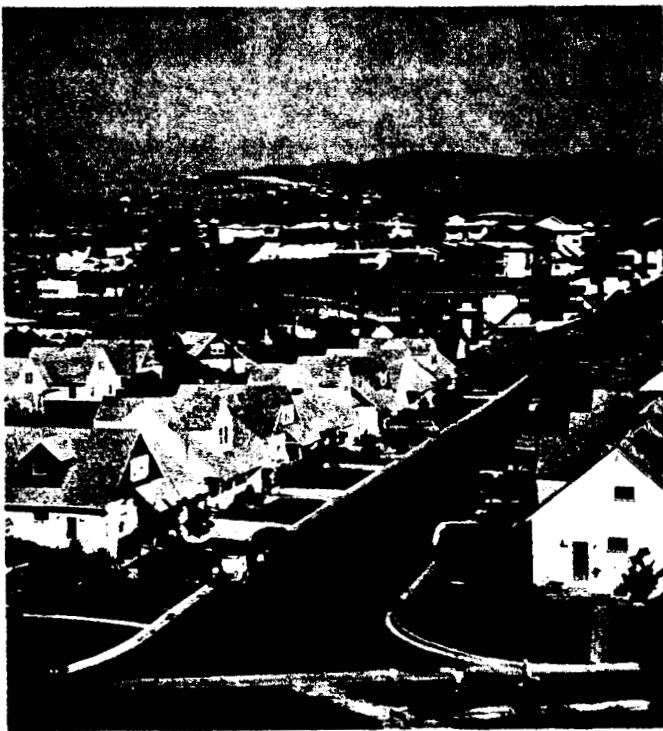


X. 1950s REPRESSION & THE DECLINE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.

1. The End of the Euro-Amerikan "Left"



The post-World War II collapse of the Communist Party U.S.A., the main organization of the Euro-Amerikan "left," was an important indicator of disappearing working class consciousness in the oppressor nation. *It is not true that the Euro-Amerikan "left" was destroyed by the McCarthyite repression of the 1950s.* What was true that the anti-Communist repression effortlessly shattered the decaying, hollow shell of the '30s "old left" — hollow because the white workers who once gave it at least a limited vitality had left. The class struggle within the oppressor nation had once again effectively ended. Mass settler unity in service of the U.S. Empire was heightened.

Looking back we can see the Communist Party U.S.A. in that period as a mass party for reformism that penetrated every sector of Euro-American life. At its numerical peak in 1944-1945 the CPUSA had close to 100,000 members. Approximately one-quarter of the entire CIO union membership was within those industrial unions that it directly led. Thousands of Communist Party trade union activists and officials were present throughout the union movement, from shop stewards up to the CIO Executive Council.

The Party's influence among the liberal intelligentsia in the '30s was just as large. Nathan Witt, chief executive officer of the Federal National Labor Relations Board during 1937-1940, was a CPUSA member. Tens of thousands of administrators, school teachers, scientists, social workers, writers and officials belonged to the CPUSA. That was a period in which writers as prominent as Ernest Hemingway and artists such as Rockwell Kent and Ben Shahn contributed to CPUSA publications. Prominent modern dancers gave benefit performances in Greenwich Village for the *Daily Worker*. Maxim Lieber, one of the most exclusive Madison Avenue literary agents (with clients like John Cheever, Carson McCullers, John O'Hara and Langston Hughes), was not only a CPUSA member, but was using his business as a cover to send clandestine communications between New York and Eastern Europe. The CPUSA, then, was a common presence in Euro-American life, from the textile mills to Hollywood. (1)



This seeming success story only concealed the growing alienation from the CPUSA by the white workers

who had once started it. In the early 1920's the infant Communist Party was overwhelmingly European immigrant proletarian. In its first year half of its members spoke no English — for that matter, two-thirds of the total Party then were Finnish immigrants who had left the Social-Democracy and the I.W.W. to embrace Bolshevism. Virtually all the rest were Russian, Polish, Jewish, Latvian and other East European immigrants. The CPUSA was once a white proletarian party not just in words but in material fact.

The rapid expansion of the Party influence and size during the late '30s and the World War II years was an illusion. Euro-Amerikans were not fighting for Revolution but for settleristic reforms, and those years the CPUSA was just the radical wing of President Roosevelt's New Deal. As soon as Euro-Amerikan industrial workers had won the settler equality and better life they sought, they had no more use for the CPUSA.

The facts about the changing class base of the CPUSA are very clear. Between 1939 and 1942 the number of CPUSA members in the steel mills fell from over 2,000 to 852; the number of CPUSA miners fell from 1,300 to 289. Similar losses took place among the Party's ranks in construction, garment, auto and textile. And while more and more workers drifted away from the Euro-Amerikan "left," the CPUSA was swelling up with a junk food diet of rapid recruitment from the petit-bourgeoisie. Middle class members composed only 5% of the Party in 1932, but an astonishing 41% in 1938 (a proportion soon to go even

higher). By World War II 50% of the CPUSA's membership was in New York, and the typical member a New York City professional or minor trade union official. (2)

Joseph Starobin, CPUSA leader, later admitted: "In retrospect, the war had been for thousands of Communists a great turning point. Many from the cities came for the first time to grasp America's magnitude, the immense political space between the labor-democratic-progressive milieu in which the left had been sheltered and the real level of consciousness of the millions who were recruited to fight for flag and country. A good part of the Party's cadre never returned to its life and orbit. The war was a caesura, a break. Many migrated to other parts of the country, many began to build families and change their lives. Communism became a warm memory for some; for others it was a mistake." (3)

So we can be certain that there was no repression involved in ending the radical current within the masses of Euro-Amerikan workers. Long before McCarthyism was spawned, during the very years of the 1930s when the CPUSA reached its greatest organizational power, Euro-Amerikan workers started voluntarily walking out. By 1945 it was definite. Nor did they leave for other radical parties or more revolutionary activity. This is one of the reasons why the crudely revisionist policies of CPUSA leaders like Earl Browder and William Z. Foster were never effectively opposed — the working class supporters of the Party had lost interest in reformism and were leaving to occupy themselves with the fruits of settlerism.

2. McCarthyism & Repression

The false view that the CPUSA (and the rest of the Euro-Amerikan "left") were crushed by "McCarthyite repression" not only serves to conceal the mass shift away from class consciousness on the part of the settler masses, but also helped U.S. imperialism to conceal the violent colonial struggles of that period. The post-war years were the Golden Age of the U.S. Empire, when it tried to enforce its "Pax Americana" on a devastated world.

We are really discussing *three* related but different phenomena — 1. Cold War political repression aimed at limiting pro-Russian sympathies among liberal and radical "New Deal" Euro-Amerikans, 2. the McCarthyite purges of the U.S. Government itself in an intra-imperialist policy struggle, and 3. the violent, terroristic counterinsurgency campaigns to crush revolutionary struggles throughout the expanded U.S. Empire. It is a particular trait of Euro-Amerikan "left" revisionism to blur these three phenomena together, while picturing itself as the main victim of U.S. Imperialism. This is an outrageous lie.

When we actually analyze the repression of the CPUSA, it is striking how mild it was — more like a warning from the Great White Father than repression. In contrast, the Euro-Amerikan "left" pictures its role as one of

steadfast and heroic sacrifice against the unleashed imperialist juggernaut. Len DeCaux, a former CPUSA activist who was Publicity Director of the national CIO, recalls in self-congratulation:

"...The United States was now officially launched on a bipartisan Cold War course with the appearance of a popular mandate. Every vote against it was a protest, a promise of resistance. Without this effort, few American progressives could have held up their heads...Like those Germans who resisted the advent of Hitlerism, the Americans who opposed Cold War imperialism were overwhelmed, almost obliterated. Perhaps they were not 'smart' to throw their weak bodies, their strong minds, their breakable spirits, against the trampling onrush of reaction. But they did." (4)

This is easy to check out. DeCaux says that he and his CPUSA compatriots were "*almost obliterated*" just "*like those Germans who resisted the advent of Hitlerism.*" Just to throw some light on his comparison, we should note that the casualty rate of the German Communist underground against Nazism was almost 100%. Hundreds of thousands of German Communists and Communists from other European nations died in actual battle

against the Nazis and in the Nazi death camps. In Italy alone the Communists lost 60,000 comrades in the 1943-45 armed partisan struggle against Fascism. Were DeCaux and his CPUSA compatriots “almost obliterated” like other Communists who fought imperialism?

In 1947 DeCaux was forced out of his comfortable job as Publicity Director of the CIO (and editor of the union newspaper “CIO News”). For many years thereafter he worked as a paid journalist for the CPUSA in California. He was never beaten or tortured, never faced assassination from the death squads, never had to outwit the police, never had to spend long years of his life in prison, never knew hunger and misery, never saw his family destroyed, never was prevented from exercising his rights as a settler. Throughout, he went to public demonstrations and worked in bourgeois elections. DeCaux was arrested and had to face trial (he won on appeal while out on bail), had to give up his prestigious job and salary, and was threatened by U.S. Government disapproval. Truly, we could say that the average welfare family in “Bed-Stuy” faces more repression than DeCaux went through.

The U.S. Government repression that “almost obliterated” the CPUSA (in DeCaux’s words) was a series of warnings, of mild cuffs, to push Euro-Americans back into line with imperialist policy against the USSR. There were no death squads, no shoot-outs, no long prison sentences — the CPUSA wasn’t even outlawed, and published its newspaper and held activities throughout this period.

The CPUSA at the time usually called this repression a “witch hunt,” because it was a Government campaign to promote mass political conformity by singling out “Communists” for public abuse and scorn. It was not repression of the usual type, in which the Empire tries to wipe out, to eliminate through legal and extra-legal force an entire revolutionary movement. In 1949 some 160 CPUSAers were arrested and tried under the Smith Act for advocating “the overthrow of the U.S. Government through force and violence.” Of these 114 were convicted, with 29 CPUSA leaders serving Federal prison sentences of 2-5 years. Two obscure CPUSA members, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were executed amidst world-wide publicity in an “atomic espionage” hysteria. Some 400 non-citizen radicals, most of them Third-World members or allies of the CPUSA, were arrested for deportation under the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952. Many of these radicals later won in court. (5)

This warning harassment by Washington totally broke the back of a supposedly “Communist” Party that counted 70,000 members in its ranks in 1947. In contrast, the American Indian Movement just at Pine Ridge sustained casualties between 1972-1976 that were quantitatively greater than that of the CPUSA coast-to-coast during the entire 1950’s. At Pine Ridge alone AIM has lost over ninety members killed and over 200 imprisoned. The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico in 1950-1957 alone suffered many times the losses in dead, injured and imprisoned than those borne by the CPUSA during the entire McCarthyite period. For that matter, both SNCC and the BPP alone also sustained far greater casualties from struggle in the 1960’s than the whole CPUSA did during the 1950’s. What



was so great, so large, so historic about the slap that the CPUSA suffered was the loud panic it caused among the pampered Euro-American “left.” “An empty drum makes the loudest noise.”

This mild repression knocked the CPUSA clear off its tracks. In a panic, their leadership concocted the delusional “one minute to midnight” perspective, which held that world nuclear war and total fascism were about to happen. Peggy Dennis, wife of party leader Gene Dennis, recalls the shambles of their focus on survivalism:

“The FBI knew, the news media knew, the remnants of the Peoples’ movements knew. Our Party had taken a severe beating under the assaults of McCarthyism, the Smith Act arrests and imprisonments, the continuing anti-Communist hysteria. It was reeling on the defensive. But the almost fatal blow was self-inflicted when the Party leadership took the whole organization underground, placing control of daily operative financial and political decision-making into the hands of this subterranean structure.

“Thousands of militants — in the labor movement, former anti-fascists, New Dealers, Progressive Party

activists, former Communist members — went into personal 'underground,' dropping out of all activity, rebuilding lives in enclaves of suburban and urban obscurity." (6)

What was most telling is that for 4 years the CPUSA structure went underground not to wage renewed and heightened struggle, but to passively hide until full bourgeois democracy returned. Their whole movement surrendered and fell apart under the first pressure from Washington. They never even faced any real repression.

When Russian Prime Minister Khrushchev made his disillusioning revelations about Stalin's rule at the 1956 20th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., it was just "the icing on the cake." Once a white workers vanguard and later a mass party for reform within the oppressor nation, the CPUSA had finally been reduced by U.S. imperialism to a thoroughly house-broken and frightened remnant. From 70,000 members in 1947 the CPUSA evaporated down to 7,000 in 1957. Working class radicalism had effectively ceased within the settler society, and its former main organization had politically collapsed.

The capitalist newspaper headlines of that day paid little attention to that phenomenon, however. The media of the late 1940s and early 1950s was preoccupied with the larger aspects of this same imperialist campaign to whip up Euro-American society for the global confrontation with communism. The bourgeoisie then demanded only the most rigid, reactionary and monolithic outlook from

its settler followers. All had to fall in line. This McCarthyism was aimed not so much at the bottom of settler society but at the middle — at purging the ranks of generals, educators, congressmen, diplomats, and so on. All Government employees had to sign new loyalty oaths. *We must remember that the infamous U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy never harassed revolutionaries.* His targets were all U.S. Government employees and officials, from Army officers to clerks. In a telling statement, the well-known liberal journalist George Seldes wrote at the time:

"There is fear in Washington, not only among Government employees but among the few remaining liberals and democrats who hoped to salvage something in the New Deal. There is fear in Hollywood...There is fear among writers, scientists, school teachers, among all who are not part of the reactionary movement." (7)

So that McCarthyism reflected a power struggle within the imperialist ranks between liberal and conservative forces, as well as being part of the general move of the Empire to tighten-up and prepare for world domination. In no sense was this 1950s repressive campaign directed at crushing some non-existent revolutionary upsurge within settler society. At the same time — on fronts of battle *outside* of Euro-American society — U.S. imperialism was conducting the most bloody counter-insurgency campaigns against the colonial peoples. This had little to do with the CPUSA and the rest of the oppressor nation "left."

3. The Case of Puerto Rico: Clearing the Ground for Neo-Colonialism

It is generally known that U.S. imperialism chose neo-colonialism as the main form for its expanding Empire in the immediate post-WWII years. In 1946 the U.S. Philippine colony was converted with much fanfare to the supposedly independent "Republic of the Philippines" (to this day occupied by major U.S. military bases). In 1951 the Puerto Rican colony was converted into a "Commonwealth" with limited bourgeois self-government under strict U.S. rule. What is less discussed is that neo-colonialism is no less terroristic than colonialism itself. Neo-colonialism, after all, still requires the military suppression and elimination of the revolutionary and national democratic forces. Without this political sterilization after WWII imperialism's local agents would not have been able to do their job. This was true in the Mexicano-Chicano Southwest, in the Philippines, and other occupied territories.

The 1950 U.S. counter-insurgency campaign in Puerto Rico is a clear example of this. It also gives us a comparison to further illuminate the CPUSA by. By 1950 U.S. Imperialism had decided that its hold over Puerto Rico would not be safe until the Nationalist Party was finally wiped out. That year U.S. Secretary of War Louis Johnson spent three days in Puerto Rico planning the counter-insurgency campaign. The puppet Governor,

Munoz Marin, was told to arrest or kill the Nationalist leaders. Police pressure on the revolutionaries increased. Nationalist Party leader Don Albizu Campos was openly threatened. U.S. Congressman Vito Marcantonio complained on October 19, 1949:

"The home of Pedro Albizu Campos is surrounded day and night by police patrols, police cars, and jeeps with mounted machine guns. When Dr. Albizu Campos walks along the streets of San Juan, he is closely followed by four or five plainclothes policemen on foot, and a load of fully armed policemen in a car a few paces behind.

"Every shop he enters, every person to whom he talks, is subsequently visited by representatives of the police department. A reign of terror descends on the luckless citizens of Puerto Rico who spend a few minutes talking to Dr. Albizu Campos." (8)

By late October of that year the colonial police had begun a series of "incidents" — of ever more serious arrests and raids against Nationalist Party activists on various charges. Finally in one raid police and Nationalists engaged in a firefight. Faced with certain annihilation piece-meal by mounting police attacks, the Nationalists took to arms in the *Grito de Jayuya*. On October 30, 1950

Nationalist forces captured the police station and liberated the town of Jayuya. They immediately proclaimed the second Republic of Puerto Rico, as more uprisings broke out all over the island. (9)

The defeat of the Second Republic required not only the police, but the full efforts of the colonial National Guard. It was an uprising drowned in blood. The seriousness of the combat can be seen from the Associated Press dispatch: "National Guard troops smashed today at violently anti-United States Nationalist rebels and drove them out of two of their strongholds with planes and tanks...

"Striking at dawn, troops armed with machine guns, bazookas and tanks recaptured Jayuya, fifty miles southwest of San Juan, and the neighboring town of Utuado. Fighter planes strafed the rebels. They had seized control of the two towns last night after bombing police stations, killing some policemen and setting many fires...Jayuya looked as if an earthquake had struck it, with several blocks destroyed and most of the other buildings in the town of 1,500 charred by fire. Another Guard spearhead was racing towards Arecibo to crush the uprising there." (10)

Even in defeat the heroic Nationalist struggle had great effect. In the 1951 referendum for "Commonwealth" status Governor Marin could only muster enough votes for passage by falsely promising the people that it was only a temporary stage leading to national independence. The revolution had exposed the lie that colonialism was accepted by the Puerto Rican people. Throughout Latin America mass solidarity with the Puerto Rican Struggle blossomed. In Cuba the cause of Puerto Rican independence had won such sympathy that even the pro-U.S. Cuban President, Carlos Prío Socarras, sent off a public message interceding for the safety of Don Albizu Campos and the other Nationalists. The Cuban House of Representatives sent a resolution to President Truman asking that the lives of Don Albizu Campos and other captured leaders be guaranteed. (1) In Mexico, in Central America, throughout Latin America the 1950 *Grito de Jayuya* stirred up anti-imperialist sentiment.

The defeat of the patriotic uprising was followed by an intense reign of terror over all of Puerto Rico. In addition to the many martyrs who fell on the field of battle, some 3,000 Puerto Ricans were arrested by U.S. imperialism. Many were sent to prison under the infamous "Little Smith Act" (the 1948 Law 53), which made it a crime to advocate revolution against the colonial administration. Many were charged with murder, arson and other crimes. One woman, for example, was sentenced to life imprisonment for having cooked some food for her husband and sons before they went to join the uprising. The neo-colonial "Commonwealth" scheme was only possible because of the terroristic violence used by U.S. imperialism to pacify the patriotic movement and the Puerto Rican masses.

It isn't difficult to see that the level of imperialist repression inflicted upon the Puerto Rican Nationalists was qualitatively far greater than that used on the CPUSA. It is somewhat obscene to even compare the two. It is enough to say that U.S. Imperialism had to use tanks, air



attacks, machine guns, mass imprisonment and terror to crush the Puerto Rican Nationalists, for they were genuine revolutionaries.

What did the CPUSA and the U.S. oppressor nation "left" do in solidarity to help their supposed allies in Puerto Rico? Absolutely nothing and less than nothing. The CPUSA's main response was to concern itself only with saving its own skin. The single Euro-American imprisoned with the Nationalists after Jayuya — the anti-war activist Ruth Reynolds — did more in solidarity with the anti-colonial struggle than did the entire CPUSA with its thousands of members.

For years during the 1930s the CPUSA had won support from Puerto Ricans in the barrios of the continental U.S. by posing as proponents of Puerto Rican independence. In order to win over Puerto Ricans the CPUSA pretended to be allies of the Nationalist Party. One Euro-American CPUSA organizer in New York's Spanish Harlem recalls: "*The main issues were unemployment and Puerto Rican independence. 'Viva Puerto Rico Libre' was the popular slogan. The Nationalist movement in Puerto Rico, headed by Pedro Albizu Campos, dominated the politics of 'El Barrio.'*" (12) In 1948 CPUSA leader William Z. Foster made a well-publicized trip to Puerto Rico, in which he met with Don Albizu

Campos. Afterwards, Foster wrote a mass pamphlet on poverty in Puerto Rico (*The Crime of El Fangito*) to show CPUSA solidarity with the Nationalists.

But when U.S. Imperialism unleashed its counter-insurgency, when the Revolution joined battle with the mighty U.S. Empire, where was the CPUSA? On its knees proclaiming its loyalty to the U.S. Empire, begging in the most cowardly fashion to be spared by its masters. On November 1, 1950 — the second day of fighting — two Puerto Rican patriots, Griselio Torresola and Oscar Collazo, attacked Blair House in Washington, D.C. (the temporary residence of President Truman). This bold, sacrificial action against the U.S. tyranny occupied the headlines in newspapers around the world. Joining the rest of the oppressor nation media the CPUSA's *Daily Worker* also made the heroic attack on Blair House its main, front-page story.

This issue is completely revealing. Tucked away on its inside pages, as a second-rate story, the CPUSA's *Daily Worker* routinely reported the revolution in Puerto Rico and gave some very routine, luke-warm words of sympathy. But on its front page it carried an official Party statement on the Blair House attack. That statement was signed by CPUSA leaders William Z. Foster and Gus Hall. It was not only under a major headline, but the full text was printed in extra-large heavy type. And what was the meaning of this obviously very important statement? A cowardly and shameful slander of the heroic patriots Tor-

resola and Collazo, and a cowardly assurance that the CPUSA joined ranks with the rest of their oppressor nation in supporting President Truman. The treacherous statement read:

CP ASSAILS TERRORIST ATTEMPT IN WASHINGTON

"Like all our fellow Americans we Communists were profoundly shocked by this afternoon's report of an attempt to enter Blair House with the apparent purpose of taking President Truman's life.

"As is well known, the Communist Party condemns and rejects assassination and all acts of violence and terror. This can only be the act of terrorists, deranged men, or agents..." (13)

With war raging in Puerto Rico, was it a shock for the struggle to be brought to the front door of imperialism? What kind of "Communists" reject "*all acts of violence*"? What kind of "anti-imperialists" would join the imperialists in saying that the martyr Griselio Torresola, who so willingly gave his life for the oppressed, was either "*deranged*" or an "*agent*"? This disgusting statement was transparently begging U.S. imperialism to spare the CPUSA. Far from being the main victims of the 1950s repression, as they so falsely claim, the Euro-American "left" were still house-broken accomplices to the crimes of U.S. imperialism. They were the U.S. Empire's loyal opposition.

Nation

TIME, SEPTEMBER 24, 1979



Lebrón kneels at grave of Nationalist Hero Pedro Albizu Campos

"We Have Nothing to Repent"

Four Puerto Rican terrorists go home to a heroes' welcome

For a brief moment last week San Juan's international airport took on the atmosphere of a revolutionary carnival as some 5,000 Puerto Ricans gathered to welcome the four terrorists. The airline proceeded to

For nearly an hour the nationalists hammered home the need for unity among independence supporters. The sympathetic audience interrupted frequently with bursts of applause. From the

XI. THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS CRIED “ENOUGH!”

Parasitism is still the principal characteristic of Euro-Amerikan society. Only now the crude parasitism of the early settler conquest society has grown into and merged its blood with the greater parasitism of world imperialism. The imperialist oppressor nations of North Amerika, Western Europe and Japan have in the post-World War II years reached a mass standard of living unparalleled in human history. These nations of the imperialist metropolis are choked in an orgy of extravagance, of fetishistic “consumerism,” of industrial production without limit. Even now, in the lengthening shadows of imperialism’s twilight, in the confusion of the U.S. Empire’s decline, the settler masses still can hardly believe that their revels are drawing to an end.

It must be emphasized that Euro-Amerikan society is not self-supporting. The imperialist mythology is that factories simply multiply themselves, that trains beget airlines and mines beget computers. In other words, that the enormous material wealth of the imperialist metropolis is supposedly self-generated, and supposedly comes to birth clean of blood.

The unprecedented rise in the wealth of the oppressor nations is directly and solely based on the increased immiseration of the oppressed nations on a global scale. The looting and killing of early colonialism continue in a more sophisticated and rationalized system of neo-colonialism. But continue they do. It was Karl Marx, a century and a half ago, who first defined the accumulation of world capital as rising out of an accumulation of world proletarianization, oppression and misery.

“The greater the social wealth, the functioning of capital, the extent-and energy of its growth, and therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labor, the greater is the industrial reserve army...the more extensive, finally, the Lazarus-layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is the official pauperism. *This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation...It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with the accumulation of capital.*” (1)

Zaire, for example, is the richest mineral-producing nation in the entire world, its great mines overshadowing even such nations as Azania and Canada. The Belgian, French, British and Euro-Amerikan imperialists have taken literally billions of dollars in copper, diamonds, cobalt and other minerals out of Zaire since the anti-colonial Lumumba government was destroyed in 1960-61.

This frenzy of looting has so infected the neo-colonial Mobutu regime that the Belgians laughingly call their allies a “kleptocracy.” In a typical little amusement during the Winter of 1982, Zaire’s President Mobutu and his entourage of 93 wives, concubines, servants and bodyguards spent \$2 million visiting Disneyworld. His make-believe government is perpetually bankrupt, unable to pay even its phone bills, permanently indebted to Western banks. And the Afrikan masses, how do they relate to this great wealth? Real wages in Zaire have declined by 80% between 1960-1978. This is the source of the wealth. (2) In Zaire, as in Ghana, Philippines, Mexico and elsewhere in the neo-colonial world, the bottom half live worse than they did twenty years ago. For that matter, worse than they did five centuries ago.

