the nationalities question with the struggle for fundamental anti-monopoly transformations, for the class interests of the working people, for social progress.

All the peculiarities of the nationalities question in different countries notwithstanding, the experience of the USSR and of the lands of existing socialism is a sure guide and valuable help in finding ways to its solution.

I would like to emphasize: The CPSU is far from inviting other peoples to copy Soviet examples without due account of their own concrete historical setting, place and time. The CPSU is against that. Each people, each country, can borrow from this rich experience whatever it considers necessary and useful. What we are striving for is to make this rich experience, in all its diversity, accessible to all interested in it. What the CPSU is striving for is to bring the truth, backed by arguments and convincing facts—of which there are an abundance—of our national policy to the broad masses of the working people in other countries, to all revolutionaries and fighters against oppression. The better and clearer we show the results of our Leninist policy on this question, the greater will be our contribution to promoting universal peace and countering dangerous plans of imperialism, to the struggle for national liberation and social progress.

On Awarding the Dimitrov Prize to Comrade Henry Winston

TODOR ZHIVKOV

We consider it a particular honor for all Communists and progressives in the United States that, on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the Dimitrov Prize for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress was awarded to Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party, USA. We offer our congratulations to Comrade Winston, who has long symbolized selfless dedication, courage and keen political insight to uncounted fighters for a better world, both here and abroad.—The Editors.

I have the particular pleasure to extend to you our most cordial congratulations on behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council and the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the communists and the working people of socialist Bulgaria and on my own behalf, on the occasion of awarding you the honorary title of Laureate of the Dimitrov Prize for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress.

This high international prize, instituted in honor of that great son of the Bulgarian people and outstanding figure of the international Communist and workers' movement Georgi Dimitrov, is conferred upon eminent public figures who—true to Dimitrov's ideas—have embraced the struggle against imperialism and capitalist exploitation, for peace, democracy, social progress and socialism, as the meaning and goal of their lives.

Your tireless work in the name of the peaceful future of humankind, for social progress and democracy, has won you, Comrade Winston, the respect of all progressive-minded and honest people around the world. We Bulgarian Communists and all working people in this country are familiar with the great energy and self-denial characterizing all your life as a revolutionary and fighter for the happiness of the U.S. people, with your untiring, staunch struggle against imperialism.

The attention of this broad public is focused on the issues of the struggle for peace, for preventing the threat of another world war.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria carries out vast activities for the implementation of the program of peace and international cooperation, of freedom and independence of nations. Hundreds of millions of people from the socialist community of countries stand in the front ranks of the fighters for peace. The world socialist system has made a decisive contribution to the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress. The leaders of the Communist and workers' parties in the capitalist world have great merits in this struggle, and your name, dear Comrade Winston, stands out among them.

The Bulgarian Communists highly value your tireless work for enhancing the role and influence of the Communist Party, USA, as a militant detachment of the working class, for rallying the Left, democratic and peace forces, for strengthening further the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement. In this country you are profoundly respected also for your personal contribution to the consolidation and promotion of the traditional fraternal ties and cooperation between our two parties, of the friendship and mutual understanding between the Bulgarian and the U.S. peoples.

Awarding you the high distinction of Laureate of the Dimitrov Prize, we would like once more to express our gratitude for the fact that as a follower of the ideas and life work of Georgi Dimitrov, you are devoting your energies to the victory of peace and socialism, that you are utterly dedicated to the cause of the working class and continue to work untiringly for mobilizing all progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war, for peace and friendship among nations. We are proud that the lofty ideals which inspired and made up the meaning and contents of Georgi Dimitrov's life, are our common ideals.

We are particularly pleased to note that you have been bestowed with the title of Laureate of the Dimitrov Prize in these days when Communists throughout the world join the Communists and the entire Bulgarian people in commemorating most solemnly the centenary of Georgi Dimitrov's birth. We express our most heartfelt thanks for your active participation in the work of the international theoretical conference on the occasion of this anniversary.

While congratulating you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council and the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of all Bulgarian Communists and the working people of our country and on my own behalf, I wish you good health, strength and buoyancy which will allow you to continue in the same selfless way to give your energy to the struggle of the Communists and working people of your country against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress; for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the international Communist and workers' movement.

Congratulations!

Sophia, Bulgaria

June, 18, 1982

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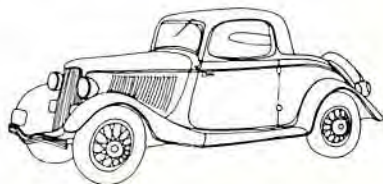
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