Black Power in Chicago

A documentary survey of the 1983 mayoral democratic primary
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Political Power in the 1980s
   A Study Guide - #1

Selections from the Left Press
   - SUPPORT FOR A WORKING CLASS VICTORY
   - CRITICAL SUPPORT WITH WARNINGS
   - OPPOSITION TO EXPOSE BOURGEOIS ILLUSIONS
   - STRONG OPPOSITION TO ATTACK BOURGEOIS COOPTATION
Introduction

Peoples College is dedicated to critically analysing every significant historical event that somehow involves the fight against racism, sexism, imperialism and all other forms of oppression. Further, we want to use these analyses in the fight to make people more conscious of making history, of creating something new.

The election of Harold Washington is a critical event, an event that the entire country is talking about. Virtually every progressive force developed a position, especially the Marxist-Leninist left. We believe that even though the left is diverse and often predisposed mainly to polemics and debate, the time has come for a broad range of popular forces to systematically evaluate positions taken on the left to enable more people to learn from the left's strengths and weaknesses.

This collection is a step in that direction. Peoples College made four public presentations during the campaign, and each is included here. Also we have the documents and articles from fourteen other groups. Please send us relevant material not included here as we hope to expand this collection. Also, Peoples College is publishing a full analysis of the Harold Washington campaign in February 1984. Write for more information.

Abdul Alkalimat
for Peoples College
Post Office Box 7696
Chicago, IL 60680
The Illinois Council for Black Studies is pleased to invite you to a conference on "Black People and Mayoral Politics." The issue of mayoral politics is one of the central political questions facing people in the United States, and this is particularly true of Black people. The U.S. is an urban country and the cities are in deep crisis. Things are not like they used to be and quite likely will never be like "the good ol' days."

Black people are the most urbanized nationality in the U.S., and among the poorest and most powerless. Moreover, cities are turning into majority Black and Latin communities. The issue of mayoral politics for Black and Latin people must not only focus on the concentration of problems facing them but must also deal with the potential that exists for solutions to these problems. These solutions are central to the future of the cities and the future of the U.S. as well.

Black political power, to some extent, has developed through Black elected officials, especially Black mayors. The important question that the Black Studies movement is seeking to answer in cosponsoring this conference is: who gets elected as Black mayors, why and how and what difference does it make?

The conference will bring together academic scholarship with community political activism from key cities across the U.S. It will focus on national examples of cities with Black mayors (Gary, Detroit, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Oakland and Newark) and key cities currently with Black candidates for Mayor like CHICAGO and Philadelphia (see conference schedule for details). This is the best conference ever held dealing with the issue of Black political power and mayoral politics at a time when these issues are of growing importance throughout the U.S. CAN YOU AFFORD NOT TO BE THERE?
CONFERENCE PROGRAM
UNIVERSITY of ILLINOIS
CIRCLE CENTER

Friday Morning, January 28, 9 am
Opening Statement Conference Convenors
Remarks Johnetta Jones, Eastern Illinois University
Panel: BLACK MAYORS: WHO GETS ELECTED? WHERE? HOW & WHAT DIFFERENCE DO THEY MAKE?
Chair: Douglas Gills, Executive Director, Chicago Rehab Network
Panelists:
Milton Morris, Joint Center for Political Studies
John O'Laughlin, University of Illinois
Peter Eisenger, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Sharon Watson, Smith College

Friday Afternoon, January 28, 2 pm
Panel: THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET?: MALCOLM X RECONSIDERED
Chair: Lockley Edmondson, Southern Illinois University
Panelists:
Lu Palmer, Chair, Chicago Black United Communities
Mercedes Mallette, Chair, Citizens for Self-Determination
Conrad Worril, Chair, The Black United Front-Chicago
Bill Epton, Black Liberation Press, New York City

Friday Evening, January 28, 7 pm
Panel: WHAT HAVE BLACK MAYORS DONE?
Chair: Carol Adams, Loyola University
Panelists:
Atlanta: Mack Jones, Atlanta University
Detroit: Linda Williams, Howard University
Newark: Amiri Baraka, State University of New York-Stony Brook
Washington, D.C.: Ronald Walters, Howard University

Saturday Morning, January 29, 9 am
Panel: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK POLITICS IN CHICAGO
Chair: Tylene Barker, University of Illinois
Panelists:
Charles Brantham, University of Illinois
Harold Baron, Author
Milton Rakove, University of Illinois
Michael Preston, University of Illinois

John Jones (1816-1879)
Abolitionist and friend of John Brown and Frederick Douglas. First elected Black official in Chicago, Cook County Commissioner 1871-1875.

Oscar DePriest (1871-1951)
First Black on Chicago City Council 1916-1917. First Black member of U.S. Congress since Reconstruction (1928-1934)

Saturday Afternoon, January 29
1:30-3:15 WORKSHOPS
#1 OVERCOMING BLACK COMMUNITY DISUNITY
Chair: Sarah Woods, Roosevelt University
Panelists:
George Clements, Holy Angels Church
Nancy Jefferson, Midwest Community Council
Nathaniel Clay, Journalist
Tim Black, Loop College

#2 BUILDING COALITIONS
Chair: Robert Starks, Northeastern Illinois University
Panelists:
Anderson Thompson, National Black Independent Political Party
Arturo Vásquez, Pilsen Housing and Business Alliance
Sime Coleman, UAW Activist, Detroit
Bob Lucas, Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization

#3 CRITICAL ISSUES: JOBS
Chair: John Mcclendon, University of Illinois
Panelists:
Roger Fox, Research Director, Chicago Urban League
Carl Turpin, Griever, United Steelworkers Local No. 1033
Berta Shelton, Bureau of Employment Security
Chuck Wootten, UAW Activist, Detroit

#4 CRITICAL ISSUES: HOUSING
Chair: Juliaynne Walker, Peoples College
Panelists:
Waymon Winston, Milwaukee Housing Activists
James Payne, Chair, Kenwood Oakland Community Organization
Nina Hickman, Chicago Housing Tenants Association

3:30-5:15 pm WORKSHOPS
#5 WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS
Chair: Charles Evans, Olive Harvey Community College
Panelists:
James Balanoff, Former District Director, United Steelworker District 31
Luis Perez, Electrical Union Activists
Bobby Joe Thompson, Vice Chair, Grievance Committee, United Steel Workers Local No. 1010

#6 THE ROLE OF BLACK STUDIES
Chair: McAffee, Student, Northwestern
Panelists:
David Johnson, Thornton Community College
Roger Oden, Governors State University
Carole Adams, Loyola University
Sundarray Cha Jua, Richland Community College

#7 CRITICAL ISSUES: EDUCATION
Chair: William Exum, Northwestern University
Panelists:
Kenneth Smith, Former President Chicago School Board
Harold Rogers, Black Faculty in Higher Education

#8 CRITICAL ISSUES: HEALTH CARE
Chair: Marvin Goodwin, Kennedy King College
Panelists:
Lea Rogers, Health Care Activists
Quentin Young, Physician
James Townsend, University of Illinois

Saturday Evening, January 29, 7 pm
Panel: BLACK POLITICS AND BLACK LIBERATION: THE RELEVANCE OF LOCAL POLITICS
Chair: Ron Bailey, Northwestern University
Presenters:
Mayor Richard Hatcher, Gary, Indiana
Philip G. Smith, Political Editor, Dollars and Sense Magazine
Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College
BLACK MAYORS AND POLITICAL POWER IN THE 1980s

This is a study guide to introduce some of the basic issues related to Black mayors and political power in the U.S., especially in the cities. It is intended as background reading for the upcoming conference on “Black People and Politics in the U.S.” and for general study. It should be studied along with close study of the accompanying tables. Secondly, if you want to read further, a bibliography of a few key items is included.

POLITICS IN THE CITIES

From the 1920s to the present, several factors contributed to facilitating greater participation by Blacks in electoral politics and increased election as representatives.

(1) Blacks migrated to the city where their voting was encouraged by city political machines. 2.4 million came North from 1910 to 1950.

(2) The federal government changed its policy and no longer officially condoned racist disenfranchisement. The defeat of the white primary (1944), the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act (1964-1965) were examples.

(3) Black political consciousness increased. Concern with the abstract democratic rights — “one man, one vote” — shifted to winning a more aggressive “Black Power.”

(4) A more tolerant attitude toward Black political participation developed among some whites. Multinational unity — Blacks, Latins, Whites — is also an important development.

(5) The crisis facing urban areas where 81 percent of U.S. Blacks reside in larger and larger proportions means that Blacks must be included to insure the legitimacy of the system to maintain it. This is especially true in a period when city services must be cut.

As Table 1 demonstrates, the number of Black elected officials has increased at all levels of government since 1960. However, the rate of increase has decreased sharply in recent years, and nowhere do Blacks have a level of representation that reflects our numbers in the population. Few cities with large Black populations have anywhere near proportional representation of Blacks on city councils, school boards, and the like. The situation is worse at the state level. Mississippi, for example, was 56 percent Black in 1910 and 35 percent Black in 1980. But Blacks have been blocked from electing a single Black person to the U.S. Congress since 1875. In fact, only in 1968 did a Black people overcome fierce racist opposition and elect a Black to the state legislature.

BLACKS AND MAYORAL POLITICS

HISTORY

SLAVERY

Voting was illegal for slaves. Only in a few Northern cities could Blacks vote.

RURAL (Tenancy)

Blacks served as mayors in several Emancipation towns established shortly after slavery ended. Example: Natchez, Miss. in 1870 (Robert Wood).

Black towns. Blacks served as mayors of all Black towns established in response to the racist disenfranchisement after Reconstruction was overthrown. Example: Boley, Oklahoma.

URBAN (Industrial)

Black Majority Cities. 107 of the 150 Black mayor towns in 1975 — 71 percent — had a population of 50% or more Black. 91 of these 150 were located in the South and 108 (72%) had populations less than 15,000.

Black Minority Cities. 25 of the 43 Black mayors in majority white cities won their seats in city wide elections. Example: Los Angeles

HOW DO BLACK MAYORS GET ELECTED?

Several studies have listed a variety of factors to explain how Black mayors get elected. These factors fall into the categories listed below:

(1) MOBILIZATION. The most important factor explaining the election of Black mayors is the percentage of Black people in the population. The larger the Black population, the greater the resources — income, skills, etc. — that Black candidates have to draw upon. The large percentage of Blacks must be mobilized to turnout in record numbers and cast most of their votes for the successful Black candidate.

(2) BROAD SUPPORT. The successful Black candidates have been supported by key sectors of the white community, especially leading capitalists who contribute legitimacy, money, advice, skills, and other resources. Positive coverage of the Black candidate’s campaign by major media follows if key sectors of the corporate leadership give the nod. The votes of a significant number of whites and Hispanics is also critical.

(3) ORGANIZATION. The successful Black candidates have had an organization that developed effective policy statements, established and projected the candidate’s viability and identity, and mobilized the needed resources and votes.

(4) VIABILITY. The Black candidate must be viewed as a serious candidate who can win the election, and have a previous track record which indicates that he can fulfill the requirements of the job.

(5) NEED FOR CRISIS MANAGEMENT. The election of Black mayors generally signals a critical juncture in local politics: the ruling elites no longer find it possible to continue to rule in the same way and change is necessary and larger numbers of citizens are no longer willing to tolerate the existing patterns of politics as usual. The same set of developments fuel each realization: fiscal crisis caused by increasing costs of public services, reduction in federal assistance, decline in the industrial tax base, all resulting in loss of jobs, heavier property taxes, greater poverty, and increasing social unrest.

The ruling class in large cities have responded by taking greater control of local governments — the Metropolitan Assistance Corporation and the Emergency Financial Control Board in New York City and the School Oversight Committee in Chicago — and orchestrating massive reductions in city budgets — service cuts, layoffs, and the like.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total # Black Elected Officials</th>
<th>Mayors</th>
<th>All City Officials</th>
<th>County Officials</th>
<th>State Officials</th>
<th>Federal Officials</th>
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<td>1469</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>169</td>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>3503</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1573</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4912</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>5160</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>2451</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>18</td>
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### 19 Largest U.S. Cities with Black Mayors

(and four cities with large Black populations)

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<td>5,496</td>
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<td>21,101</td>
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<td>70.1</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>318</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>10.3</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Recent data indicate an increase in the number of Black women mayors — from 6 percent of the 1975 total to 12 percent of the 1982 total, or 27.
WHAT DIFFERENCE DO BLACK MAYORS MAKE

One scholar who studied 43 cities found that Black mayors had a significant impact on increasing affirmative action policies, hiring Blacks in high level civil service and professional positions, expanding the coordination of public/private development efforts, improving the conduct of police toward Blacks and increasing the percentage of city purchases and contracts with Black owned businesses. There was little impact on hiring Blacks at lower and medium positions. Many of these findings were confirmed in another study of Atlanta, Newark and Oakland.

Another study of 264 cities found that the presence of Black mayors had a definite impact on city budget expenditures. One study found that Black mayors increased spending on social welfare items — health, housing, education, and welfare. Spending on streets, parks, and protective services were decreased. The same study concluded that Black mayors increased the flow of funds into the city from the federal and state levels.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE SYSTEM

Almost all studies of Black mayors agree that their election is more than symbolic. However, most benefits that do go to the Black community go to the Black middle class and Black businesses. While the entire Black community benefits from such gains as improved treatment by the police, the concrete needs of the masses of people — jobs or income, housing, etc. — are not areas of great advance.

Moreover, most studies agree that such incremental reforms and gradual change is all that can be expected from Black mayors, or any mayors. They highlight a number of constraints and obstacles that are likely to prevent "thorough, successful, and speedy policies to deal with the social problems of poverty, discrimination, unemployment, housing and the quality of life."

Briefly, we would identify five key obstacles which hinder Black mayors and most mayors from making boldly innovative or revolutionary breakthroughs in solving the problems of the city.

1. Racism. There are still whites who believe that Black people are genetically inferior to whites and could not possibly effectively administer a city. This attitude if
widespread would hamper Black mayors in making policy changes.

(2) Bureaucracy. Independent of racism, complex governmental structures and laws make change within the system slow, requiring long range planning, especially in relationship to policy making jobs.

(3) Political Realities. City governments are subject to restrictions by regional, state, and federal governments, and depend on these other levels for direct aid and cooperation in operating key systems like mass transit. In addition to drastical federal and state cuts, these other levels have increasingly imposed what they consider costly solutions to the city's problems. Some state legislatures have even merged or consolidated city and county governments as a way of reducing Black voter majorities and blocking the election of Black mayors.

(4) Class. As Mayor Richard Hatcher said of Gary, Indiana in 1971: "I may be mayor, but U.S. Steel is still in control." There is a big difference in being elected mayor and controlling the decisive levers of power to implement one's new agenda. The most significant barrier to exercising real power in the cities is the concentrated ownership of massive economic wealth and the ultimate control over most political power by a small and identifiable ruling class.

This is clear from the capitalist class columns of Table 2. The 1981 profits alone of the ten largest corporations with headquarters in Los Angeles totaled $3.8 billion — two and a half times larger than the entire $1.5 billion city budget of Los Angeles, the largest city with a black mayor and 3 million people. Certainly even a small slice of their profits would go a considerable distance in relieving the fiscal strains on many cities.

Thus, city government and government at all levels are generally used by economic elites to protect their interests and to create conditions conducive to their continued profits. Examples include favorable tax rates and breaks, public financing of facilities needed for research, reductions in unprofitable social services to keep tax flow, training and retraining the labor force, and the like.

While class is a key factor in shaping city politics and Black politics, it is surprisingly ignored or underemphasized in most studies.

(5) Theory of Change. To paraphrase one activist, most mayors "have a lot of rap but no map" to guide them in solving local problems. As long as there is no comprehensive plan that explores alternative solutions, efforts are likely to be shortrun and piecemeal.

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what? Power in the electoral arena appears to be necessary perhaps, but not sufficient to solve the worsening problems faced by Black people, problems that exist for the entire society. The exact nature of these problems, their causes, and their solutions must be better understood and discussed by more and more people, not just by elected officials, political activists and leaders. Only in this way can the ongoing debate about the nature and function of power be framed and even an understanding of what power is and who controls it for what purpose and how are critical issues to explore.

Only with a clear understanding of these issues — studying, discussing, clarifying, and resolving them — can Black political power in the city be achieved to serve, that end that all political power should serve, that of improving the quality of life for the masses of all the people in the society.