The majority of the world’s population, the proletarian and peasant masses of the neo-colonial Third World, exist under conditions of *increasing* hunger and landlessness, of *increasing* terror and dislocation. Millions have died that Euro-Amerikans may walk on the moon; people die of hunger and disease that Euro-Amerikans may overeat. This is the bloody secret at the roots of imperialist technological prosperity.

Just as unequal treaties, arrived at through invasion and gunboat diplomacy, were common mechanisms of global capital transfer for much of the 19th Century, so today unequal trade in the imperialist world market effectively strips and plunders the neo-colonial world. This is well known, and we need only discuss it in a brief, general way.

The amazing, post-World War II economic recovery of the imperialist powers was not solely a process of creation, but also a process of extraction and transfer. Western Europe was refertilized and rebuilt in large part with new capital extracted from the Third World, extracted under a process of involuntarily tightening trade terms. In the 1960s Sekou Toure of Guinea pointed out:

“In the course of the last ten years alone, the prices of industrial goods in international trade have increased by 24%, while the prices of raw materials have fallen by 5%. In other words, the underdeveloped countries exporting raw materials were, towards the end of the fifties, purchasing one-third less industrial goods for a determined quantity of raw materials, as compared with ten years ago.”

Toure related this to the fact that the average per capita income in the U.S., which in 1945 was *ten times* greater than the average income in Asia, Afrika and Latin Amerika, had by 1960 become even more extreme — no less than *seventeen times* as much as the average Third World income! (3)

This extractive process has since 1960 only stepped up its tempo, driven to new levels by imperialism's crisis of profitability. The *New York Times* recently said: *"Commodity prices have in fact reached their lowest levels in 30 years...For Central America's agricultural economies, the terms of trade — the relative prices of exports and imports — have deteriorated 40 per cent since 1977...the gap between the richest and poorest nations has widened...Moreover, many rural societies are no longer able to feed themselves. In Africa, for example, there is*

less food per capita today than there was 20 years ago, with sub-Saharan Africa frequently ravaged by starvation." (4)

Behind the neo-colonial facade of international airports, of tourist hotels, of Mercedes-Benz society in the capital cities, is a world of oppressed nations increasingly war-torn, looted and socially disorganized. No less than the *Wall Street Journal* clinically described this in the example of the Dominican Republic:

"Sugar had been like oil to the Dominican Republic, allowing the country to import its needs without learning to develop them locally. 'Over the past few years we've been able to create the illusion of being a developed country — we have the latest computers, automobiles and appliances,' says Felipe Vicini. 'But we aren't developed at all.'

"Stripped of its imported goods, the Dominican Republic is essentially what it was 100 years ago — a plantation society with thousands of acres of sugar cane, some bananas and cocoa, and several gold and silver mines. Today, in this plantation society, about 6% of the population owns 40% of the wealth. Most of the people are peasants, living in areas where unemployment is 50%, illiteracy is 80% and many of the adults and children are malnourished. The impoverished population spills over into urban barrios and in the city streets children beg...

"In the sugar fields, wages average \$3.50 a day, at least during the six-month cutting season when work is available. Much of the cutting is done by Haitians...some half million of them roam the Dominican countryside often working in conditions approaching slavery." (5)

In 1965, when a reform government was attempted by a faction of the Dominican military, the U.S. promptly invaded with 23,000 troops to restore the old order. *The neo-colonial societies are not, of themselves, stable or viable. To maintain them imperialism subjects the world to a never-ending series of search-and-destroy missions.* There is both the "white death" by starvation and disease and the literally millions of Third World casualties from endless war. Jon Stewart of the Pacific News Service has written:

"According to *War In Peace*, a new book published in London, about 35 million people have died in 130 military conflicts in more than 100 countries (all but a handful in the Third World) since the end of World War II. In the vast majority of these conflicts, the four original powers of the UN Security Council — Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union — have played prominent direct or indirect roles.

"One thinks especially of Korea, which claimed 2½ million lives and involved all the great powers; of Indochina, which involved all the great powers but Britain; of France's bloody colonial wars in Africa, which claimed several million...

"The argument that these Third World wars — which, taken together, really represent a third World War — are mostly the products of nation-building among backward and bloodthirsty societies simply doesn't wash. At least it doesn't explain why the four great powers...have



In his 1982 Nobel Prize lecture in Stockholm, Colombian novelist Gabriel Garcia Marquez reminded the world how in the previous eleven years Latin America has suffered from imperialist violence.

"There have been 5 wars and 17 military coups; there emerged a diabolical dictator who is carrying out, in God's name, the first Latin American ethnocide of our time. In the meantime, 20 million Latin American children died before the age of one — more than have been born in Europe since 1970.

"Those missing because of repression number nearly 120,000, which is as if no one would account for all the inhabitants of Upsala. Numerous women arrested while pregnant have given birth in Argentine prisons, yet nobody knows the whereabouts and identity of their children...Because they tried to change this state of things, nearly 200,000 men and women have died throughout the continent, and over 100,000 have lost their lives in three small and ill-fated countries of Central America: Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatamala. If this had happened in the United States, the corresponding figure would be that of 1,600,000 violent deaths in four years.

"One million people have fled Chile, a country with a tradition of hospitality — that is, 10 percent of its population. Uruguay, a tiny nation of two and a half million inhabitants, which considered itself the continent's most civilized country, has lost to exile one out of every five citizens...The country that could be formed of all the exiles and forced emigrants of Latin America would have a population larger than that of Norway."

engaged in as many as 71 direct military interventions outside their own borders in the postwar period, all but 4 of which have been in the Third World.” (6)

Thus, there is nothing “benign” about imperialistic parasitism. The so-called world market is not a neutral trading ground, but a system of rigged transactions and economic crimes at gunpoint. There is a direct, one-to-one relationship between world hunger, mass unemployment and proletarian “conditions approaching slavery” (to use the words of the *Wall Street Journal*) on the one hand, and a fortified Babylon filled with consumer decadence and arms factories on the other hand. For

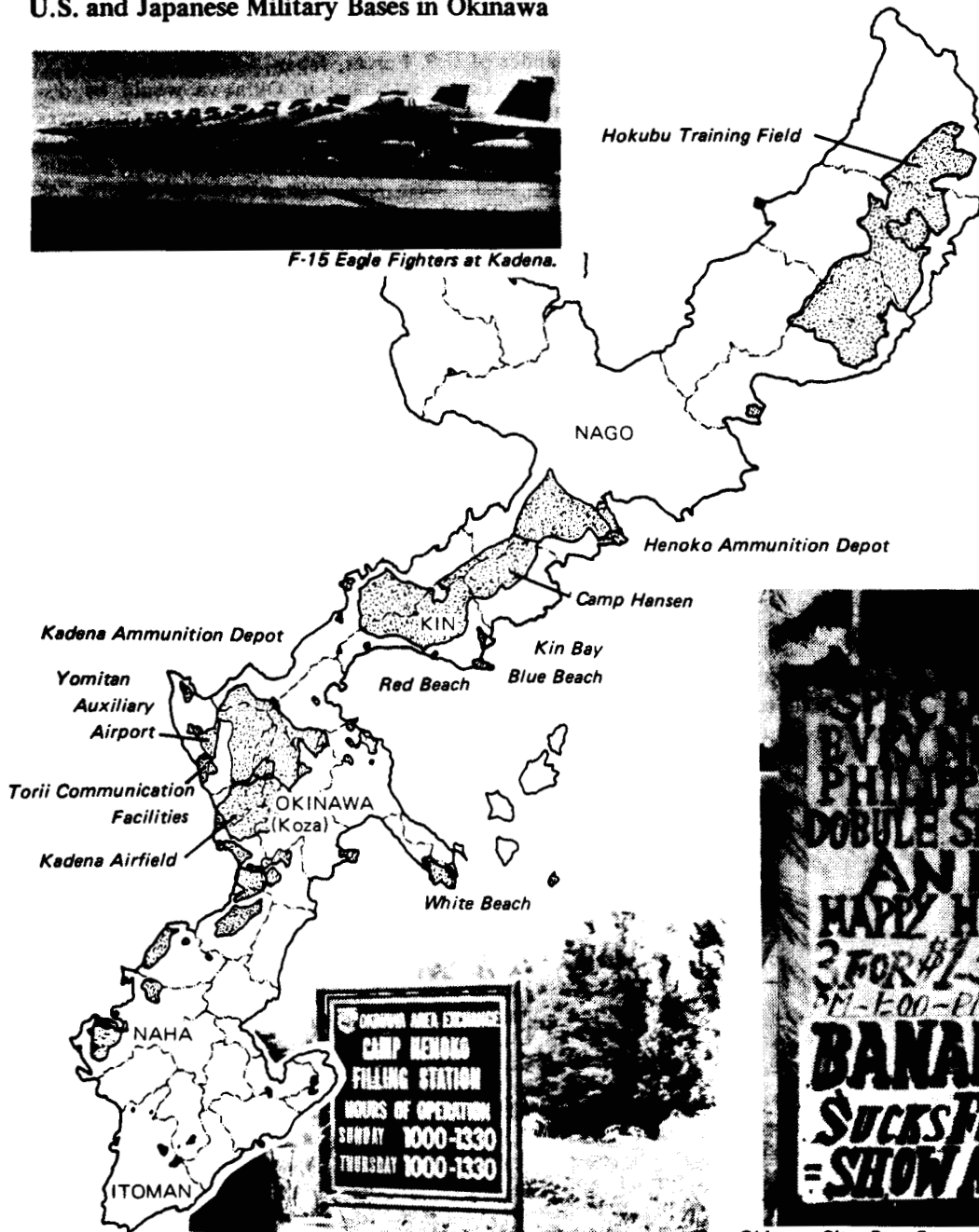
generations the increasingly proletarian masses of Afrika, Asia and Latin Amerika have labored — and yet live in misery.

No society would freely enter into such self-destructive relationships. A world of colonies and neo-colonies create the only conditions for the imperialist “free market.” In addition to its own armies, imperialism maintains in every nation that it dominates puppet military and police forces, amounting world-wide to millions of armed men, in order to extend capitalistic repression into the smallest and remotest village. The Third World War is already going on.

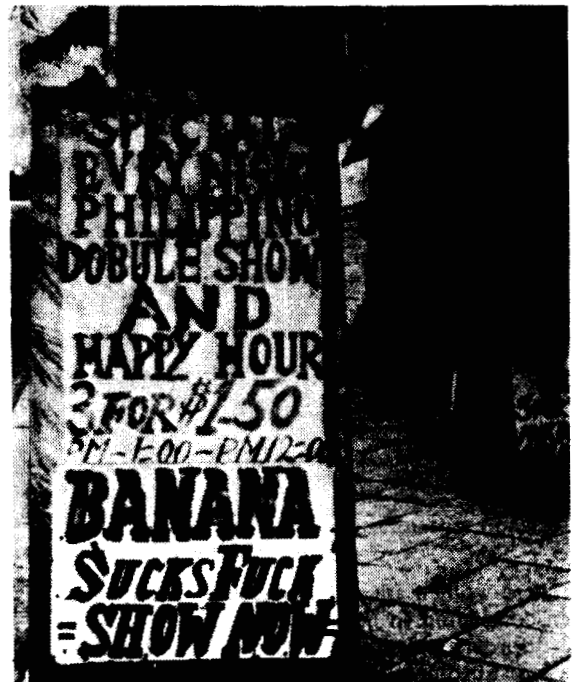
U.S. and Japanese Military Bases in Okinawa



F-15 Eagle Fighters at Kadena.



Camp Henoko, allegedly the sight where U.S. nuclear war material is stockpiled.



Okinawa City, Base Center Street near Kadena Air Force Base. At night this street becomes crowded with women advertising the obvious — almost all Filipino women.

XII. THE GLOBAL PLANTATION

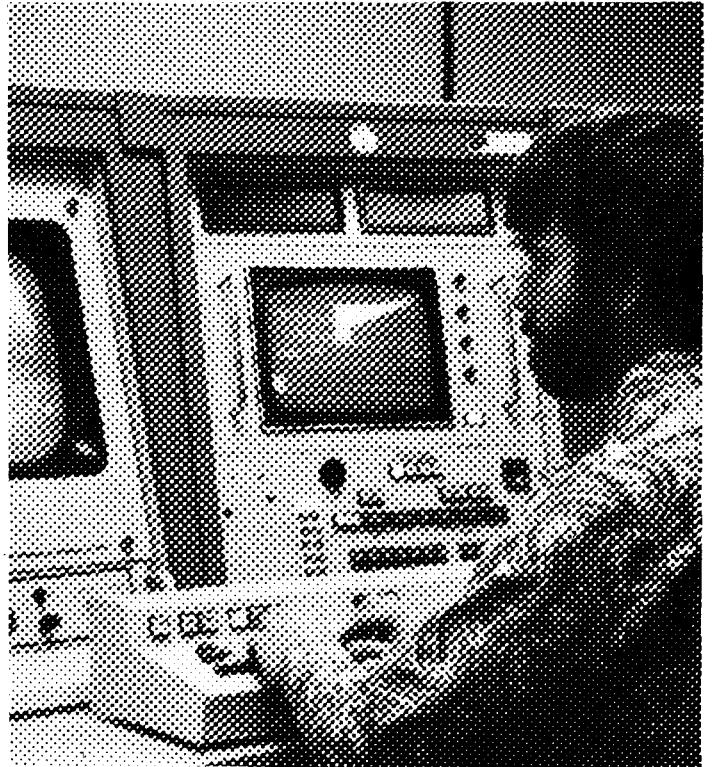
1. The Promotion of the Proletariat and Replacement by Third-World Labor

The short era of "Pax Americana" after World War II was one of completing profound changes for Euro-American society. Those expansionist years of 1945-1965, when U.S. military and economic power lorded over the entire non-socialist world, saw the final promotion of the white proletariat. *This was an en masse promotion so profound that it eliminated not only consciousness, but the class itself.*

Just as in the 19th Century, the Euro-American bourgeoisie both watered-down class contradictions and reinforced its settler garrison over the continental Empire by absorbing immigrant European nationalities fully into the U.S. oppressor nation. This 20th Century cycle had begun in the anti-communist "Americanization" campaign of the World War I period; it reached its decisive point in the accommodation between the imperialist State and the dependent, settleristic CIO unions of the 1930s. The process was sealed by the post-World War II imperialist feast, finally laying to rest the class contradictions of the period of industrial unionism. While the deproletarianization of the white masses was a historic pacification, it led to an increase in decadence and parasitism that has today reached a nodal point.

This mass promotion rewarded settlers for the U.S. Empire's "supreme triumph" as the world's No. 1 imperialist, Super-privileged life for the Euro-American masses was made possible by two factors: U.S. domination of world markets and the Empire's giant reserve armies of colonial proletarians, who took over a greater and greater burden of essential production from white workers. We must remember that World War II had physically devastated and bankrupted all the major imperialist nations save one. In the late 1940's U.S. steel mills supplied 50% of the world's steel (and now supply only 15%). U.S. aircraft plants manufactured almost 100% of the world's commercial airplanes. As late as 1949 the flow of U.S. trucks, diesel engines, elevators, pharmaceuticals, industrial tools, wheat, etc. accounted for roughly 25% of all world trade. (1) Of course, the largest single market in the entire world — the continental U.S. Empire — was "owned" by U.S. corporations. This produced the economic surpluses that started Euro-American society on its long retreat from essential production.

In these years the Euro-American workers moved upwards, increasingly handing over their places in basic production to colonial workers. Broom and Glenn summarized in the 1960's: "Between 1940 and 1960, the total



number of employed white workers increased by nearly 12 million, or 81 per cent, while the total employed labor force increased by only 37 per cent. Hundreds of thousands of white workers have moved up into higher-level jobs, leaving vacancies at intermediate levels that could be filled by Negroes...Negroes are now well represented in semi-skilled work and in industrial unions..." (2) Once driven, step-by-step during the 19th Century, out of U.S. industry they had created, Afrikans were recruited anew into the factories. They, along with Chicano-Mexicano and Puerto Rican labor, would keep production growing while most Euro-American workers laid down their tools, one by one.

By the early 1950s Armour's main Chicago meat-packing plant was 66% Afrikan. Of the 7,500 workers there almost all the younger men and women were Afrikan. The younger Euro-Americans hired by Armour went into white-collar jobs at the nearby, 4,000-person Armour main office, which was all-white. Swift's meat-packing plant in Chicago was also 55%

Afrikan by 1950. The desperate Swift personnel department fruitlessly begged young Euro-Amerikans to work at their plant, with one white woman complaining: "We had so many colored people during the war and now we can't get rid of them." This had more than local significance, since at that time some 75% of all packinghouse workers in the U.S. were employed in Illinois-Wisconsin. (3) In Houston, Texas, as well, Afrikans and Chicano-Mexicanos made up 60% of the packinghouse workers by 1949. (4)

By the 1960's the transformation of labor was very visible. In the great Chicago-Gary steelmill district over 50% of the workers were Third World (primarily Chicano-Mexicano and Afrikan). In the 26 Detroit area Chrysler plants at that time the clear majority of production workers were Afrikan (while the skilled trades, supervisors and office staffs were Euro-Amerikan). In some plants, such as Dodge Main, the percentage of Afrikan workers was 80-90%. Chrysler Tank Arsenal, the main producer of U.S. Army heavy tanks, was overwhelmingly Afrikan. (When it had first opened in 1942, Chrysler had decreed that only Euro-Amerikans could work there.) The UAW officially estimated in 1970 that 25% of all auto workers were Afrikan. The League of Revolutionary Black Workers disagreed, saying instead that Afrikan workers were then closer to 45% of the primary auto production force. (5)

Chicano-Mexicano and Puerto Rican labor played growing industrial roles as well, particularly in the Southwest and on the East Coast. For example, in the 1920s and 1930s the garment industry was composed primarily of East European Jewish and Italian workers. By the 1950's young Euro-Amerikans were no longer entering the needle trades. The children of European immigrant sewing machine operators and cutters were going off to college, becoming white collar workers, or going into business. The AFL-CIO garment unions, while still Jewish and Italian in their bureaucracy, retirees and older membership, increasingly tried to control an industry workforce that was Chicano-Mexicano, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Dominican, Afrikan, etc. on the shop floor. (6)

In the urban infra-structure we saw these changes as well. In 1940 only whites had jobs as transit bus drivers, mechanics or motormen in New York, Washington, D.C., etc. By the 1960's Afrikans, Puerto Ricans and Chicano-Mexicanos made up a majority or a near-majority of the municipal transit workers in Chicago, Washington, New York, and other urban centers. The same for postal workers. Young Euro-Amerikans didn't want these jobs, which were difficult and might force them into physical contact with the ghetto.

This tendency could not reach the theoretical totality of having no settler workers at all, of course, (any more than the capitalist tendency toward the concentration of Capital could reach its theoretical totality of only one capitalist who would employ the rest of humanity). The growing re-dependence on colonial labor has been masked not only by industry and regional variations, but by the fact that at all times a numerical majority of manufacturing corporation employees within the continental U.S. are Euro-Amerikans (although this represents only a small minority of their settler society). This seeming productive

vigor was only outward. U.S. imperialism was moving the weight of Euro-Amerikan society away from toil and into a subsidized decadence.

Essential production and socially useful work occupy a gradually diminishing place in the domestic activity of U.S. corporations, in the work of its settler citizens, in the imperial culture. Decadence is taking over in an even deeper way, in which non-essential and parasitic things become the most profitable, while worthless activities are thought the most important. Always present within imperialism, this decadence now becomes dominant within the oppressor nation.

We can see this in the dramatic increase of the non-productive layers in economic life. While this phenomenon is centered in the rule of finance capital, its manifestation appears in all imperialist institutions. Advertising, marketing, package design, finance, "corporate planning," etc. mushroom with each corporation. *Management on all levels grows as numbers of production workers shrink. When one includes the large army of white-collar clerical workers needed to maintain management and carry out its work, the proportions become visibly lop-sided.* At Weyerhaeuser, the large timberland and natural resources corporation, top executives and professionals alone (not including supervisors, foremen and clerical workers) account for one out of every six employees. At the Southern Pacific Railroad, one out of every ten employees is in management. (7)

There has been a historic trend, as an expression of decadence, for the growth of management. The *New York Times* recently noted: "By December 1982, there were nearly 9 percent more managers and administrators in the American economy than in January 1980, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This is in sharp contrast to the nearly 1 percent decline in overall employment and the 12 percent drop in blue-collar jobs... In manufacturing businesses that are thriving, such as office and computing companies and pharmaceutical concerns, administrators and managers account for 11 percent of total employment." (8)

This is an aspect of an overall change, in which technology plays its part but is secondary to the corpulence, the affordable self-indulgence of an oppressor nation. Peter Drucker, the management "guru," writes on capitalism's "Midriff Bulge".

"...instead of disappearing or even shrinking, middle*management has been exploding in the last few decades. In many companies the 'middle' between the first-line supervisor and the corporate top has been growing three or four times faster than sales... The growth hasn't been confined to big business; middle management in small and medium-sized companies may have grown even faster... And it hasn't been confined to business; managerial growth has been even greater in government, the military and a host of non-profit institutions... A liberal arts college I know had, in 1950, a president, a dean, and an assistant dean of students who also handled admissions and a chief clerk who kept the books. Enrollment has doubled, from 500 to 1,000; but administrative staff has increased six-fold, with three vice-presidents, four deans and 17 assistant deans and assistant vice-

presidents..five secretaries did the same work now being done by seven or eight deans, assistant deans and assistant vice-presidents — and did it very well.” (9)

The historic trend has been to sharply dilute the role of productive workers even in vital industries. In food products, for example, the percentage of total employment that is non-production (managerial, supervisory, technical and clerical) rose from 13% in 1933 to 32% in 1970. A similar development took place in the chemical industry, where non-production employees rose from 16% of all employees in 1933 to 37% in 1970. (10) In manufacturing

industries as a whole the percentage of non-production employees went up from 18% to 30% in 1950-1980. (11)

When we look at the overall distribution of employed Euro-Americans, we see that in 1980 white-collar workers, professionals and managers were 54% — a majority — and service employees an additional 12%. Only 13.5% were ordinary production and transportation workers. That is only 13 out of every 100 employed Euro-Americans. By 1982 there were thought to be more Third-World domestic servants in California alone than Euro-American workers in the entire U.S. steel industry. (12)

2. New Babylon

The observation was made by the Black Liberation Movement during the 1960's that modern Amerika was just “slavery days” on a higher level — in which U.S. imperialism as slavemaster made the entire Third World its plantation and Amerika itself its “Big House.” The real economy of the U.S. Empire is not continental but global in its structural dimensions.

The U.S. oppressor nation itself has increasingly specialized into a headquarters society, heavily dependent upon the super profits of looting the entire Third World. This is more than just a matter of dollar transactions. Born out of the slave trade and the conquest of Indian lands, raised up to power through colonial labor, the U.S. oppressor nation has again developed a one-sided dependence, even for its daily necessities, on the labor and resources of the oppressed nations.

The *Wall Street Journal* said recently: “By last year the U.S. sales to Third Worlds countries had swelled to 39% of its exports, from 29% in 1970.” (13) This even understates the relationship. Afrika, for example, accounts for 10% of all U.S. export earnings by official statistics. (14) These figures conceal more than they reveal, not including, for example, the profits taken out of Afrika directly and indirectly by the European subsidiaries of U.S. multinationals, not the sale of third-party commodities — such as Saudi oil — by U.S. multinationals. Nor can such figures express the super-profits gained through unequal trade terms. The U.S. and other imperialists purchase from Afrika at bargain basement prices (often only a fraction of what they were 30 years ago) cocoa, coffee beans, iron ore, chromium, coal, mica, nickel, cobalt, copper, manganese, and so on. The basic raw materials of industrial life are taken by U.S. imperialism so cheaply they are the next thing to free.

This economic dependency on the rest of the world was recently admitted by former U.S. Vice President Mondale: “Unless our exports grow, we cannot hope to recover from the recession... More than 20 percent of American industrial output is exported. One out of every six manufacturing jobs is linked to exports; *four out of every five created between 1977 and 1980 were export-related.*

*Almost one-third of all corporate profits derive from foreign investment and trade. *Two-fifths of our farmland produces for export...”* (15)

The most significant trend to us, however, has been the export of capital in the form of production. This is the latest step in moving the work of essential production out of the oppressor nation. In the 1945-1965 period the loyal Euro-American workers received a mass promotion away from the proletariat, raising the majority of them out of the factories and fields and into the white-collar professional, office, and sales world. Even in its origins this was only possible by replacing them with colonial labor, Afrikan, Puerto Rican, and Chicano-Mexicano.

That early stage, in which the Afrikan proletariat took such a heavy role in industrial production, is now over. In the second stage the Empire is continuing to move productive work out of the oppressor nation. This is accelerating on a global basis now, with factories moving across the Pacific and southward below the Rio Grande. Even within the continental Empire new millions of colonial proletarians are being brought in from Asia, Latin Amerika and the Caribbean to both provide even cheaper industrial and service labor, and to permit the dispossession of Afrikans.