Sources of Data / U.S. Census Bureau / Department of Commerce / Research Department Chicago Urban League / Chicago Rehab Network / Northwestern University / University of Illinois / Joint Center for Political Studies / University of Chicago / TIMBUK7U Bookstore

LEADING CAPITALIST ELITE

### SELECTED SOCIAL INDICATORS OF RACISM AND PERCENT CHANGE

#### REQUIRED FOR EQUALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jobs</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Change for Racial Equality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment: All</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>-50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>-57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar/Craft</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>-46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Jobs</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>-160.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Income ($35,000 yearly +)</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>+110.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edsel.</th>
<th>% Rank on National Reading Scale</th>
<th>+116.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public School Students</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>-18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Board</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>+85.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hsg.</th>
<th>% Rank on Mortgage</th>
<th>+653.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHA Residents</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>-39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHA Board</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Infant Mortality</th>
<th>-43.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Deaths before 1 year per 1000 births) Physicians</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>-43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Avg. per 1000 in key homogenous communities)</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>+277.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 3

**CHICAGO: RACE, NATIONALITY AND CLASS, 1900-1980**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population (000s)</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Foreign Born</th>
<th>% Foreign Stock Exchange</th>
<th>% Foreign Stock Non-Contribution</th>
<th>Number of Establishments</th>
<th>Value Added in Manufacturing (Billion of Dollars)</th>
<th>% Professionals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,699</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7,765</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,376</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9,842</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>3,396</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8,696</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3,606</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10,258</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,547</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9,592</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3,363</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7,771</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3,005</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,378</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 5

**WHO OWNS CHICAGO: LEADING CORPORATIONS IN 1981**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Utilities</th>
<th>Profits (Millions)</th>
<th>Chicago Employees (Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth Edison</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>13,056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois Bell</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples Gas</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>3,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples Energy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Retail</th>
<th>Profits (Millions)</th>
<th>Chicago Employees (Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sears Roebuck</td>
<td>650.0</td>
<td>26,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewel Companies</td>
<td>101.6</td>
<td>28,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald's Corp.</td>
<td>264.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transportation</th>
<th>Profits (Millions)</th>
<th>Chicago Employees (Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UAL</td>
<td>-49.0</td>
<td>11,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Fe Ind.</td>
<td>242.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois Central Gulf Railway</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Banking Finance</th>
<th>Profits (Millions)</th>
<th>Chicago Employees (Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continental Ill.</td>
<td>254.6</td>
<td>11,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Chicago</td>
<td>113.7</td>
<td>9,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Trust</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>3,710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leading Industrial Corporations</th>
<th>Profits (Millions)</th>
<th>Chicago Employees (Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard Oil</td>
<td>1921.0</td>
<td>6,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatrice Foods</td>
<td>372.0</td>
<td>6,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inland Steel</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>27,242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# CHICAGO'S FIFTY WARDS

(RANKED BY PERCENTAGE BLACK)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WARD</th>
<th>City Council Members</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Blue Collar</th>
<th>% College</th>
<th>% Voter Turnout</th>
<th>% Voter Turnout</th>
<th>Ayers on Board</th>
<th>Bonow on Janus</th>
<th>Mudney on CHA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tyrone Kenner</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Pos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Allen Streeter</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Walter Shumpert</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Eloise Barden</td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Eugene Sawyer</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Niles Sherman</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Pos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Clifford Kelley</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Pos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 28   | William Carothers    | 97.4    | 71.9          | 1.6       | 45.6           | 61.5           | —             | Neg           | Neg           |
| 34   | William Frost        | 96.8    | 55.2          | 6.1       | 52.0           | 68.2           | Neg           | Pos           | Neg           |
| 8    | Marian Humes         | 96.1    | 48.4          | 10.9      | 55.5           | 67.4           | Pos           | Pos           | Neg           |
| 29   | Danny Davis          | 94.0    | 68.4          | 3.1       | 46.5           | 62.5           | Pos           | Pos           | Pos           |
| 27   | Eugene Ray           | 92.5    | 69.6          | 2.3       | 57.5           | 65.3           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 2    | William Barnett      | 91.8    | 50.8          | 10.9      | 53.3           | 64.8           | Neg           | Pos           | Neg           |
| 9    | Robert Shaw          | 89.9    | 52.6          | 4.3       | 47.0           | 65.8           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 4    | Timothy Evans        | 79.0    | 58.6          | 6.3       | 50.4           | 63.1           | Pos           | Pos           | Pos           |
| 5    | Lawrence Bloom       | 75.3    | 35.0          | 29.1      | 57.9           | 65.9           | Pos           | Pos           | Pos           |
| 7    | Joseph Bertrand      | 58.4    | 49.1          | 9.8       | 48.9           | 60.6           | Neg           | Neg           | Pos           |
| 18   | Robert Kellam        | 46.3    | 47.5          | 7.0       | 60.9           | 69.5           | Pos           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 15   | Frank Brady          | 41.6    | 52.0          | 5.1       | 57.7           | 69.2           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 42   | Burton Natarus       | 39.6    | 33.4          | 25.3      | 61.8           | 69.8           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 1    | Fred Roti            | 38.3    | 62.3          | 5.7       | 59.1           | 67.2           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 37   | Frank D'Amato        | 36.8    | 51.4          | 6.8       | 53.1           | 66.0           | —             | —             | —             |
| 10   | Edward Vrdolyak      | 27.2    | 56.3          | 5.4       | 68.7           | 76.4           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 25   | Vito Marzullo        | 27.0    | 66.2          | 4.5       | 66.8           | 67.9           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 14   | Edward Burke         | 25.4    | 60.6          | 2.5       | 68.2           | 75.3           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 22   | Frank Stemkerk       | 20.8    | 68.1          | 2.7       | 55.9           | 64.9           | Pos           | —             | Neg           |
| 11   | Patrick Huels        | 20.7    | 61.0          | 2.3       | 84.7           | 79.4           | —             | —             | Pos           |
| 31   | Joseph Martinez      | 20.5    | 68.6          | 3.3       | 69.2           | 70.4           | —             | —             | Neg           |
| 48   | Marion Volini        | 15.6    | 37.1          | 14.5      | 57.7           | 65.8           | Pos           | Pos           | Neg           |
| 19   | Michael Sheahan      | 14.6    | 35.6          | 15.9      | 63.5           | 73.7           | Pos           | Neg           | Pos           |
| 46   | Ralph Axelrod        | 14.5    | 47.1          | 12.6      | 62.6           | 63.2           | Neg           | Neg           | Pos           |
| 49   | David Orr            | 9.9     | 26.9          | 19.7      | 68.1           | 67.2           | Pos           | Pos           | —             |
| 26   | Michael Nardulli     | 8.3     | 70.8          | 3.9       | 68.8           | 67.8           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 44   | John Merlo           | 5.8     | 42.8          | 14.3      | 62.7           | 67.4           | Neg           | Pos           | Neg           |
| 43   | Martin Oberman       | 4.4     | 45.7          | 27.6      | 61.8           | 67.3           | Pos           | Pos           | Pos           |
| 32   | Terry Gabinski       | 4.3     | 69.6          | 2.8       | 66.0           | 70.2           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 33   | Richard Mell         | 1.5     | 62.0          | 4.0       | 65.4           | 71.4           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 35   | John Marcin          | 1.2     | 53.5          | 3.9       | 64.7           | 60.0           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 50   | Bernard Stone        | 1.0     | 24.6          | 14.8      | 57.5           | 72.6           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 40   | Ivan Rittenberg      | 0.7     | 38.7          | 10.2      | 61.9           | 66.6           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 47   | Eugene Schutter      | 0.5     | 47.1          | 6.1       | 64.2           | 71.6           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 30   | George Hagopian       | 0.5     | 59.9          | 2.9       | 58.4           | 67.9           | Neg           | Neg           | —             |
| 39   | Anthony Laurino      | 0.5     | 42.2          | 9.6       | 62.8           | 73.2           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 38   | Thomas Cullerton     | 0.3     | 50.8          | 4.4       | 60.2           | 70.0           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 41   | Roman Pucinski       | 0.2     | 43.0          | 8.8       | 61.0           | 67.3           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 12   | Aloysius Majerczyk   | 0.2     | 57.2          | 3.2       | 65.4           | 67.6           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 13   | John Madzyk          | 0.09    | 49.2          | 5.4       | 72.1           | 79.3           | Pos           | Neg           | Neg           |
| 23   | William Lipinski     | 0.09    | 56.3          | 3.0       | 71.5           | 77.9           | Pos           | Neg           | Pos           |
| 36   | Louis Farina         | 0.06    | 49.9          | 5.0       | 66.5           | 72.5           | —             | Neg           | Neg           |
| 45   | Richard Clewis       | 0.03    | 45.7          | 7.1       | 67.9           | 71.0           | Neg           | Neg           | Neg           |
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT PRESS
MAYORS AND MISTAKES

The current mayor, Rahm Emanuel, has been criticized for his handling of the city's budget and his support for policies that benefit the wealthy at the expense of the working class. The Chicago Teachers Union has been at the forefront of the fight against these policies, and has been a vocal critic of Emanuel's administration.

ISSUES AND MISTAKES

A recent issue that has been widely discussed is the proposed budget cuts to public schools. Emanuel's administration has proposed a $1.3 billion budget cut, which would result in the loss of 1,000 teachers and 200 school nurses. The cuts would also reduce funding for special education and vocational programs.

This has caused a stir among parents, educators, and community members who believe that these cuts would have a negative impact on the city's schools. The Chicago Teachers Union has been at the forefront of the反对cuts, rallying members and supporters to take action against the proposed cuts.

The union has also been vocal in its opposition to Emanuel's support for the expansion of charter schools, which many believe are a tool for corporate profit at the expense of traditional public schools.

The union has called for a moratorium on the expansion of charter schools until the city addresses the issues of funding and support for traditional public schools.

In the end, the fight continues as the union and its members continue to push for a fair and equitable budget that prioritizes the needs of the city's children and educators.
Chicago rejects machine

Washington victory shows workers need their own political apparatus
Chicago: Washington must win!

Chicago—As this city's mayoral race enters the homestretch to the April 12 general election, developments of crucial importance to workers across the country are taking place.

There is an all-out effort to polarize the Chicago electorate along the lines of "race" and "ethnicity." The capitalist class is using a cabal consisting of the police, the misleaders in the trade unions, the Democratic Party and the black and Hispanic movements in this effort. These elements along with Republican candidate, millionaire attorney Bernard Epton, are characterizing the mayoral contest as a confrontation between blacks and whites.

ATTACKS ON WASHINGTON

This tactic by the capitalists and their agents began immediately after the mayoral primary. Since his victory in the Democratic party primary, candidate Harold Washington has been the target of vicious attacks.

The assault on Washington was opened by Police Commissioner Richard Brzezek who said that the city would be "unsafe" with Washington as mayor. Brzezek's blast was followed by charges from John Diineen, president of the 10,000-member Fraternal Order of Police. Diineen declared: "If any individual who espouses a civilian review board is elected mayor, the morale of the police department would go down."

Joining in the chorus of attacks on Washington and his campaign platform were three Democratic candidates facing runoff elections in predominantly white wards, Aloysius Majerczyk in the 12th ward, Ivan Rittenberg in the 40th ward and Richard Clewis in the 45th. In announcing that he was bolting the Democratic Party to support Epton, Majerczyk, a former policeman, said that his decision was a matter of "racial pride."

Epton has lost no time in exploiting the growing tide of race-baiting and fear-mongering. He has repeatedly attacked Washington for his promise to fire Brzezek. Epton has pledged to retain Brzezek if he is elected. He has claimed that he is a victim of "reverse discrimination."

These and numerous other developments in the campaign indicate the emergence of a highly organized and well financed effort to make a non-issue, the color of a candidate's skin, the sole issue in the campaign. Be it the crude and blatant white chauvinism of Majerczyk and Company, or the anointing of Washington as the black "healer" of the Democratic Party, the aim is the same—to reduce the campaign to a contest between black and white.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Washington's victory resulted from the sharp struggle unfolding within the working class of Chicago, a struggle based on the split in the working class due to imperialism.

WORKING CLASS SPLIT

The working class is irrevocably split into two antagonistic camps. On the one hand, there is the bribed and privileged minority represented in Chicago by the 100,000-plus patronage army of municipal workers including the police and firefighters, skilled tradesmen and thousands in city departments such as streets and sanitation. This section of the working class and their misleaders are bound hand and foot to the capitalists through the local Democratic Machine.

Long ago Lenin aptly characterized this section of the working class:

"... the political institutions of modern capitalism—press, parliament, associations, congresses, etc.—have created political privileges and sops for the respectable, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and soft jobs in the government or on the war industries committees, in parliament and on diverse committees, on the editorial staffs of 'respectable,' legally published newspapers, or on the management councils of no less respectable and 'bourgeois law-abiding' trade-unions—this is the bait by which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and supporters of the 'bourgeois Labor parties.' (Imperialism and the Split in Socialism).

What better description of William Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL), of Dineen of the Fraternal Order of Police, of Majerczyks, etc? What other role has the Democratic Party played, locally and nationally, than that of snuffing out the fighting spirit of the working class through bribery of its privileged minority?

STRUGGLE IS JOINED

Engaged in struggle against this corrupt and privileged minority is the vast majority of the working class led by the unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers. They are bearing the full weight of the economic crisis—massive unemployment, concessions and cuts in essential public services. It is the militant activity of this section which gave rise to the Washington campaign and made possible its victory.

To characterize the Washington candidacy as a "black" movement or crusade is to totally misrepresent reality. Blacks comprise over 40 percent of Chicago's population; blacks and Hispanics constitute a majority. An overwhelming portion of the blacks and Hispanics are concentrated in the lowest strata of the industrial proletariat.

The demands raised by the Washington campaign are the demands raised by the most oppressed and exploited section of the class. The demands and the struggle of this section is directed first and foremost against the privileged minority. For it is this section which serves as a buffer and shield for the capitalists.

WASHINGTON FIRM

Washington has shown his awareness of the trap being set by the capitalists and continues steadfast as a representative of the demands and interests of the lower strata of the workers. This was clearly demonstrated when he took his campaign to Cicero, a notoriously segregated, all-white suburb. There he militantly lent his support to the struggle of 400 General Electric workers to halt the move of their jobs to Kentucky.

Further, Washington has made definite plans to take his campaign into sections of the city where the majority of white workers live. He has rejected Epton's trick of demanding that he and Washington issue a joint statement excluding race
A working people's coalition of blacks, whites and Hispanics lay behind his victory in the Chicago Democratic mayoral primary, declared Congressman Harold Washington in his victory speech to thousands of cheering supporters in the early hours of Feb. 23. Washington drew votes from workers of all colors and nationalities to defeat incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne and Richard Daley.

The victory has sent shock waves resonating throughout the city and across the country.

Washington received more than 36 percent (419,000) of the vote versus 33 percent for Byrne and 29 percent for Daley. A record 1.2 million persons voted—80 percent of the electorate. Washington garnered 85 percent of the black vote and about six to 10 percent of the white vote.

HOW AND WHY

The Washington campaign was victorious because it addressed the burning needs and demands of the poor and working people of the city. It was Washington who took up the workers' demand for jobs funded by the federal government at the expense of the bloated military budget. It was Washington who boldly embraced the workers demand for an end to police brutality including the firing of Police Superintendent Richard Brzezczek and the dismantling of the infamous Office of Professional Standards within the police department which has systematically covered up police brutality for years.

Washington rallied around the workers' demand for the elimination of the patronage system, for restoration of cutbacks in social and health services, and for a rent control ordinance, while Byrne and Daley ignored these demands of the working masses.

MEDIA DISTORTS

Once the trend in the returns began to favor Washington, all the media commentators began to characterize the contest as a battle of black versus white in blatantly divisive and inflammatory terms. The impending Washington victory was called "the black revolution," and "a vengeful black crusade."

Analysts openly advised whites to consider switching to the Republican mayoral candidate, Bernard Epton, in the April 12 general election. Special stress was placed on Washington's overwhelming majority in predominantly black South Side wards in contrast to his negligible showing in several all-white wards on the Northwest Side. The crude performance of the media was clearly an attempt to polarize the electorate along color lines. Without a doubt Washington won because of the overwhelming support in the predominantly black South and West Side wards. But to conclude that his victory was based on "race" is to completely distort the real meaning of the outcome of the election.

Washington received the record black vote because he spoke out in defense of the interests of the vast section of the working class whose living standards are under attack. Black workers labor at the very heart of this section of the working class, which includes workers of all nationalities. But Washington's support was concentrated among members of the most exploited section of the working class, regardless of nationality. This is confirmed by his vote totals in the mostly white, working class wards not controlled by the Machine on the North Side, his vote in the very strongly Machine-controlled Hispanic wards and his higher than expected strength in some of the mainly white, working class, Machine-dominated wards on the Southwest Side.

Faced with the inevitability of the election results, the capitalist class in Chicago and nationally is trying to co-opt the Washington victory. They obviously hope to channel the energy of the mass upsurge into the rebuilding of the Democratic party locally and nationally.

These moves have not prevented Washington from moving to fulfill some of his campaign promises. Two days after the election, Washington revealed his plans to replace Brzezczek. Washington has not yet responded to the overtures from the Machine.

SIGNIFICANCE

The working class of Chicago has demonstrated its enormous fighting capacity. But the workers' struggle is still a desperate, spontaneous fight back against a powerful and organized class enemy. The capitalists will not let Washington exercise power as mayor of the country's second largest city, with control over $5 billion and 100,000 municipal workers, and act as a representative of the working class. Already, alongside the attempts at co-optation, several threats have been made on Washington's life. Widely read Chicago columnists are writing articles inciting the fears and prejudices of the most backward sections of the white electorate.

By voting for Harold Washington on Feb. 22, the working people of the city of Chicago were indicating that they are tired of unemployment, police brutality and the horrible corruption and Machine politics which have plagued the city...
from the campaign. Washington charged Epton with "playing games" stating, "This is a dangerous, dangerous business. Now I'm going to run a campaign on the issues as I did before. All this canard about white people not voting for a black is going to be put to rest when I get an avalanche of white votes all over this city."

CAMPAIGN LESSON

The lesson of the Chicago mayoral campaign is that the lower strata of the working class, in striving for independent political action around its immediate demands, has encountered resistance from the privileged minority. This resistance can and will be overcome in the course of intense struggle.

It is the bounden duty of all revolutionaries and progressives to actively support the workers in this struggle against the misleaders and "labor aristocrats." The Communist Labor Party will extend every effort and sacrifice to guarantee Washington's victory in the general election. For such a victory will mean that the majority of the working class has made giant strides in the battle to break the political control of the privileged minority within its ranks.

*Washington: a warm welcome from workers.*
We Want Jobs!

Over 400,000 Chicago workers are suffering through the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Many have exhausted unemployment and health insurance and are losing their homes and autos with no hope of ever returning to work.

What proposals do the mayoral candidates have to deal with the human tragedy of unemployment?

Will Jane Byrne’s proposal to bring "high tech" and "service" industries to Chicago solve the problem? NO! High tech will provide jobs only for robots and not for laid-off steel and auto workers. Byrne’s proposal is a sham and a fraud just like her ten-week jobs program.

Will Daley’s proposal of tax incentives to business and the creation of an economic development commission help? Not in the least! Workers need only to recall the concessions given to Chrysler Corporation to recognize that giveaways to the capitalists mean only more money out of workers' pockets with no new jobs.

Only Harold Washington’s proposal for a national jobs bill funded by $9 billion from the bloated defense budget represents a step in the right direction. Even this will only scratch the surface. It would take a $30 billion-plus slash in the military budget to put just 300,000 Chicago workers back to work!

Support for Harold Washington is growing among Chicago’s working people because he is putting forward concrete proposals to deal with very real problems. However, full employment on decent, safe and productive jobs cannot be achieved by the election of a single individual. The working class can achieve this goal only by organizing to confront its exploiters - the capitalist class - as a class.

The Communist Labor Party is a political party committed to winning this struggle for jobs through the independent and united political activity of the working class. To continue the fight for jobs beyond February 22 - no matter who wins the mayoral primary - join the Communist Labor Party now.