Alarmed at the rising anti-colonial movement of the 1960s, the Empire has been replacing Afrikan workers as rapidly as possible. Images of the past persist. We recall how Afrikan proletarians, at the point of rebellion, were systematically dispersed out of the urban South of the 1830s, and later throughout the 19th century driven out of the industry and skilled trades they had created.

*Many of the largest corporations — such as Ford, GM, Exxon, Citibank, Coca-Cola — obtain over 50% of their profits overseas.

We recall how the early settlers in New England kept Indian women and children as slaves, but disposed of all the Indian men as too dangerous. The *N.Y. Times*, in reporting new studies on Afrikan unemployment, said:

"...in addition to the men counted in the statistics who have no jobs, about 15 to 20 percent of black men aged 20 to 40 could not be found by the Census Bureau and are presumed to have neither jobs nor permanent residences...more than half of black adult males do not have jobs." (16)

The jobless rate for New Afrikan men in the U.S. is adjusting toward the usual world level, the 40-50% seen in Mexico City or Kinshasha. Thus, the growing integration of the entire Third World into the U.S. economy is increasing national dislocation and misery.



a plant run by Colgate-Palmolive in Kingston, Jamaica

The Export of Production

The unoccupied zone of Mexico, just south of the artificial border, provides a clear example. There in 1982 some 128,000 Mexican women labored in the *maquilas*, the factories set up by U.S. corporations to assemble parts from the U.S. into finished products, which are then shipped back north across the artificial border. The average wage is less than \$1 an hour, with a 48-hour workweek. RCA, Caterpillar Tractor, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors and many other major corporations have *maquilas*. GM has ten such plants in the unoccupied zone. Foster Grant sunglasses, Samsonite luggage, Mattel toys and many other familiar products come in part out of the *maquilas*. (17)

The rate of profit is enormous. In 1978 the Mexican women assemblers and machine-operators in the *maquilas* added a total of \$12.7 billion in value to the products they made for U.S. corporations. At the same time, total wages paid to the then 90,000 workers were less than \$336 million (roughly 1/36th of the value they created).

These profits of billions of dollars each year never even pass through neo-colonial Mexico, of course. The U.S. oppressor nation receives a flow of inexpensively-produced consumer and industrial goods, U.S. finance capital and the multinationals are aided in shoring up their rate of profits, while a shrinking number of Euro-American workers are still enabled to receive their necessary high wages.

While everyone understands instantly the unemployment problem caused by corporations moving their factories abroad, there is much less light shed on how some Euro-American workers benefit from it. To be sure, every trade-union favors full factory employment with \$20,000 per year wages (average U.S. wages for manufacturing production workers are slightly above \$16,000 per year). Those days are gone forever, the monetary fruits of "boom" economy and monopoly markets. Now, for at least some Euro-American workers to retain those high-wage jobs (and the bosses to still profitably use U.S. factories with considerable capital invested in them), labor costs have to be "averaged down" by blending in super-exploited colonial labor.

American Motors, for example, says this explicitly: An AMC spokesman said: *"We established a strategy to continue to operate U.S. plants, but to expand in Mexico to average our cost downward."* Fisher-Price has five toy factories in the U.S., but its Mexican plant — the smallest — produced the toy tape recorder that was their No. 1 profit-maker in 1982. Reason? Dollar an hour wages.

Or take GM's modernization to compete with imports. Recently General Motors announced a \$200 million plan to frankly imitate "Toyota City" (Toyota's primary, highly-integrated complex in Japan). GM hopes that reorganization and robotizing its main Buick plants into a "Buick City" in Flint, Michigan, will let it reduce costs by \$1,500 per car. Of course, today's 8,600 Buick workers in Flint will be slashed by 3,600 (40%) by 1986. GM, which even now employs one skilled technician for every 5.6 production workers, hopes for the ratio to be one-to-one by the robotized future of year 2000. Many auto workers will lose their jobs, but a large minority will still have their high-wage positions.

Where does GM get the \$200 million to modernize Buick production, to stay competitive (and, incidental to that, still employ high-wage Euro-American workers)? While GM might say "retained earnings" or "raising capital on the bond market," we note that the labor costs saved by GM in producing some auto parts for the U.S. in its 10 Mexican plants instead of Detroit, is over \$200 million per year. *That is not their profits, but their super-profits, above and beyond normal profits, gotten from \$1 an hour labor.* GM can have renewed factories, and a number of Euro-American auto workers can still keep their high-wage jobs.

So while the liberals and radicals see high-wage U.S. production and low-wage colonial production as opposed to each other, it is truer that there is an interrelationship and even a dependency. The flashy production of robots and automation, of oppressor nation technicians and workers drawing advanced wages, draws sustenance from the ordinary physical labor and skills of the Mexican proletariat. *"Nations become almost as classes."*

The *maquilas* do not constitute any economic development for Mexico. They are just labor-intensive intrusions of U.S. manufacturing. It isn't just the profits that go to the U.S. oppressor nation. The U.S. receives both the super-profits and the consumer products themselves, while retaining all the white-collar managerial, professional, clerical, technical and distributive jobs made possible by the production. Even in this form — of giving Mexican women employment at wages five times the usual rate in the rural areas — the imperialist looting has a destructive effect on the social fabric. The border *maquilas* gather women from all over the unoccupied zone, while helping to force jobless men north across the artificial border.

So this export of production is often a Trojan horse to the Third World. Even worse is the parasitic trend of looting the Third World for foodstuffs, shifting agricultural production for U.S. consumption in part to the oppressed nations. The entire imperialist block is joining in on this. In 1980 the *Far East Economic Review* noted that in poor Asian nations *"the new export-oriented luxury food agribusiness is undoubtedly the fastest growing agriculture sector. Fruit, vegetables, seafood and poultry are filling European, American and, above all, Japanese supermarket shelves."* (19)

In Mexico this has reached grotesque proportions. Within the unoccupied zone the area of Western Sinaloa alone supplies some 50% of all winter vegetables consumed in the U.S. (16) Thousands of peasants have been displaced, driven off traditional lands to make way for the large plantations (and their gunmen) that are neo-colonial agents for the U.S. supermarket chains. *The land is Mexican; the labor is Mexican. Only the profits and consumption are Euro-American.* There is nothing too subtle about this. White Amerika is parasitic on the Mexicano nation, taking food from the starving to help fill up the fabled Amerikan supermarket. A report from Mexico in the *New York Times* tells the price paid by that oppressed nation for involuntarily maintaining the "American Way of Life."

"Reliable statistics on nutrition levels do not exist, although the 1970 census concluded that 30 percent of the population, then over 60 million, were undernourished, another 30 percent suffered malnutrition and at least 20 per cent were obese because of poorly balanced diets..."

"The first indicator is when we see infant mortality rising again," said Dr. Adolfo Chavez, head of nutrition in the National Nutrition Institute. *"In some really depressed rural communities few children born since 1974 have survived. We have what we call generational holes.* But infant mortality is also growing in slum areas of the cities... More than 100,000 children die here each year because of the relationship between malnutrition and transmittable diseases," he said, "and of the two million or so born each year at least 1.5 million will not adequately develop their mental, physical and social functions."

"As in many developing countries, agricultural priorities are, first, food for export, second, food for industrial processing, and only third, food for the population at large. While winter vegetables, strawberries, tomatoes and coffee are being produced for export, for example, the government must import corn and beans.

Similarly, according to official figures, more basic grains are consumed for animal forage than by 20 million peasants." (20)

We should note here that the peculiar chemical-mechanized U.S. agriculture is itself highly specialized, primarily oriented around the subsidized mass production of feed grains. *Two-thirds* of all U.S. agricultural exports are feed grains used in raising livestock. Most of these exports are to the industrial powers — Europe, Japan and the USSR — while much of the \$16 billion in foodstuffs the U.S. imports each year is from the Third World. In Mexico the neo-colonial economy imports grain from the U.S. to raise meat for the upper and middle classes, while exporting significant amounts of its own food productivity. (21)

So all over the Third World the oppressed not only supply U.S. imperialism with raw materials, but increasingly labor in both the factories and "the factories in the fields" to send the U.S. a growing stream of consumer and industrial products, and even foodstuffs. The world plantation is still very real in the age of the computer. We say that the first makes the second possible.

Hi-Tech & the Third World

This trend now accelerates. As early as 1970 the U.S. electrical equipment industry had one-third of its total workforce outside the U.S. borders. Ford Motor Co., which already takes over 50% of its profits overseas, has announced plans to sharply increase foreign production. Already investing \$1 billion each year in foreign plants, Ford's spokesman emphasized: "We plan to spend at an even higher rate..." Even Hewlett-Packard, the computer giant that is one of the largest California "hi-tech" employers, is building its newest major plants in Mexico and the U.K. Hewlett-Packard has said that its future production growth will be outside the U.S. (22)

Paradoxically, the uproar over the Atari Corporation's decision to close out U.S. production itself verifies this trend. While radicals denounce this move "to shift manufacturing of its video games and home computers from the U.S. to Hong Kong and Taiwan," Atari production has *always* been in the Third World. Its game cartridges are made in Puerto Rico, its Asian plants were established years ago, and its U.S. production employees primarily Chicano-Mexicano and Asian immigrant women. It was only a question for Atari of *which* Third World workers to lay off. (23)

Decadence is revealed anew in unexpected ways. Everyone has heard that "hi-tech" is the industrial future. These are the new industries based on sophisticated products that keep rapidly changing, keeping on the "cutting edge of technology," rather than just stamping out standard products year after year. In other words, instead of steel bars and diesel engines, computer chips or biogenetics or robotics. These "hi-tech" industries today, by their very



Unemployed Mexican carpenter, painters, and electrician try to pick up some work on the streets of Mexico City

UPI photo

nature, employ one engineer for every 3.6 production workers in the U.S. And there is today a relative shortage of engineers in key specialties. (24)

The U.S. Empire's answer has been to drain engineers from the rest of the world, in particular the Third World (India, Taiwan, Mexico, Palestine, etc.). A recent study funded by the Mellon Foundation reported that "...many graduate engineering programs, even at some of the most prestigious institutions draw 70 percent or more of their students from abroad. 'Several engineering deans,' the report says, 'suggest that without foreign students they would have had to close down their graduate program in the short run and their whole operation ultimately.' Since graduate students are essential labor in university laboratories, much research vital to the national interest would 'grind to a halt,' without foreign students, the report warns." (25)

It turns out that many of the engineering school faculty as well — at some universities close to a majority — are from the Third World. In 1982, for the first time, a majority of the U.S. doctorates awarded in engineering went to foreign students. In testimony before a House of Representatives immigration subcommittee, John Calhoun of the Intel Corporation (advanced electronics) said: "We in the industry have been forced to hire immigrants in order to grow." He said that just considering graduates of U.S. universities, 50% of the masters degree engineers and 66% of the Ph.D. engineers hired by Intel were foreign immigrants.

The U.S. Empire's absorption of Third World scientists and engineers (the "brain drain") is so significant that last year the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution urging a halt to "reverse transfer of technology" out of the Third World. The U.S. and the other NATO powers voted against it. Even when it comes to high technology, it turns out that part of the U.S. Empire's superiority comes from looting the Third World.

Just as interesting is the question of why aren't there enough Euro-American engineers? Answer: Engineering doesn't pay well enough for settlers. In 1981 a survey found an average engineering income, according to the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, of \$36,867. This isn't good enough for them. Engineering requires years of study, taking difficult courses in college, and then constant reeducation to keep up with new advances. (27)

The overwhelming majority of U.S. engineers leave the field, primarily for management and entrepreneurial careers. A 1970 survey of 878 M.I.T. engineering graduates found that 726 had left engineering. For Euro-Americans, in other words, engineering is primarily a good foundation to become a business executive. While U.S. universities are producing 67,000 engineers per year, the American Electronics Association says that through 1985 there will be an annual shortfall of 20,000 engineers just in its sector.

The shortfall only exists because as many as 50,000 U.S. engineers per year leave the profession. (28) Technical education becomes only a step to swell the numbers of Euro-Amerikan businessmen, while the Third World is drained of educated men and women to do essential parts of the actual technological work for the U.S. Empire. Decadence manifests itself even in the most advanced aspects of the oppressor nation. Babylon with computers is still Babylon.

UNDOCUMENTED COLONIAL LABOR

The growing dependence on undocumented workers just transfers new Third World production inside the borders of the continental Empire. Numbering a minimum of 6 million at this time, these workers are primarily Mexicano, but include Dominicans, Chinese, Haitians, and others from all over the world. Their role in production is by now essential and irreplaceable to the U.S. oppressor nation.

Undocumented workers play both a specific and a general role. In specific they are *the* proletariat in U.S. agriculture and garment industries. In general they are a mobile, continental labor army, constituting the low-wage, proletarian base in many enterprises, upon which a superstructure of skilled, white collar and management jobs for Euro-Amerikans is erected. Douglas S. Massey of the Princeton University Office of Population Research has noted that: *"Illegal aliens typically work in menial low-paying positions shunned by citizens, who often work in supervisory and administrative positions in the same firms."* (29)



Undocumented colonial labor pervades the imperialist economy. Undocumented workers haul in nets on shrimp boats off Texas, repair railroad tracks near Houston, assemble furniture in California factories, unload trucks at a Chicago food-processing plant, trim tree branches away from suburban Illinois electric power lines, clean rooms in Connecticut hotels, sell fast-food in Manhattan, mop floors in corporate offices, and operate canning machines in Florida factories. The undocumented worker drives trucks, puts together electrical goods, slaughters beef, harvests crops, and in general does those necessary jobs at wages too low to sustain the "white" life-style.

In supplying the settler society with cheap food and clothing, undocumented workers supply two of the three basic necessities of life, literally feeding and clothing Euro-Amerikans. Even within the continental U.S. it is well-known that effectively all agricultural labor is Third-World. The tractor dealers and mechanics, fertilizer salesmen and county agricultural agents, the farm owners and managers, may all be Euro-Amerikan — but the agricultural laborers in the fields are Afrikan, Puerto Rican or Dominican, and, most of all, Chicano-Mexicano (as is much of the workforce in foods processing). It is hard for a Euro-Amerikan family to have a day's meals without eating the products of immiserated Third-World labor.

This applies, only more so, to clothing. The clothes Euro-Amerikans wear are appropriated from Third-World labor. Los Angeles has become a major garment manufacturing center, with an estimated 100,000 workers. Even by AFL-CIO estimates, some 80% of these workers are Chicano-Mexicano. *An absolute majority are undocumented workers.* This is a sweatshop industry, with the conditions that Euro-Amerikans left behind them over a generation ago. A 1979 investigation by the California Division of Labor showed that of 1,083 garment manufacturers some 999 — 92% — were paying less than the minimum wage. Some 376 of these manufacturers — 34% — did not have workers' compensation insurance. Many used illegal child labor. (30)

These Chicano-Mexicano workers join the other Third-World garment workers furnishing Amerika with clothes. In New York over a quarter of all garment workers — some 50,000 — work in supposedly-illegal sweatshops. Not only Chinese women (the traditional sweatshop workers in New York), but also Koreans, Haitians, Dominicans, Chicano-Mexicanos, etc.

Undocumented workers make up a growing and perhaps majority part of New York garment workers. It is certainly indicative that over 30% of all International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU-AFL-CIO) members there are undocumented. New York's Department of Labor admits that *"in most cases"* these workers earn under the minimum wage (union or not), and that their agency had found sweatshops where the Third-World women averaged \$1.50 an hour in pay for 50-hour weeks. (Even that is more than the garment workers in Asia and Latin Amerika earn; imports accounted for 41% of clothing sales in the U.S. in 1981.) (31)

Charles B. Keely, immigration policy analyst for the Population Council in New York City, told the *Washington Post*: *"Could the economy continue to function if all the illegal aliens were deported? 'Are they really deportable?' he asked. 'Would Americans do those jobs?' Some industries, such as agriculture, food services and garment manufacturing are virtually dependent on illegal immigrant labor..."* (32) The "Big House" needs the plantation.

As Lenin pointed out: *"The class of those who own nothing but do not labor either is incapable of overthrowing the exploiters. Only the proletarian class, which maintains the whole of society, has the power to bring about a successful social revolution."* The meaning of this for us is obvious.

Thousands of Aliens Held In Virtual Slavery in U.S.

By JOHN M. CREWDSON

Special to The New York Times

IMMOKALEE, Fla. — Uncounted thousands of Spanish-speaking aliens who flee to this country each year to escape the crushing poverty of their homelands are being virtually enslaved, bought and sold on sophisticated underground labor exchanges. They are trucked around the country in consignments by self-described labor contractors who deliver them to farmers and growers for hundreds of dollars a head.

Exactly how many find themselves bound to employers who take advantage of their illegal status, their naiveté and their cultural alienation is not known.

But dozens of Immigration and Naturalization Service officials, migrant aid lawyers, prosecutors, social workers, farm union organizers and others who work closely with migrant laborers said in interviews that they believed the practice, while not common, was probably a growing one involving thousands of migrants from the tomato fields of Arkansas to the apple orchards of Virginia, from the cotton fields of North Texas to the orange groves of Florida.

Rising Tide of Immigration

"You're not talking about something isolated," said William Burk, an assistant Border Patrol chief in Del Rio, Tex. Humberto Moreno, a senior official of the immigration service, agreed. "There's a significant amount of that going on," he said.

Existence is hard enough for the illegal aliens who toil in the fields from sunup to sundown, picking lemons in Arizona, lettuce in California or melons in south Texas for a few dollars a day, cooking over open fires, sleeping in the fields at night and watching, always, for the green-uniformed agents of La Migra, the United States Border Patrol.

But for those who unwittingly stumble into the underworld of the slave traders, life can be infinitely worse. Shackled with inflated debts they can never repay, they

may find themselves locked up by night and guarded by day, beaten or threatened with harm or even death if they try to escape, their children held hostage to insure their continued servitude. Sometimes the workers held in bondage are little more than children themselves.

Of the 25,000 or so agricultural workers who come to Florida at the peak of the winter harvest season, Mr. Williams estimates, perhaps 2,000 are "trapped in camps where they can't leave."

"A lot of people try," he said, "especially when they find the working conditions not to their liking, and that brings in the nastier elements of violence."

When the harvest ends, the worker, if he is lucky, is set free, often with only a few dollars to show for weeks of labor. If he is not so lucky he is sold by the farmer to another farmer for several hundred dollars, and the process begins again.

Peonage Moves With Migrants

Peonage, though it exists on farms and ranches of the Southwest, is relatively uncommon there because of the proximity to the Mexican border. California, Arizona and Texas are flooded with illegal alien workers, and "there just isn't that much excess demand for labor here," said Lupe Sanchez of the Arizona Farmworkers Union.

Rather, it is in the citrus and winter vegetable belts of Florida and the potato fields of Idaho and on the tobacco farms of Virginia and North Carolina that farmworkers are at a premium, so much so that the coyotes who smuggle them north or east can easily command fees of \$500 a worker.

Federal officials say one of the largest smuggling operations is run by two Florida men who operate a tomato farm. They are under investigation by the immigration service and the Justice Department, and a Federal grand jury is hearing evidence in the case.

Until recently, the vast majority of farmworkers in the South and Southeast were black. But the makeup of the farm labor force is changing rapidly all along the Eastern Seaboard.

Continued From Page 1

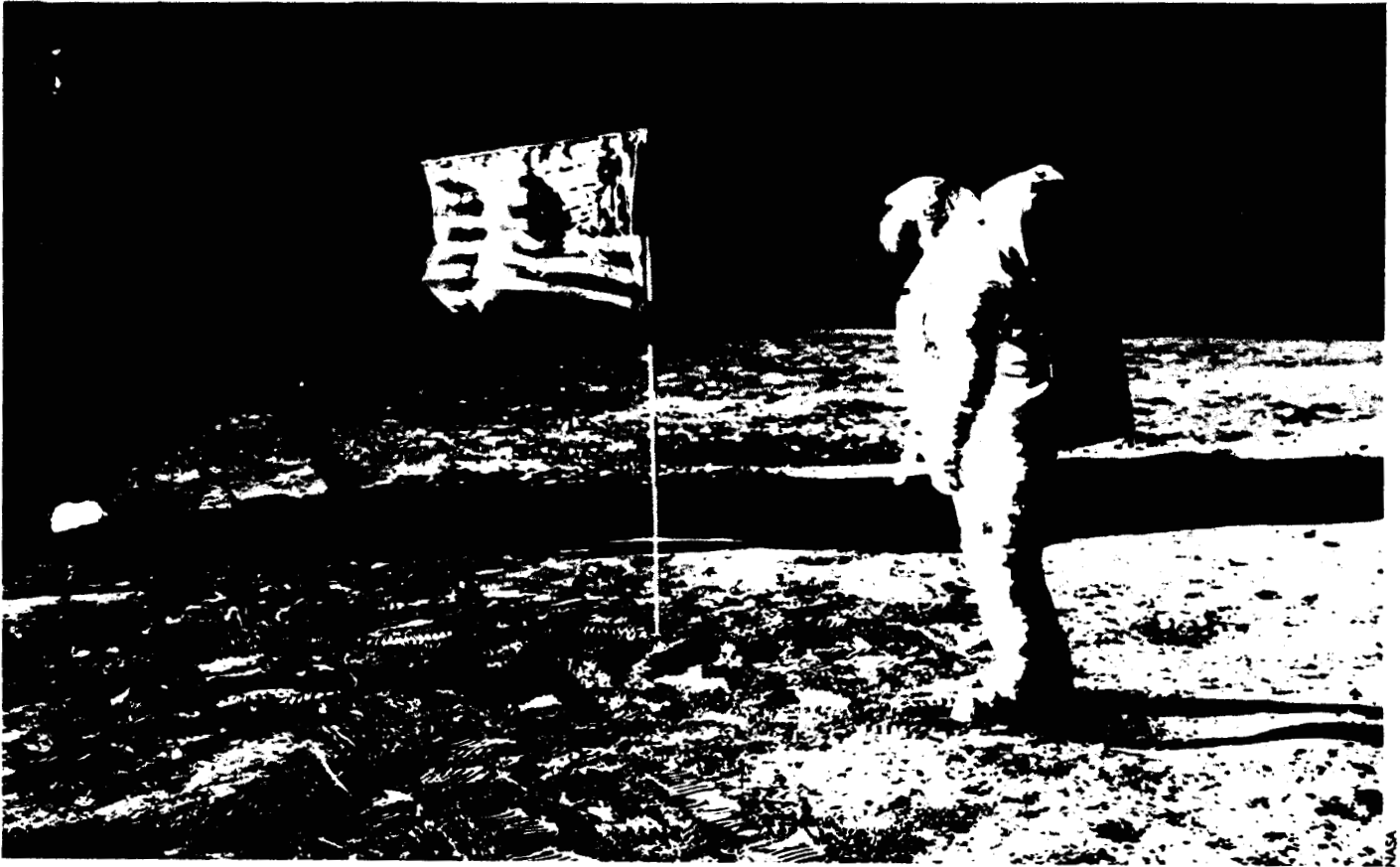
ers," said Gary Bryant, a lawyer with Migrant Legal Action in Washington. Formal complaints about involuntary



were closely watched by one of the Cisneros, who "would often force many of the younger members of the crew to buy them 'gifts' while they were shopping," Mr. Cisneros promised his work.

planning to run away doesn't," Williams said. "That's the way it works. It really is peonage." the Federal laws can though.

Virtual Enslavement Awaits Some Illegal Aliens



For Every Party, There's a Morning After

In New Orleans yesterday morning, a Vietnamese refugee helped clean up some of the tons of garbage that were all that remained of the Mardi Gras

XIII. "KLASS, KULTURE & KOMMUNITY"

"A UE international officer said, in November 1968, to a group of shop stewards and local union officers:

'For the past two years, as you know, we have been having widespread discussion in our union on the general feeling of rebellion, cynicism and disgust among young workers. Let's examine, now, why these young workers coming into the shops today feel and act as they do.

'When this young guy starts getting his weekly paycheck it looks pretty good, but not for long. Soon he buys a house with a thirty-year mortgage. He puts some furniture in the house. He buys a car, a refrigerator, washer and dryer. A TV — likely a color TV. On top of all that, his young wife is pregnant again.

'As the monthly bills start piling up, his pay envelope looks ridiculous. He sees no reason at all why America, the richest country in the world, can't give him a job that will provide him with all of the necessities and some of the luxuries of life — and what's wrong with that? He is frustrated, he is mad, he is ready to fight the Establishment that fails to give him what he needs.'

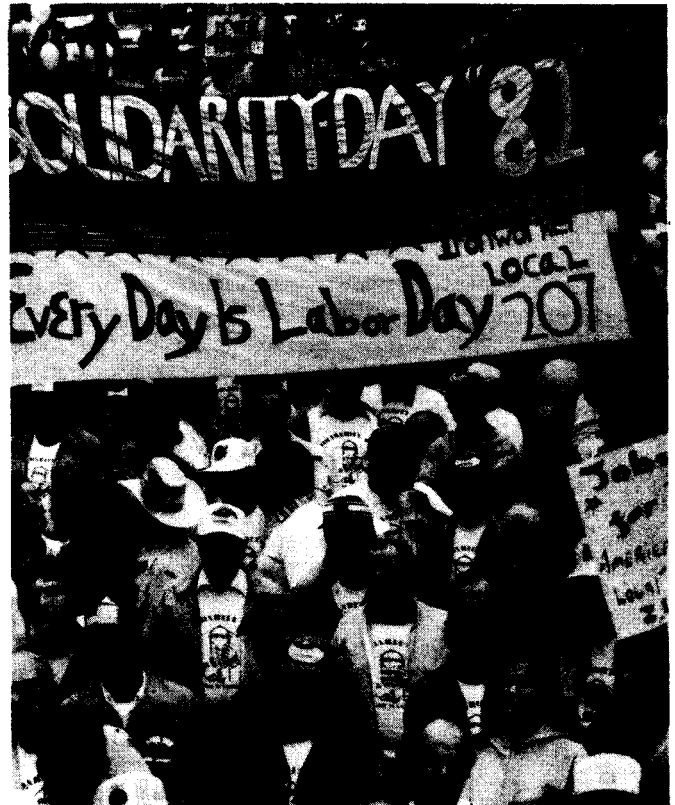
Matles & Higgins, *Them and Us*.

"I'd like to tell you why we are troubled... First, we are tired of being politically courted and then legally extorted. Second, we are sick and tired of institutions, both public and private, not being responsive... Third, we feel powerless in our dealings with these monoliths. Fourth, we do not like being blamed for all the problems of Black America. Fifth, and perhaps the key, we anguish at all of the class prejudice that is forced upon us.'

*"The speaker is Barbara Mikulski, a third-generation Polish-American from Baltimore and there is little question but that she speaks for millions of the inhabitants of what Peter Binzen calls *Whitetown USA*...*

"People forget that, in the metropolitan areas, twice as many white as non-white families live in 'official' poverty, and of course many Whitetowners don't quite qualify for that governmental distinction. They are poor but not poor enough... The Whitetown husband and father works hard as a truck-driver or turret lathe operator or policeman or longshoreman or white-collar clerk — perhaps at more than one of these jobs — to buy and hold on to his fourteen-foot-wide house and new color television set.

"The only place we feel any sense of identity, community, or control is that little home we prize,' says



Mikulski. 'But there again we feel threatened by Black people.' "

Carnegie Quarterly, Fall 1970.

Euro-Amerikan workers are absorbed, as are Boer-Afrikaner workers in Azania, into supra-class settler communities where the petit-bourgeoisie is leadership and the labor aristocracy is the largest and most characteristic element.

There is a distinct and exceptional Euro-Amerikan way of life that materially and ideologically fuses together the settler masses — shopkeeper, trade-unionist and school teacher alike. The general command of bourgeois ideology over these settler communities is reinforced by the mobilization of tens of millions of Euro-Amerikans into special reactionary organizations. Those Euro-Amerikans who are immiserated or heavily exploited are not only still commanded by loyalty to "their" Empire, but are submerged and disconnected amongst the far larger, heavily privileged mass of their fellow citizens. These "white poor" are truly the lost; the abandoned remnants of the old class struggle existing without direction inside Babylon.

While there are numbers of Euro-American workers, they no longer combine into a separate proletarian class. The old white industrial proletariat of the 1930s has been dissolved by promotion and privilege, and its place taken by the colonial proletariats. The abnormal and historically brief contradiction of proletarian class conflict *within* the settler garrison has been ended. Just as in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, the U.S. oppressor nation is again a non-proletarian society that is purely capitalistic in character.

The level of decadence and general privilege can be measured by examining the class structure. Revisionist analyses of the U.S. class structure are, of course, deliberately misleading. Most typically, the revisionists lump together the U.S. oppressor nation with the various Third-World oppressed nations and national minorities as one society. Their scheme is to try and hide Babylon behind the masses of colonial workers. They typically say: "America has a working class majority." This implies about settler society what is not true.

A more subtle distortion is to focus on Euro-Americans, but to determine "class" by sorting each individual man and woman into different occupational groupings (roughly correlating to a private relationship to the means of production and distribution). This approach lets the revisionists claim that "the majority of white Americans are working class."

This approach denies the "sensuous" reality of human society. Classes are huge, self-defined, living social formations, with general aspects and aspects unique to their own history, time and nation. Engels, in this regard, notes: "The working classes have always, according to the different states of the development of society, lived in different circumstances and had different relations to the owning and ruling classes. (1) It is our task to discover and explore the tangible class formations that have their own existence in material life (completely independent of our investigation). The revisionist distortion on the contrary, seeks to arbitrarily concoct statistical categories, fill them up (on paper, anyway) with abstract individuals — and call this "classes." This is just bourgeois sociology with "left" rhetoric.

The U.S. oppressor nation *is a patriarchal settler society* of some complexity. In general Euro-Americans exist in family units, with the class identity of the family primarily dependent on the husband or father. We should say that we neither advocate this situation nor see it as eternal. It is the prevailing reality at this time, in this century, and it is our task to understand it.

The revisionist methodology comes up with conclusions like: "all secretaries are in the clerical sector of the working class." That sounds reasonable to many. *Factually, however, it isn't true.* For example, if a young Euro-American woman works as a secretary, came from a petit-bourgeois family background, is married to a professional, lives in an exclusive white residential suburb or "arty" urban community, shares in a family income of \$30,000 per year — is she working class? Could she be working class but her husband and children petit-bourgeois? Obviously, such a person would, in the actual social world that exists, be solidly flourishing within the petit bourgeoisie.



This is not such a far-fetched example. Fully 25% of Euro-American women employed as clerical-sales personnel are married to men who are managers or professionals. 17% of the wage-employed wives of male managers (includes small retail businesses) are blue-collar workers. (2) due to the patriarchal nature of Euro-American society, most women from the middle classes are forced, when seeking employment, to accept non-professional clerical and retail sales jobs. This does not necessarily change their class identity. One study shows that roughly one-third of all secretaries under 30 years of age are graduates of colleges or junior colleges. (3) This is commonplace knowledge. We have to *describe* classes as they exist, not *define* them as concocted categories of our making.

We can gain a better idea of this patriarchal settler society's class structure by looking at Euro-American male occupations alone. While this is nowhere near as accurate as conducting social investigation, actually going out and surveying the masses in all aspects of their lives, it should help us see the general outlines of the class situation.* This outline is not a full class analysis, we must caution; for our purposes here we do not need to separately delineate the big bourgeoisie, regional and local bourgeoisie, and the varied middle classes (small business proprietors, salaried managers, land-owning farmers, professionals, etc.). All

these are placed into one bourgeois-petit-bourgeois grouping (which contains what are separate classes). This is based on the 1970 Census:

BOURGEOIS & MIDDLE CLASSES — 37%*

Managers	12.17%
Professionals	15.34%
Salesman, Agents & Brokers	5.20%
Farmowners & Managers	3.11%
Clerical-Admin.	1.15%

CORE OF LABOR ARISTOCRACY — 24%

Craftsmen	21.82%
Protective security (police, firemen, etc.)	1.90%

WORKERS (INCLUDES MUCH OF LABOR ARISTOCRACY) — 39%

Factory & Transport, Machine Operators	18.31%
Laborers	6.87%
Clerical	6.45%
Retail Sales Clerks	2.31%
General Service	5.30%

(4)

*The actual U.S. bourgeoisie is abnormally large. The wealthiest 1% of the U.S. Empire's population — one out of every 100 adults of all nationalities (primarily Euro-Amerikan) — own an average of \$1.32 million each. (5) This is the zone where the upper petit-bourgeoisie and local bourgeoisie meet. Earlier studies indicate that the actual Big Bourgeoisie (DuPonts, Rockefellers, Morgans, etc.) is only a fraction of this number, perhaps as few as 15,000 individuals.

This breakdown of Euro-Amerikan male occupations has a very clear meaning, verifying everything about White Amerika that daily life has told us.

The bourgeois, the middle classes and the core of the labor aristocracy are the absolute majority (over 60%). The labor aristocracy is swollen in size. Almost 2 out of

every 100 male Euro-Amerikans are policemen, firemen or other protective security workers. Highly-paid construction tradesmen, machinists, mechanics and other skilled craftsmen outnumber ordinary production and transportation workers. Even this greatly understates the extent of the settler labor aristocracy. Many Euro-Amerikan factory workers, technicians, clerical workers, and even general laborers (such as municipal Park Department "laborers" in the major cities) receive extra-proletarian wages, sometimes doing light labor and usually no toil at all. The settler labor aristocracy is considerably larger than its hard core, perhaps comprising as much as 50% of all male Euro-Amerikans.

Philistine Mode of Life

Most importantly, Euro-Amerikans share an exceptional way of life. What is so exceptional about it is that almost all get to live in a bourgeois way, "quite Philistine in the mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook..." Thus, the mass of the lower middle classes, the huge labor aristocracy, and most workers are fused together by a common national way of life and a common national ideology as oppressors. The masses share a way of life that apes the bourgeoisie, dominated by a decadent preoccupation with private consumption. Con-

*Mao Zedong, for example, in his social investigation of China's countryside, found significance not just in economic roles, but in concomitant social changes: "As to the authority of the husband, it has always been comparatively weak among poor peasants, because the poor peasant women, for financial reasons compelled to engage more in manual work than women in the wealthier classes, have obtained greater rights to speak and more power to make decisions in family affairs. They also enjoy considerable sexual freedom. Among the poor peasants triangular and multilateral relationships are most universal."



suming things and owning things, no matter how shoddy or trivial, is the mass religion. The real world of desperate toil, the world of the proletarians who own nothing but their labor power, is looked down upon with contempt and fear by the Euro-Amerikans.

Euro-Amerikans know how privileged they have it on a world scale, how exceptional they are. Interviews by one reporter in an Iowa industrial city found: "...the prevailing attitude expressed here was capsuled in this comment from Don Schatzberg, the 46-year-old foreman of a concrete-pipe plant:

" 'If you had a chance to pick your country, where else would you go? Where else can a working man own his own house and two cars and take a vacation every year? I'd say I'm a happy man, not a bit unhappy with my lifestyle,...' "

"Like Mr. Schatzberg and many other Americans elsewhere, workers here often seemed to equate success with ownership of homes, cars, campers, boats and the like.

" 'I work a lot of hours,' said James Dirkes, Teamster union shop steward at Zeidler, 'but I've got a car, a truck, a boat and a camper to show for it.' "



"We're so overpaid it's pathetic," says Mitchell Pack, who earns more than \$40,000 a year as an oiler on an electric shovel.

"And LaVone Feldpouch, a 36-year-old wife and mother who works as a clerk for Deere, where her husband is also employed, said: 'I feel my life is an upward curve,' She noted that she and her husband had accumulated three houses and added: 'We're not going to stop there.' They also own two cars, a truck, a boat and a motorcycle and take two vacation trips a year, one with their children and one without." (6)

All statistics show that the amount of consumption in Euro-American society is staggering. Enough so that it establishes for the mass a certain culture. In the settler tradition today's Euro-American culture is one of homeownership, with 68.4% of all settler households in 1979 owning their own home (up 50% from 1940). These households share a cornucopia of private electric appliances: 89.8% of all U.S. homes in 1979 had color TVs (watched an average of over 6 hours per day), 55% had air-conditioning, 77.3% had washing machines and 61% had clothes dryers, 43% had dishwashers, 52% had blenders and food processors, and so on. (7) Much of the world's health products are hoarded in the U.S., with, for example, one out of every three pairs of prescription eyeglasses in the world sold here.

In terms of the "basics," the most characteristic for Euro-Amerikans is the automobile. In 1980 there were a total of 104.6 million cars on the road. 84.1% of all U.S. households had cars, with 36.6% having two or more. (8) Everyone says that owning automobiles is a "necessity," without which transportation to work, (83% drive to work) shopping and childcare cannot be done.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study shows how the "average wage owner" in Boston of 1875 had to spend 94% of the family income on "necessities: food, clothing and housing." A "Century of Progress to 'the Good Life'" later, the study found that the "average wage earner" in 1972-73 in Boston spent only 62% on these necessities, meaning they "could afford to spend 38 percent...on nonessentials." (9) We should note that few Euro-Amerikans would agree with this elemental definition — since in their society such things as automobiles, sleeping pills, college education, drycleaning, telephones, etc. are viewed as "necessities."

These by no means exhaust the list of Euro-American private possessions. Stocks — one of every seven Euro-Amerikans owns at least some corporate stocks — vacation homes, land, hair dryers, motorcycles, exercise equipment, guns, boats, annual changes of clothing styles, and on and on. We have brought up these boring, almost mind-numbing lists of possessions to drive home the point that consuming is a disease among settlers, an infection that is dominant in that culture. *Euro-American life is no longer centered around production but around consumption. This is the near-final stage of decadence.*

All this is only made possible by the generalized high income that characterizes Euro-American mass life. The median Euro-American family income in 1981 was \$23,517. (10) This is not equally distributed, quite obviously, but the extent to which many Euro-Amerikans in all classes — an absolute majority — shared this generalized high income is striking. Between 1960 and 1979 the percentage of settler families earning over \$25,000 per year (in

constant 1979 dollars) doubled, making up 40% of the settler population. When we examine Euro-Amerikan families earning over \$20,000 per year in terms of different occupations, this income sameness is very conspicuous:

HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION	%EARNING OVER \$20,000 IN 1978 DOLLARS
Manager	75%
Professional	67%
Clerical-Sales	69%
Skilled Worker	49%
Unskilled Worker	35%

(11)

This generalized high income has come to characterize even industrial production workers, who in previous historical periods were highly exploited, and lived in abject misery. An upper stratum of unionized production workers in heavy industry earn on an approximate level with the petit-bourgeoisie. At the end of 1982 General Motors was paying its blue-collar workers an average base wage of \$11.53 per hour, plus an additional .99 per hour average in shift and overtime premiums, and an additional \$7.13 per hour in average benefits (health insurance, SUB, holiday and vacation pay, etc.). This is a total package of some \$40,000 per year. Steelworkers average 1981 total wage package was \$19.42 an hour. This compares to craft incomes in the most fortunate high-wage areas — in San Jose, California the latest pact raises union electricians' total wage to \$24.40 an hour.(12)

Most Euro-Amerikan workers no longer can go into such industries, however. Much more typical and more exploited would be Maureen Akin, recently written about as one of the 9,000 Motorola workers in Phoenix, Arizona. A 41-year-old divorcee, Ms. Akin earns \$7.02 per hour (for a 36-hour work week) as a production worker making semi-conductors. Living on a restricted budget, she saw only one movie last year in order to pay for her son's orthodontic work and her daughter's college. When we go down even lower, we find the notoriously low-wage North Carolina textile mills (which in a low-wage industry have the poorest-paid workers of those in any state). Virtual symbols of backward, "poor white" exploitation, they paid an average production wage in 1982 of \$5.24 per hour, or \$10,900 per year. (13)

This low wage of North Carolina textile mill workers is much higher than world standards. This is roughly 30 times the wage that the Del Monte Division of the R.J. Reynolds Corp. pays the women workers who toil 10-12 hours each day on their vast Philippine plantations. (14) It is 11½ times the wage that Rawlings Co. pays the Haitian women who stitch together all the major league baseballs. It is 5 times the wage that General Motors pays its Afrikan autoworkers in Azania.(15) The most exploited Euro-Amerikan workers live whole levels above the standard of the world proletariat, since they may be on the bottom, but they are on the bottom of a privileged nation of oppressors. Nation is the dominant factor, modifying class relations.

No matter where we look, the mass, extra-proletarian privileges of Euro-Amerikans have structurally insulated them within their exceptional way of life. "Pro-

blems" like high mortgage rates for homes are problems of a particular way of life. The full extent of what the Euro-Amerikan masses get from their special relationship serving imperialism cannot be measured in dollars alone. Everyone in the Empire understands the saying: "If you're white, you're alright." To the settler garrison goes the first pick of whatever is available — homes, jobs, schools, food, health care, government services, and so on. Whatever security is available under imperialism is theirs as well. This is taken for granted.

A 1977 survey by the Center for Policy Research among Vietnam veterans in the Northeast showed that while Afrikan Vietnam-era vets surveyed had an unemployment rate of 28%, corresponding Euro-Amerikan veterans had an unemployment rate of only 3%. Further, the employed Euro-Amerikan veterans earned an average of \$4,212 per year more than even those Afrikan veterans who were working. (16)



Feminists manacle themselves to brass rails outside the Illinois state senate
"These chains," a participant said, "dramatize the economic slavery"

Even the Women's Movement became a real factor in preserving their exceptional way of life. While the Women's Movement both expressed anger at sexism and greatly improved Euro-Amerikan women's lives, it was largely co-opted as a political movement by imperialism at its birth. The imperialist-sponsored "liberation" of settler women has been a major prop to reinforce and modernize the patriarchal family structure; for that matter, to transfuse the whole settler society. Just as the Empire called out white women from the kitchen during World War II, to be "Rose the Riveter" in war industry, so in the 1970s white women were again freed by imperialism to enter the labor force in new areas and in unprecedented numbers.

First, at a time when the Empire had decided that Afrikans were again too rebellious to be employed in any great numbers in key industrial, commercial and professional institutions, Euro-Amerikan women were recruited to stand by their men in filling up the jobs. "Equal Opportunity" in medical schools, law schools, business, etc. meant a large influx of Euro-Amerikan women — and few Afrikans. This is noticeable even in the blue-collar skilled trades, which have long been male sectors of employment. During 1970-1980 the percentage of women in these

restricted crafts rose at a rate 3 times that for Third World workers. This was like a new wave of European immigration to reinforce the settler hold on their job market.

And it was a "breath of fresh air," modernizing settler society. Now, for instance even the *New York Times* has a very literary "women's consciousness" column (called "*Hers*"), where feminist leaders and writers can reach a mass audience. The fractures of the sixties are being reconciled and reunited among settlers. Novelist Gail Sheehy wrote in this column: "Behind just about every successful woman I know with a public as well as a private life there is another woman. The dirty little secret is, all but one of the female leaders interviewed here has household help..." Sheehy herself tried Filipino and Argentinian domestics unsuccessfully (too "hostile") before going back to the tried and true Afrikan woman domestic. (17)

While Women's Liberation is an essential part of the world revolutionary future, the struggles of women in various societies have their own national characteristics. In the U.S. oppressor nation the politics of Women's Liberation form but one small current within the much larger, overall Women's Movement. This larger Movement is pro-imperialist, and is concerned only with equality of privilege among male and female settlers. It is opposed to any liberation in general. The revolutionary ideas of Women's Liberation rested lightly upon the surface of the Women's Movement, and some individual women did pick them up.

Real wages in the U.S. began to stagnate in 1967, when imperialism ran aground on the Vietnamese Revolution. For the first time since World War II rapid inflation was eating at the upward spiral of Euro-American income. In this continuing crisis the new income of Euro-American women saved the settler family from "loss of buying power" (a phrase of the oppressor nation economy that carries an almost traumatic weight). The new income of employed women contributed to the 22% increase in real

per capita income in the U.S. between 1970-1980. The Euro-American family continued its way of life by becoming a two-wage-earner family (at a time when Afrikan proletarian families, for example, were increasingly becoming the reverse). By 1978 some 75% of the U.S. families with incomes over \$25,000 per year had two wage-earners. The *New York Times* reported.

"Across the nation women have swarmed into the workforce by the millions, swelling the numbers of multi-income families. That trend can mask the effects of inflation, since a substantial number of families are living better than they did.." (18)

We are not just describing simple social bribery, as in the bourgeoisification of European workers in Germany, France, England, etc.

In Europe the bribed workers came from a long history of class war, in societies with centuries of sharply defined and rigid class divisions. Their classes, however bribed and infected, still exist as formations in the actual social world — occupying traditional communities, continuing a definite class culture. Politically, the European working class still swell the large, nominally-"socialist", voluntary industrial unions (which do not exist in the U.S. oppressor nation), and are electorally represented by their traditional working-class parties — the German Social-Democratic Party, the French Communist Party, etc. **Of course, the long-range trends of world polarization and internationalization mean that all oppressor nation societies have become more alike and will become even more so.**

In Amerika this bribery, this bourgeoisification, took place within the context of a settler society, which has its own history, culture and traditions — based not on class struggle, but on their material role as the privileged garrison over the continental Empire. The immigrant European proletarians were bribed by being absorbed — "in-



The view along 103d Street in the Watts section of Los Angeles on Aug. 14, 1965, three days after the rioting began.



Photo for the Tribune by AP

militant mural in east Los Angeles: Strident voices from some quarters have grown louder.

tegrated" if you will — into this specific society.

So in Amerika intra-oppressor class distinctions have always been muted on the mass level by the fact that the main distinction was whether you were a settler or a subject, whether you were in the slave patrols or enslaved in the fields, whether you were in the frontier garrison community or imprisoned in the reservation. This was the all-important identity, to which everything else was subordinate. Only someone with no contact with reality can fail to see this.

The Garrison Community

The Euro-Amerikan community is not just a conglomeration of stores and residences. It is a physical structure for settler life, in which the common culture of the Empire garrison still lives on. These garrison communities are enforcers of the oppressor nation way of life among its citizens, demanding social conformity and ideological regimentation. They have certain specific characteristics: the most glaring of which is that colonial subjects are

generally barred out. Why should the settler garrison let the "Indians" live inside the walls of the fort? There is an arrogance but at the same time an underlying feeling of being threatened or besieged by "those people" — which occasionally breaks out in collective hysteria (during which guns are flourished and the laggards rush to buy out the local gunshops). The confining, boring and philistine way of life of these communities is one reason Euro-Amerikan youth "dropped out" of them in such numbers during the 1960s.

There are, of course, different types of settler communities, distinguished by a number of things, including by class. The community of multi-millionaires in Palm Springs or Aspen is very different from the communities of Canarsie or Skokie or Charlestown. As are the "hip-eoisie" communities of Berkeley or Greenwich Village. *On the mass level, however, a certain type of supra-class Euro-Amerikan community has been characteristic for over a century.* It is a small home-owning, small-propertied community. In it the lower middle class, the labor aristocracy and other workers share the tight but generally comfortable life of the settler garrison. This is where community life is supported by the conspicuous concentration of state services — parks, garbage

collection, swimming pools, better schools, medical facilities, and so on. In contrast to the reservation or ghetto, the settler community is full of the resources of modern industrial life.

Increasingly such communities are suburbs (or "exurbs"), filled with the Euro-Amerikans who are regrouping away from the old central cities. Today the suburban population is 103 million, roughly half of the U.S. population. These suburbs are fundamentally "all-white," averaging around 90% Euro-Amerikan. Those numbers are misleading, since most Third-World people in the suburbs are either tightly segregated into ghettoized small towns and residential pockets or are Asian. The social character of the typical suburb is relentlessly, monolithically "white."

We can see in such garrison communities, urban "ethnic" enclave as well as suburb, how the shared exceptional way of life materially and ideologically fuses together the masses. There, on the same block and street, the families of electricians and small retailers, truck drivers and schoolteachers, policemen and grill owners, bookkeepers and telephone repairmen, white-collar supervisors and factory workers, computer programmers and legal secretaries grow up together, go to the same schools together, and intermarry. Nominal class distinctions on the common level pale beside their supra-class unification as a settler mass, most characterized by the labor aristocracy.

Here also is the home of the State labor force. Policemen and firemen are quite common, and in some communities almost everyone is related to, friends or neighbors with police. Literally thousands of "all-white" voluntary organizations criss-cross settler communities. Tens of millions of settlers are organized into special reactionary groupings of the most diverse kinds. Some, such as the KKK or the Moral Majority, are overt. Far more respectable and wide-reaching are reactionary organizations such as the AFL craft unions, "ethnic" organizations like the Sons of Italy, the "all-white" Roman Catholic parishes, the "Right-To-Life" groupings, the Mormon



REGISTER NOW

TRAVEL CAMPS

מתנה ביתר בישראל

BETAR CAMP TOUR IN ISRAEL

Offers you the summer of your lifetime for teenagers 14-18. Spend six EXCITING WEEKS in ISRAEL. For two weeks live, work & experience the unique Moshav way of life. For four weeks tour the entire country from the Golan Heights to Eilat.

- Discover anew the beauty of Eretz Israel and the charm of Jerusalem.
- Visit a secret air force base and meet Israeli pilots
- Hear political briefings from members of the Knesset and ministers in the government.

ALL THIS AND MORE FOR ONLY \$1620

For more information contact the NATIONAL OFFICE:

BETAR-NORTH AMERICA

41 E 42 St, Suite 617, NY, NY 10017
212-687-4502 or:

California:
Gershon Stav
213-763-5108

Ohio:
Dennis Seaman
216-291-2830



Florida:
Howard Feinberg
305-382-1489

Pennsylvania:
Abbie Goldfine
215-896-8331

Church, the NRA, the Betar and other Zionist-fascist groups, sports leagues, thousands of neighborhood "Improvement Associations," ranchers associations, military reserve units, and on and on. The list of special "all-white" organizations with reactionary politics is endless.

The National Rifle Association in the state of Pennsylvania alone has ties to over 1,000 local gun clubs with 200,000 members. One report shows how Jim Price, a part-time farmer and factory worker, is also a "power broker" as president of the state Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs. This grouping was credited for electing Republican Richard Schweiker to the U.S. Senate when the Democratic incumbent spoke out for gun controls. The report goes on: "Mr. Price's forebears were original settlers here, so when he talks of the threat of government dictatorship through gun controls his sense of history sounds personal. 'My people were chased off twice by the Indians before they stayed for good,' he said." (19) Everyone who has had any contact with the NRA network of gunmen knows exactly how they expect to use their weapons. This network alone mobilizes millions of armed Euro-Amerikans.