____________________________________________________

Contact me with more information about the CLP.

I would like a Special Trial Subscription to the People's Tribune (six issues for $1).

Name ________________________________ Address ________________________________

Phone ________________________________ Send to: P.O. Box 3774, Chicago 60654
This election is different
This time it is not Tweedle Dum vs. Tweedle Dee. This time we'll not be voting to see which grafters will loot the public treasury, sell the soft jobs and create a political dynasty for themselves. This time the workers can vote their self interest.

The workers of Chicago, like American workers in general, are becoming aware of the reality that we are not just one big happy family. The workers are beginning to see that our country is composed of the looters and the footed, the capitalist and the worker, the exploiters and the exploited.

Everywhere, the working class is being attacked. The workers are waking up and understanding that they have interests in opposition to the interests of the ruling class. They are showing this understanding by fighting against concessions, by voting out rotten and corrupt politicians, by marching and demonstrating for their rights.

The lines are drawn. The issues are clear. We can vote for a Chicago where it is possible to struggle for a trade union movement free from Machine domination and belonging to its members. We can elect an administration responsive to the demands of the masses.

In this election we can take up the fight for the unity of Chicago's workers. We can make our common demands for jobs, peace and equality a rallying point. We can win the workers away from the employer-Machine-inspired suspicions and fears of one another.

This campaign is taking on the air of a crusade because it is different and because we can win.

The program of the Communist Labor Party is summed up as "Victory for the working class in its current struggle." Today that struggle is for a Chicago free from Machine domination —local or national. Victory in this election is the first step along the road to the creation of an America and a world free from the threat of war, unemployment, poverty and exploitation.

Finish the job! Get out the vote for Harold Washington and win!

Communist Labor Party

Thousands to rally during 'jobs with peace' week
April 10—17
See page seven.
Chicago

Washington support grows in Latino community

Chicago, IL—Over 600 Latin activists gathered at the Midland Hotel here on March 18 to show their support for the campaign to elect Harold Washington mayor of Chicago.

Representatives of the Puerto Rican and Mexican communities celebrated the unity being developed in this campaign.

We should enter these last two weeks of the mayoral race confident that Harold Washington is going to win and possibly win big. Winning by a simple majority is not enough for the kind of program that Harold Washington is talking about. We've got to go for the landslide.

It was once said that in the struggle of the moment we've got to take care of the future. In these last two weeks we can lay the basis for a future of freedom from economic deprivation and political powerlessness.

At first glance the growth of this campaign seems to resemble the tremendous growth of the movements for equality of the 1960s. People were very active, looking for answers and working towards unity of action.

The unity of the black, the Mexican and Puerto Rican masses was almost achieved at that time. However, in 1968 and the years thereafter, until about 1974, the U.S. economy was still expanding and billions of dollars of federal monies were poured into the streets and cities.

The effect of this was to disrupt the movement as each nationality fought each other for these monies. Because of the expanding economy, the collective voice of the most exploited and oppressed workers in this country was muted.

Today there exists a totally different situation. We are in another stage of development. Since the 1974 economic crisis, the economy has never fully recovered and has now gone into a prolonged stagnation and depression. That depression has made Illinois and especially Chicago one of the worst hit areas of the country. Unemployment in Illinois is 13.5 percent and cutbacks have been made in all areas of social services.

UNITY

It is on top of this economic situation that this movement is moving ahead. The unity of the black, Mexican and Puerto Rican masses is key to our successes this time and in the future. That unity will be guaranteed by a force that has no nationality. That is because they labor side by side in the plants throughout the Chicago metropolitan area.

These workers, who are of all nationalities, are now moving to the front as the most stable basis of the movement to elect Harold Washington mayor of Chicago.

The change within the Hispanic communities has been dramatic since Harold Washington's primary victory. Let's use the power of the moment to organize and expand this work. Recent research done by the Midwest Voter Registration Education Project indicated that the number of Hispanic voters has increased by 17.4 percent since the November elections.

The increased political awareness of the minorities is key to keeping the struggles for jobs, fairness and a government responsible for the welfare of all working people on course.

These struggles now demand the landslide victory of Harold Washington in the Chicago mayor's race.
Who will benefit from partial economic recovery?

Capitalists able to restructure their industries on the basis of high technology will benefit from the partial recovery.

Those workers with skills needed for this technology will have jobs; the rest will be left out in the cold.

Recent indicators now show that the longest recession since the Depression ended in December, or perhaps even November, and that by January the economy was expanding at a quicker pace than most experts thought possible. (Business Week, March 7, 1983)

February’s economic statistics indicated that the pace of the economic upturn is slower than originally anticipated. They also confirmed that a “recovery” is definitely underway. What they didn’t reveal was its limitations.

The recession which began in the U.S. in 1980 is part of a severe world capitalist depression. It is fundamentally different from earlier recessions and depressions in U.S. history because the world market cannot be expanded to consume all the commodities the capitalists are capable of producing in their drive for more and more profit. Capitalism has entered its final crisis.

PARTIAL RECOVERY

The partial recovery which is now taking place cannot lead to a full and lasting recovery. Instead, it is setting the stage for the further decline of the capitalist system.

The key to ensuring a high rate of profit is the constant lowering of the cost of production. The natural tendency of capital is to lower the cost of production by investing in the most advanced means of production and by cheapening the cost of labor power. The struggle to capture the available market through the production of ever-increasing quantities of ever-cheaper commodities can only result in the economy sinking deeper and deeper into depression when these commodities cannot find buyers.

In January the government’s index of leading economic indicators rose 3.6 percent. This gain was the largest since the 4.1 percent rise in July 1950 (at the height of an economic expansion) and the second largest since records have been kept. But this is not 1950, and recovery from recession today cannot take the same form it took then. Following World War II, people needed many things and they had the money—saved during the war—to pay for them. Today the working class needs the basic necessities of life. But the unskilled and semi-skilled, increasingly unemployed, industrial workers—a significant sector of the working class—don’t have the money to pay for them.

Since the end of World War II, imperialism has spread the capitalist system to every corner of the non-socialist world. In their drive for maximum profits, the capitalists have moved production to the low-wage areas of the world, in particular the neocolonies which acquired their political independence in the last 30 years. The result has been that those who produce today’s commodities, especially in the neocolonies, cannot afford to buy back what they produce. At the same time, advances in technology are making it even more profitable to replace cheap labor with technical innovations. Fewer and fewer workers are required to produce more and more commodities.

The aim of the financiers is to export the computer-based advanced technology to the neocolonies, produce cheap commodities, and then sell those commodities in the older industrial countries. It will always be necessary to keep certain basic industries—such as those required for defense production—in the United States. As a result, workers who in the 1960s and 1970s lost their jobs when their employers moved their factories to low-wage areas may see those jobs come back to the U.S. in the 1980s to be performed by robots.

WHO BENEFITS?

Capitalists who are able to structure their industries on the basis of high technology will benefit from the partial recovery. Objective is tied to them are those workers with the skills needed for this rapidly developing advanced technology. They will have jobs. Many can also be expected to defend the interests of the capitalist system which guarantees their livelihood.

Left out in the cold are the unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers for whom there are no jobs. They stand face-to-face with the capitalists in a life-and-death struggle for a decent standard of living.

The depth and breadth of the crisis these workers are facing in the 1980s is greater than that of any previous crisis. For the workers, for example, it is no longer a matter of waiting for “recovery” to increase the demand for more new cars, so that they will then be called back to work. In its 1982 report, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that 200,000 auto production jobs will be lost to automation by 1985. Today, in the richest country in the world, there are 11 million people officially counted as unemployed. Countless others have given up looking for a job and are no longer counted at all. Thirty million Americans are on record as living below the poverty level ($9,287 per year in income for a family of four). As the partial recovery proceeds on the basis of the shift to computer-based high technology, both of these statistics will rise. This is an intolerable situation for the working class.

The means of production have been developed to a point where it is possible to satisfy the basic needs of every man, woman, and child not just in the United States but throughout the world. High-tech holds out to the working class the promise of a rich and full life, but that promise cannot be realized under capitalism.

Only by reorganizing society to make maximum use of these new technological developments can workers finally win their struggle for a decent standard of living for themselves and their families. It is time to stop trying to live with a system that is dying and begin to organize for the future.
Washington Victory
Workers crack Machine domination
In an historic victory for the working class, Harold Washington won a bitter struggle to be elected Mayor of the city of Chicago.

His campaign mirrored the diverse, actual struggles of the working class of Chicago.

While Washington's opponent, Bernard Epton, appealed to the worst instincts of the most chauvinistic and politically bribed sections of the city's workers, Washington articulated the frustration of tens of thousands of unemployed workers who have been completely ignored by Jane Byrne's administration.

While his opponent heaped praise on the infamous patronage system and vowed its continued existence, Washington took his campaign to the shuttered steel mills of the far South Side and the prison-like residences of the Robert Taylor Homes housing projects. The victorious campaign of Harold Washington both originated from and became the expression of the embattled sectors of the working class.

Even as the tens of thousands of people who made this campaign possible savor victory, they must not regard the Washington campaign as an end in itself. Rather the workers must see it as a beginning. Even as the votes were being tabulated, the concerted effort of the capitalist politicians to isolate Washington, to surround him and suffocate him, the attempt to render him impotent was underway. Only the stepped-up activity of the workers in all their struggles can prevent this from happening. Any relaxation of the fight—be it for jobs, for humane medical treatment, against the bloody excesses of the police department—any slackening will ruin all that has been accomplished. Perhaps no one understands this better than Harold Washington himself. That is why his acceptance speech was a call to the working people of Chicago to continue the struggle.

Finally, the Washington victory is the most dramatic proof that the American working class has been stirred into battle and has engaged the enemy in mortal combat.

The campaign assumed the character of a crusade of the downtrodden and dispossessed. It proved that in all its diversity, the working class movement has embarked on an historically inevitable path: the bid for political power.

Here was the activity of the masses, the striving of a hundred different struggles to advance on the basis of a genuine spokesperson for the workers. The political genie uncorked in Chicago can never return to the bottle. It is said that the price of victory is eternal vigilance. At this critical moment vigilance means organized participation, mutual support and the carefully planned cooperation of the fighting leaders of the working class. Let this be the watchword of Chicago's workers, flushed with victory and refreshed for the battles that lie ahead.
Chicago

The Machine strikes back

"Slaveholders' revolt" begins

"Machine' councilmen (right) conspire against Washington (above), despite protests from Washington supporters (below).
Chicago—On April 29, to the cheers of thousands of supporters, Harold Washington was sworn in as mayor of Chicago. Outgoing mayor Jane Byrne was visibly shaken as Washington's inaugural address reiterated his pledge to obliterate the profiteering policies of the Regular Democratic Machine.

Over the strains of composer Aaron Copeland's "Fanfare For The Common Man," inauguration guests gave Washington a wild standing ovation as he announced his intention to fire hundreds of Byrne Machine loyalists illegally hired in the final days of that corrupt administration. Washington reaffirmed that his victory was the product of a massive, grassroots crusade that would continue to be the backbone of his reform administration.

Three days later, the "slaveholders' rebellion" took place. The Chicago Machine bared its daggers only seconds after Washington's adjournment of the first city council meeting of his administration.

Washington's preemptive adjournment was designed to prevent the majority of the Council, 29 Machine alderman led by Cook County Democratic Chairman Edward Vrdolyak, from steamrolling a number of rules changes and committee chairmanships designed to strip the policymaking authority of the new administration.

As Washington and the 21 aldermen who support him walked out of the council chambers, Vrdolyak took over the chair and ran an illegal "rump" session. In a series of unanimous votes, the Machine forces "elected" a new vice-mayor, increased the number of council committees to 29, "enacted" new rules vastly increasing the authority of the council at the expense of the mayor, and doled out powerful committee chairmanships such as Finance, Licensing, Building, and Zoning to the most reactionary and corrupt of the "old guard" aldermen.

In the following days, the line between the two sides was clearly drawn as Washington declared the "rump" session to be completely illegal, its decisions without validity. At this writing, Vrdolyak's gang continues to stick to its guns, maintaining that Washington ignored calls for a roll-call vote on Monday's adjournment, thereby allegedly leaving the council still in session.

A SLEW OF REACTIONARIES

The "revolt" of this 29-member "majority" against the mandate of the real majority—666,409 strong—that elected Washington was immediately joined by the army of privileged, patronage-dependent city employees and a slew of reactionary television and newspaper commentators who attacked Washington and proclaimed Vrdolyak's coup a "victory."

The Machine's intention to expand its "revolt" beyond City Hall became clear when Ed Vrdolyak was given a hero's welcome by police at a packed farewell salute to former Police Superintendent Richard Brzezpek. The willingness of the Machine to rely on the police was evident in the closing days of the mayor's race when hundreds of people were picked up and jailed for wearing Washington buttons, shopkeepers were warned to take down their Washington posters, and gutter-level hate literature was widely distributed throughout the police department.

Vrdolyak's chief ally in the council, Alderman Edward Burke, is himself an ex-police officer, as are eight other Machine aldermen.

On the other side, the City Council struggled into the streets of the predominantly Hispanic 31st Ward, where Washington won an overwhelming majority in the election. Here, hundreds of pro-Washington workers marched to the home of newly elected Alderman Miguel Santiago, incensed at Santiago's support for the Vrdolyak coup. Facing down police at the alderman's doorstep, the workers vowed continued pressure. In a blatant attempt to portray the struggle as a "racial" situation, the Chicago Tribune falsely described the multi-national group of protesters as a "black crowd."

WHAT'S AT STAKE

By its actions, the City Council majority is seeking to deny to the dispossessed sections of Chicago's working class—the lowest paid, the unemployed, the hungry, the homeless—the just fruits of the Washington victory.

Behind the "revolt" stand powerful economic interests who seek a return to the favored status they enjoyed under Jane Byrne's policy of awarding lucrative no-bid city contracts in exchange for generous kickbacks generally referred to as "campaign contributions." Behind the council majority lurk the real estate interests, the block-busters and arson gangs for whom the Machine means money in the bank—money dripping with kerosene and stamped with the scare tactics of Chicago's fascist gangs.

Meanwhile, the Machine aldermen are hiding their true motives behind the facade of "defending" the interests of their wards, principally the "ethnic neighborhoods" in the northwest and southwest corridors of Chicago. Yet in fact, while the patronage-derived privileges of many in these

Continued on Page 8
Workers challenge Machine

To this day, most media commentators and political analysts have refused to look beneath the surface at the real issues and the historical process which led to Harold Washington's election as mayor of Chicago. This was no accident. The major print and electronic media in this country are owned by powerful conglomerates who know full well that the campaign holds valuable lessons for the growing struggle of the American working class. The article which follows is the first in a series on the Harold Washington campaign which will deal with these lessons.

The economic crisis has been particularly brutal in this industrial center of aging steel mills and obsolete sweatshops. Two hundred thousand people are unemployed. Hundreds of factories have been shuttered; 23,000 people have been left homeless and the infant mortality rate in the third highest in the nation.

With the loss of over 120,000 manufacturing jobs in the last few years, the system of corporate taxation that once brought millions of dollars of revenue into the city of Chicago has all but collapsed. This loss of revenue has drastically reduced the ability of the city to deliver adequate city services.

Government by graft and corruption has characterized the city for decades. Jane Byrne ignored the impending collapse of the city and concentrated on amassing a personal fortune. Competitive bidding for city contracts was virtually eliminated. Lucrative agreements were awarded to a narrow bloc of favored business interests, many dominated by organized crime. Many of these deals were cut in such a way as to deny the city millions of dollars in revenue. Social services were cut. Funds for industrial development all but dried up as Chicago's bond rating went for a roller coaster ride. The demand for fundamental reform came from every social stratum in the city. The legendary Chicago Democratic Machine began to crack under the strain. The stage was set for the emergence of a reform candidate for mayor.

The architect of what became the modern Chicago Democratic Machine was Mayor Anton Cermak. Cermak developed a plan for the political control of Chicago based on the historically evolved immigration and housing pattern of the city. Although Cermak was killed by an assassin's bullet, subsequent Chicago mayors executed this plan.

The natural tendency of the waves of immigrants who came to Chicago was to settle among previously arrived relatives and countrymen. Dozens of small, distinct, and mutually hostile neighborhoods sprang up in this way. These "ethnic" enclaves still exist within the Chicago city limits. These easily controlled national group neighborhoods became the base of the Democratic Machine.

Richard J. Daley perfected the use of city employment and patronage to this structure. A definite number of city jobs were parcelled out to the political ward bosses, who in turn awarded them to those who could deliver the votes for the Democratic candidates. The development of a patronage army comprised of 40,000 city employees and another 120,000 municipal workers assured the continued rule of the Regular Democratic Organization. The so-called "ethnic politics" of Chicago's Machine served as a means to dispense well-paid jobs and other bribes to a small, privileged section of the working class while excluding the most exploited section of labor, the majority of the working class, from the benefits.

Today, blacks and Hispanics comprise 60 percent of Chicago's population. Thus, it was only from the minority section of the working class that a reform candidate for mayor could emerge, one that could articulate the interests of all the dispossessed, disenfranchised and victimized workers in Chicago. At the same time, the forces ranged against reform had to rely on the army of privileged, highly paid, economically and socially bribed stratum of patronage workers concentrated for historical reasons in the so-called "ethnic" wards. The stage was set for the battle to elect Harold Washington mayor of Chicago.
Battle for genuine reform:
What path to victory?
Chicago—Like a double-edged sword, the May 16 ruling of Cook County Circuit Judge James Murray cut both ways. The legality of the May 2 Chicago City Council Machine coup and the resulting council re-organization was upheld. Simultaneously, the authority of Mayor Harold Washington to deny the funding necessary to implement the "new" committee was re-affirmed.

Murray then granted a 30-day stay to the Washington forces as the matter moved to the Illinois Appellate Court. The courts rejected an attempt by Ald. Edward Burke (14th ward), anointed "chairman" of the powerful Finance Committee by the Vrdolyak bloc, to ouster that committee’s present head.

Meanwhile, the Washington administration backed by the federal courts moved to dismantle the patronage system, firing 180 of Byrne’s political appointees and discharging the corrupt commissioner of the massive Department of Streets and Sanitation, John Donovan.