Such special reactionary organizations are far from all-commanding even within the settler community, but their strength is considerable. What is most important is to realize that White Amerika is not a political "blank." The Euro-Amerikan "left" sometimes discusses things as if this were true, discussing "organizing white workers" as though they were frozen in place. Settlers are not waiting passively for "the Movement" to come organize them — the point is they already have many movements, causes and organizations of their own. That's the problem.

The Poor & Exploited

The U.S. oppressor nation does have its own casualties and its broken remnants of the industrial past. These constitute an insufficient base for revolutionary change, however. Approximately 10% of the Euro-Amerikan population has been living in poverty by Government statistics. This minority is not a cohesive, proletarian stratum, but a miscellaneous fringe of the unlucky and the outcast: older workers trapped by fading industries, retired poor, physically and emotionally disabled, and some families supported by a single woman. The whole culture silently reminds them that if they are poor and white the fault must be theirs. The rate of alcoholism in this layer is considerable. They are scattered and socially diffused.

Some entire industrial communities do exist as outmoded but surviving pockets of the old way of life. It's interesting to see how imperialism controls them. The Appalachian coal mining communities are the sharpest example, having their own economic, cultural and union tradition going back to the 19th Century. What a great contrast between these old, torn-up mountain miner communities and the new Euro-Amerikan white-collar suburbs. Yet, there is an "inner interrelationship," even in the exceptions to the trends.

Precisely because of this stark, deeply ingrained tradition the Appalachian mining communities have been special targets of radical organizing efforts. The Communist Party USA has had organizers in the mountains for some 60 years. It was there during the 1920s that the most famous of the CPUSA's "Red Unions" — the National Miners Union — led the coal miners into the bitter, violent Harlan County strike. Even during the reactionary 1950s the Southern Conference Education Fund maintained a radical presence.

In the 1960's we find numerous Appalachian organizing projects, including those of the Progressive Labor Party, SDS, and Southern Student Organizing Committee. By the 1970s many radical groupings were helping promote dissident movements, such as for community reforms or the Miners for Democracy (MFD) that eventually won control of the United Mine Workers Union. In the mid-1970s the Revolutionary Communist Party had its own rank-and-file miners organizations (just as the CPUSA had over 40 years before), which for a time had some following.

Despite the 60 years of repeated radical organizing drives there has been, in fact, zero revolutionary progress among the mining communities. Despite the history of bloody union battles, class consciousness has never moved beyond an embryonic form, at best. There is no indigenous revolutionary activity — none — or traditions. Loyalty to the U.S. imperialism and hatred of the colonial peoples is very intense. We can see a derailment of the connection between simple exploitation and class consciousness.

To see why we can look at Martin County, Kentucky. This has long been one of the poorest counties in the U.S. There are no highways, no sewage system, no garbage collection, no hospitals or even movie theaters, and one radio station and one fast-food franchise restaurant for its

14,000 citizens. The community is ripped off, exploited to an extreme degree. Even the Government, while spending close to \$20 million a year in Martin County for school programs, job retraining, etc. takes out twice that much, \$40 million a year, in taxes.

One corporation dominates the economy. In fact, owns it. The Norfolk & Western Railroad has mineral rights to some 129,000 acres, over half of the total land area of the county (the second largest landowner is Harvard University). The 13 million tons of coal taken out every year not only brings large profits to the mine operators (Occidental Petroleum, Fluor Corporation, Ashland Oil, and MAPCO) but gives N&W coal royalties and freight fees of over \$30 million annually. This is an annual rate of return on their investment of 120%. Over the fifty year life of the coal field, N&W's total return will be something like \$1.5 billion — or 6000% on their investment. As everyone knows, the rampant stripmining is rapidly destroying the area's simple road system, choking the streams with corrosive coal refuse, fouling the underground water supply, and generally causing more physical and ecological destruction than repeated bombings. Harry Caudill, author of *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, says: "They've treated the region as if it were a colony. When they finish taking what they want from it, they'll just let it go to hell." (23)

Why don't the workers in this ripped-off "colony" organize, seeing in a revolutionary change a way to keep the wealth for the community of their children's generation? In fact, to really have a community? Why don't they resist? The answer is that the majority of them welcome such exploitation, whatever the future price. Their community may have nothing, may be sliding back into an eventual future of undeveloped desolation, but right now those who have jobs are making "good bucks." The 5,000 coal miners have been earning around \$30,000 per year, while the county's per capita annual income is up to \$7,000.

The employed miners who are getting those "good bucks" are unconcerned about the poverty right at their side. Disabled miners and the elderly live in poverty, children are uneducated, while what income exists in the community is eagerly thrown away on individual consumerism. This points out the fact that what is poverty-stricken about settlers is their culture.

The Euro-Amerikan coal miners are just concentrating on "getting theirs" while it lasts. In the settler tradition it's "every man for himself." They have no class goals or even community goals, just private goals involving private income and private consumerism. Meanwhile, the local N&W land manager says that they do have future plans for Appalachia: "We don't intend to walk off and leave this land to the Indians." Of that we can be certain.

The most significant fact about the real consciousness of the Euro-Amerikan masses is how anti-communal and private it is. Settlers recognize no common bond with the rest of humanity. That is why everything they build is perverted: why settler trade-unions are anti-proletarian, and settler "Women's Liberation" is happy to exploit the women of other nations. It means nothing to Euro-Amerikans that the winter fruit they eat was really paid for by the lives of Mexican or Chilean or Filipino

children. For them the flavor is so sweet. Euro-Amerikans don't even really care too much about each other. Lower taxes are more important than food for their own elderly. This is a diseased culture, with a mass political consciousness that is centered around parasitism.

The mere recognition that there are rich and poor, or even that corporations exploit people — any idiot can see this — cannot constitute class consciousness. The long, long history of unionism in the coal counties shows this. Class consciousness implies a participation in the class war. While such a consciousness certainly can involve fighting for better wages, it cannot be limited to or even centered on this.

The Euro-Amerikan "left" has completely mystified the question of class consciousness. They see in every labor strike, in the slightest twitch for reform, examples of proletarianism. Some "socialist scholars" (a self-awarded title, to be sure) conduct almost anthropological expeditions into the settler masses, seeing in every remembered folk song or cultural nuance some profound but hidden nuggets of working class consciousness. Others, who have spent years as working class "experts," find proletarian vision in every joke about the bosses told during coffee breaks. This is not politics, whatever else it may be.

There is nothing mystical, elusive or hidden about real working class consciousness. It is the political awareness that the exploiting class and its State must be fought, that the laboring masses of the world have unity in their need for socialism. The Red Army is class consciousness. An action for higher wages or better working conditions need not embody any real class consciousness whatsoever. Narrow self-interest is not the same as consciousness of class interests. "More for me" is not the same slogan as "liberate humanity."

Lenin wrote on this: "Only when the individual worker realizes that he is a member of the entire working class, only when he recognizes the fact that his petty day-to-day struggle against individual employers and individual government officials is a struggle against the entire bourgeoisie and the entire government does his struggle become a class struggle."(24)

This famous and often-quoted passage set forth a clear threshold — by which the coal miners or any other significant grouping of Euro-Amerikan workers do not in a scientific sense have any real working-class consciousness. Much more than this, however, is the reality that practice is the proof, that the actual struggle reveals more than any theoretical criteria. Lenin pointed this out at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International:

"We cannot — nor can anybody else — calculate exactly what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will only be revealed by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution."(25)

We have lived through two decades of the most tumultuous political struggle on a global scale. The Afrikan masses broke through the colonial repression in massive urban uprisings during the 1960s. The Chicano-Mexicano Land struggle revived in the Southwest. Armed self-defense became a popular concept. Wounded Knee lit a signal fire for the Indian Nations. Socialist ideas and international solidarity took root in the new insurgencies. The Puerto Rican revolution brought an armed struggle once again to the front door of the Empire. The answer to their actual consciousness, to what class awareness the Euro-Amerikan workers had, can be found in what side they supported in the wars to overthrow "their" U.S. Empire.



The August 29, 1970 Chicano Moratorium anti-war protest, attended by 20,000 persons.

U.S. Settlerism & Zionism

The connection between Euro-American settlerism and Zionist settlerism — twin servants of imperialism — is shown in all the recent reactionary political developments within the U.S. Jewish communities. Repeated propaganda about the Holocaust is used as fascistic indoctrination, to whip up a belligerent sentimentality that both justifies Euro-Americans as victims ("no more guilt trips about racism") and powers new terroristic attacks on colonial peoples. The same ultra-Orthodox Zionist elements are killing Afrikan youth in Brooklyn and shooting Palestinian youth on the West Bank. Now even the anti-semitic bigots of the Moral Majority recognize the Zionists as their "kith and kin."

This Zionist example has stirred many of the Russian Jewry, and brought some 175,000 of them here to become settlers in the "New World." Again we can see how the division of the world into oppressed nations pervades all relations and events. The Russian Jewish immigration is not like the Puerto Rican immigration, for example, which is the forced dislocation of a colonial people in search of employment. In contrast, the Russian Jewry come as more reinforcements for the U.S. oppressor nation; come not for survival or bread, but for the rich, privileged lifestyle of settlerism. Beneath the propaganda, this is all very evident. A recent *New York Times* report from Russia's Jewish "human rights" underground is revealing:

"About 30 Moscow Jews and a few Westerners gathered in a private apartment recently to mark Purim with poetry and amateur theatricals. The players shifted easily from Russian to Hebrew, and some members of the hopelessly cramped audience joined in the songs. Even the children readily recognized Queen Esther and the other characters in the ancient legend of how Persian Jews triumphed over a devious plot to massacre them by the wicked Haman, done up for the evening as a Palestinian guerrilla... The Six-Day War of 1967 is generally recognized as a turning point in the self-esteem of Russian Jews and

in their identification with Israel. 'There was a sense of colossal national rehabilitation,' recalled Naum Meiman, a 72-year old physicist and human rights activist.'"(20)

We see the same pattern — how the conquering and killing of Arabs, Afrikans, etc. is felt by Zionist settlers as therapeutic "rehabilitation," restoring them to European dimensions. This is the same virile restoration through mass murder that was so ecstatically praised by Adolf Hitler.

Jews do face an entrenched anti-semitism, which in Russia definitely makes them "second-class citizens," restricts advancement into upper management, and limits religious and cultural expression (such as the "human rights" get-together described). About 30% of the Russian Jewish immigrants here are university graduates. One such family are the Resnikovs, interviewed in Forest Hills, N.Y.: *"Russia was a beautiful country. But not for us," said Mrs. Resnikov, a brief sorrow in her huge dark eyes. She was a technician in an electronics plant and her husband, a squarely built man of 42, was a construction engineer. 'Higher I couldn't go in Russia — a Jew for them is an enemy,' he said... Now, after four years here, Mr. Resnikov is impatient with 'working like a worker' in his \$6.50-an-hour job as a roofer but has found nothing better... 'We live nice,' he said, 'but we didn't live bad in Kiev or Haifa. I would like to have my own American business...'*"(21)

Some two-thirds of all Russian Jewish emigrants have come to the U.S. rather than Israel. A survey for the council of Jewish Federations found that in 1981 the median family income of these new settlers was \$19,632; other surveys have found that less than 1%, mostly the elderly, have to stay on welfare.(22) Coming from thousands of miles away, often speaking no English, their new citizenship in the U.S. oppressor nation gives them an instant lifestyle above the colonial world.

Mr Sverellin, nudging a few ribs and pointing. Word is Russian for "lit-Mr. Sverellin, one of a rants having a guided club in Manhattan, was at Bunny Robin and a real zaichik when he

banquette in the Play- ing a Caesar salad while tourists for the show to ve us grass to eat be- e zaichicks, bunnies." r the Russians, most of h and who live in the Brooklyn or in Forest sample something that lly American but previ- lavhow

Sc he ki f v om the Playboy Club, - window shopping for



A Playboy Bunny escorting the party of Russian immigrants at the club.

The New York Times / Jim Wilson

XIV. TACTICAL & STRATEGIC

The settler nature of the Euro-Amerikan oppressor nation is the decisive factor in their political struggles. It is the decisive factor in relations between Third-World struggles and the Euro-Amerikan masses. This was true in 1776 and true in 1976. True for the Ku Klux Klan and true for the Communist Party USA — not that these two organizations have the same politics, but that their settler national character is the decisive factor in both.

It is only by grasping this that the question of broader unity can be correctly answered. This is a particular problem for Asian-Americans, who as relatively small national minorities within the Continental Empire have a high organic need for political coalitions and alliances. It is difficult to evaluate different forms of unity just from our own experiences alone. Asian national minorities here have had a limited history of political unity with each other, much less with Euro-Americans or the oppressed nations.

Settler radicalism has taught us that two types of unity are important: proletarian internationalism (strategic unity of communists and workers of all nations) and immediate trade union unity (tactical unity of all workers in unions and other mass organizations). Since historically most Asian workers here have been nationally segregated, there has been little opportunity to test out this trade union unity. The often-cited example is that of the Filipino-Japanese plantation workers in the Hawaiian ILWU (the radical-led Longshoremen's Union on the West Coast), who by the 1970's were the highest-paid agricultural workers in the world.* This is cited as proof that by uniting inside the settler unions we will be able to not only get immediate economic benefits, but will be laying the foundations for eventual strategic unity with our "brother and sister" Euro-American workers. In that viewpoint, money-based tactical unity with settlers will eventually produce a heartfelt strategic unity, wherein Euro-American workers will join us as true comrades in making revolution against their Empire. What our analysis has proved is that this view is worse than simple-minded.

To better examine the question of strategic and tactical relations, we need to turn to the broader history of "Black-White workers unity," which has been used in the U.S. Empire as the classic example of the supposed superiority of radical integrationism. We need to begin with the theoretical framework constructed by *Message To The Black Liberation Movement*. *Message* performed a mentally liberating deed by taking the question of unity out of the fog of "racial" or "interracial" sentiment — posing it instead in terms of national interests and class interests:

"Black-White worker solidarity cannot be attained at any cost, but at a particular cost. We do not agree with white leftist revisionists that Black and White workers

share the same interest because they are both workers. While this may be true on a tactical level (specific struggles around certain issues) it is not true on a strategic level. Strategically speaking (long range) the Black workers ultimate goal is the same as the masses of Blacks, which is toward national self-determination as a people... Both the establishment of a Black revolutionary Nation based on socialist relations, and overthrowing the present capitalist system and establishment of a predominantly white workers state are complimentary struggles, and as such there will be tactical unity around issues that effect both Black and white workers." (1)

While this view was an important advance, it also contained certain contradictions. It assumed, despite settlerism, that the Euro-American masses and the Afrikan masses had nationally separate but parallel struggles, both moving in the same direction. Because of this "complementary" relationship, there would naturally "be tactical unity" between "Black and white workers."

First of all, tactical unity should be understood as temporary, short-run unity around a specific issue by forces that can even be fundamentally antagonistic. The Chinese Revolution and the U.S. Empire had for a few years a tactical unity against the Japanese Empire. The unity between proletarians of different nations, struggling towards socialism, is not tactical but strategic. There is nothing temporary or tactical about the deep bond, for example, between the Vietnamese Revolution and the guerillas of El Salvador. We ourselves have deep feelings of unity — more *strategic* than any national boundary — towards our comrades in Vietnam.

If "both Black and white workers" were indeed moving towards socialism in their respective nations, then the unity would be more than tactical. In reality this is not the situation. *Message* becomes confused when it tries to deal with the fact that immediate issues (higher wages in a factory, tenants' rights legislation, etc.) call for some tactical relationship between "Black and white workers." This is a relationship in the larger framework of national antagonism.

It is necessary to deepen this to see more fully what is tactical and what is strategic in the linked struggles of Euro-American and Third-World workers. Particularly, in seeing that revolutionaries are not the only ones with tactics and strategies. *What is the relationship of tactical unity to genocide?*

*They are the first and last such, as the Hawaiian plantations are closing down and shifting production further into the Third World.



The classic and most cited example of “Black-White workers unity” has always been the United Mine Workers. From its founding in 1890, the UMW constitution admitted all coal miners regardless of “race, creed or nationality.” As early as 1900 the UMW had some 20,000 Afrikan members, while even in the earliest years an Afrikan miner, Richard L. Davis, was a union leader (Davis was elected to the UMW National Executive Board in 1896 and 1897). Davis himself said after many white miners voted to put him on the Board that the “...*question of color in our miners organization will soon be a thing of the past.*” By 1939 the UMW had as many as 100,000 Afrikan members, and Horace Cayton and George Mitchell wrote that year in *Black Workers and the New Unions* that the UMW was “...*from the point of view of the participation of Negroes, the most important in the country.*”

One of the earliest modern industrial unions in the U.S., the UMW was the only major union with significant Afrikan membership. The most integrated union in the AFL, the UMW under John L. Lewis led the breakaway from the old AFL to form the more militant CIO. To this very day the Mine Workers Unions has Afrikan local and district officers and the original constitutional provisions still making discrimination by any member grounds for expulsion.

The historic place assigned the UMW as an example of “working class unity” and integration is unique.

The *Negro Almanac* says, for instance: “It has been said that no other CIO leader better understood ‘the importance of equalitarian racial policies for successful unionism that John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers.’ In this union, the common economic and occupational hardships endured by all minimized-although they did not totally eliminate- racial differences among members, even in the South...CIO policies ultimately prompted Thurgood Marshall to declare that ‘The program (of this organization) has become a bill of rights for Negro labor in America.’”

In the UMW we can examine tactical unity over a 90 year period in a major industry. The fundamental reality was that Afrikan miners and Euro-American miners had *tactical* unity, but different *strategic* interests. Afrikan miners attempted to pursue their tactical interests by uniting within settler unionism, helping to organize all coal miners and thus building a strong enough union to significantly increase wages and improve working conditions. This tactical unity was very practical and easily understood. *But the strategic contradictions are now equally clear, while seldom brought to light.* While Afrikan workers had the strategic goal of liberating their nation from the U.S. Empire, the settler workers had the strategic goal of preserving the U.S. Empire’s exploitation of the oppressed nations. The mythology that they had “common class interests” proved factually untrue.

Since Afrikan miners were perhaps 20% of all coal miners and a majority in the Southern mines, it was impractical for settler miners to build a union that excluded them. As early as 1899, UMW president John Mitchell told an astonished Congressional investigation that even in Alabama "There are cases where a colored man will be the officer of a local union" with both Afrikan and Euro-Amerikan members:

"I will say there is no difference as far as our organization is concerned. They recognize — as a matter of necessity they were forced to recognize — the identity of interest. I suppose among miners, the same as other white men in the South, there is the same class differences, but they have been forced down, so they must raise the colored man up or they go down, and they consequently have mixed together in their organization." (4)

Both Euro-Amerikan and Afrikan miners wanted tactical unity. However, since they had different strategic interests their tactical unity meant different things to each group. The Euro-Amerikan miners wanted tactical unity in order to advance their own narrow economic interests and take away Afrikan jobs.

In the early 1920s the UMW could in practice be divided into two regions: the unionized North, where most UMW locals in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania used their settler organization to keep Afrikan miners out; the unorganized Appalachian South, where the UMW needed Afrikan miners to build the settler union.

While UMW welcomed Afrikan workers as unpaid organizers and militants, when a mining community in the North became organized very often the Afrikan "union brothers" were told to get out. At the 1921 UMW Pittsburgh District Convention an experienced Afrikan delegate, recalling how he and hundreds of other Afrikan miners had taken up rifles to join the union's "Armed Marches" in West Virginia, complained bitterly:

"Those colored men from the state of West Virginia put their shoulders to the shoulders of white brothers, and our newspapers tell us that they have sacrificed their lives for this great movement.

"I think it looks very embarrassing when a man would sacrifice his life for this movement, and after the victory is won then his brother would say: 'We need you no longer.' A livelihood belongs to every man and when you deprive me of it...you have almost committed murder to the whole entire race."

Richard L. Davis, whom we mentioned as the first Afrikan to be elected to the UMW Board, spent sixteen years as an unpaid labor organizer — not only in Ohio, but in Alabama and West Virginia as well. Finally he was white listed, unable to get work from the mine operators and unable despite his leading role to get either financial aid or paid organizer's position with the UMW. Living in great want, unable to provide for his children, ill, he finally died of "lung fever" at the age of thirty-five. (5) He was used and then discarded. This is why Euro-Amerikan historians write of him as the best possible example for Third-World workers to follow.

The union actually depended upon a fighting base 158

of Afrikan miners to get established in the South. As we discussed earlier, in both the 1908 and 1920-21 Alabama strikes the majority of strikers were Afrikans (76% of the 1920-21 UMW strikers were Afrikan). An Afrikan miner who worked in Mercer County, West Virginia for 43 years recalled:

"The white man was scared to join the union at first around here. The Black man took the organizing jobs and set it up. We went into the bushes and met in secret; and we held all the key offices. A few of the white miners would slip around and come to our meetings. After they found out that the company wasn't going to run them away, why they began to appear more often. And quite naturally, when they became the majority, they elected who they wanted for their Presidents, Vice Presidents and Treasurers. The left a few jobs as Secretaries for the Negroes. But at the beginning, most all of the main offices in the locals were held by Negroes."

The UMW's triumph in the mid-1930s meant that at last the Euro-Amerikan miners held enough power to defend their settler class interests. Much higher wages, per-ton production royalties for union pension and medical plans, seniority and safety regulations, and other benefits all resulted from this triumph. Today, while underground mining is still very hard and dangerous work, the union mines are highly mechanized and workers regularly earn \$20,000 to \$30,000 per year.* These are very desirable jobs by the standards of the imperialist labor market. Even the weakened position of the UMW since the 1960s has not completely wiped out the gains made.

Now that the fruits of successful union struggle have been placed in view, we can evaluate in practice the gains that Afrikan miners won by sacrificing to build the settler UMW and steadfastly uniting with their Euro-Amerikan "union brothers." The gains, objectively speaking, are non-existent. There are no gains because Afrikan coal miners have been virtually wiped out by the alliance of settler capitalists and settler miners. Driven out of the industry by the tens of thousands, Afrikan miners found their share of the jobs taken over by their Euro-Amerikan "union brothers."

In 1930 Afrikan coal miners comprised 22% of the industry in Southern Appalachia (Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Virginia). By 1960 their share of the coal mining jobs in Southern Appalachia had been cut to only 6%. Even during the boom years of the 1940s and early 1950s, when tens of thousands of new Euro-Amerikan miners were getting hired, thousands of Afrikan miners were being fired and not replaced.

*In 1980 the President's Coal Commission said that the 233,400 coal miners in the U.S. earned an average wage of \$20,000 per year (with average weekly gross earnings of \$434.70). Of these 50% owned their own homes and an added 24% owned mobile homes. 87% owned their own cars and 24% owned 2 cars. While imperialism is literally destroying much of Appalachia through physical and social environmental dislocation, it is paying high wages in the union mines in order to maintain mass acceptance of its policies.

In doing this the imperialists were merely carrying out their general policy on colonial labor, restricting its role in strategic industries and reserving the best jobs for Euro-Americans in order to ensure the loyalty of settler society. When most coal mining jobs were brutal hand-loading of the coal while working in two feet high tunnels, there were many jobs for Afrikan labor. But as unionization and mechanization raised the wages and improved the work, it became 'too good' for Afrikans, and the companies and the UMW started pushing Afrikans out.

Denied jobs operating the new machinery, Afrikan laborers with ten years seniority found themselves being permanently laid off (in other words, fired) at the same time as the company would be hiring Euro-American teenagers for high-wage jobs on the new equipment. The other favored tactic was to transfer large numbers of Afrikan miners into the oldest mines, working them to exhaustion without investing even a penny in modernization, and then closing the worked out mine and firing the Afrikan men. At the same time the same company would be opening new mines elsewhere with an all-white work force. The United Mine Workers actively conspired with all the mine companies in this campaign against Afrikan labor — it would not have been possible otherwise.

Today surface mining accounts for over 60% of all coal production, double its percentage just ten years ago. The growing sector of the industry, it is also the best paid, safest, cleanest and most mechanized. It should be no surprise that these jobs are reserved for Euro-Americans. Alabama is traditionally the most heavily Afrikan area in the coal industry. **Yet in 1974, the UMW's district 20 in Alabama had only ten Afrikan members among the 1500 surface miners — while Afrikans are over 26% of the area's population.**

The "Black-Out" of Afrikan workers in the coal industry has reached a point where the 1980 report on *The American Coal Miner* by the President's Coal Commission (chaired by John D. Rockefeller IV) has an entire chapter on the Navaho miners who produce 3% of the U.S. coal, but not even one page on Afrikan miners. In a few paragraphs, the study praises the UMW as an example of integration, and notes that past "discrimination" is being corrected by corporate civil rights programs. It ends these few words by noting that the coal companies would supposedly like to hire more Afrikans for these well-paying jobs, but they can't find any job-seekers: *"Coal companies contend that the major problem in finding Black miners is that many Black families have migrated to the large urban centers and that few live in the coal fields."* (6)

We can see, then, that the *tactical unity* of settler and Afrikan miners can not be understood without examining the *strategy* of both groups. *Euro-American labor used that tactical unity to get Afrikan workers to carry out the strategy of preserving the settler empire.* Some Afrikan miners received tactical gains from this unity in the form of higher wages and better working conditions. But in return, Afrikan miners disorganized themselves, giving themselves up to the hegemony of settler unionism. Thus disarmed and disorganized, they soon discovered that the result of the *tactical unity* was to take their jobs and drive them out. There are no tactics without a larger strategy, and in the U.S. Empire that strategy has a national and class character.

As that Afrikan miner so correctly pointed out in 1921: *"A livelihood belongs to every man and when you deprive me of it...you have almost committed murder to the whole entire race."* Without that economic base, the Afrikan communities in West Virginia lost 25% of their total population during 1960-1970, as families were forced out of the coal areas. This, then, is the bitter fruit of "Black-white workers unity" over ninety years in the coal industry.

While such integration was shocking to many settlers, we can now understand why Richard L. Davis was elected to the UMW National Board in 1896. He was the chosen "Judas goat", selected to help lure Afrikan miners into following settler unionism. The *UMW Journal* reminded white miners at the same time that with his new position: *"He will in a special way be able to appear before our colored miners and preach the gospel of trade unions..."*

When Afrikan miners in Ohio complained that the UMW was *"A White man's organization"*, Davis answered them: *"Now, my dear people, I, as a colored*



man, would ask of you to dispell all such ideas as they are not only false but foolish and unwise...you have the same interests at stake as your white brother..." (7) While Davis proved his sincerity by literally giving his life to build industrial unionism, it isn't very hard to see that he was elevated into a high union office by white miners because that actually represented their own narrow interests. He was the mis-leader (although idealistic and honest) they helped create for Afrikan miners.

Even today, after the decisive blows have fallen, we find misleaders telling Afrikan coal miners that *better unity* with settler workers, and *reforming* the settler unions, are the answers to their problems. The damage in this case is limited solely by the fact that no one can be killed twice.

Bill Worthington, past President of the Black Lung Association (of miners disabled from breathing coal dust), is a prominent retired Afrikan miner. He often speaks at national labor rallies, community and settler "left" events. And he trots out with shameless disregard for the truth the whole tired line of settleristic lies: "*The operators try to divide Black and white. It's a master plan to keep confusion among the workers. Keep the poor peo-*



ple fighting one another."

This is the classic line invented by the settler "left" to explain away national oppression. In point of fact, Afrikan and Euro-Amerikan coal miners are not actually fighting each other in the coal fields. By cooperating with the imperialists, Euro-Amerikan miners have forced most Afrikans out and now have whatever remains of the jobs. Afrikan miners have been forced out and are in a difficult position to fight. Imperialism has the coal mines, the settlers have the jobs — and are going to try to hold on to them — and the unemployed Afrikan workers get the inspiring propaganda about "Black-White worker's unity."

This history proves concretely that the *strategy* of settleristic assimilation and the tactics that flowed from it were incorrect for Afrikan miners, and that their true *strategic interests* lay not only in national liberation but in developing their *own* fighting organizations which alone could defend their true class interests. It was only from that foundation that correct tactical relations could have been made with Euro-Amerikan workers. **Correct alliances must be based on correct strategy.**

We also see how the Euro-Amerikan labor aristocracy uses tactical unity and the surface appearance of advancing the common good, but only really acts to protect settler privilege and maintain settler hegemony over labor. It is always important to go beneath the surface appearances of such tactical unity, no matter how good it looks.

In the summer of 1974 the United Mine Workers and the Euro-Amerikan "left" announced that a wonderful breakthrough had just happened: the union was leading thousands of settler miners to make common cause with the Afrikan liberation struggle in South Afrika! This was an event so improbable as to surpass anything but the propaganda of the settler "left."

In its June 5, 1974 issue, the radical weekly *Guardian* ran a large head-line: "MINERS HALT WORK TO PROTEST S. AFRICA COAL." In the article underneath they proclaimed that "*spirited action*" had "*united the worker's movement with the Black liberation struggle.*" The article details how: "*nearly 8000 miners went on a one-day walkout throughout Alabama May 22. On the same day 1500 people, also mainly miners, staged a militant rally in common cause with the Black workers of South Afrika. Carrying picket signs which read, 'Stop Imperialism in South Africa', 'End Racism and Slavery', and 'Stop The Southern Co.', the workers blasted the plans of U.S. energy companies to import coal from racist South Africa.*"

The "militant rally" was organized by the Birmingham-based Coalition to Stop South African Coal and endorsed by UMW District 20. The next week the *Guardian* ran follow-up material in its June 12, 1974 issue, including a large photograph of a Euro-Amerikan and an Afrikan kneeling together wearing miner's helmets, holding a sign urging "Do Not Buy South African Coal." Another photograph showed a Euro-Amerikan miner holding a sign saying "Oppose Racism — In Africa And At Home!" The *Guardian* further said.

"Times are changing in the U.S. labor movement. When a major union recognizes the unity between the struggles of U.S. workers and workers abroad, it is a sharp departure from the usual union campaign of 'Be American, Buy American', which fails to distinguish the common interests of workers throughout the world. It is even more significant when the U.S. workers are from the South and the workers abroad are Afrikan..."

This was truly unbelievable. How could the UMW and its mass of Euro-American members — who had a proven record of white-supremacist attacks on Afrikan workers — literally overnight without a struggle be converted to Proletarian Internationalism? Yet the Euro-American "left" was responsible for that new alliance. Some of the organizations involved in uniting with the UMW were the Revolutionary Union (now the Revolutionary Communist Party), the October League (now CPUSA-ML), The Black Workers Congress, some elements from the Southern Conference Education Fund and the Atlanta African Liberation Support Committee.

On the basis of its new found "solidarity" with Afrikan Liberation, the UMW District 20 officers approached the Afrikan dockworkers in Mobile, Alabama (where the South Afrikan coal was to be unloaded) and asked them to join the campaign and not unload the coal. *The Afrikan dockworkers in Mobile refused.* And at that point the whole treacherous scheme by the UMW and the settler radicals blew apart at the seams.

It turned out that the UMW District 20 leadership was, of course, totally reactionary and white-supremacist. They were, in fact, the labor arm in the area of the rabid George Wallace "American Independence Party" movement. Their settler union had also endorsed the then Attorney-General Bill Baxley, who was appealing to Euro-American voters by personally trying to get the death penalty for the Atmore-Holman Brothers. Inside the mines they openly promoted the most vicious race-baiting — knowing all this, the Afrikan dockworkers refused to have anything to do with them. (8)

The genesis of that strange charade began with the UMW's decision to fight importation of all foreign coal. The decision by the Southern Power Co. to import \$50 million worth of low-sulfur South Afrikan coal was singled out. At that point the District 20 reactionaries were quietly approached by some Euro-American radicals, who convinced them that by falsely adopting "Anti-imperialist" slogans they could trick the Afrikan dockworkers into fighting to save Euro-American jobs (stolen from Afrikans, of course). That's what all that treachery was about — "tactical unity" based on settler self-interest. That's why we saw the unreal spectacle of racist Alabama settlers marching around with signs saying "Support South African Liberation."

Frustrated, the Klan-like unionists turned on the settler radicals and denounced them. Soon the Guardian and the other settler "left" organizations had to admit that the UMW leaders were not as they'd originally pictured them. Even after the UMW admitted that they didn't care about any Afrikan liberation, but only wanted to boycott all foreign coal to save settler jobs, the Euro-American radicals kept trying to support them.

Finally, the UMW miners had to tell the radicals to leave the boycott picket lines or get tossed out. An article in the Sept. 11, 1974 *Guardian* said that even though the Alabama UMW was now cooperating with the FBI and the Alabama State Police, the radical Coalition To Stop South African Coal still wanted to unite with them and still supported their settler boycott.

The entire example of attempted tactical unity shows how strongly the oppressor nation character of both the settler unions and the settler "Left" determines their actions. The settler "Left" tried to reach an opportunistic deal with reactionary labor leaders, hoping that Afrikan workers could be used to pay the price for their alliance.

While the settler radicals professed a heart-felt concern with helping the liberation struggle in South Afrika, we notice that they were totally unconcerned with the long-standing genocidal attack of the UMW against the economic base of Afrikans in the occupied South. Further, they covered up for their settler fellow citizens as much as possible. What is evident is that despite the tactical division between the rabid, George Wallace-loving settlers and the radical settlers, their common national position as oppressors gave them a strategic unity in opposing the interests of the oppressed.

After an emotional meeting in their local union hall with a representative from Zimbabwe, the Afrikan longshoremen temporarily held off the orders of their local union president and stalled for a day in unloading the South Afrikan coal. They desired to show support for the liberation struggle of their brothers and sisters in Southern Afrika. However incomplete and still undeveloped, that desire for solidarity was real. But in regards to the attempted UMW boycott, the Afrikan longshoremen were firm in their refusal to have anything to do with it.

That attempted maneuver was crude and obvious, no matter how lovingly the settler radicals wrapped it up in a camouflage of "anti-imperialist" slogans and postures. The Afrikan longshoremen saw right through it, right to its rip-off, reactionary essence. How come the Black Workers Congress couldn't unmask it? How come all the assorted





southern

PATRIOT

VOL. 32, NO. 5

MAY, 1974

PUBLISHED BY SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF), LOUISVILLE, KY.

Coal From South Africa Apartheid in The Mines

Alabama Miners Say "No"

The following article is taken from a memorandum written by Tom Bethell of the United Mine Workers of America. It describes the new development of coal imports from South Africa, the threat this is to the job security of U.S. miners, and the added strength it will give to the repressive apartheid policies of the South African government.

Arrangements are currently being made to bring substantial quantities of low-sulfur steam coal into the United States from the Republic of South Africa. This move on the part of the coal and utilities industries requires a strong response on the part of the UMWA, because it takes jobs away from American miners and because coal is produced in South Africa under conditions very close to slave labor.

(Continued on page 7)



Above: South African miners.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Almost 1,000 people took part in a rally and picket line here on May 22. They were letting the stockholders of the Southern Company know that they were opposed to coal being imported from South Africa.

The occasion was the annual stockholders' meeting of the Southern Company, a holding company which owns Georgia Power Company, Alabama Power Company, Mississippi Power Company, and Gulf Power Company.

At issue was a contract signed by the Southern Company to import 2 million tons (\$50 million worth) of coal from South African coal producers over the next 3 years. The first shipment will be brought into the Port of Mobile in mid-July and burned at generating stations in Florida.

Rank and file members, particularly from District 20 of the UMWA and other unions, as well as people from various community organizations made the rally the largest and most militant gathering in Alabama in over a decade.

The coal companies employing District 20 members reported absenteeism at around 90%. The miners said they were not on strike but that they were "taking time off to take care of business."

Approximately 100 miners went to the state capitol in Montgomery to see elected government officials. Governor Wallace was out of town and the politicians told the miners that they couldn't do anything to prevent American corporations from importing coal.

At the Birmingham picket line the men were angry, and they manifested their attitude both in their conversation and in the slogans on their signs: "Pull the switch on Southern Co.," "Stop Southern Company Imperialism" and "No Slave Coal."

After two hours of picketing, the miners held a rally on a corner of the hotel lot. Acting as coordinator was Andy Himes of the Selma Project, an Alabama political action group which worked in the last United Mine Workers election to help throw out the corrupt Tony Boyle machine.

Among the speakers was Mrs. John Marchant, the wife of a retired miner from Brookwood, a coal town

outside Birmingham. Mrs. Marchant talked about the lynchings, lockouts, and "yellow dog" (anti-union) contracts the companies had used against the miners in the twenties and about how her own brother had been killed in a roof fall in the thirties. She said it was profit that they had to fight then and it was profit they had to fight now.

Don Stone of the Black Workers Congress spoke about the conditions in the South African coal fields and stressed the importance of fighting in both places against the same enemy, the monopoly capitalist corporations.

Andy Himes wound things up with a statement about how the Company was not only chiseling the miners of Alabama out of jobs but that the electric ratepayers of the Southeast were being expected to pick up the tab. "They say that they're concerned about Alabama because they live here too. Well, that's a damn lie. Look at the top ten stockholders of the Southern Company. They're all New York City banks and all they care about is more profit."

(Information from Andy Himes and the Georgia Power Project).



Below: Food in South African mining camps served with a shovel and miners in Birmingham demonstrating against the Southern Company.



Third-World comrades involved in those radical "multi-national" organizations couldn't unmask it? They thought they were "Communists," but in practice their political framework of settleristic revisionism left them politically simple-minded, unable to prevent themselves from being pawns in the most vulgar white-supremacist maneuvers.

Exposed and defeated, this fiasco was dug up out of its grave four years later. This time by a new crew — the Chinese-American-led Workers Viewpoint Organization (now called Communist Workers Party). In their campaign to recruit Afrikans, this grouping had organized an "African Liberation Support Committee" under its leadership to stage a large Afrikan Liberation Day 1978 rally in Washington, D.C.*

photograph of the Euro-American and Afrikan miners kneeling together, even going so far as to say that the 1974 white-supremacist UMW boycott gives "lessons for future struggles" by its "examples of international solidarity between all working people by supporting Afrikan miners." That old lie of four years earlier was revived as evidence to justify another round of integrationism. This organization certainly shows that even an entire group of radical Chinese-Americans can be indoctrinated into settler ideology. (9) While proletarian ideology has a clear relationship to the oppressed, it is not transmitted genetically.

*We place "African Liberation Support Committee" in quotation marks to distinguish it from the earlier, genuine A.L.S.C.

They dug up and reprinted the old, staged UMW

So we see that tactical unity is not just some neutral, momentary alliances of convenience. Tactical unity flows out of strategy as well as immediate circumstances. Nor is tactical unity with Euro-American workers simply the non-antagonistic working together of "complementary" but different movements. Even the simplest rank-and-file reform coalition inside a settler union is linked to the strategic conflict of oppressor and oppressed nations.

The alliances formed around the fiery League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit illustrate all this. The rise of the League's Revolutionary Union Movements in 1967, first at the old Chrysler Dodge Main plant, had alarmed the United Auto Workers labor aristocracy. The League represented the militant, anti-capitalist and anti-settler union sentiment of the young Afrikan workers in the Detroit auto plants. At least at Chrysler's Dodge Main and Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle plants the LRBW had won a clear majority support of young Afrikan workers *against* the UAW.

The UAW leadership responded with numerous attacks of different kinds — from verbal to violence. Emil Mazey, UAW Secretary-Treasurer and the most prominent figure in the liberal grouping of settler trade unionists against the Vietnam War, denounced the LRBW as "*black fascists*." He called upon Euro-American auto workers to respond to this new "*black peril*" (his words): "*We can no longer tolerate the tactics of these young militants.*" (10) And when the UAW used direct police intimidation to defeat the LRBW's Ron March candidacy for union trustee at Dodge Main, the liberal settler union didn't look too much different from George Wallace.

But the UAW was different. One of the key ways it reacted to contain the League was to promote alternative, non-revolutionary Afrikan unionists. The International UMW had always intervened everywhere in the local unions to keep settlers in charge. This became particularly important with the gradual rise of Afrikan membership — the UAW officially placed Afrikans then at 25% of the UAW membership. But the breakout of revolutionary leadership in the form of the LRBW had outflanked the Euro-American labor bosses.

The UAW leadership selectively stopped organizing against those non-revolutionary Afrikan unionists who had been seeking the top offices in Detroit locals. After The LRBW broke out, moderate Afrikans were elected as the UAW local presidents at Ford Wayne Local 900, Chrysler Forge Local 47, Plymouth Local 51, Chrysler Mopar Local 1248, etc. etc. (11) So that in addition to cooperating with the companies to fire LRBW cadre, using police intimidation, etc., the settler union bureaucracy tried to undercut the League — that is to undercut revolutionary Afrikan leadership which rejected settler hegemony — by advancing alternative, moderate leaders for Afrikan auto workers.*

Now, the League itself had made alliances with Euro-American radicals in the auto plants. Most importantly, they had responded positively to suggestions from the United National Caucus for a cooperative working relationship against the UAW leadership. The United National Caucus was (and still is) the more-or-less official opposition coalition to the UAW leadership, with members

from reform caucuses in locals throughout the UAW.

It had grown out of the "Dollar An Hour Now Caucus", a caucus of Euro-American skilled craftsmen who were pressuring for an immediate dollar an hour raise for themselves alone. The UNC was organized by Euro-American radicals, and had an Afrikan co-chairman.

He was Jordan Sims, an experienced activist and union reformer at Chrysler's Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle — an LRBW center of strength. Sims, while not a revolutionary, had defended the League in his attempts to win the local presidency. (After several stolen elections and getting fired, Sims finally became local President in 1973.) So this broad, "Black-white workers' unity" had some constructive possibilities.

But the world of the automobile plants is, however important, not the entire world. In April, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis. Detroit blew up — and settler Detroit armed up. In the Detroit white suburbs gun sales soared as settlers prepared to keep Afrikans out of their communities. Euro-American housewives were signed up in special handgun classes. A publication associated with the League reprinted a newspaper photograph of suburban Euro-American women practicing with their new guns — and referring to the settler women in unfriendly words.

The problem was that one of the settler women photographed was the wife of a leading member of the United National Caucus! Incensed, the skilled Euro-American auto workers demanded that their caucus either break off ties with the "Black nationalists" or force the League to print an apology. The settler skilled tradesmen were raging mad that "their" women had been insulted by Afrikans. Naturally, the LRBW was unlikely to apologize for pointing out a true fact about Euro-American behavior. The relationship between the UNC and the LRBW was off, a casualty of the sudden lightning-bolt of truth that flashed across Amerika after King's assassination.

Privately, the leader of the Euro-American skilled tradesmen admitted that his people were wrong, that their attitude towards the LRBW was racist. But to be principled at that moment, he said, would be to "*throw away*" his years of work founding the United National Caucus and organizing settler auto workers into joining it. As a Euro-American radical he was unwilling to see his "rank-and-file" settler organization torn apart over their racism.

*Bayard Rustin, archflunky for the AFL-CIO and Zionism, crowed about this in his article, "The Failure of Black Separatism": "Some of the most interesting election victories were won at the Chrysler Eldon Gear and Axle Local 961 and Dodge No. 3 in Hamtramck, where the separatist Eldon Revolutionary Union Movement (ELRUM) and Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) have been active. At both locals the DRUM and ELRUM candidates were handily defeated by Black trade unionists who campaigned on a platform of militant integrationism..."

Besides, he continued, to be overly principled would be meaningless since *"the League is through."* With a smile, he revealed that the UNC had been secretly dealing with key Afrikan supporters of the League. As an example, he said that at a plant of the Ford River Rouge complex the UNC had convinced a League activist that if he split with the League and took some of its base of support with him, that together with the UNC's Euro-Amerikan voting bloc they would have enough votes to make him the next local union President! The UNC leader felt certain that with such practical bribes, they would be able to gradually win over enough Afrikan workers to undermine the League. (12)*

It is interesting that the supporters of this radical-led, "rank-and-file" workers caucus were busy arming themselves against Afrikans — at the same time tactical unity for union reform was being proposed. The most interesting fact that emerges, however, is that this radical-led settler caucus — organized to fight the established UAW bureaucracy — was using the exact same tactic against Afrikan revolutionaries as was the UAW bureaucracy! Both were working to divide the ranks of Afrikan auto workers, both promoting moderate Afrikan leaders who accepted settler hegemony, in order to undercut the threatened leadership of Afrikan revolutionaries. So where was the real unity?

In earlier chapters we primarily focussed on the larger picture of Euro-Amerikan workers in relation to the expansion of the U.S. Empire and the development within that of settlerism. Here we have examined the politics of settler unionism in the workplace, in its tactical relations with Third-World workers.

What is important about these case histories is that they should push us to think, to question, to closely examine many of the neo-colonial remnants in our minds. "Working class unity" of oppressor and oppressed is both theoretically good, and is immediately practical we are told. It supposedly pays off in higher wages, stronger unions and more organization. But did it?

Some Afrikan coal miners did indeed get higher wages, better working conditions and so on from this unity. But to pay for that most got driven out of their jobs. Many Afrikan families who once mined coal now live in exile and on welfare in the North. A part of the economic foundation of New Afrika was taken over and occupied by settler workers — acting as social troops of the U.S. Empire. It was a national set-back. In all this the UMW, the union organization, was guarding only the strategic interests of U.S. Imperialism. Afrikan miners proved to be without organization, merely prisoners within an organization of their oppressors.

Was this just an isolated, untypical example? No. Afrikan workers were gradually herded into the oldest, least mechanized mines. Their exploitation helped provide the capital for modernization and economic investment elsewhere — and then they were laid off and the industry was gradually de-Afrikanized. Sounds like Detroit, doesn't it? What happened to the many thousands of Afrikan workers who were once the majority force in the now-closed Chicago meat-packing industry?

The actual history disproves the thesis that in settler Amerika "common working class interests" override the imperialist contradictions of oppressor and oppressed nations when it comes to tactical unity around economic issues. The same applies to the thesis that supposed ideological unity with the Euro-Amerikan "Left" also overrides imperialist contradictions, and hence, even with their admitted shortcomings, they are supposed allies of the oppressed against U.S. Imperialism. *Could it be the other way around?* That despite their tactical contradictions with the bourgeoisie, that Euro-Amerikan workers and revisionistic radicals have strategic unity with U.S. Imperialism? Most importantly, how has imperialism been so successful in using this tactical unity against the oppressed?

The thesis we have advanced about the settleristic and non-proletarian nature of the U.S. oppressor nation is a historic truth, and thereby a key to leading the concrete struggles of today. Self-reliance and building mass institutions and movements of a specific national character, under the leadership of a communist party, are absolute necessities for the oppressed. Without these there can be no national liberation. This thesis is not "anti-white" or "racialist" or "narrow nationalism." Rather, it is the advocates of oppressor nation hegemony over all struggles of the masses that are promoting the narrowest of nationalisms — that of the U.S. settler nation. *When we say that the principal characteristic of imperialism is parasitism, we are also saying that the principal characteristic of settler trade-unionism is parasitism, and that the principal characteristic of settler radicalism is parasitism.*

Every nation and people has its own contribution to make to the world revolution. This is true for all of us, and obviously for Euro-Amerikans as well. But this is another discussion, one that can only really take place in the context of breaking up the U.S. Empire and ending the U.S. oppressor nation.

THE END

*The complex reasons for the League's demise and the outcome of the various counter-insurgency tactics against it is far beyond the scope of this paper. This case study does not answer these questions.

When the new Republic is established there will never be any more army in Mexico. Armies are the greatest support of tyranny. There can be no Dictator without an army.

We will put the army to work. In all parts of the Republic we will establish military colonies composed of the veterans of the Revolution. The State will give them grants of agricultural lands and establish big industrial enterprises to give them work.

Three days a week they will work and work hard, because honest work is more important than fighting, and only honest work makes good citizens. And the other three days they will receive military instruction and go out and teach all the people how to fight.

Then, when the Patria is invaded, we will just have to telephone from the palace at Mexico City, and in half a day all the Mexican people will rise from their fields and factories, fully armed, equipped and organized to defend their children and their homes.

My ambition is to live my life in one of those military colonies, among my companeros whom I love, who have suffered so long and so deeply with me.

Francisco "Pancho" Villa

INTRODUCTION

1. All references to discussions at the conference from: *The African World*, Vol. IV, No. 5, July, 1974; "Historic ALSC Conference Discussed: WHICH ROAD FOR BLACK PEOPLE?"

2. *Black Revolution*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 1980; "Editorial: The Party Line."

I. THE HEART OF WHITENESS

1. WILLIAM BRADFORD - *Of Plymouth Plantation* - N.Y., 1952. p. 23

2. MILDRED CAMPBELL - "Social Origins of Some Early Americans". In SMITH, ed., *17th Century America*. N.Y., 1972. p. 68. Other accounts are similar. For example, see: C.E. BANKS. *The Winthrop Fleet of 1630* - Cambridge, 1930; Morison's account of Sir Walter Raleigh's second Virginia Colony of 1587 describes the colonists as: "All were middle-class English or Irish", (MORISON, p. 657)

3. CAMPBELL - op. cit., p. 82

4. *Treasury Papers* 47: 9-11 - Quoted in RICHARD B. MORRIS. *Government and Labor In Early America*, N.Y., 1946. p. 48.

5. CHRISTOPHER HILL - *Reformation to Industrial Revolution* - N.Y., 1967. p. 48; p. 64.

6. RICHARD HOFSTADTER - *America at 1750* - N.Y., 1973. p.11-12. This is but one source out of many, all essentially in agreement.

7. MORRIS - op. cit., p. 48

8. CAMPBELL - op. cit., p. 83

9. THEODORE ROOSEVELT - *The Winning of the West* - Vol. I - N.Y., 1900. p. 90

10. WILCOMB E. WASHBURN - "The Moral and Legal Justification for Dispossessing the Indians." In SMITH, ed. p. 23

11. Testimony of Wilbur R. Jacobs at Sioux Treaty Hearing. In R. DUNBAR ORTIZ - *The Great Sioux Nation*. San Francisco, 1971. p. 60; HENRY F. DOBYNS "Estimating Aboriginal American Population, An Appraisal of Techniques With a New Hemispheric Estimate." *Current Anthropology*, Vol. III, No. 4. p. 395.