While the newspapers proclaimed Murray’s decision a "major victory" for the 29-member Machine majority led by Edward Vrdolyak, 10th Ward alderman and and Chairman of the Cook County Regular Democratic Organization, in fact the court action sought to put the snarling but temporarily-appeased Machine on a short leash. While CURING the strident anti-reform actions of the "old guard," the approval of their council structure is clearly designed to hem in the Washington administration, to insure that the reforms don’t go too far and, above all, to hold in check the mass movement that swept Washington into office.

Edward Vrdolyak represents the narrow bloc of favored interests whose control over the Byrne administration brought Chicago to the brink of financial disaster. Millions of dollars in revenue were lost to the city as the Machine awarded lucrative, no-bid contracts. Huge deficits and shortfalls loomed. Hidden inter-fund borrowing, the looting of the city treasury by corrupt department commissioners, Byrne’s refusal to seek new sources of revenue and the loss of federal funds due to outright theft and mismanagement all took their toll.

The city’s bond rating took a roller coaster ride as existing businesses were driven out and potential investors stayed away.

Clearly, Chicago’s most powerful financial interests could not tolerate the continued domination of a decapit Machine no longer able to hold this economic morass together. Major political reform moved to the top of the agenda.

Yet the only possible vehicle for such reform was the mass, indigent movement of the disenfranchised, Machine-victimized section of Chicago’s working class. For an historic moment, the interests of the powerful coincided with those of the powerless. The Washington campaign broke out and achieved victory.

Even before the new mayor was inaugurated, the "downtown" capitalist interests which dominated the Washington Transition Team were faced with a twin-headed political dilemma.

On the one hand, the Vrdolyak grouping sought to keep its paws in the political cookie jar through control of the most powerful council committees. On the other hand, the actions of this gang threatened to re-ignite the massive grass-roots movement that swept Washington into City Hall. Under these conditions, the courts had to act.

Though this particular battle is far from over, certain things are clear.

First, the court-appealed Vrdolyak “29” has been pressed into the role of a snapping political watchdog to insure that the political genie uncorked by the Washington campaign does not stray too far from its bottle.

Second, the dominant section of Chicago’s capitalist class—the section which could no longer tolerate a decapit Machine—is moving through the courts to get on with the business of serious political reform.

Third, the kind of limited reforms sought by these interests cannot and will not alleviate the widespread deprivation and hardship borne by the working class, the driving force behind Washington’s victory. The future of that movement—the struggle for jobs, food for the hungry, homes for the indigent, medical care for the infirm, the program embodied in the “Washington Papers”, now hinges on the organized, mass mobilization of the people.

The present City Council struggle is only a political cork bobbing about on the still unsettled waters of social upheaval. These waters must not subside. The advocates of passivity must be driven from our ranks as must the advocates of recklessness and diversion. The fight is for the implementation of the Washington program in all its scope and breadth.

The weapons forged during the campaign—the ward and precinct apparatuses, the union caucuses, the various networks, the grassroots participation of thousands of organizations and individuals—these weapons must be re-deployed onto the battlefield for the struggles that are at hand!
Behind the Washington Campaign—Part II
Election fear-mongering fails

Chicago—Three nights before the February 22nd Chicago mayoral primary, a perspiring, arm-waving Edward Vrdolyak, 10th Ward alderman and chairman of the Cook County Democratic Organization, was reaching his stride. "It's a racial thing, now! The future of our city is at stake!" he thundered.

"Fast Eddie" spoke to a packed hall of Jane Byrne's supporters in a Machine-dominated, largely Polish section of the Near-Northwest side. His appeal to the worst sentiments of the electorate was being echoed on the streets, where voters were being told that "a vote for Richie Daley is a vote for Harold Washington."

Powerful Chicago interests and national leaders of the Democratic Party had tried and failed to convince either Byrne or Daley to withdraw from the election of Washington.

In the final days of the campaign, it had become clear that the Washington crusade was rapidly closing the gap between the Congressman and the two pro-Machine candidates.

Byrne's allies were the handful of businesses which had received favored status through her system of lucrative no-bid city contracts. Behind Daley were the capitalists who had been fended out by Byrne, unable to survive without serious political reform but still committed to the preservation of the legendary Chicago Democratic Machine. The conflicting interests of these two blocs could not be reconciled.

A split Democratic Party apparatus watched helplessly as Harold Washington, the initially reluctant target of the first genuine draft movement in the history of Chicago, captured the Democratic nomination.

For the moment the economic interests of the Machine and the personal political fortunes of Bernard Epton coincided and the defection of the Machine's Old Guard was under way. By election day eight of the city's aldermen and a block of Democratic ward committeemen had declared for the Republican. Epton, in turn, had declared support for the patronage system and willingness to serve only one term as a "caretaker" for the Machine.

The Epton/Democratic Machine forces could not expect to win solely on the basis of defending the Machine-dependent voters, who total less than 150,000. Neither could their strategy be based on Epton's own legislative record, a veritable shopping list of favors handed out to the insurance industry and opposition to workers' compensation and unemployment insurance benefits.

The only path open was to inject "race" into the campaign, to play on the worst fears and sentiments of a section of the white voters so as to disguise the defense of the privileged position of the Machine "elite" based in the "ethnic" neighborhoods behind a mask of "protecting" the entire white population.

Washington's commitment to public housing for Chicago's 23,000 homeless was distorted into a picture of high-rise public housing projects in the midst of Chicago's "ethnic" neighborhoods. Epton's official campaign slogan became "Vote for Epton, Before It's Too Late" while the unofficial one was "Vote Right—Vote White."

Hate literature was distributed and unfounded malicious charges hurled against Washington. But in the final weeks of the campaign it became clear that significant sections of the voters were growing disgusted with Epton's tactics.

On Palm Sunday, March 27, the nation watched on network television as a jeering, threatening mob of Epton supporters prevented Harold Washington from worshipping in St. Pascal's Catholic Church, its walls defaced with the spray-painted epithet, "Die, Nigger." The impression deliberately created by reporters was one of a spontaneous mob of "rascal" whites.

In fact, the St. Pascal's incident was a carefully planned maneuver by Epton workers to physically expel the Washington campaign and warn it away from the segregated white wards of Chicago. Within hours, Epton shook hands with and personally thanked the perpetrators.

On April 12 the voters chose Harold Washington by just under 50,000 votes.

At the core of the 48 percent of the voters who went with Epton was the patronage army. The remainder of the Epton vote consisted of three general categories of voters. Many were residents of the Machine-dominated, overwhelmingly white wards who had been led to believe that their relatively better neighborhoods, schools and jobs depended on the Machine's continued existence. A majority of the so-called "liberal lakefront" professionals also backed Epton, as did the most backward, reactionary sectors of the working class who fell prey to the fear-mongering and distortions of the Epton campaign.

Ninety-seven percent of the black voters cast their ballots for Harold Washington. This statistic was cited as "proof" that the Washington campaign had been an appeal to "race." Yet these were not votes based on a "racial" appeal. These were votes overwhelmingly cast in support of Washington's advocacy of jobs for the unemployed, food for the hungry, homes for the indigent, medical care for the sick, an open government, the dismantling of the oppressive Democratic Machine.

These are issues that have no color. In articulating these needs, the black and Hispanic workers who comprise 60 percent of Chicago's working class speak for all the dispossessed and downtrodden, that multinational section of Chicago's workers fended out and preyed upon by the Democratic Party Machine.

Washington received 79 percent of the overwhelmingly working-class Hispanic vote. And while the newspapers were still pointing to the 150 gangsters at St. Pascal's church, they all but ignored the 48,000 votes cast for Harold Washington in the traditionally Machine-dominated, largely white Northwest and Southwest wards.

Was the working class split in the Chicago mayor's race? Yes, but not along the strict "color" lines so hastily drawn by the capitalist opinion-makers. The split was in reality between the privileged beneficiaries of the Machine and the mass of underpaid, unemployed and disenfranchised workers of all nationalities. It was an historic victory for the majority of the working class.
Machine plays color card against reform movement

Chicago—Emboldened by an Illinois State Supreme Court decision upholding the May 2 re-organization by Machine "coup" of the Chicago City Council, members of the so-called "Vrdolyak 29" unleashed a disgusting campaign of "race" baiting and panic peddling against Mayor Harold Washington and the city's 1.5 million black residents.

Cook County Democratic Party Chairman and 10th Ward Alderman Edward Vrdolyak accused Washington of developing a "three-pronged" plan to pressure white Chicagoans into leaving the city. Vrdolyak charged the mayor with seeking the repeal of the city's residency requirement for city employees, the majority of whom are white; "conspiring" with School Superintendent Ruth Love to vastly increase use of public-school busing for integration; and planning to use all available Chicago Housing Authority funds to construct new scattered-site housing projects.

With these charges the Machine bloc aims at crippling and dividing the growing movement of workers of all nationalities to provide adequate housing, save the public schools, and to achieve the kind of sweeping reforms upon which the Washington campaign was based.

Through its decision, the state's highest court has formalized the role of the Machine forces as a snarling watchdog over the reform administration of Harold Washington. The re-organization approved by the court placed every Machine alderman in charge of a City Council committee. It excludes all black aldermen from leading positions in the Council. The decision has legitimized once again the use of white chauvinism to mask the political, anti-working class nature of the attack. The facts show the truth.

In Chicago 23,000 indigent people eke out a wretched existence on the streets. Tens of thousands more live in overcrowded, substandard housing. While a disproportionately large number of these people are black, there are nevertheless thousands of white and Hispanic working class families who desperately need public housing.

Two weeks before Vrdolyak depicted housing as a "black issue," more than 1,000 people lined up to apply for more than 200 federal housing units near the city's Uptown area. At least half the people in the long line were white.

In peddling fear about scattered-site public housing, the Machine aldermen seek to re-assure their former patronage armies in the Northwest and Southwest Side wards that their interests are being "represented." But more importantly, these forces are perpetuating a climate of hostility based on color that has crippled the struggle for housing in Chicago for years.

Already, days before the mayoral election, several units of the Bickerdike project, housing targeted for lower and middle income workers of all nationalities in the city's Near West Side, were burned to the ground. The working people of Chicago will not tolerate further violence of this kind. They will hold responsible those, like Vrdolyak, whose lies and accusations create a climate where such violence can occur.

The blatantly "racial" statements and actions of the Machine bloc are bolstering the prestige of another set of enemies of the working class. These are the misleaders within the movement who are characterizing the battle as one in which the "white community" is seeking to protect its privileges and to deny a "political majority" to blacks.

These elements make no differentiation between those white workers absolutely dependent on and loyal to the patronage system for their comfortable existence and the masses of underpaid or unemployed white workers. This latter group of workers, like their black and Hispanic counterparts, has no stake in the continued domination of the Machine.

Many of these self-servings "leaders" were content to bed down with the Machine for years, disenfranchising their own constituencies. They are now seeking to hang their tattered hats on the Washington peg. Alderman Wilson Frost, for example, was once Council floor leader for Jane Byrne but was deposed as head of the powerful finance committee in the Machine coup.

Frost, now one of the "Washington 21," voted in 1981 to approve a re-drawn Chicago ward map that altered the boundaries of two wards that had achieved black majorities so that their status as majority white, and Machine-controlled, could remain.

Frost was a loyal servant to Jane Byrne, voting down a proposed investigation into living conditions in the Chicago Housing Authority projects one day, defeating an examination of the effectiveness of the Health Department the next.

In response to such treachery, six black Machine aldermen were soundly defeated in the recent elections. Much of Vrdolyak's conduct, however, is aimed at steering the black masses into the waiting arms of such elements.

The actions of the Machine bloc are also designed to put Mayor Washington in an extremely compromised position relative to his own political philosophy. Against the tidal wave of "race baiting" hurled during the campaign and afterward, Washington has consistently and correctly maintained that "race" was not the issue, but was a cover for anti-reform politics.

Now, in his struggle to wrest control over the City Council, Washington's only recourse is to make a legal appeal at the federal level on the grounds of discrimination. In this appeal he must prove that "race" and "race" alone was the motivation for the Machine re-organization. Thus, as he picks up the gauntlet hurled by the Vrdolyak 29, Harold Washington is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't.

The court-sanctioned Machine bloc seeks to break apart the independent "people's coalition" that elected Washington and escaped the ideological domination and political control of its class enemies. Part of this includes boxing in Harold Washington and forcing him into a fight he does not want but cannot avoid.

The working class must chart an independent and active course for itself in the battles that lie ahead. The "Vrdolyak 29" understand the inevitability of municipal reform. But they are determined, with the sanction of the courts, to hem in the Washington administration and prevent the reform movement from going too far. They are using tactics aimed at rallying their defeated and demoralized Machine ranks and dissipating the mass movement that propelled Harold Washington into City Hall. The present battle in the City Council is only a reflection of a much broader class struggle involving hundreds of thousands of people who are fighting out the issues of joblessness, housing, health care, and police brutality. The people of Chicago cannot be reduced to the role of spectators in this fight—their interests lie at the very heart of the controversy.

As government in Chicago assumes the character of a protracted trench war, the workers cannot forget that the real war lies outside the Council chambers, that the provocations of the Machine seek to rout the combatants on that social battlefield. The Machine cannot be allowed to succeed.
Boston mayor's race

Mel King— the candidate for Boston's workers

Boston—More than 3,000 Boston workers thundered their agreement when Chicago Mayor Harold Washington Aug. 7 called on them to support Boston's black mayoral candidate, Mel King. At the rally outside the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge in Grove Hall, a black working class section of the Dorchester neighborhood, Washington urged the cheering crowd, "Register everybody in your house—everybody in your neighborhood—you have a great opportunity in Mel King...I simply came here to transmit to you the same feelings that are all over this country: a deep sense of urgency. We are at a pivotal stage in the history of this country."

Washington spent the day in Boston to boost the reform candidacy of King, a 54-year-old former state representative. Earlier in the day, the Chicago mayor had appeared with King in a church near Grove Hall, with 68 ministers and religious people of all races and several denominations. All support King's candidacy.

"There is a sense of urgency about rebuilding our cities," Washington told the clergy and a crowd of reporters. "They cannot be rebuilt unless they have new and different kinds of leadership that speaks for the masses of people, across color, across sex, across race."

King followed Washington to the podium, saying, "The time is long overdue for Boston to get the kind of leadership it deserves, and for this city to be run by and for the people. You need to ask which mayoral candidate has proved that he has the courage and the creativity to make us proud of Boston again. You need to have a mayor who has never backed down from the difficult tasks of making Boston an open city. I believe an examination of my record of service shows that I can provide Boston with this kind of creative and courageous leadership."

King has been a leader in mass struggles for a better life for Boston's working class since the late 1950s. His career of activity and leadership includes struggles for quality integrated public education, jobs for Boston residents, for decent housing and controls on rents and condominium conversion, and for accessible quality health care.

While the program of the King candidacy has yet to be finalized and presented to the voters of the city, Washington summed up its general impulse when he told the clergy, "Mel King's platform is etched already in the history of his good doings in this great city. I was aware of them and many people throughout the country are aware of them."

Boston is not Chicago, but the economic crisis that brought the workers of Chicago into action is being felt here as well. Incumbent Mayor Kevin White was forced from office by growing reports of corruption in his administration and by his inability to continue to purchase, with federal development funds, the loyalties of the more privileged sections of the working class. White's machine has fallen victim to a new historic era of economic crisis and shrinking public funds. The voters of Boston, especially the working class electorate, are now faced with a choice between the knot of men and women who want to be the next Kevin White and a man who wants to be the mayor of all of Boston.

King has been ahead of some of his white liberal and black supporters in calling for a coalition among all Boston workers. He has repeatedly stated his belief in a united mass movement for the fundamentals of jobs, housing, equal rights and peace. Like Washington in Chicago, King wants his campaign to be an expression of the struggle of Boston's workers for basic economic and social reform.

In a city where the spontaneous struggles for jobs, housing and a better life have been separate and disorganized, the King campaign offers vehicles for organization. Working people have in the King campaign a potential tool to fight for their needs and aspirations. In turn, the King campaign organization will succeed only to the extent that it embraces the demands of these workers and their program.

Harold Washington called on the campaign to "...reach out to other groups—to liberal whites, to ethnic whites, to poor whites, Hispanics, blacks, and senior citizens. You've got to reach out and bring within the umbrella of your campaign the kinds of people who believe in good, solid, honest government. I think that is happening here."

King echoed Washington: "We can do it by coming together, and working together, and sticking together. With your help, we will bring Boston together for good. We will celebrate the richness of our heritage and humanity."
Chicago Hispanics demand jobs, hit Machine

Chicago—More than 200 unemployed Hispanic construction workers staged a demonstration outside the fifth-floor office of the mayor of this city Aug. 1.

Wildly distorted reports by the mass media made it appear that the demonstration was directed against the reform administration of Harold Washington.

The real targets of the workers' action were the obstructionist tactics of Alderman Edward Vrdolyak's Machine bloc in the city council and the discriminatory hiring practices of the McHugh Construction Company.

Chanting "We want Harold!" and angrily denouncing the efforts of the "Vrdolyak 29" to impede equal employment reforms, members of the Latin American Task Force and other organizations demanded that 50 percent of the construction jobs at the 49-story Presidential Towers development be awarded to black and Hispanic workers.

The response of the mayor both surprised and heartened the jobless workers. It was in marked contrast to the policy of former Mayor Jane Byrne, who ran from hundreds of hostile confrontations during her corrupt administration.

Mayor Washington, Acting Commissioner of the Department of Neighborhoods Joe Gardner, and Chief of Staff Bill Ware met with representatives of the group. The workers were shown a copy of the McHugh Construction Company's affirmative action certificate, which stated that one-third of the workforce and 20 percent of all suppliers and subcontractors for the 2,346-apartment development on the city's impoverished and mainly black Near West Side would be minorities. This certificate had been signed one week earlier at the urging of the mayor's office.

WASHINGTON'S COMMITMENT

Mayor Washington reiterated his commitment to equal employment and pledged that the city would press the developers to raise the number of minority workers to 50 percent. Assuring the workers of his intention to police the compliance of the developers, Washington scheduled a follow-up meeting for Aug. 10.

The Chicago Tribune reported the demonstration under the banner headline, "Mayor Confronts His 1st Protest in Office." The Tribune's distortion, echoed by dozens of community newspapers with the exception of the Chicago Daily Defender, is part of the strategy of the Machine and sections of Chicago's ruling financial interests. They aim to break apart the growing unity of the more distressed sectors of Chicago's working class, a unity forged during the dramatic Washington campaign for mayor.

On the issue of a new police superintendent, the Machine's tactics are visible to all. One of the three finalists to replace former Police Superintendent Richard Brzeczek is Matt Rodriguez, who is of mixed Polish and Mexican descent. The other two finalists happen to be black officers. All three were chosen by a committee, composed primarily of whites, on the basis of their competence and experience.

The Machine has quickly seized the opportunity to attack the Washington administration, falsely charging that the mayor has failed to appoint Hispanics to leading policy-making positions and spreading the malicious fiction that he is only interested in "taking care of" the city's black residents. Machine politicians are demanding, through an aggressive petition drive, that Washington select Rodriguez as police chief.

According to Leonard "Tony" Roque of the Northwest Hispanic Democratic Coalition, who is a Vrdolyak lieutenant, talk of a coalition between blacks and Hispanics is a "dream" because both are "fighting each other for the same things. The Hispanics want jobs, political power and the rest of it now. So do the blacks. The mayor has to go with his people and help them, the same people who put him in office. I have no quarrel with that. But while Washington helps blacks, what do Hispanics get? Nothing."

SLANDER

During the mayoral primary campaign Roque was linked by WMAQ-TV with an unsigned letter accusing candidate Washington of having been arrested on a morals charge. Roque also recruited some of the city's most notorious street gangs into Jane Byrne's re-election campaign. This is the kind of political refuse upon which the Machine and the financial interests which stand behind it are relying to split the reform movement in Chicago.

But the Hispanic construction workers who came to City Hall Aug. 1 would have none of this. They left declaring that, had they known of the steps Mayor Washington had already taken to assist them in their fight, their action would not have been necessary.

As mayor, Harold Washington continues to represent and speak for that section of the working class whose interests he espoused and whose struggles his campaign came to represent—the fenced-out, Machine-victim-
November elections—Gauge of working class consciousness

The November 2, 1982 elections were the most expensive and best publicized midterm elections in the entire history of the United States of North America (USNA). A section of the capitalist class tried to use these elections and the campaign that preceded them to rebuild the Democratic Party. Despite the widespread election of Democratic candidates the outcome showed significant developments in the consciousness of the workers.

Our analysis of the elections starts from the understanding that elections under capitalism have no effect on which class holds state power and controls the means of production. They are events in which the workers merely have the “democratic right” to choose which individual representatives of the bourgeoisie preside over the state apparatus. At best elections are a gauge of the degree of political consciousness of the masses.

THE CAPITALISTS’ OBJECTIVES

The significance of election campaign 1982 is linked to the present objectives of the capitalist class of the USNA. The intensifying international economic crisis of capitalism has forced the bourgeoisie to intensify the exploitation and therefore the misery of the workers in this country. Ronald Reagan’s election in 1980 was a sign that a period of political reaction was beginning in the USNA.

Reagan won because he received the support of the leading political representatives of the supranational financiers such as George Bush, George Schultz and Lyn Nofziger. The supranational financiers maneuvered a Republican Party victory in 1980 in order to preserve the Democratic Party for future political use.

Since the New Deal in the 1930s, the Democratic Party has been presented to the working class as the “house of labor.” Accordingly the Democratic Party could not be allowed to be the political vehicle for carrying out the attack on the standard of living of the USNA working class. This task fell to the Republican Party, historically portrayed as the party of the “robber barons.” Letting the Democratic Party initiate the driving down of the workers’ conditions of life and labor would have destroyed one of the most important means the bourgeoisie has for dominating the working class movement. Handing the job of driving down the standard of living of the workers to the Republicans meant that the bourgeoisie could maneuver to control the inevitable opposition to Reagan’s policies by attempting to divert this opposition back into the Democratic Party.

However, the Democratic Party cannot be rebuilt as a resurrected version of the New Deal coalition. It will not be able to serve as the conduit for mass bribery of the working class because the social programs upon which it depended to do so have been devastated by the Reagan administration. These cutbacks are not just the policy whims of different politicians; they are an integral part of efforts by the capitalist class to weather the worsening economic crisis. Given these circumstances the Democratic Party can only be rebuilt as a party of organized international business.

This reality has produced definite moves away from the Democratic Party. As the Democratic Party moves further to the right, a section of workers is compelled to think about the possibility of forming their own political party to protect their interests. The capitalist class is well aware of the growing frustration and anger with the Democratic Party and is already maneuvering to control this motion toward independent working class electoral activity. Throughout the country, we see the bourgeoisie using populist ideology to maintain control over the masses. The battle being waged by the workers against the attacks on their standard of living is being characterized as a fight against “Reaganomics” and monopoly.

While the development of a “third” or “labor” party is a virtual inevitability, it is taking a different form in the Negro Nation—the Black Belt area of the South—than in Anglo-America. In the Negro Nation fascism is the form of state rule. Southern populism therefore has always allied itself with fascism and not with the labor movement. In Anglo-America, and particularly in the Midwest and Northeast, the populist movement has historically consisted of an alliance between the workers and the small farmers (petty bourgeoisie) in opposition to the domination of monopoly. The specifics of history dictate that what is emerging are the beginnings of a populist-fascist party in the South and a populist-labor party in the North.

Thus, we can sum up the situation by saying that the capitalist class, in order to normalize the growing discontent of the masses—and particularly the workers—back into the Democratic Party and into support for political figures it controls—the various populist-fascist candidates in the South and the populist-labor candidates in other parts of the country.

The capitalist class went all-out in this effort, spending over $500 million and employing the trade union class collaborators and misleaders of the nationalities movements in an attempt to get record numbers of workers to vote for Democratic candidates.

To assess the success of this attempt, we must briefly analyze the election results. According to
The New York Times (November 11, 1982) the complete but unofficial vote return was 67,172,541 ballots cast out of 169.3 million people in the voting age population. This means that 40.3 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls. This represents a slight improvement over the 37.9 percent turnout of eligible voters in the last midterm election in 1978. But if we examine the campaign more closely, the 1982 turnout still fits into the overall decline in voter participation since 1962, when the turnout was 48.8 percent.

It is easier to register—and vote—in the USNA than in any other country in the capitalist world. (In some states, one can even register to vote at McDonalds fast food franchises.) A significant development is that despite a tidal wave of bourgeois "get-out-the-vote" propaganda only 2.4 percent more people voted in the 1982 election than in the last midterm election. By contrast, more than 70 percent of the voters routinely turn out to the polls in nearly every capitalist country in Europe, with a 90 percent turnout in the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, Austria and Australia.

However, the voter turnout was high among certain sections of the USNA population. A relatively high percentage of unionized industrial workers voted. Voting turnout was highest in the industrialized states, with Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Alabama and Texas showing significant increases. The trade union misleaders played an important role in increasing voter turnout in most of these states. There were also one million more blacks registered to vote in 1982 than in 1980.

There are two sides to the increase in the voter turnout in November 1982. It is no accident that the years of continual decline in the voter turnout in midterm elections (1962-1978) were also the years of unparalleled bribery in the USNA. In great measure, the reason that few people voted was that there was little reason to participate in the electoral process considering that regardless of who won, the "good life" was assured to a large section of the working class. Therefore, abstention from voting was, in the main, a sign of apathy and not of rejection of the system. The slight increase in 1982 voter turnout is a sign that as social bribery declines, a larger section of the population feels compelled to fight and some of the workers use the electoral arena to wage this fight. The Republican Party lost more seats in the U.S. House of Representatives than any political party in the occupancy of the presidency during a midterm election since 1922. Still, the margin of Democratic victory was nowhere near as great as many had predicted.

A Harris poll conducted in April estimated that had the election been held then, the Democrats would have won 45-50 seats in the House. The New York Times reported on September 2 that Edward R. Tufte, a Yale University political scientist, forecast a gain of 40 seats in the House for the Democrats. The Gallup poll predicted on September 19 that the Republicans would lose 30 seats in the House. The actual Democratic gain of 26 seats in the House, while substantial, is far from a landslide. In fact, many voters leaving polling places indicated that they blamed both the Democratic and Republican parties for the economic crisis.

The election results also showed the success achieved by the populist candidates. Some of the victorious Democrats in California compose a pole within that state's party which bases itself on a populist-labor outlook: Ron Dellums, Tom Bates and Tom Hayden are examples. Other better-known, more established California Democratic liberals retained their positions or won new ones by adopting some of the populists' methods.

In the Negro Nation, one of the most notable features of the elections was the overwhelming victory of the populist fascist candidates. In Alabama, George Wallace won the governorship with 60 percent of the vote, carrying 63 of 67 counties. The fact that he won 87 percent of the black vote, after a campaign that included deluging radio stations with ads promoting his ability to bring more employment to the state, is an ominous development. It should be noted that in the September 7 primary, Wallace also won a majority or plurality of every Alabama county which contains a black majority.

TASKS OF THE PARTY

What conclusions can we draw from the election results? These elections demonstrated that large numbers of workers are seeking ways to express their disillusionment with the solutions the capitalist class is proposing for society. That millions of workers refused to vote—as well as the section of the working class which has declined to vote in the past but voted in this election—is a sign that the masses want to fight and are looking for the means to do so. As the struggle of the working class intensifies on the shop floor and in the streets, this upsurge in activity will be reflected in the electoral arena.

All our efforts must be aimed at guaranteeing that as the working class is thrown into greater activity and struggle its fight is not diverted by the agents of the bourgeoisie. This holds for the electoral arena as with all other battlegrounds of class struggle. Our tactics are to use the everyday experience of the workers in their growing struggle against capitalist reaction to convince the vanguard of the proletariat that the struggle of the working class is continually being betrayed by the class collaborationists within the movement. The exposure, isolation and final rejection of these misleaders by the workers is essential to the further development of the revolutionary process. At this stage in the development of the revolution, the focus of the workers' fight within the electoral arena must be against the Democratic Party, the meeting point of the political and social misleaders.

The course we must follow was clearly explained by the great leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Joseph Stalin:

What is the fundamental strategic line of Leninism?

It is the recognition of the following:
1) the compromising parties are the most dangerous social support of the enemies of the revolution in the period of the approaching revolutionary outbreak; 2) it is impossible to overthrow the enemy (tsarism or the bourgeoisie) unless these parties are isolated; 3) the main weapons in the period of preparation for the revolution must therefore be directed towards isolating these parties, towards winning the broad masses of the working people away from them. (The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists)

In the coming period, our Party must concentrate its main weapons on preventing the rebuilding of the Democratic Party. This means exposing every action which the Democratic Party takes to appear to be the champion of the masses. Agitation and propaganda are the main weapons of the Party in the fight to win the hearts and minds of the workers and particularly in convincing at least a section of the vanguard of the proletariat. Through its agitation—participation in the spontaneous struggles of the workers—the Party prepares the ground for communist propaganda. We must guarantee that the Democratic Party not be rebuilt.

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November elections
Bourgeoisie attempts to corral third party movement

The sleeping giant is awakening.

After decades of slumber induced by heavy doses of bribery and deceit, the working class of the United States of North America (USNA) is being aroused. The plummeting of its standard of living and the deterioration of working conditions are catalysts in the workers' struggle to defend their economic interests.

The USNA bourgeoisie is not alarmed by the new levels of working class rage and rebellion so long as it remains unorganized and mislead. This enraged response is to be expected in view of the attack that the bourgeoisie must now make against its domestic working class. The onslaught of "Reaganomics" has less to do with Ronald Reagan than with the inability of the USNA bourgeoisie to run abord for continuous expansion and extraction of maximum profit. Capitalism is being forced to turn inward and lower the cost of production in the USNA.

The working class is reacting to this with marches, rallies, forums and strikes. The bourgeoisie is deploying every possible tactic including police terror to stop this activity. An unavoidable result of economic crisis is that one section of the bourgeoisie strives for the destruction of its class. Competition is a result of the capitalists' attempt to maintain maximum profits. Just as inevitable is the effort by the bourgeoisie to win to the workers to its views by pretending to champion proletarian interests. It is forced to do this because of the proletariat's rejection of the bourgeois parties. The genuine tendency towards a third party is an offshoot of this spontaneous break away from the Republican and Democratic parties. The bourgeoisie works within this motion for its own purposes and class interests. This rejectionist tendency is organized in the form of a movement for an "independent party of labor" within capitalist society.

In the USNA there is nothing surprising in this movement. Traditionally the bourgeoisie of this country has used the dissident formation of third parties to save or revive the major bourgeois parties. Third parties have come in instrumental in maintaining the "two-party" system. These third parties have arisen and fallen during different periods on the basis of both a split in the bourgeoisie and the working class' search for some form of political independence.

In the contemporary crisis a wing of the bourgeoisie is peddling a new political party as a solution. They envision it as a revival of the old Roosevelt coalition of the 1930s. But the Roosevelt coalition is dead and gone because it arose on the foundations of an economic crisis that demanded the expansion of USNA imperialism. That period and its demands have ended. Wall Street's policy was then directed at remolding the financial and political character of the capitalist world. To do this it needed the support of the masses but the Democratic Party—the political party of Wall St.—had no mass base. The Roosevelt coalition—aided by the repudiation of Hoover's starvation tactics—provided it. The reforms implemented by the coalition were not only desperately needed but were part of the logical evolution of capital. This coalition was provisional in USNA history, but served to preserve world capitalism. The lie that the Roosevelt coalition could secure proletarian "economic rights" has proven to be poisonous to the USNA working class.

The break away from the Democratic Party is not taking place as a steady flow of dissidents into a single third party. It is an uneven break-up into numerous groupings. Both sections of the bourgeoisie are out to impose their outlook and solutions on the working class. Simultaneously the workers are seeking their own outlook and solutions.

Among the contending forces influencing the working class movement, which are advancing versions of "resurrect Roosevelt," are three major groupings—the AFL-CIO, the Democratic Socialists of America, and the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA).

Lane Kirkland and the top national leadership of most of the AFL-CIO unions intend to rebuild the Democratic Party. This reformed party is supposed to be more firmly controlled by labor through Political Action Committee donations and early endorsements of candidates. Such a "rebuilt" Democratic Party would leave workers firmly under the control of labor leaders. These misleaders publicly support capitalism, openly fight communism, and channel the proletariat's motion towards political independence back into the confines of the bourgeoisie.

The Democratic Socialists of America is a hodge-podge of liberals, radicals and "independent activists," that wages token opposition to capitalism. Its democratic socialism is a utopian "all is equal" brand that would impose a dictatorship of the "good" bourgeoisie. For Michael Harrington, chief spokesman of the DSA, politics essentially is a morality play of good and evil forces. Harrington advises socialists to remain within the Democratic Party because "that's where the good people are" and to push for a progressive socialist agenda.

Both the DSA and the AFL-CIO adopt opportunist positions. Their concern is not for the seizure of state power by the proletariat but rather the attainment of political influence for small groups of bourgeois misleaders.

When the DSA toys with the idea of an "independent party of labor" it is quickly abandoned in the face of the AFL-CIO's stern opposition to anything other than a two-party system. This sometimes mistakenly appears as if this third party motion in the DSA is a Left movement blocked by the Right. In fact both the DSA and the AFL-CIO—to a lesser and greater degree—are prepared to build their version of an "independent" party so long as it is independent of the proletariat and not the Democratic Party. A number of unions, including the United Auto Workers, the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, have passed resolutions at conventions endorsing the concept of a labor party. Fraser, Winpisinger and others may flit with "independence" but they are married to capitalism and will continue to play the role of the "loyal opposition"—loyalty to capitalism and opposition to communism.

However, these discussions of political independence have stirred considerable controversy among class conscious workers and there are many who are drawn towards forming a labor party such as those in Canada or Western Europe. Out of the debate has come much confusion as to whose interests such parties serve and whether they are desirable vehicles for political activity by the working class. Communists have to clarify the purpose of the third party movement and show that the answer to the crisis is not a revived Roosevelt coalition or a British Labor Party. Instead of spreading clarity, the CPUSA—the third force behind Roosevelt's resurrection—is spreading confusion throughout this debate.

The CPUSA's line is fully displayed in SI Gerson's "Organizing the Anti-Reagan Election Wave," published in the September issue of Political Affairs, the CPUSA's theoretical journal. Here is Gerson's defense for participation by communists in electoral campaigns:

... participation in the primaries is not in contradiction to the concept of political independence. On the contrary, the struggle for an unawaring anti-Reagan program and candidates requires independent activity and independent organization. For many people in the labor and people's movement, this type of participation becomes the first stage in a growing political independence, one that can facilitate a mass political realignment and the ultimate formation of a mass, independent anti-monopoly party able to challenge the two old parties of capitalism. (Emphasis in original text)

Gerson begins correctly enough. Obviously communist participation in bourgeois elections does not contradict the concept of political independence. The Leninist style of work mandates the employment of any available arena for an assertion of working class independence.

Contrary to Gerson's reasoning the "anti-Reagan" struggle does not require independent activity and independent organization. Ted Kennedy, Walter Mondale and Lane Kirkland are vigorously "anti-Reagan." They are not independent. They are leaky lifeboats firmly fastened to the deck of the sinking ship of capitalism. Gerson and the CPUSA make the pretension that "my enemy's opponent is my friend."

It is true that involvement in the "anti-Reagan" struggle can be an important step for
many people. But it can only function as a stumbling block for those who hope for "the ultimate formation of a mass, independent anti-monopoly party." The common thread throughout Gerson's statement and the entire political action line of the CPUSA, is the liquidation of class struggle for an "anti-monopoly" struggle. This line substitutes individuals and their policies ("Reaganism") for an inexorable economic process (capitalist crisis).

The CPUSA's proposal for a "mass, independent anti-monopoly party" is a ticket to disaster for the USNA working class. The primary task of the communists in the present period is to assert in every possible way the nascent self-consciousness of the working class. This means to educate that class to its historic mission of overthrowing capitalism. To do otherwise and organize this awakening consciousness into a sea of populism is to drown the revolutionary potential of the proletariat.