12. PHILIP GIBSON - Quoted in HOFSTADTER - op. cit. p. 69; also see COOK & SIMPSON (1948).

13. HAROLD E. DRIVER - *Indians of North America* - Chicago, 1968 - p. 604.

14. *N.Y. Times* - May 16, 1899.

15. KARL MARX - *The Poverty of Philosophy* - N.Y., 1963. p. 111

16. See: HOFSTADTER-op. cit. p. 99; OTTLEY & WEATHERBY, eds.- *The Negro In New York* - N.Y., 1967; EDITH EVANS ASBURY. "Freed Black Farmers Tilled Manhattan's Soil in the 1600s". *N.Y. Times* - Dec. 7, 1977.

17. See: VERNER W. CRANE - *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* - Ann Arbor, 1956; ORTIZ - op. cit. p. 86.

18. GARY B. NASH - *Red, White, And Black*. Englewood Cliffs, 1974. p. 112-113.

19. *ibid.*

20. *ibid.*

21. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON - *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*. N.Y., 1971. p. 678

22. CLINTON ROSSITER - *The First American Revolution* - N.Y., 1956. p. 41.

23. HOFSTADTER - op. cit. p. 89-90.

24. ROBERT E. & B. KATHERINE BROWN - *Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?* East Lansing, 1964. p. 22.

25. PHILIP S. FONER - *Labor and the American Revolution* - Westport, 1976. p. 8-9.

26. JACKSON TURNER MAIN - *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* - Princeton, 1965. p. 66-67. While we use Main's findings, it is evident that although Euro-American historians have widely differing conclusions about class stratification in this period, their factual bases are very similar.

For example, James A. Henretta, in his well-known essay, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston", concludes that the Colonial era was one of rapidly growing settler class inequality, with the "appearance of...proletarians".

This is an often-quoted conclusion. Yet, a careful examination of his research shows that: 1. In rural Massachusetts of the 1770's land ownership was near-universal among the settlers (over 90%); 2. Even in Boston, a major urban center, the clear majority of settler men were self-employed property-owners (60-70%); 3. Henretta himself points out that many settler men who were without taxable property were not poor, but had comfortable incomes and were respected enough to be elected to public office. So, although Henretta chose to stress the appearance of inequality among settlers, his own research confirms the general picture of shared privilege and an exceptional way of life for the Euro-American conquerers.

27. HOFSTADTER - op. cit. p. 161.

28. AUDREY C. LAND - *Bases of the Plantation Society* - N.Y., 1969, p. 105

29. MORRIS - op. cit. p. 40

30. KARL MARX - *18th Brumaire...* In *Selected Works (SW)* - N.Y., 1960. p. 104.

31. KARL MARX - *Wages, Price and Profit* - In SW. p. 192.

32. FONER - op.cit., p. 12.

33. MORRIS - op. cit., p. 46; BROWN & BROWN - op. cit., p. 22.

34. MORRIS - op. cit., p. 45.

35. KARL MARX - SW. p. 226

36. FRED SHANNON - *American Farmers Movements* - Princeton, 1957. p. 9; MORRIS, op. cit., p. 36.

37. HILL - op. cit., p. 74.

38. MORRIS - op. cit., p. 36-37.

39. THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER - *The Shaping of Colonial Virginia* - N.Y., 1958. p. 134.

40. MORRIS - op. cit., p. 29.

II. STRUGGLES & ALLIANCES

1. HERBERT APTHEKER - *The Colonial Era*, N.Y., 1959. p. 62.

2. THEODORE W. ALLEN - *Class Struggle and the Origins of Slavery*, Somerville, 1976. p. 3-4.

3. A photograph of this plaque can be seen in: CHARLES W.H. WARNER. *Road to Revolution*. Richmond, 1961.

4. Except as otherwise noted, events in Bacon's Rebellion are taken from WILCOMB E. WASHBURN. *The Governor and the Rebel*. Chapel Hill, 1957.

5. BERNARD BAILYN - "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia." In SMITH, op. cit., p. 103-104; also WASHBURN. p. 17-19.
 6. SHANNON - op. cit., p. 109-110. Bacon's own account, written on June 8, 1676, is there as well.
 7. WARNER. op. cit., p. 21-22.
 8. PHILIP S. FONER. *History of the Labor Movement of the United States* - Vol. I. N.Y., 1978. p. 29
 9. LOUIS ADAMIC - *A Nation of Nations*. N.Y., 1945. p. 288.
 10. For a brief account, see: SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. *Oxford History of the American People* - N.Y., 1965. p. 119-122.
 11. JACK HARDY. *The First American Revolution* - N.Y., 1937. p. 37-38.
 12. *ibid*, p. 72.
 13. RICHARD C. WADE - *The Urban Frontier* - Chicago, 1971. p. 2.
 14. FONER - *Labor and...* p. 182-183.
 15. WINTHROP D. JORDAN - *White Over Black* - N.Y., 1969. p. 115.
 16. THOMAS PAINE - *Selected Writings*, N.Y., 1945. p. 29. John C. Miller states in his *Origins of the American Revolution* that "the patriots proclaimed themselves the champions of white supremacy against the British Government..." [p. 478-479].
 17. ROI OTTLEY - *Black Odyssey* - London, 1949. p. 63.
 18. BENJAMIN QUARLES - *The Negro In The American Revolution*, Chapel Hill, 1961. p.x.
 19. *ibid*, p. 118-119.
 20. *ibid*, p. 131.
 21. LERONE BENNETT, JR. *Before the Mayflower*. Baltimore, 1968. p. 62; OTTLEY, op. cit., p. 65; etc.
 22. QUARLES, op. cit., p. 28; OTTLEY, op. cit., p. 63.
 23. OTTLEY, op. cit., p. 65.
 24. BENNETT, JR. - op. cit., p. 58.
 25. QUARLES - op. cit., p. 30.
 26. BENNETT, JR. - op. cit., p. 59; OTTLEY - op. cit., p. 73-74.
 27. BENNETT, JR., op. cit., p. 58; OTTLEY, op. cit., p. 73-74.
 28. FONER. *Labor and ...*, p. 184.
 29. QUARLES - op. cit., p. 171-172.
- ### III. THE CONTRADICTIONS OF NATION AND CLASS
1. HOFSTADTER - op. cit., p. 4.
 2. OTTLEY - op. cit., p. 57.
 3. See: RONALD T. TAKAKI. *Iron Cages*. N.Y., 1979. p. 42-45; WINTHROP D. JORDAN. op. cit., p. 429-440.
 4. TAKAKI - op. cit., p. 44.
 5. STEPHEN B. OATES - *The Fires of Jubilee* - N.Y., 1975. p. 135-136.
 6. RICHARD C. WADE - *Slavery In The Cities* - N.Y., 1964. p. 1-27.
 7. J.G. TREGLE, JR. "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal." *Journal of Southern History*. Feb., 1952. p. 34.
 8. WADE - *Slavery...*, p.245.
 9. *ibid.*, p. 219.

10. OTTLEY - p. 83.
 11. ROBERT S. STAROBIN - *Industrial Slavery in the Old South*. N.Y., 1975. p. 88; HERBERT APTHEKER - *To Be Free*. N.Y., 1969. p.73.
 12. WADE - *Slavery...*, p. 235.
 13. *ibid.*, p. 16-19.
 14. *ibid.*, p. 264.
 15. STAROBIN - op. cit., p. 157-160.
 16. EUGENE D. GENOVESE - *The Political Economy of Slavery*. N.Y., 1965. p. 163.
 17. HENRY NASH SMITH. *Virgin Land*. N.Y., 1950. p. 243.
 18. GENOVESE - op. cit., p. 231.
- ### IV. SETTLER TRADE-UNIONISM
1. RICHARD B. MORRIS, ed. *Encyclopedia of American History*. p. 444-448.
 2. ROGER W. SHUGG - *Origins of Class Struggle In Louisiana*. Baton Rouge, 1972. p. 79.
 3. STUART BLUMIN. "Mobility and Change in Ante-Bellum Philadelphia." In THERNSTROM & SENNET. *Nineteenth-Century Cities*. New Haven, 1971. p. 198-200.
 4. *ibid*.
 5. LEON F. LITWACK. *North of Slavery*. Chicago, 1961. p. 82.
 6. EDWARD PESSEN. *Jacksonian America*. Homewood, 1969. p. 63.
 7. LITWACK - op. cit., p. 90-91; p. 271.
 8. FONER. *History of...* p. 142-149.
 9. MARY E. YOUNG. "Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice." *American Historical Review*. Oct., 1958. p. 31-45.
 10. PETER FARB - *Man's Rise to Civilization*. N.Y., 1968. p. 250-254.
 11. *ibid*.
 12. TAKAKI. op. cit., p. 96.
 13. RICHARD MAXWELL BROWN. *Strain of Violence*. N.Y., 1975. p. 200-207.
 14. TAKAKI. op. cit., p. 102.
 15. FONER. *History...*, p. 145.
 16. PESSEN. op. cit., p. 261; FONER. *History...* p. 144-150; LEE BENSON. *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*. N.Y., 1966. p. 171-175.
 17. FONER. *History...*, p. 150.
 18. PESSEN. op. cit., p. 215.
 19. FONER. *History...*, p.183-188.
 20. GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON. *The Black Image In The White Mind*. N.Y., 1971. p. 133.
 21. See: LEONARD L. RICHARDS. *Gentlemen of Property and Standing*. Oxford, 1970. p. 14; p. 114; p. 140; p. 153; p. 156-157.
 22. FREDRICKSON. op. cit.
 23. *ibid*.
 24. FREDERICKSON. op. cit., p. 146.
 - 167 25. LEON F. LITWACK. *North of Slavery*. Chicago, 1961. p. 162-166.

26. ROGER W. SHUGG. *Origins of Class Struggle In Louisiana*. Baton Rouge, 1972. p. 118.
27. HERBERT G. GUTMAN. "Persistent Myths About the Afro-American Family." In MICHAEL GORDON, Ed. *The American Family In Social-Historical Perspective*. N.Y., 1978. p. 485.
28. PHILIP S. FONER. "A Labor Voice For Black Equality: The Boston Daily Evening Voice, 1864-1867." *Science & Society*. 1974. p. 304-305.
29. SHUGG. op. cit., p. 319-320.
30. DAVID ROEDIGER. "Racism, Reconstruction, and the Labor Press..." *Science & Society*. 1978. p. 156-178. SAM B. WARNER, JR. *Streetcar Suburbs*. N.Y., 1973. p. 53.
31. Unless otherwise noted, Chinese history in the U.S. West based on: JACK CHEN. *The Chinese of America*. N.Y., 1981.
32. RODOLFO ACUNA. *Occupied Amerika*. San Francisco, 1972. p. 118.
33. TAKAKI. op. cit., p. 232.
34. CHEN. op. cit. p. 137.
35. HERBERT HILL. "Anti-Oriental Agitation and the Rise of Working Class Racism." *Society*. Jan./Feb., 1973. p. 43-54.
36. ibid.
37. ibid.
38. FONER. *History of...* p. 489.
39. HILL. op. cit.
40. FONER. *History of...* p. 490-493.
41. HILL. op. cit.
42. FONER. *History of...* p. 511.
43. W.E.B. DU BOIS. *Black Reconstruction In America, 1860-1880*. N.Y., 1972. p. 120-121. Unless otherwise noted, the events of the U.S. Civil War and Reconstruction are based on Du Bois' monumental work.
44. FREDRICKSON. op. cit.
45. WENDELL PHILLIPS. "Warnings." *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. April 9, 1870.
46. FONER. *History of...* p. 400.
47. ibid. p. 393-394.
48. ibid. p. 401.
49. FONER. "A Labor Voice..." p. 304.
50. ibid. p. 322-323.
51. ROEDIGER. op. cit.
52. FONER. *History of...* p. 374.
53. FELIX S. COHEN. *Immigration and National Welfare*. N.Y., 1940. p.14.
54. FONER. *History of...* p. 377-382.
55. ibid. p. 381-382.
56. ibid. p. 377; p. 393-394.
57. ibid. p. 428-429.
58. Quoted in JÜRGEN KUCZYNSKI. *The Rise of the Working Class*. p. 161.
59. Quoted in A. LOZOVSKY. *Marx and the Trade Unions*. N.Y., 1935. p. 91.
60. SHUGG. op. cit., p. 90.
61. DU BOIS. op. cit., p. 700.
62. LOUIS ADAMIC. *A Nation of Nations*. N.Y., 1945. p. 182.
63. FONER. *History of ...* p. 269-270.
64. THOMAS N. BROWN. *Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890*. Philadelphia, 1966. p. 38-41.
65. ibid. p. 67-69.
66. ACUNA, op. cit., p. 25-26.



FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER V, 1.

1. ERIC HOBSBAUM. "Lenin and the Aristocracy of Labor." In SWEEZY & MAGDORF. *Lenin Today*. N.Y., 1970. p. 47.
2. V.I. LENIN. *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Peking, 1970. p. 129.
3. ROBERT L. HEILBRONER. *The Worldly Philosophers*. N.Y., 1964. p. 144.
4. MARTIN NICOLAUS. "The Theory of the Labor Aristocracy." In SWEEZY & MAGDORF. p. 91-101.
5. GERHARD BRY. *Wages In Germany, 1871-1945*. Princeton, 1960. p. 267.
6. HOBSBAUM. op.cit.; V.I. LENIN. "Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the 2nd Congress of the C.I." *Collected Works*. Vol. 31. p. 184-201.
7. STERLING D. SPERO & ABRAM HARRIS. *The Black Worker*. N.Y., 1931. p. 150-260; HAROLD BARON. "The Demand for Black Labor: Historical Notes on the Political Economy of Racism." *Radical America*. March-April 1971.
8. SPERO & HARRIS. op. cit.; PAUL NYDEN. *Black Coal Miners in the U.S. A.I.M.S. No. 15*. N.Y., 1974. p. 18.
9. ACUNA. op. cit., p. 94-98; 132-134. "The Struggle For Chicano Liberation." *Forward*. August 1979.

CHAPTER V, 2.

10. NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FREE PUERTO RICAN P.O.W.S. *Petition to the United Nations*. n.d., p. 4-6.
11. HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH. *The Army Bill and Philippine Policy*. Washington. December 5, 1900. p. 3.
12. DANIEL BOONE SCHIRMER. *Republic or Empire*. Boston, 1972. p. 230-240.
13. *ibid.*
14. *ibid.*; AMADO GUERRERO. *Philippine Society and Revolution*. Oakland, 1979. p. 16-19.
15. *ibid.*, p. 174-176.
16. CARL SCHURZ. *The Policy of Imperialism*. American Anti-Imperialist League Liberty Tract No. 19. Chicago, 1899, inside cover. This was an address at the League Convention.
17. *ibid.*, p. 4, 21.
18. HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL. *War and Conquest Abroad, Degradation of Labor at Home*. A.A.L. Liberty Tract No. 7, Chicago, 1900. p. 5-11.
19. CARL SCHURZ. *American Imperialism*. Convocation Address at the University of Chicago. January 4, 1899. p. 6.
20. MICHAEL ROGIN. "Comment." In JOHN H.M. LASLETT & S.M. UPSETT, Ed.s. *Failure of a Dream?* Garden City, 1974. p. 147.
21. C. VANN WOODWARD. *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel*. N.Y., 1963. p. 370-380.
22. *ibid.*
23. DANIEL BELL. *Marxian Socialism in the United States*. Princeton, 1967. p. 89; ROGIN. op. cit.

CHAPTER V, 3.

24. THOMAS J. NOER. *Briton, Boer and Yankee*. Kent, 1978. p. 30-34.
25. *ibid.*, p. 48-55.
26. *ibid.*, p. 69-70
27. *ibid.*, p. 85.
28. *ibid.*, p. 80-81.
29. *ibid.*, p. 88.
30. EDWARD ROUX. *Time Longer Than Rope*. Madison, 1964. p. 132-134, 154-155.
31. *ibid.*, p. 134.
32. *ibid.*, p. 147.
33. *ibid.*, p. 148.
34. *ibid.*, p. 149-151.

CHAPTER VI, 1.

1. DAVID BRODY. *Steelworkers in America, The Nonunion Era*. N.Y., 1969. p. 1.
2. ROBERT W. DUNN. *The Americanization of Labor*. N.Y., 1927. p. 9.
3. JOHN HIGHAM. *Strangers in the Land*. N.Y., 1975. p. 159.
4. U.S. IMMIGRATION COMMISSION. *Reports, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Document No. 747, I*. p. 37-39.
5. BRODY. op. cit., p. 96.
6. ROBERT HUNTER. *Poverty*. N.Y., 1912. p. 261.
7. *ibid.*, p. 33.
8. BRODY. op. cit., p. 40.
9. *ibid.*, p. 98; IRVING WERSTEIN. *Pie in the Sky*. N.Y., 1969. p. 67-68.
10. *ibid.*, p. 99.
11. *ibid.*, p. 101.
12. HIGHAM. op. cit., p. 143, 164.

13. VICTOR PAANANEN. "Rebels All: the Finns in America." In *These Times*. April 5-11, 1978; HARRY ELMER BARNES & NEGLEY K. TEETERS. *New Horizons in Criminology*. N.Y., 1946. p. 184.

14. HIGHAM. op. cit., p. 273.

15. *ibid.*, p. 138.

16. *ibid.*, p. 257.

17. *ibid.*, p. 259-262.

18. *ibid.*, p. 301.

19. *ibid.*, p. 182.

20. *ibid.*, p. 163-164, 183.

21. BRODY. op. cit., p. 120-121.

CHAPTER VI, 2.

22. LEN DE CAUX. *The Living Spirit of the Wobblies*. N.Y., 1978. p. 60.

23. PATRICK RENSHAW. *The Wobblies*. Garden City, 1967. p. 178.

24. PAUL BRISSENDEN. *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism*. N.Y., 1919. p. 329.

25. RENSHAW. op. cit., p. 329.

26. *ibid.*, p. 217.

27. PHILIP S. FONER. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*. Vol. IV. N.Y., 1965. p. 554-559.

28. *Solidarity*. July 24, 1915.

29. RENSHAW. op. cit., p. 220-230.

30. DE CAUX. op. cit., p. 134-135.

31. FONER. Vol. IV. p. 124.

32. *ibid.*, p. 127.

33. PHILIP S. FONER. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*. Vol. III. N.Y., 1964. p. 276-277.

34. FONER. Vol. IV. p. 70.

35. *ibid.*, p. 82.

36. BRISSENDEN. op. cit., p. 208-209.

37. *Solidarity*. July 24, 1915.

38. FONER. Vol. IV. p. 243.

39. JOHN REED, *Insurgent Mexico*. N.Y., 1974. p. 13-15, 125-140; HOWARD A DEWITT. *Images of Ethnic and Radical Violence in California Politics, 1917-1930: A Survey*. S.F., 1975. p. 11; RENSHAW. op. cit., p. 249, 289; ACUNA. op. cit., p. 156-157; BEN FLETCHER. "Philadelphia Waterfront Unionism." *Messenger*. June 1923. p. 740-741.

40. BRODY. op. cit., p. 231-262.

41. *ibid.*, p. 255; SPERO & HARIS. op. cit., p. 251.

42. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*. N.Y., 1920. p. 207.

43. PHILIPS S. FONER. *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973*. N.Y., 1974. p. 137; ALLAN H. SPEAR. *Black Chicago*. Chicago, 1967. p. 202.

44. SPEAR. op. cit., p. 201, 212.

45. *ibid.*, p. 215-216.

46. FOSTER. op. cit., p. 205-212.

47. HIGHAM. op. cit., p. 221.

48. BRODY. op. cit., p. 188-196.

49. *ibid.*, p. 266-268.

50. DUNN. op. cit.

51. ARTHUR CORWIN & LAWRENCE CARDOSO. "Vamos Al Norte." In CORWIN, Ed. *Immigrants — and Immigrants*. S.F., 1972. p. 47.

CHAPTER VII, 1.

1. HARRY BRAVERMAN. *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. N.Y., 1974. p. 61-62.

2. BRODY. op. cit., p. 44.

3. *ibid.*, p. 47.

4. *ibid.*, p. 50-75.

5. ROBERT W. DUNN. *Labor and Automobiles*. N.Y., 1929. p. 61.

6. *ibid.*, p. 62-63.

CHAPTER VII, 2.

7. WYNNDHAM MORTIMER. *Organize!* Boston, 1971. p. 41; IRVING HOWE & B.J. WIDICK. *The UAW and Walter Reuther*. N.Y., 1949. p. 93.

8. BRODY. op. cit., p. 84.

9. HOWE & WIDICK. op. cit., p. 94; SPEAR. op. cit., p. 157.

10. DUNN. *Labor and Automobiles*. p. 182-183, 191.

11. SIDNEY FINE. *Sit Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936-1937*. Ann Arbor, 1969. p. 266-270.

12. GEORGE RAWICK. "Working Class Self-Activity." *Radical America*. No. 2, 1969; ED JENNINGS. *Wildcat! The Strike Wave and the No-Strike Pledge in the Auto Industry*. Manuscript. p. 12.

13. JENNINGS. op. cit., p. 17.

14. ROBERT R. BROOKS. *As Steel Goes...* New Haven, 1940. p. 129.

CHAPTER VII, 3.