The various minority parties which have emerged as "anti-monopoly" coalitions have always been critically reactionary at their core. A movement to reverse the process of massive monopolization under modern imperialism is inherently reactionary in the historical sense. Essentially such movements express the frustrations of the petty bourgeoisie, not of the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie loses significant elements of its economic and political power when the monopolies, without fail, gain strength. Of course we must oppose what the monopolies represent. But to struggle to break them up into small departments is a backward motion of the petty bourgeoisie. To struggle for the transformation of these monopolies into public property is a forward motion of the proletariat.

The consolidation and centralization of wealth is not the central issue of our time. The control of that accumulated wealth is the fulcrum of the debate. The anti-monopoly coalitions, with their populist ideologies, can be dangerous precursors to fascism. They divert the working class away from self-preparation and into debilitating, demoralizing struggles against "big business" led by petty bourgeois professional activists and socially concerned clergy. These campaigns are dangerous because they leave the workers disarmed, disorganized and ripe for the demagoguery of a fascist party.

The very concept "mass, independent anti-monopoly party," is a contradiction in terms. Under a bourgeois state, anti-monopoly parties may be funded and encouraged as diversions for discontent but they will never be independent of the bourgeoisie. The only possible position of real working class independence is one that calls and mobilizes for the overthrow of capitalism. No "anti-monopoly" party will call for this because such a stance is far beyond its allowable boundaries and will jeopardize its "mass" base.

Essentially the CPUSA is calling for "gradualism" in the most crisis-ridden period capitalism has experienced. Gerson insults the intelligence of the USNA working class by proposing a series of political baby steps (first "anti-Reaganism" and then "anti-monopolism" and then "mass democracy" and then an "independent party" and so on) in an era when the bourgeoisie has to adjust to new conditions and when the proletariat is capable of making giant leaps.

Historically the working class has been robbed of its political momentum through the formation of an alliance between the revisionists in the communist movement and a section of the bourgeoisie in opposition to the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie. The CPUSA—ignoring the lessons of history and the realities of the present time—urges the working class to continue living as the servant of the "good" bourgeoisie in the hopes that the good master will keep the bad master from the door.

Such strategy and tactics constitute a betrayal of the USNA proletariat. In regards to the current world-wide economic crisis the capitalist system is at the end of its tether. The unprecedented advances in technology which offer humanity genuine prospects for global peace and plenty simultaneously threaten to destroy the planet. This disaster can only be averted by a proletarian seizure of state power. Just as essential is the conversion of the means of production into public property and the redistribution of wealth according to need. This can only take place within a planned socialist economy controlled by the working class. In this context proposing an "independent party of labor" as an ultimate solution is a cruel hoax.
**Working class elects Washington**

What we are witnessing in Chicago is the historically inevitable phase of a working class in the imperialist country turning inward and fighting 'against itself.' The lower section fights the bribed and privileged section which stands in front of and protects the bourgeoisie.

**A WORKING CLASS VOTE**

The election had a multinational character, although it expressed the concentration of blacks in Chicago's proletariat. Washington received 79 percent of the Hispanic vote. He got 87 percent of the Puerto Rican vote, 68 percent of the Mexican vote and 54 percent of the Cuban vote. A larger proportion of Anglo-Americans (estimated at 18 percent) voted for Washington than ever before for a black candidate for mayor, with the exception of Carl Stokes' 1967 victory in Cleveland. Most of these votes were not from the traditional liberal strongholds but showed significant “blue collar” support. Black workers however formed a stable base for the Washington juggernaut. Turnout was massive. In the election 85 percent of eligible black voters turned out and 95 percent of them voted for Washington.

These workers of many nationalities voted in record numbers for a program which spoke to their needs. Stirred into action by the brutal deprivation forced on them by the economic crisis, they have seized the ballot as a weapon in the class struggle.

The crisis in Chicago is a microcosm of the crisis in the whole USNA. Over the last 12 years Chicago has lost 11,500 net jobs per year. In the same years 3,500 housing units were lost per year and total population has decreased at a rate of 36,000 per year.

The productive forces are making tremendous advances. The application of robotics is expanding in all branches of industry generating greater crisis and unemployment. In Illinois, unemployment has reached 13.5 percent. In Chicago alone there are 200,000 workers without jobs.

As the workers, beset by the conditions of crisis, attempt to defend themselves they must deal with the obstacles in their path. In order to fight successfully they have had to move against the system of bribery and privilege that has been used to keep them in check—the patronage system. The crisis has thrown the lowest section of the workers against this system, shaking it to its foundation. This is the driving force behind the movement that elected Harold Washington.

**PATRONAGE IS IMPERIALIST BRIBERY**

Chicago is one of the most segregated cities in the USNA. Not only are blacks and whites segregated; Irish, Italian and Polish workers all live in segregated enclaves. The patronage system perpetuates and uses segregation to maintain political control for the Democratic “machine”. The superprofits extracted by the multinational corporations based in Chicago are taxed and these funds have nurtured a privileged section of workers who fight for the ruling class. The patronage system allows the mayor and ward aldermen who are “bosses” in these divided communities to dispense municipal jobs in return for political work by these employees on behalf of the “machine” during and after working hours. In this way the same reactionary Democratic power-brokers are re-elected time and time again. The base of the Democratic “machine” is among the 120,000 municipal workers, 42,000 of whom are city employees.

The movements of all the disadvantaged sections of Chicago for real equality has had to take aim at this system of political bondage to advance in their struggles. The facts are that while women make up 44.3 percent of the civilian labor force, they constitute only 18.6 percent of city jobs. While 40 percent of the population is black, they constitute only 27 percent of the city workers. Only 4 percent of city jobs go to hispanics while they constitute 20 percent of the population. As separate movements for equality they could not beat city hall. The possibility of success in the fight against this system presented itself when a militant movement of the working class was forced to throw its weight against this fortress of the ruling class. It is the particular history of Chicago that determined that a candidate such as Harold Washington could begin to challenge the patronage system.

**THE STRUGGLE HAS JUST BEGUN**

With Washington's fight for office and eventual victory, the polarization within the Democratic Party has accelerated. The reactionary Democratic power-brokers who have been the “godfathers” of patronage, are regrouping. The Pucinski, the Marzullo's, the Vrdolyaks et al., who bolted the Democratic Party to vote Republican, have returned to their city council seats to fight to maintain patronage and the “machine”. The recent judicial decision against political hiring and firing, the Shakman decree, is even being used to restrict Washington's maneuvering room to form a working administration.

What we are witnessing in Chicago is the historically inevitable phase of a working class in the imperialist country turning inward and fighting “against itself”. The lower section fights the bribed and privileged section which stands in front of and protects the bourgeoisie.

The movement that won the battle of Harold Washington's election must now intensify its vigilance, militancy and organization if the victory is to be defended and the goals of the movement won.

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VOL. 3, NO. 4
MAY 1983
Electoral arena—school for political independence

The ruling class of the United States of North America...and the pathologies of the state for the 1984 presidential elections. The Republican and Democratic Parties are holding local elections to select candidates and prepare for the national convention. The different wings of capital are being forced into the political arena through voting.

This interest campaigning by the ruling class together with the economic crisis is beginning to draw into the electoral arena. The expansion of the ruling class to the electoral arena. This is a new environment.

Consequently, sections of the working class are being forced to take part in the electoral process. The political parties are being forced into the political arena by the modern revolutionists. Accordingly it is necessary to examine what we mean by the electoral process and how the political parties and candidates are the expression of the political independence of the proletariat.

Apologetics for bourgeois society indicates that the working class has no natural right to rule. By the term "natural right" to rule means that the working class is mandating very different State forms such as the democratic councils in Northern Europe, municipalities, pauper's courts, and other state forms. Democratic republics, military juntas and fascist states. While the forms of the workers and the working class are maintained primarily by bribery and deception, while in the Negro Nation and surrounding areas of the South, there is a fascist state apparatus which relies primarily on the use of coercion, terror and violence. These forms are part of the bourgeoisie’s dictatorship.

If we are to understand the role of the electoral process in the political maturing of the proletariat, we must put aside category and methodological approaches to the revolutionary process. Such an approach concludes that given the existence of a bourgeois dictatorship, the political arena is the only meaningful arena open to the working class. As J. Stalin noted, everything depends on conditions, time and place.

Between the late 1940s and early 1970s the working class could not have begun to take even the most elementary steps towards political independence. The expansion of the market through the rebuilding of western Europe and the financing of the industrialization program of the second world war created a new generation of workers. As J. Stalin noted, everything depends on conditions, time and place.

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The role of the electoral process has not changed. The heightened demands of the lower sections of the proletariat being expressed in increasing activity within the electoral arena gives it a new significance.

From the 1930s through the early 1970s, the experience of the working class has been characterized by the result in the granting of reforms by the ruling class. This experience has been reinforced by the actions of the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran-Puras, and the forced merger of the CPUSA. All have served to limit the restrictions on the working class. From the 1973-76 economic downturn, there has been a growing struggle by the proletariat in Chicago to not only satisfy its needs and demands of the nation's capitalist interest. The struggle for the working-class leadership of the revolutionary process. The democratic council of the workers. As J. Stalin noted, everything depends on conditions, time and place.
Jobs the issue in Chicago race

By CHARLES WILSON

CHICAGO — "The issue in this campaign from day one to the final election day is the same: jobs! jobs! jobs!" declared Rep. Harold Washington, who is running for mayor, to the sound of loud applause.

Washington was speaking before some 200 trade union leaders and rank and file workers assembled here last Saturday at the Charles Hayes Labor Center.

The meeting was chaired by Hayes, district director of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). In addition to Washington, Harold Rogers of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and Addie Wyatt of the UFCW spoke.

The purpose of the meeting, as explained by Hayes, was to organize groups within the labor movement to help get out the vote for Washington, to watch the polls on election day to guard against Washington’s vote being stolen and to raise labor’s share of the money needed for the campaign.

In his talk, Congressional Black Caucus member Washington spoke about the special problems of young people in the area of job training.

Without calling the federal government program to help students who wish to go to college adequate, he said: “But what about all of those young men and women who don’t want to go to college? Those who just want to master skills and go to work. Nobody thinks of them. We have a system, a plan that won’t cost a dime. Make low interest loans to students who want to master certain skills for the jobs available in the community.”

In a leaflet addressed to the working people of Chicago, under the byline “For Jobs. Harold Washington Has:

- Sponsored federal legislation to retrain steelworkers for other jobs.
- Led the fight in Congress for the Job Training Partnership Act.
- Supported job creation programs for senior citizens.
- Consistently provided leadership for full employment legislation.”

Hayes reported on the last meeting of the Executive Board of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The Board voted to endorse the incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne. This must be concurred in by the next membership meeting of that

Continued on page 13

Chicago race—

Continued from page 2 body by a 2/3 vote. February 1. Hayes called for a big turnout at that meeting to overturn that decision.

Hayes called for a “no endorsement” position. This is in line with “some of the other unions, including those who are supporting Daley, who have made it known that they would prefer to not have any endorsement of any candidate by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and we intend to push that position,” Hayes said.

Hayes added, however, “Harold has supported in Springfield and in Congress, practically every piece of legislation that organized labor wants, so that when you’ve got somebody that
Chi. candidates face each other

But Washington faces jobless alone

By DEBbie ALBANO
and HERB KAYE

CHICAGO — The Unemployed Committee of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 65 invited the three candidates for mayor here to a meeting in their union hall last week. The committee wanted to know where they stood on the issues of concern to its membership. Only one candidate showed up — Rep. Harold Washington.

A crowd of more than 300, mainly steel workers, gathered that evening. But neither Mayor Jane Byrne nor Cook County State’s Attorney Richard Daley showed up. For Washington, it was the 15th meeting of the day.

The questions the jobless workers prepared were to the point:
• "What would you do if elected to stop the plant closings and mass layoffs that have hit our South Chicago community so hard?" they asked.
• "What would you do to improve health care facilities, particularly for laid-off workers who have run out of medical coverage for their families?"
• "What would you do about stopping the constant increases in utility rates and the cutting off of service, especially gas, to those unable to pay?"

Washington said that one thing he would do is provide leadership in the fight to get federal funds to meet the urgent needs of the unemployed and the poor.

"I intend," he said, "to use my experience as a congressman and state legislator to press for sharp cuts in the military budget which should make substantial sums available for many of the needs of the city."

Washington also told the meeting about the legislation he introduced recently to provide for a job training program and extension of unemployment insurance.

He repeated his proposal to place a one percent tax on utility companies.

The deteriorating quality of Chicago’s neighborhoods dominated two earlier encounters between the three mayoral candidates.

The fourth and last of the televised debates in this election, sponsored by the League of Women Voters, selected questions submitted by community organizations, primarily Hispanic groups located in Chicago’s West Town, Humboldt Park and Logan Square areas.

The candidates fielded questions on issues ranging from deteriorating care in community health centers to the state of neighborhood sidewalks.

Washington stated clearly that racism was causing the deterioration of communities in a city that prides itself on being a "city of neighborhoods." In his opening statement, Washington said that racism is "an issue that permeates this city with devastating effects."

He charged Ms. Byrne, the incumbent mayor, with "monumental, conspiratorial neglect" of Black and Hispanic communities and with turning the city’s school board, housing authority and human relations depart-
Thousands cheer Washington

D. W. / By HERB KAYE 2/9/83

CHICAGO — Some 13,500 enthusiastic supporters of Chicago mayoral candidate Harold Washington overflowed the confines of the University of Illinois Pavilion Center and cheered until they shook the rafters when Washington told them, "the next 15 days of the campaign to replace Mayor Jane Byrne are also the first 15 days of the campaign to replace Ronald Reagan. Byrne is a satellite; a flunky for Reagan."

Washington's speech climaxed a rally that featured seven members of the Congressional Black Caucus; presidential candidate Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.); Herman Badillo, former New York congressman and deputy mayor; the Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH, and the music of Curtis Mayfield and the Barrett Sisters.

Jobs, peace & justice

As if to underscore this point, over 3,000 members of the United Auto Workers of America (UAW) filled the main floor waving their banners, as UAW Region 4 Director James Wright declared, "We are here to win jobs, peace and justice and to end Reaganism.


D.C. and for that reason we are here to make Harold Washington the mayor of the second largest city in the U.S."

Despite an all-day snowfall and freezing temperatures, the huge hall was filled to overflowing when historian Lerone Bennett began the program by telling the crowd that they were "making new history for Chicago."

"Black History month this year is also Harold Washington Month," said Bennett, "and Washington is the spiritual son of Chicago's founder, Jean Baptiste Du Sable."

The theme of Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Chicano and white working people joining together for a democratic rebirth of Chicago was sounded by many of the speakers. The Rev. Jorge Morales, of the Westtown Coalition evoked wild applause when he said, "We are all tired of police brutality, we want a share in the power and we extend our hand to our Black brothers and sisters."

Success in building such a coalition of Afro-American and Puerto Rican people in New York City was recounted by Badillo.

Halls fighting record

Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif) hailed Washington's long-time commitment to the fight for peace and the fight to reduce Reagan's bloated military budget.

"Children cannot be educated by B5 bombers, the sick cannot be healed with MX missiles," said Dellums.

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich) pledged the Congressional Black Caucus to work for the candidacy of Washington for the remaining days of the campaign. "We all see this campaign as part of the fight to run Ronald Reagan out of Washington," Conyers said, to the cheers of the audience.

In his speech at the end of the rally, Washington told the crowd that Byrne's record is one of dividing the city's people and denying democratic representation on city bodies to the Afro-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican majority of the population.

He also announced at his other opponent, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, son of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley. "Everybody has the right to be mayor," said Washington, "but we have no divine right of kings in this country. We don't transfer the mayor's office from one generation to another. Where we come from, you have to work for what you get."

Continued on page 11
Chi. transit workers endorse Washington

By TED PEARSON

CHICAGO, Feb. 9 — U.S. Rep. Harold Washington picked up an important endorsement Tuesday from the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, representing 8,000 city bus drivers. If Washington is nominated in the Democratic primary on that date and then elected on April 12, he will join 419 other African-Americans in the U.S. who are mayors of their cities.

Bankers stooges

Chicago is a city in crisis, with 200,000 jobless, 20,000 homeless and tens of thousands hungry. The struggle for representation by African-Americans and peoples of Latin American heritage is viewed by many of all races and nationalities here as the opening salvo in the battle to defeat Reaganism before 1984. More and more white people are seeing that incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne and Cook County State Attorney Richard M. Daley are really Reaganite and bankers’ candidates. Both candidates are openly campaigning as “white” candidates and raising taxes.

Byrne has hired Reagan’s top public relations firm, Black, Manford and Stone of Arlington, Virginia, and she has appointed former Republican Gov. Richard Ogilvie to head her campaign committee. Ogilvie was Reagan’s campaign chairman in Illinois in 1980, and presumably is serving Byrne at his request.

As if to underscore the need for peoples representation instead of government for and by big business, Republican Gov. James Thompson, who Byrne supported in his re-election bid last November, announced in Springfield yesterday that he was proposing a 60 percent increase in the state income tax and a 30 percent increase in the state gasoline tax in order to prevent budget cuts of $800 million this year and more than a billion next.

Washington has been saying for months that new taxes were needed at the state level to prevent cash shortfalls in the city’s schools, city government and the Chicago Transit Authority totalling $300 million. Instead of across the board increases, however, Washington proposed that the exemption for individuals also be increased to over $2,000, with the result that an average family of four would actually have their taxes “reduced” if they earned less than $18,000.

The response of Byrne and Daley to Washington’s proposal was to declare that they would never, ever raise taxes.

Steel workers’ local backs Chi. candidate

By HERB KAYE

CHICAGO, Feb. 14 — The membership of Steelworkers’ Local 65 passed a resolution endorsing the mayoral candidacy of Rep. Harold Washington. This, added to the growing support in labor’s ranks for the Afro-American candidate, represents a movement at variance with the leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Like the Federation itself, the leadership of Local 65 is split three ways on the mayoral race, with sub-district Director Ed Sadowski, who is a former president of Local 65, campaigning for Richard M. Daley.

However, a coalition of Black, white, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican steel workers from U.S. Steel’s South Works, mindful of Washington’s strong pro-labor voting record as a state and congressional representative, and of his many visits to the South Chicago Area on behalf of unemployed steel workers, worked actively to turn out a larger than usual crowd for a membership meeting and carried the vote overwhelmingly for Washington.

In the United Auto Workers Union (UAW), strong rank and file support for Washington was also indicated in the endorsement of his candidacy by Locals 719 (GM-Electromotive), 734, 433 (Amalgamated), 1022, and 582, as well as by Region Four Director, Jim Wright.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, has five locals, including the largest, Local 2000, representing Public Aid workers, that have endorsed Washington, and many members are working actively in the campaign.

The 500-member Local 19 of the International Longshoremen’s Association, acting on the recommendation of its Executive Board, has endorsed Washington, and its president, Harrison Tyler, who is a member of the Labor Committee for Washington.

The Chicago Tribune labor editor, Jim Strong, in an interview with the ramming through the Federation of an endorsement for incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne, spoke of the lowering of Labor’s “credibility” by the “fixed endorsement,” adding, “Forgotten was Washington’s near-perfect labor voting record in Congress . . . and Byrne’s reluctance to grant contracts to fire and police personnel, and continued stalling on union contracts for city workers despite earlier promises.”

Washington’s candidacy is also being supported by progressive forces in other parts of the country. In New York, the NYC Coalition for Harold Washington for Mayor of Chicago will hold a fund raising event on Thursday, February 17, in the headquarters of District 65 of the UAW. The suggested donation at the fundraiser, which is scheduled to run from 5 to 7 p.m., is $25 or more. District 65’s building is located at 13 Astor Place in lower Manhattan.

The Coalition is composed of leading members of the Afro-American community and leaders of organized labor. Among the Coalition members are Rep. Charles Rangel, Josephine LeBeau of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Rep. Major Owens and Diane Lacey of the Harlem Unity Coalition.
Chicago candidates show independence

By HERB KAYE

CHICAGO — Because this city is going through a hotly contested mayoral race, the Aldermanic elections have been somewhat obscured.

In many of the city's 50 wards, the same concerns dominating the mayoral election — political independence and fighting Reaganomics — have emerged.

One of the sharpest and most significant campaigns is that of Mexican-American activist Rodolfo Lozano in the 22nd Ward on Chicago's West Side.

Lozano is a lifelong resident of the "Little Village" area in the Ward. He is an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He has been active in every aspect of community affairs and is one of three candidates running in the predominantly Mexican-American ward and the only one who is actively campaigning for mayoral candidate Rep. Harold Washington, an Afro-American.

The Black population comprises 20 percent of the ward. Lozano has fought for unity between Afro-Americans and those of Latin American heritage. As he puts it, "this is a question of principle with me."

A recent gathering at the home of Black West Side activist Ronelle Mustin drew over 100 residents — Black, white and Mexican-American — to greet Lozano and Washington, both of whom were there. At a cocktail fund-raising party last weekend an even larger integrated crowd gathered.

At the latter affair, Lozano urged his supporters to build the natural alliance between two peoples who have too long been denied the political representation that is due them.

The outcome of the 22nd Ward race will be closely watched as it represents the most serious thrust of the Mexican-American community for real independent representation since November 1982, when Juan Soliz won 35 percent of the vote for State Legislature. Soliz is presently serving as Lozano's campaign manager.

As in the case of Soliz' campaign, Lozano places great importance on organizing a political structure independent of the two old parties. This is as important as winning for him, and he is a leader of the newly formed independent Political Organization of the Near West Side, which unites people of different Latin American nationalities with Afro-American and white activists.

In the neighboring 25th Ward, which is also predominantly Mexican-American, Juan Velazquez is challenging the old ward's most corrupt of the Democratic machine, 85-year-old Vito Marcuzzo.

Marcuzzo has a powerful entrenched machine of city employees, but his power base has been eroded by population shifts, divisions within the Democratic Party and by the growth of independent forces that are determined to gain greater representation.

Another major West Side contest pits incumbent Danny Davis against a machine candidate who maintains a mailing address in the ward, but appears not to live there. Davis is an outspoken independent supporter of Harold Washington and target of the Byrne Administration.

Three militant independent Black women are challenging the machine for City Council seats in the 42nd, 3rd and 16th Wards. Marion Stamps is a tenants activist in the Cabrini-Green project run by the Chicago Housing Authority in the 42nd; Dorothy Tillman is a veteran of the Civil Rights movement and has led the fight for decent public education in the 3rd Ward; and peace and civil rights activist Attorney Anna Langford is running in the 16th Ward.

On the Southeast Side in the 10th Ward, former State Representative Miriam Balanoff, who lost her seat in part as a result of redistricting, is in a difficult race against the man who is, Cook County Democratic Party Chairman and Byrne's main ally, Edward (Fast Eddie) Vrdolyak. Balanoff has failed to endorse Washington, although she has relied on support from Black political leaders in the past.

Several other Aldermanic candidates who have at times been considered independent are running in ward contests, but their campaigns have been dulled by their maneuverings to avoid facing up to the issue of racism, an issue that cannot be separated from independence in this intense and crucial election.

At all events, the Chicago City Council will undoubtedly see many significant changes.
Washington victory –
UNITY BEATS MONEY MACHINE
– See page 3 –

Supporters reach out to congratulate Congressman Harold Washington after he claimed the Democratic party's nomination early February 23 in the race for Mayor of Chicago. Mayor Jane Byrne, conceded to Washington, who ran on a platform in the interest of 'all the people.' See page 3.
Washington beats Chi. bosses

By MIKE GIOCONDO
CHICAGO, Feb. 23 — In Chicago's mayoral primary, Congressman Harold Washington soundly defeated the powerful Democratic Party "machine." Washington has vowed to fight for jobs and reforms, including abolishing the patronage system.

Washington's victory came as a complete shock to the Democratic Party"machine" and the big-business controlled news media, who never took his campaign seriously despite the growing popular unrest with the "machine" during this economic crisis.

Washington's primary victory is particularly significant because his campaign overcame the big money of Chicago business, which poured over $10 million into incumbent Jane Byrne's campaign and $2 million into Richard M. Daley's campaign for TV promotion and campaign workers. Byrne's campaign spent the largest amount ever by a candidate for a local office anywhere in the country. Only $500,000 was spent on Washington's campaign.

Washington won the primary race, with 36 percent of the vote — including 15 percent of votes cast by white people — in a tight three-way race against Ms. Byrne and Cook County State Attorney Daley, son of the late mayor. The voter turnout was the highest ever in the city, with just over 80 percent of registered voters casting a ballot.

Washington now faces former Republican State Senator Bernard Epton in the April 12 general election. Both Ms. Byrne and Daley have pledged to support Washington.

Washington's primary victory coupled with a record number of runoffs in the aldermanic races indicates the growing economic crisis and the subsequent crisis of the Democratic Party's "machine" candidates.

Political observers here have been quick to point out the urgency of building working class unity now because of the recent experiences of racism being used against Afro-Americans in other elections.

Last November Robert L. Clark, the first Afro-American elected to Congress from Mississippi since Reconstruction, was defeated despite having won the Democratic Party's primary. His area, the Second Congressional District in the Mississippi Delta, has been a traditional Democratic Party stronghold.

The defeat of Democratic Party candidate for the California governorship, Tom Bradley, is also fresh on people's minds.

These developments are particularly important here as political observers expect that major racist backers of the traditional Democratic Party "machine" will attempt to rally around Epton's candidacy. Chicagoans have not elected a Republican mayor in over 50 years.

Preliminary analysis shows that Washington received the votes of more than 80 percent of Afro-American voters, 15 percent of white voters — mainly industrial workers — and a large percentage of votes from the Puerto Rican, Chicano and Mexican-American communities. In several North Side predominantly "Byrne" wards and Southwest "Daley" wards, Washington received a larger vote than Democratic Party officials had expected.

Although the Chicago Federation of Labor endorsed Byrne, several unions, such as the UFCW, the Transit Workers, United Electrical, the United Auto Workers, Local 65 of the Un

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Washington

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United Steel Workers and AFSCME, backed Washington.

Observers predict a change here for the "machine politics" of the Democratic Party, which has reigned for decades. Washington has announced his first acts will be to fire Police Superintendent Richard Brzeczek and end patronage employment, in which city workers lose their jobs unless they support the party and mayor.

Washington referred to the big money in announcing his victory to thousands of cheering supporters early Wednesday morning. "Three months ago we started with no money, no organization," he said.

"We started a fire in the hearts of the disadvantaged... That fire turned into a raging flame."

Washington said that "people de-
Rightists target mayoral hopeful

By MIKE GIOCONDO
CHICAGO, Feb.24 — Big business and other anti-labor groups are gathering around Republican Party mayoral candidate Bernard Epton, a millionaire.

Following a hard fought Democratic Party primary which saw $12 million poured into an attempt to stop Congressman Harold Washington's campaign for mayor, it was learned today that the Republican National Committee is sending campaign workers into Chicago.

Apparently buoyed with unity with the defeated Democratic Party "machine," Reaganes and the Republican Party are pouring in funds and organizers in an attempt to win the mayor's office. Political observers here point out that if these forces are successful they will have strengthened their hand against labor in the 1984 Presidential elections.

The mayoral election and 14 runoffs in aldermanic races are slated for April 12.

The Reaganes are gathering behind Epton and appealing on the basis of racism to defeat Washington. The Chicago campaign has already had center stage for national politicians as Presidential hopefuls supported candidates in the Democratic Party primary and now President Reagan has apparently entered the campaign.

Major industrial city

Chicago is a major industrial city which is being devastated by the economic crisis. The Reagan Administration's anti-labor policies, including slashing social programs, are in direct contradiction with the interests of the majority of Chicago's population.

The Republican Party has been weak in the city since the 1930s. This was revealed by the 11,243 votes Epton received in the primary, though he ran unopposed. A total of 1.2 million votes were cast in the primary.

The Republican National Committee is aiding his campaign and a Lincoln Day fund raiser with Sen. Paul Laxalt (Nev.) as guest speaker is planned.

In the Democratic Party primary, big business spent $10 million in an effort to keep Jane Byrne as mayor. Labor leaders here have been quick to point to her anti-labor record. Under her administration, schools have closed, public transportation is deteriorating and now in the aftermath of plant closures there are some 200,000 unemployed workers in the city.

Another $2 million was spent on the campaign of Richard M. Daley. However, these amounts were supported by the campaign promises by Washington to fight for jobs, provide decent health care and abolish the patronage system.

The new challenge from the right-wing is being taken seriously according to Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager.

Raby charged that 30,000 votes were stolen from Washington in the primary election. The charges are being investigated by federal, state, county and local officials.

Rampant voting fraud was revealed in the last general election in November. The U.S. Attorney's office is investigating these charges and have impounded Tuesday's ballots.

Mysterious fire

Police are also investigating a mysterious fire under a rapid transit train which might have been set deliberately to keep South Side voters from reaching their polling places after work.

Federal authorities were also notified about a threat made on Washington's life.

Meanwhile, in key aldermanic races, the spirit of challenging the Democratic "machine" was evident in most of the city's 50 wards. Only five incumbent aldermen were not contested, and in some wards, 11 candidates vied for the seat.

In some of the key contests, independents and other pro labor candidates gained ground. In the Second Ward, machine incumbent William Barnett, with 40 percent of the vote, faces a run-off contest against Bobby Rush, former leader of the Black Panthers turned independent candidate, with nearly 25 percent of the vote.

In the Third Ward, Tyrone Kenner, strong "machine" supporter, faces a challenge by independent community leader Dorothy Tilman. In the Ninth Ward, Robert Shaw, incumbent and strong Byrne supporter, now faces a challenge by independent Perry Hutchinson; while in the 16th Ward, independent candidate Anna Langford nearly unseated "machine" candidate Eloise Barden and they face each other in a run off.

Niles Sherman, independent alderman of the 21st Ward, defends his seat against a host of 10 challengers, some backed by Byrne.

In the 27th Ward, Wallace Davis, community and anti-police brutality leader, faces Mattie Coleman who had the backing of the machine.

Wilson Frost, "machine" backed incumbent in the 34th Ward, faces a challenge by independent Thomas Savage, son of Congressman Gus Savage.

In several important races where Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans challenged the "machine," independent Rudy Lozano narrowly lost a run off to machine incumbent Frank Stemberk in the 22nd Ward race. Lozano received 28 percent of the vote to Stemberk's 50.2 percent.

Another independent, Juan Valquez in the 25th Ward, received over 40 percent of the vote in a challenge to long time "machine" boss Vito Marzullo, who received 59 percent.

The campaigns in the primary sparked the highest turn out of voters, nearly 75 percent of the registered voters, at the polls in the past thirty years.
Nat'l, state Dems back Washington

By MIKE GIOCONDO

CHICAGO, Mar. 8 — Mayoral candidate Congressman Harold Washington received the backing of both the Democratic National and State Committees following a meeting here yesterday of the committees delegates.

Washington won the Democratic primary election for mayor here in a three-person race two weeks ago. He is the first Afro-American to win the Democratic primary for mayor. He faces Republican Bernard Epton on April 12 in a campaign that has taken stronger and stronger racial aspect.

Local party still holding

The endorsement of the national and state Democrat committees comes as the key Cook County Democratic Party has delayed in making an open endorsement of Washington.

Despite the rifts within the local party, National Party Chairman Charles Manatt, said he was here "to stress the importance of unified support for Representative Washington, because he is an outstanding public servant and because his election is important to the future of the party."

Referring to President Reagan, he added, "Let those who would consider withholding their support from the party's nominee remember that we have a common enemy."

Prelude to '84

Manatt added, "There is no election in America more important in '83 than the election of Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago. It is a prelude to the 1984 elections."

He said Democrats will support Washington with fund raisers in Washington, D.C., and in Los Angeles and will supply personnel for the campaign.

Phil Rock, State Democratic party chairman, expressed, "Enthusiastic support and endorsement of Washington."

In response, Washington said that his election is "a fore runner of 1984" when voters "will supplant" Reagan and Reaganism.

He said his election campaign "has been built from the bottom up, not from the top down."

Byrne, Daley have endorsed

Washington's Democratic opponents in the primary race, Mayor Byrne and State's Attorney Richard Daley said following their defeat that they support Washington, county party leaders have not.

Cook County Democratic Party chairman Alderman Edward Vrdolyak, 10th Ward, and Alderman Roman Pucinski, 41st Ward, both refused to attend a luncheon of the national and state committees honoring Washington following the endorsement.

Pucinski, one time congressman, and a city reactionary leader, walked out of the committee meetings saying that Washington had to "talk to him and explain things."

His action represents a number of party leaders here who have either bolted the party or delayed making public statements of support.

Among those attending the luncheon after the announcement were president of the Chicago Federation of Labor William Lee and State AFL-CIO president Robert Gibson.

Lee, who supported Mayor Byrne, told CFL delegates last week that the union organization would not make an endorsement until the next meeting of its executive council early next month.
Communist Party program for 15 million jobs

The following are ten proposals for dealing with the economic crisis. The proposals, part of an Economic Bill of Rights conceived of by the Communist Party, have been presented to the peace, labor and other peoples movements as a workable plan for struggle.

1) A Federal Unemployment Insurance Act

A comprehensive Federal Unemployment Insurance Act that will guarantee unemployment benefits from the time of job application to the first paycheck. This insurance is to provide every unemployed person ready, willing and able to work — whether or not previously employed — with a guaranteed weekly income sufficient to support him or her and where applicable, his or her family.

2) An Emergency Public Works Act

An emergency public works act to provide up to 15 million new jobs at union wages. These federal construction projects will be designed to rebuild our crumbling cities by constructing five million low-income, federally subsidized housing units per year, repairing and rebuilding our mass transportation, water supply and sewage systems, streets, bridges, tunnels and constructing modern highways and railroads.

3) National Youth Act

A National Youth Act to provide jobs, job training and education for 3 million jobless youth in public works and service jobs at union wages.

4) A 6-hour day with no cut in pay

A 6-hour day with no cut in pay. No compulsory overtime.

5) A law against plant closings

An act against plant closings, including penalties for closings, and providing for federal takeover under strict democratic controls, when other methods to protect workers and communities fail.

6) Increase social security

An immediate 50 percent increase in Social Security benefits. Any deficit in the Social Security fund to be met by increasing monopoly employer contributions to the fund.

7) Federal medical & health care system

A comprehensive federal medical and health care system that would cover all the people — men, women and children.

8) Moratorium on foreclosures

A moratorium on all home, farm and mortgage foreclosures, no evictions, no repossessions, no utility shut-offs for the duration of unemployment.

9) Strict anti-discrimination provisions

All the foregoing legislation to include strict anti-discrimination and pro-affirmative action provisions with enforcement penalties. The test of discrimination shall be effect, not intent. In the interest of putting an end to economic inequality, the Economic Emergency Act would set aside a special fund for completely rebuilding inner-city housing, mainly employing the labor of these communities.

10) Make the rich pay

The emergency measures are to be financed by additional legislation as follows:

Take $300 billion from corporate excess profits tax, including closing $200 billion in tax loopholes and giveaways. $50 billion from accelerated depreciation and tax-lease swindle.

Take $150 billion from the military budget to use in a peoples' budget.

Take $100 billion from the White House bureaucratic fat and extravagant life style and federal government graft at taxpayers' expense.

Raise $100 billion by declaring a moratorium on all payments of interest on the national debt to the banks and financial institutions.
Racists push Epton in Chi. mayor race

By MIKE GIOCONDO

CHICAGO — National Republican leaders and Reaganites attended a major fundraiser here last night for mayoral candidate Bernard Epton. Right wingers and racists see Epton as the candidate to beat Afro-American Congressman Harold Washington on April 12.

Epton, unknown a few months ago in a town considered to be solidly Democrat, is being pumped up by these conservative, Reaganite and racist forces.

Speaking at the Epton fundraiser were Senators Charles Percy (R-III) and Paul Laxalt (R-Nev).

While Epton's record in the State Legislature may label him a moderate, more conservative forces are getting behind him to keep Washington out of City Hall.

Links between Epton and these forces are being forged. Laxalt, national GOP chairman and close friend of President Reagan, said he will speak to Reagan to urge him to come to Chicago and speak on behalf of Epton.

Also, the National GOP committee is ready to help Epton's campaign with consultants and money. Laxalt said, Epton has asked for $200,000.

Support for Epton is building in the private-business sector. A recent meeting was held at the plush Standard Club here. Attending the meeting were Donald Rumsfeld, President Nixon's White House staff member and President Ford's Defense Secretary.