15. SAMUEL LUBELL. "Post Mortem: Who Elected Roosevelt?" In WILLIAM E. LECHTENBURG, Ed. *The New Deal*. N.Y., 1968. p.

- 162-166.
16. FRANCIS PERKINS. *The Roosevelt I Knew*. N.Y., 1946. p. 228-231.
17. LECHTENBURG. op. cit., p. 151-152; CHARLES HIGHAM. *Trading With the Enemy*. N.Y., 1983. p. 163.
18. ROBERT TRAVIS. *Flint: A True Report*. Flint, 1937. p. 4; JACK STEIBER. *Governing the UAW*. N.Y., 1962. p. 63; CLAUD E. HOFFMAN. *Sit-Down in Anderson: UAW Local 663...* Detroit, 1968. p. 91; ROBERT R. BROOKS. op. cit., p. 83-85; AUGUST MEIER & ELLIOT RUDWICK. *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW*. N.Y., 1979. p. 66; CHARLES P. LARROWE. *Harry Bridges*. N.Y., 1972. p. 284-286; N.Y. Times. December 8, 1981.
19. LARROWE. op. cit., p. 74-84.
20. FINE. op. cit., p. 272-274, 293, 302, 233.
21. MURRAY EDELMAN. "New Deal Sensitivity to Labor Interests." In MILTON DERBER & EDWIN YOUNG, Eds. *Labor and the New Deal*. Madison, 1957. p. 167.
22. BEN STOLBERG. *Tailor's Progress*. N.Y., 1944. p. 205.
23. BROOKS. op. cit., p. 83-106.
24. *ibid.*, p. 110-119.
25. op. cit., p. 106; SAUL ALINSKY. *John L. Lewis*. N.Y., 1949. p. 149.
26. BROOKS. op. cit., p. 194.
27. THOMAS MATHEWS. *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal*. Gainesville, 1960. p. 261-314.
28. ACUNA. op. cit., p. 190-195.
29. TRAVIS. op. cit., p. 3.
30. JENNINGS. op. cit., p. 36.
- CHAPTER VII, 4.
31. SPEAR. op. cit., p. 157.
32. EDWARD GREER. "Racism and U.S. Steel, 1906-1974." *Radical America*. Sept.-October 1976.
33. MEIER & RUDWICK. op. cit., p. 16-20.
34. SPERO & HARRIS. op. cit., p. 152-166; MEIER & RUDWICK, op. cit., p. 6-8.
35. DUNN. *Labor and Automobiles*. p. 68-69.
36. *ibid.*
37. MEIER & RUDWICK. op. cit., p. 38.
38. MORTIMER. op. cit., p. 111.
39. MEIER & RUDWICK. op. cit., p. 36-37; Interviews with two radical participants in the Flint Sit-Down.
40. Flint interviews.
41. MEIER & RUDWICK. op. cit., p. 50.
42. RAY MARSHALL. "The Negro in Southern Illinois." In JULIUS JACOBSEN, Ed. *The Negro and the American Labor Movement*. N.Y., 1968. p. 149.
43. ROBERT C. WEAVER. *Negro Labor: A National Problem*. N.Y., 1946. p. 15; MEIER & RUDWICK. op. cit., p. 124-125.
44. WEAVER. op. cit., p. 27.
45. JEREMY BRECHER. *Strike!* S.F., 1972. p. 223.
46. WEAVER. op. cit., p. 75.
- CHAPTER VIII, 1.
1. JOHN MORTON BLUM. *V Was For Victory, Politics and American Culture During World War II*. N.Y., 1976. p. 67.
2. BARON. op. cit.
3. JAMES L. STOKESBURY. *A Short History of World War II*. N.Y., 1980. p. 378-380.
4. *ibid.*
5. BLUM. op. cit., p. 90-91.
6. *ibid.*, p. 91-99.
- CHAPTER VIII, 2.
7. J.R. JOHNSON. "What Do Negroes Themselves Think About the War? *Socialist Appeal*. October 20, 1939.
8. ROUX. op. cit., p. 306.
9. SUMMER M. ROSEN. "The CIO Era — 1935-55." In JULIUS JACOBSEN, Ed. op. cit., p. 196; Interview with St. Clair Drake. 1960.
10. DAVID HOROWITZ. *Empire and Revolution*. N.Y., 1970. p. 70; BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE U.S. ARMY. Washington, 1945; MATTHEW COOPER. *The German Army, 1933-1945*. N.Y., 1978. p. 471; GABRIEL KOLKO. *Politics of War*. N.Y., 1968. p. 22.
11. WILLIAM R. PERL. *The Four-Front War*. N.Y., 1979. p. 2, 218; BERNARD WASSERSTEIN. *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939-1945*. N.Y., 1979. p. 309-320. KOLKO. op. cit., p. 44, 182-193, 429; HIGHAM. op. cit., p. 155-163.
12. Letter from JOHN E. COSTELLO. N.Y. Times. January 17, 1982; Diary of U.S. Secretary of War Henry Stimson, quoted in CHARLES A. BEARD. *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*. New Haven, 1948. p. 517. BARBARA TUCHMAN. *Stillwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-45*. N.Y., 1970. p. 224.
13. BEARD. op. cit., p. 178-179.
14. TUCHMAN. op. cit., p. p. 238-240.
- CHAPTER VIII, 3.
15. N.Y. Times. November 20, 1940.
16. N.Y. Times. November 21, 1940.
17. N.Y. Times. February 19, 1941.
18. MATTHEWS. op. cit., p. 17-18, 324.
19. CHARLES T. GOODSSELL. *Administration of a Revolution*. Cambridge, 1965. p. 3-9.
20. *ibid.*
21. RODOLFO O. RIVERA. "Puerto Rico Pays." *Nation*. May 25, 1940.
22. N.Y. Times. December 4, 1940.
23. N.Y. Times. November 21, 1940.
24. BLUM. op. cit., p. 147-152.
25. SETUKO NISHI. *Facts About Japanese-Americans*. Chicago, 1946. p. 2-3.
26. *ibid.*
27. *ibid.*, p. 20.
28. BILL HOSOKAWA. *Nisei*. N.Y. 1969. p. 440.
29. *ibid.*, p. 457-467.
30. BLUM. op. cit., p. 45.
31. MEIER & RUDWICK. op. cit., p. 164.
32. FONER. *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*. p. 264-265.
33. ACUNA. op. cit., p. 203-206.
34. N.Y. Times. February 26, 1973.
- CHAPTER IX, 1.
1. TAKAKI. op. cit., p. 189.
2. Jimmie Durham. *American Indian Culture: Traditionalism & Spiritualism in a Revolutionary Struggle*. N.Y. 1974. p. 5-6.
3. FRANK ERNEST HILL. "A New Pattern of Life for the Indian." N.Y. Times Magazine. July 14, 1935.
4. *ibid.*
5. *ibid.* N.Y. Times. January 26, 1982; PETER MEWICK. "Navajos Levy Taxes On Energy Giants." *In These Times*. August 30, 1978; JAN STITES. "Native Land." *Village Voice*. May 4, 1982; E. SHUSKY. *The Right To Be Indian*. S.F., 1970. p. vi.
- CHAPTER IX, 2.
12. FONER. *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*. p. 158-161.
13. PETER KWONG. *Chinatown*. New York. N.Y., 1979. p. 120-121.
14. "Crop Sharers in Ala. Fight Hostile Posse." *Louisiana Weekly*. July 25, 1931. EUGENE GORDON. "Alabama Massacre." *New Masses*. August 1931.
15. JANE DILLON. "Fighting For Bread in Dixie Land." *Labor Defender*. October 1931.
16. "A Sharecropper Tells the Story. *Labor Defender*. September 1931.
17. DILLON. op. cit.
18. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. June 7, 1942.
19. "Odell Waller: A Test Case." *New York Times*. June 11, 1942.
20. MORRIS MILGRAM. "Aid Sought For Arkansas Negro Imprisoned For Defending Home." *The Call*. December 12, 1943.
21. "Five Farmers in Alabama Convicted." *Chicago Defender*. May 6, 1933.
22. ALBERT JACKSON. "On the Alabama Front." *Nation*. September 18, 1935.
23. DONALD GRUBBS. *Cry From the Cotton*. Chapel Hill, 1971. p. 81.
24. *ibid.*, p. 24.
25. *ibid.*, p. 67.
26. LOUIS CANTOR. *A Prologue to the Protest Movement: The Missouri Sharecropper Roadside Demonstrations of 1939*. Durham, 1969.
27. NELL PAINTER & HOSEA HUDSON. "Hosea Hudson: A Negro Communist in the Deep South." *Radical America*. July-August 1977. Vol. II, No. 4.
28. WILLIAM R. SCOTT. "Black Nationalism and the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict." *Journal of Negro History*. 1978. p. 118-134. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations and references on this movement are from Scott's work. This important essay shows the nationalist orientation of the support movement, and rescues a deliberately suppressed history of popular political struggle.
29. SCOTT. *ibid.* "Mob of 400 Battles the Police in Harlem; Italian Stores Raided, Man Shot in Crowd." *New York Times*. May 19, 1936.
30. FRANCES FOX PIVEN & RICHARD A CLOWARD. *Regulating the Poor*. N.Y., 1971. p. 76.
31. *ibid.*, p. 133.
32. WILLIAM R. AMBERSON. "The New Deal for Share-Croppers." *Nations*. Feb. 13, 1935.
33. C.T. CARPENTER. "Federal Aid in South Helps Rich Owner. Op-

- presses Poor." N.Y. World-Telegram. May 11, 1935.
34. NYDEN. op. cit., p. 17-22.
 35. WEAVER. op. cit., p. 9.
 36. JULIUS LESTER. Ed. *The Seventh Son: The Thought & Writing of W.E.B. DuBois*. Vol. I N.Y., 1971. p. 104.
 37. AMILCAR CABRAL. *The Struggle in Guinea*. Cambridge, n.d. (reprint of speech in Milan, Italy, May 1964). p. 442.
 38. CONSTANCE MCLAUGHLIN GREEN, *The Secret City*. Princeton, 1967. p. 129, 157-158.
 39. LESTER. Ed. op. cit., p. 89; RICHARD WRIGHT. *American Hunger*. N.Y., 1983. p. 28-29.
 40. *Crusader*. Nov. 1921. p. 23.
 41. CLAUDE MCKAY, *Harlem: Negro Metropolis*. N.Y., 1940. p. 168.
 42. ST. CLAIRE DARKE. "Hide My Face." in HERBERT HILL. Ed. *Soon, One Morning*. N.Y., 1969. p. 78-105. COHEN. op. cit., p. 284.
 43. DRAKE. op. cit.; W.F. ELKINS. "Marcus Garvey, the Negro World, and the British West Indies, 1919-1920," *Science & Society*. Spring, 1972. p. 74-75.
 44. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. "Behavioral Scientists in the Civil Rights Movement." In GLENN & BONJEAN, Eds. *Blacks In the United States*. S.F., 1969. p. 8.
 45. JEFF HENDERSON. "A. Philip Randolph and the Dilemmas of Socialism and Black Nationalism in the United States, 1917-1941." *Race & Class*. Autumn 1978. p. 143-159.
 46. *ibid.*
 47. AMY JACQUES-GARVEY, Ed *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. N.Y., 1980. p. 295.
 48. CABRAL. op. cit., p. 444.
 49. FONER. *Organized Labor...* p. 124. BRAILSFORD R. BRAZEAL. *The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*. N.Y., 1946. p. 132.
 50. DANIEL S. DAVIS. *Mr. Black Labor*. N.Y., 1972. p. xii.
 51. HENDERSON. op. cit. DAVIS. op. cit., p. 62-69.
 52. HARRY A PLOSKI & WARREN MARR II, Eds. *The Negro Almanac*. 3rd Edition. N.Y., 1976. p. 27.
 53. LUBELL. op. cit., p. 165.
 54. W.D.L. *The Case of Sharecropper Waller*. N.Y., 1942. 12 p. mimeo factsheet.
 55. FONER, *Organized Labor...* p. 238-239.
 56. W.D.L., op. cit.
 57. MCKAY, op. cit., p. 188-229.
 58. *ibid.*
 59. N.Y. Times. August 1, 1983.
 60. MCKAY. op. cit., p. 188-229.
 61. N.Y. Times. August 1938.
 62. DAVIS. op. cit., p. 102-112.
 63. *ibid.*
 64. *ibid.* CONSTANCE M. GREEN. op. cit., p. p. 254-258.
 65. WEAVER. op. cit., p. 27-33.
 66. *ibid.*
 67. FONER. *Organized Labor...* p. 243. DAVIS. op. cit., p. 111.
 68. GREER. op. cit., p. 57.
 69. JOSE CHEGUI TORRES. "A Contempt Pure and Dangerous." *Village Voice*. March 10, 1980.
 70. ACUNA. op. cit., p. 198.
 71. DAVIS. op. cit., p. 113-114.
 72. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR. *Marching Blacks*. N.Y., 1945. p. 125.
 73. N.Y. Times. August 3, 1981.
 74. ACUNA. op. cit., p. 198-199, p. 209.
 75. ACUNA. op. cit., p. 212-214; Kwong. op. cit., p. 144-147.
 76. *ibid.*
 77. HOSOKAWA. op. cit., p. 451-453.

CHAPTER X, 1.

1. There are many, many histories and personal memoirs detailing CPUSA involvement in the CIO and other American institutional structures; most agreeing on the facts of the CPUSA's significance. Just two of many referred to are: B. KARSH & PHILIPS GARMAN. "The Impact of the Political Left." In MILTON DERBER. Ed. *Labor and the New Deal*. Madison, 1957; ALBERT HALPER. *Good-Bye, Union Square*. Chicago, 1971.
2. BEN ROSE. "The Communist Party and the CIO." *Theoretical Review*. May-June, 1981. p. 13.
3. *ibid.*

CHAPTER X, 2.

4. LEN DE CAUX. *Labor Radical*. Boston, 1971. p. 521.
5. JOHN ABT. "Review of Cold War Political Justice: the Smith Act, the Communist Party and American Civil Liberties." *Science & Society*. Spring, 1979. p. 92; PEGGY DENNIS. *The Autobiography of an American Communist*. Westport, 1977. p. 206; CHARLES RUBIN. *The Log of Rubin the Sailor*. N.Y., 1973. p. 337-340.

6. PEGGY DENNIS. op. cit., p. 203-206.

7. KWONG. op. cit., p. 141.

CHAPTER X, 3.

8. "Vito Marcantonio on Puerto Rico and Puerto Rican Nationalism." In JOSE E. LOPEZ, Ed. *Puerto Rican Nationalism: A Reader*. Puerto Rican Cultural Center. Chicago, 1977. p. 119-120.
9. JOSE E. LOPEZ. "Introduction." In LOPEZ. op. cit., p. 22-24.
10. *New York Times*. November 1, 1950.
11. *ibid.*
12. GEORGE CHARNEY. *A Long Journey*. Chicago, 1968. p. 107.
13. *Daily Worker*. November 2, 1950.

CHAPTER XI.

1. KARL MARX. *Capital*. Vol. I. Moscow, 1960. p. 603-604.
2. *Wall Street Journal*. January 22, 1983; *Financial Times*. February 12, 1979.
3. EDWARDS. op. cit., p. 135-136.
4. *New York Times*. December 6, 1982.
5. *Wall Street Journal*. January 7, 1983.
6. *Newsday*. November 29, 1982.

CHAPTER XII, 2.

1. WILLIAM SERRIN. "The Collapse of Our Industrial Heartland." *New York Times Magazine*. June 6, 1982.
2. LEONARD BROOM & NORVAL D. GLENN. "The Occupations and Income of Black Americans." In GLENN & BONJEAN. op. cit., p. 24, 41.
3. *Daily Worker*, January 30, 1953.
4. JOHN HOPE II. *Equality of Opportunity*. Washington, 1956. p. 10.
5. KEN COCKREL. "Our Thing is DRUM." Detroit, n.d. p. 11; FONER. *Organized Labor*. p. 421.
6. See: HERBERT HILL. "The ILGWU Today — The Decay of a Labor Union." *New Politics*. Vol. I, No. 4.
7. Figures derived from comparing number of management and professional employees as given in *Wall Street Journal*, March 22, 1983, to total employees as given in *Standard & Poors Register* 1983.
8. *New York Times*. April 14, 1983.
9. PETER F. DRUCKER. "Squeezing the Firm's Midriff Bulge." *Wall Street Journal*. March 25, 1983.
10. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. *Historical Statistics of the United States*. Part II. Wash., 1975. p. 669.
11. COOK. op. cit.
12. *Statistical Abstract...* p. 400; Comparison derived from: *New York Times*. March 3, 1983; LARRY REMER. "Organizing Begins at Home." *Mother Jones*. May 1983.
13. *Wall Street Journal*. March 28, 1983.
14. *Wall Street Journal*. March 21, 1983.
15. WALTER F. MONDALE. "The U.S. Can Compete." *New York Times*. November 8, 1982.
16. *New York Times*. July 18, 1983.
17. *New York Times*. July 25, 1982, September 30, 1982.
18. *ibid.*
19. FRANCES MOORE LAPPE. *Diet For a Small Planet*. N.Y., 1982. p. 63.
20. *New York Times*. September 9, 1979.
21. *New York Times*. March 6, 1978.
22. PETER BAIRD & ED MCCAUGHAN. "POWER STRUGGLE: Labor & Imperialism In Mexico's Electrical Industry." *NACLA Report*. Sept.-Oct. 1977. p. 13; *New York Times*. March 31, 1983; *Business Week*. March, 1983. p. 87.
23. *Business Week*. March 14, 1983. p. 102.
24. *Business Week*. March 28, 1983.
25. *New York Times*. March 15, 1983.
26. *New York Times*. March 27, 1983.
27. *ibid.*
28. *ibid.*
29. DOUGLAS S. MASSEY. "Hordes of 'Illegals'? No." *New York Times*. May 31, 1979.
30. *New York Times*. June 3, 1979.
31. *New York Times*. February 26, 1981; March 27, 1983.
32. *Washington Post*. July 26, 1982.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. FRIEDRICH ENGELS. *Principles of Communism*. N.Y., 1952. p. 7.
2. STEPHEN J. ROSE. *Social Stratification in the United States*. Baltimore, 1979. p. 18.
3. *New York Times*. March 14, 1983.
4. Percentages based on figures given in: BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. *1970 Census of Population*. Vol. I: *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 1: U.S. Summary, Section 2. GPO. Wash., 1973. p. 739-745.
5. ROSE. op. cit., p. 28.

6. *New York Times*. September 18, 1979.
7. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.* 1981. Washington, 1981. P. 763-766; *New York Times*. September 25, 1977.
8. *Statistical Abstract*... p. 624-628.
9. *New York Times*. November 25, 1979.
10. *Newsweek*. January 17, 1983. "The Work Revolution."
11. *Statistical Abstract*... p. 420; ROSE. op. cit., p. 20-26.
12. *New York Times*. January 8, 1982; *In These Times*. December 15-21, 1982; *San Jose News*. June 10, 1982.
13. *New York Times*. May 30, 1982; *Wall Street Journal*. April 7, 1983.
14. LAPPE. op. cit., p. 37-38.
15. *Wall Street Journal*. April 7, 1983.
16. LEE SLOAN. "Maligning Black Veterans." *New York Times*. September 14, 1980.
17. *Statistical Abstract*... p. 403; *New York Times*. January 17, 1980.
18. CHRISTOPHER JENCKS. "How We Live Now." *New York Times Book Review*. April 10, 1983; *New York Times*. December 21, 1978.
19. *New York Times*. April 9, 1983.
20. *New York Times*. March 20, 1983.
21. *New York Times*. August 21, 1979.
22. *New York Times*. November 16, 1981.
23. JOHN EGERTON. "Boom or Bust in the Hollows of Appalachia."

- New York Times Magazine*. octobe 18, 1981.
24. op. cit., p. 187.
 25. *ibid.*, p. 151.
- CHAPTER XIV.
1. *Message to the Black Movement: A Political Statement from the Black Underground*. n.d. p. 18.
 2. HERBERT G. GUTMAN. "The Negro and the United Mine Workers of America." In JACOBSON, Ed. op. cit., p. 50-56.
 3. PAUL NYDEN. *Black Coal Miners in the United States*. N.Y., 1974. p. 7. All information on the UMW, unless otherwise noted, is from this CPUSA paper; HARRY A. PLOSKI & WARREN MARR II. Eds. *The Negro Almanac*. 3rd Edition. N.Y., 1976. p. 410.
 4. GUTMAN. op. cit., p. 81.
 5. *ibid.*, p. 53-55.
 6. PRESIDENT'S COAL COMMISSION. *The American Coal Miner*. Washington, 1980. p. 20; EILEEN WHALEN & KEN LAWRENCE. *Liberation For the Oppressed Nations and Peoples of Southern Africa*. Jackson, 1975. p. 7.
 7. GUTMAN. op. cit., p. p. 57-58.
 8. WHALEN & LAWRENCE. op. cit., p. 7-9.
 9. *All Africa Is Standing Up*. Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1978. p. 4.
 10. FRONER. *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*. p. 418.
 11. *ibid.*, p. 418.
 12. Interview

PUERTO RICO IS AMERICA.

It's serving our country.
Puerto Rico's Air National Guard calls itself "the watchdogs on the Caribbean." For five straight years, this unit had the best safety record in America.

It's management skills.
Mainland businesses have come to depend on Puerto Rican leadership and organizational abilities in production, in marketing, and in banking and legal matters.

It's culture.
Irene's Choir performs to thrilled audiences in Bogota.

Guard planes blown up in Puerto Rico

Terrorist bombs hit 8 planes at U.S. base

From Sun-Times Wires
SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—Bombs blew seven to 10 Air National Guard planes quick succession early Monday at Muniz International Airport, police said.
No one was hurt and there was no claim of responsibility, but speculation the attack was the independence group or left-wing draft or the U.S. military.
The planes were apart on a base and in addition were a by of

Just like Texas, we're simply a different part of America. Our heritage is Spanish, but our virtues are strictly old home town. Walk through any town, any city in Puerto Rico. You'll see Spanish tile roofs and Spanish language signs. But the people you meet will seem familiar.

Approved by the Electoral Review Board.

to you. We're American citizens. Every one of us.

We're ambitious for ourselves and our families, just like other Americans. We work hard. We work skillfully. We're proud of our way of life, and we're ready to protect it. Our voluntary enlistments in all U.S. Armed Service branches far outpace the national average.

We're productive. And we're committed to our

Which is why made Puerto and less absentee there's an ever-the second th largest con-

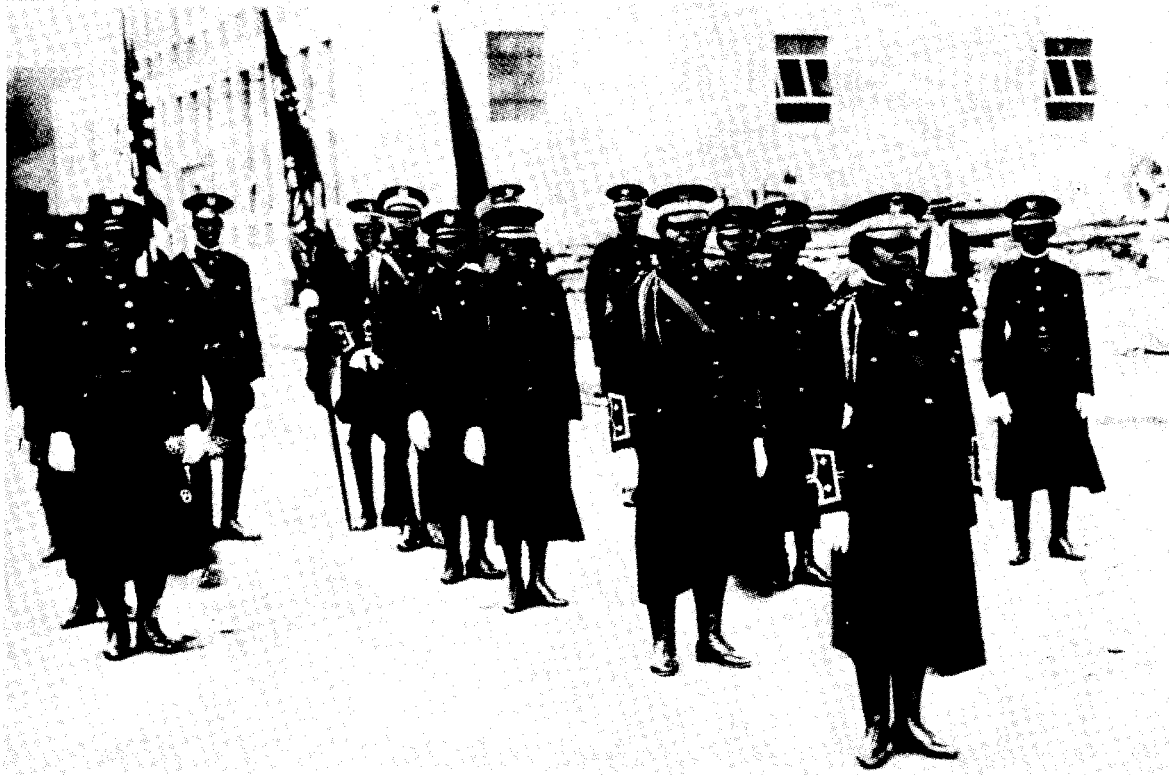
tainer shipping facility in the world.

In skill, in motivation, in the business environment. Puerto Rico is America. Puerto Rico and industry is a partnership that works.

Puerto Rico, U.S.A.
The ideal second home for American Business.

© 1980 Puerto Rico Economic Development Administration

The New York Times Magazine / September







AS U.S. CITIZENS PUERTO RICANS MUST REGISTER FOR THE DRAFT

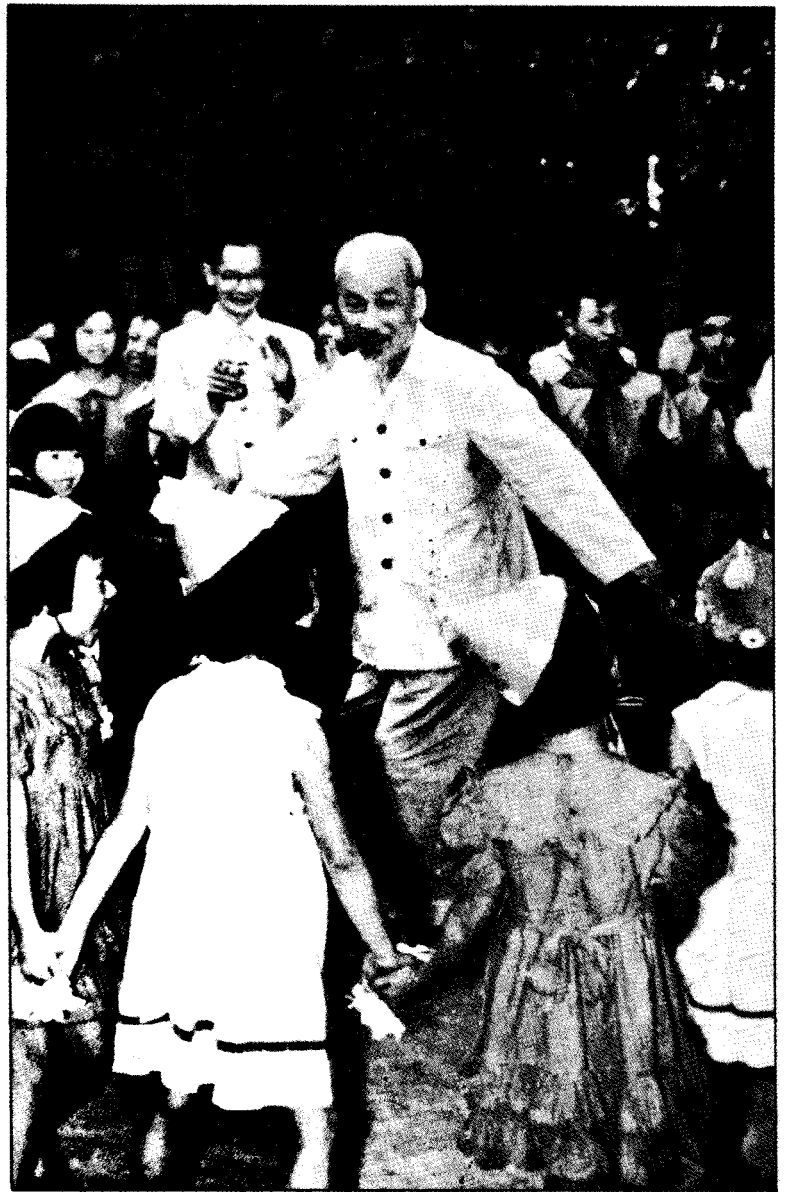




BALTIMORE, APRIL, 1968

**I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat,
with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner.
Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner,
unless you eat some of what's on that plate.
Being here in America doesn't make you an American.
Being born here in America doesn't make you an American.
No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the
22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism.
I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.**

MALCOLM X



*What could be more natural?
After Sorrow, comes joy
ho chi minh*



*natural?
joy
ninh*

SETTLERS

J. Sakai

The true story
of the White N

SETTLE



THE MYTHOLOGY
WHITE PROLETARIAT

by J. Sakai