Also present were John Deardourff, media consultant from Washington; pollster Robert Teeter from Detroit; Chicago attorney Thomas Reynolds; John Robson, executive vice president of G.D. Searle and Co.; a pharmaceutical company; Frank Condine, president of the National Can Corp.; and representatives from other businesses that have aided Republican campaigns on the state and local levels.

Epton has also stirred up city Democratic leaders who are bolting the party after their candidates Mayor Byrne and attorney Richard Daley lost in the primaries Feb. 22. Alderman Aloysius Majerczyk of the predominantly white South West Side 12th Ward, said he will support Epton. The Ward went to Daley in the primary.

Answering the question if he thought the action was racial, Majerczyk said his constituents "are giving me a strong message of racial pride."

Another Democrat breaking ranks is Alderman Ivan Rittenberg, North Side 40th Ward, who faces a run off against challenger Carl Shoeppe. He said that Washington is a political liability and can't support him.

Among the Democrats now sitting it out is Congressman Dan Rosekowsi, who represents several majority white wards on the North Side. He recently said he is waiting "to find out what Washington stands for."

Racist law and order forces were moved by violent statements made by city Police Superintendent Richard Brzecek a few days after the primary. Brzecek actively supported Mayor Byrne and appeared on TV campaign spots backing her.

Racist escapes

Continued from page 2

community discussion to plan strategies in the selection of a new school chancellor.

Mayor Koch, who has been blamed for heating the climate of racism in the city, favors Democratic machine member Robert Wagner, Jr., a career politician, for chancellor. Rev. Lawrence's organization favors Dr. Thomas Minter, an Afro-American educator, who is "eminently qualified," Rev. Lawrence said.

However, because the verdict of manslaughter against Bova was so disatisfactory, he said, the meeting was expected to be "taken over by the issue."

In response to the verdict, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, National chairperson of the National Black United Front, said, "We are concerned that this light sentence will flame the blood-thirsty appetite of hoodlums and racists."

"We," he continued, "are calling upon Gov. Mario Cuomo to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the violence to which Afro-Americans and other minorities are being subjected."
Labor mobilizing for Washington

By MIKE GIOCONDO
and TIM WHEELER

CHICAGO — Nearly 1,000 Afro-American and white trade unionists cheered Wednesday as mayoral candidate Harold Washington vowed to "bust" Reaganism if elected to head the city's second largest city.

Washington spoke to a well-integrated crowd at a labor breakfast rally in the ornate Grand Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton hotel with many of the city's most prominent labor officials in attendance.

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) International president, Gerald McEntee, underscored Washington's pro-labor voting record in the U.S. Congress, adding, "Washington thinks and stands with working people."

He handed Washington a check for $10,000 and challenged the rest of the U.S. labor movement to match or exceed it.

He also drew strong applause when he read a message from AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, which stated, "Harold Washington has earned the full endorsement and backing of the labor movement."

Earlier, a warm endorsement telegram from Machinists Union President William Winpisinger was read to the crowd.

Among those at the head table were leaders of the AFL-CIO, International Union of Electrical Workers, the Teamsters, United Auto Workers, Transit Union, Service Employees, Steelworkers, Plumbers, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCWU), Longshoremen's Assoc., Firefighters, Sheetmetal Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACTWU).

When UFCWU Vice President Charles Hayes introduced Washington, the crowd responded with cheers, chanting, "We want Harold."

Washington charged that the Regan Administration has made Chicago a "battleground" over "Reaganism," adding, "It is good... We might as well bury it here, April 12, as bury it anywhere else."

The crowd roared its agreement when Washington warned the Cook County Democratic Central Committee that he expects their endorsement and active support.

Washington said he would not "slink through the streets like a thief" to gain their endorsement but warned that it would be the "death knell" of the Democratic Party in Chicago if they refused.

McEntee hailed Washington's victory as the fruit of "coalition politics, grassroots work that is something to behold... We have not a politician but a leader," he said.

But he warned that the victory has to be won in the April 12 election.

He said that right wing forces are feeding on the disunity in the city's Democratic party.

He called for unity of forces to pull behind Washington. "The choice is clear... between fairness — and that's Harold Washington — or Ronald Reagan and everything he and his kind stands for. They want to use this election to put the cowboy back into the White House and by god we can't let that happen."

Robert Healey, president of the Chicago Federation of Teachers, said any Chicagooan who votes for Republican candidate Bernard Epton, and his Reaganite program is a "jackass."

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Labor for Washington

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Healey said the children of Chicago "are watching us and Harold Washington is going to be the next mayor of Chicago... We owe that to our children."

Don Peters, president of Teamsters local 743, told Washington he could count on the support of his local's 25,000 members.

Libby Saries, leader of ACTWU, said their members have got "marching orders" to campaign for Washington.

Rudy Lozano, Chicago organizer of the Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), said Washington is an ally of Chicago's Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Mexican-Americans and supports increasing their representation.

Addie Wyatt, a leader of the United Food and Commercial Workers, said Chicago's labor movement must act to "dispel the hate" that racist elements are attempting to whip up against Washington. Paraphrasing labor's anthem, Solidarity Forever, she concluded, "We, together, can bring to birth a new Chicago from the ashes of the old."

Robert Gibson, president of the Illinois State AFL-CIO, drew cheers when he addressed Washington as "mayor" and promised that the Chicago AFL-CIO leadership soon will endorse Washington.

Washington also said, "Reagan and his cohorts want to make Chicago a base to continue their supply side gobbledygook. But we know that Reaganism is at its end and will be buried here in Chicago."

"We are at a pivotal point here. The country is watching us," he added, urging all those who are dragging there feet to come together and "reconstitute the party."

He said that it is time to fight for jobs, training, better mass transit, school and health services.

"We'll camp at the door of Springfield and Washington to fight to improve our homes, neighborhoods and working conditions. We need a solid core of united people. Your agenda is my agenda," he told the audience which sprang to its feet, cheering and clapping.
Communist Party on Chicago election: Byrne promotes racism

The Afro-American Commission of the Communist Party USA issued a statement today condemning Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne's decision to wage a write-in campaign for mayor in the April 12 election. Byrne, who waged a racist campaign in last month's Democratic Party primaries, lost the race to Afro-American Congresswoman Harold Washington. The statement follows:

In concert with President Reagan and all the forces around him, Jane Byrne has hoisted the banner of white supremacy in her attempt to nullify the will of the people of Chicago to elect the best candidate for Mayor, who happens to be Black. Byrne's action is cause for alarm not only in Chicago but the entire nation.

The decision of the present mayor, Jane Byrne, to wage a write-in effort against the Democratic primary winner, Afro American Representative Harold Washington, in the April 12 general election in Chicago, represents a new level in Byrne's overt racist policies. This open expression of racism cannot be taken as a provocation which incites the most racist, pro-fascist and anti-democratic elements in Chicago.

Byrne's decision can only be seen as a reactionary offensive against democracy in general and the special struggle for equality of Afro-Americans in particular. She is 100 percent wrong when she says that her candidacy is in the "best interest of the city of Chicago." Byrne's racism and arrogance are blatant when she says, "I will be the best mayor for Black's in the city of Chicago."

The fact that Jane Byrne's write-in announcement came just 28 days before the general elections makes it clear that she fully intends to thwart the possibilities of unity expressed in the February 22 primary.

At stake is the democratic process of Chicagoans-Black, white and Latino. The democratic rights of the people of Chicago must not only be preserved, they must also be extended. Such a struggle can best be effected not only by the condemnation of Jane Byrne's action, but by waging the strongest, most unified campaign to demand that she withdraw from the race.

The massive outpouring of support for Harold Washington at the polls on Primary day and since, speaks to the fact that the people of Chicago have rallied around Ms. Washington as a "people's candidate."

The Black community has shown determined unity in its support of Washington. The labor movement understands and appreciates that Harold Washington has earned the distinction of being one of the outstanding champions of working people - Black, white and Latino. Support has come from major political figures in Chicago and throughout the nation.

Jane Byrne does not honestly believe that she "represents the best interest of the city of Chicago" what she really means is that she best represents the interests of certain groups in that city: the industrialists, the big banks, the utilities, the landlords. In other words, Jane Byrne can state that she is beholden to the most corrupt and reactionary circles of the military-industrial complex and transnational corporations.

Jane Byrne does not and will not represent those who fight against the policies of Reagan, both foreign and domestic. For those who treasure democracy - Black, white, Latino, the labor movement, religious groups and protagonists of civil liberties - the urgent requirement is to force Jane Byrne to withdraw. This will be a victorious reply to those who would throw the city of Chicago into reckless upheaval and a historic moment in beginning the process of unity, equality, and progress that will give these struggles new momentum nationwide.
Chance to beat Reaganomics

By TIM WHEELER

Chicago's Afro-American mayoral candidate Harold Washington had a blunt warning for the Democratic Committee of Cook County when he spoke to a labor breakfast at the Conrad Hilton, recently. Washington, who won the Democratic primary in a three-way race February 22, told the cheering crowd of Afro-American and white trade unionists that he expects the Cook County Democratic Party of its own 'volition' to support him in his race against Republican Bernard Epton, concluding in the April 12 general election.

Washington praised his backers, the independent, grassroots movement which had whipped Chicago's reactionary "Daley machine" in the primary. He warned Fast Eddie Vrdolyak, the Democratic machine boss, that he would not "slink through the streets like a thief to beg for their endorsement." If the Democrats refuse to endorse and actively support his campaign, he said, it will mean the "death knell" of the Democrats. If they refuse, he added, "I will with gusto, alacrity, and firmness preside over the demise of the Democratic party."

These were strong words, backed by a powerful people's movement! And the crowd, about one third of whom were white trade unionists, roared its agreement.

Yet the corporate-financial elite that rules Chicago is so terrified by this movement that they have, as one resident put it to me, "gone berserk." And it is not just the local ruling class that fears the movement that has selected Washington as its standard bearer. Senator Paul Laxalt, chairman of the National Republican Party, President Reagan's best friend, and other GOP big wigs have attempted to dump Epton and convince the discredited incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne, a lifelong Democrat, to run as a Republican. However, Epton has refused to cooperate by stepping down and Burne will run write-in campaign.

Reagan's crude attempt at a "bi-partisan" racist maneuver against Washington is dictated by the Afro-American congressman's practice of treating Reagan as the real "enemy" in his campaign. In virtually every speech, Washington zeroes in on Reagan's steal-from-the-poor, give-to-the-rich policies as the main source of the nation's urban crisis. In his labor breakfast speech, Washington vowed to "bury" Reaganism April 12.

Washington is continuing to solidify his base among Afro-American voters who displayed their muscle February 22. But Washington is now conspicuously running to be mayor of all the people of Chicago. His watchword is "Heal." And by that word he refers to the wounds inflicted on Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and white people by decades of Daleyite racism. He is asking for — and he needs — a huge vote from Chicago's white voters.

Washington is telling us that he recognizes that a close, racially polarized vote will encourage the machine to continue a policy of massive resistance even if he is elected. A big, decisive victory, on the other hand, would inflict a sharp, if not lethal blow on that machine.

This presents Chicago's labor movement, its progressive religious and community organizations with the biggest opportunity — and its biggest challenge — in history. All notions of "writing off" vast sections of the white population, characterizing them as "racist," must be combatted. Ways can and must be found to broaden the already emerging Afro-American-white unity in the Washington campaign. These white masses can be reached through their unions, churches, synagogues, and community groups.

Washington, himself, is providing the opening. By identifying Reagan and Reaganism as his opponent, he is helping white masses to see that they and Chicago's Afro-American community share a common enemy who can only be defeated by interracial unity. Millions of white Chicagoleans, suffering the joblessness and misery of "Reaganomics" can be convinced to join this independent voter movement. They can be persuaded to vote for Washington.

But for that to happen, white progressives active in Washington's campaign will have to overcome some deep seated anti-working class hangups and carry the campaign into the white wards.

As several observers stated while this reporter was covering Washington's campaign recently, "the eyes of the nation are on Chicago." A big, decisive victory for Washington will be a "prelude to 1984" and the Presidential and Congressional elections that could smash Reaganism beyond repair.
III. CP: racism inspired Byrne

Daily World Chicago Bureau.

CHICAGO — "The entrance of Jane Byrne into the Mayor's race as a 'write-in' candidate should not be dismissed as only the desperate act of an ego-crazed sore loser," warned Ted Pearson and Mildred Williamson, executive secretary and organizational secretary, respectively, of the Illinois District of the Communist Party, USA, in a statement released to the press Tuesday.

"This seemingly futile effort is aimed at overthrowing the results of the February 22 primary and blocking the historic movement of the people of Chicago. This movement is uniting Black, white and Latino, and is inspiring millions across the nation with promise of stopping the drive of the Reagan Administration toward war, racism and economic crisis.

"It is widely known that both President Reagan and Jane Byrne wanted to replace Bernard Epton as the Republican Party mayoral candidate with Byrne herself. Epton was not considered by the Reaganites to be a viable magnet to attract voters blinded by racism. Such a candidate was needed to win votes for a representative of Reagan's policies in Chicago, in order to destroy the unity of Black people and labor, all races and nationalities, struggling against Reaganism. Byrne's write-in candidacy is a crude attempt to force Epton off the ballot.

"At the core of this gangster-like effort is racism. Without the hope of mobilizing support based on racism, such a plot would have no credibilidad at all.

"The purpose of this conspiracy is not only to deny Black people democratic representation in government. In much more basic sense, it is a drive to wreck the movement that now confronts President Reagan and his policies of war, racism and increasing poverty at every turn. It is a drive to mobilize the most undemocratic methods and forces to prevent the will of the people from being expressed in either Chicago or the nation.

"The Byrne-Reagan drive is aimed at wrecking the unity of Black, white and Latino and the labor movement in Chicago against Reaganism. This movement currently is demanding that the Democratic Party resist the Byrne-Reaganite program. If Byrne and Reagan succeed in this conspiracy it will weaken the opposition to Reaganism nationally.

"The conspiracy is aimed at denying this particular Democratic Party candidate for Mayor, a mandate for his policies. It is based on an offensive against affirmative action to end racist discrimination in public employment and public policy. It is the beginning of a destabilization campaign against Chicago. Yet informed white workers know that only by ending discrimination against those with the Continued on page 18
Consider campaign platform

By JOHN WOJCIK

A move by Black leaders to draw up a program for the 1984 elections was a step toward confrontation with the Democratic Party leadership over true representation of the interests of Afro-Americans particularly and working people generally. "We gathered to insure, as best we can, that Black Americans are equipped and empowered in 1984 to defeat Ronald Reagan and elect a successor committed to redressing historic wrongs, setting human needs first on the American agenda and reversing the erosion of our civil rights," said the Rev. Joseph Lowery.

Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was among 30 leaders at the conference held in Atlanta the weekend of March 11-12. A follow-up gathering is planned for April.

The official plan thus far is to present the platform to Democratic leaders and if they reject it a Black presidential candidate would be considered.

Among the national leaders present at the conference were Representatives William H. Gray 3rd of Pennsylvania and George Thomas Leland of Texas; Walter Fauntroy, the delegate to Congress from the District of Columbia; Assemblywoman Maxine Waters of California; Mayors Andrew Young of Atlanta and Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Ind., and Coretta Scott King.

A Black American candidate

Although the idea of running a Black presidential candidate is still in the discussion stage, conversations with some of those who attended the Atlanta meeting and with others close to the situation who did not attend indicate that the discussion has reached a new level.

Some, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH, have already stated publicly that they want a Black presidential candidate in 1984. Others have gone on record for favorite sons to act as a pressure on the National Democratic Convention.

This is not the first time a Black Presidential candidacy has been discussed or attempted. One effort was made at the National Black Political Convention in Gary in 1972 but the participants failed to unite on a candidate.

Nevertheless, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, (D-N.Y.) did run for the presidency, winning more than 100 Democratic Party convention votes. This was without an organized coalition behind her.

The type of candidacy under discussion now differs from any put forward thus far. The Black candidate would run in the Democratic primaries on a platform of broad popular appeal, hopefully winning enough convention delegates to become a significant if not decisive force in the selection of the candidate and the writing of that candidate's platform.

Black leaders have been discussing this question for several months. Among them are Mayors Young and Hatcher, Jesse Jackson, former Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, Walter Fauntroy, Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, M. Carl Holman of the National Urban Coalition, Rev. Lowery and Coretta King.
Chi. steel local head supports Washington

By MIKE GIOCONDO

CHICAGO — The campaign of Rep. Harold Washington for Mayor of Chicago picked up support from Jack Parton, District 31 director of the United Steelworkers of America.

In a statement to the press, Parton scored the racism by Democratic Party forces who failed to support Washington "because a Black dared to win the Chicago primary."

Parton added, "For the first time in history a Black politician, U.S. Congressman Harold Washington, has won the Democratic primary. He fought hard in a three way race and won." But, he noted, some Democrats are bolting and supporting a Republican.

"I hate to say this, but to me, that smells of racism plain and simple."

Parton reminded steelworkers that Chicago's Afro-Americans have "fully and willingly" supported Democratic Party candidates for various offices ever since the New Deal.

"If organized labor had responded to the Stevenson candidacy the way Blacks did," Parton said, "he would be governor today" (instead of Reaganite James Thompson. Now Democrats are split and casting flirtatious glances at a Republican candidate because a Black dared to win the Chicago primary."

In their first televised debate, Washington came under a vicious, personal attack by his Republican opponent Bernard Epton.

Epton, a millionaire and former State Legislator, skirted critical campaign issues facing the city to rake over Washington's settled tax problems. In 1972 Washington was fined and served 30 days in jail for failing to pay taxes.

The Republican candidate said that Washington was unqualified to hold office because of his past record. In response Washington said that his past record has been settled and that he was "amply punished" for it.

Washington added that Epton was trying to avoid dealing with the real issues of the campaign.

During the debate Washington exposed Epton's anti-labor record. He noted that the Republican voted several times in favor of right-to-work legislation and against anti-red-lining laws. Washington charged that Epton, who chaired the House Insurance Committee, frequently represented insurance interests as an attorney and voted on behalf of the insurance lobby.

No more patronage

Washington again said that if elected he would "lift the burden of the patronage system" off the backs of city workers and replace it with a civil service merit system. He also said he

Continued on page 18
By MIKE GIOCONDO

CHICAGO — A racially mixed audience of over 15,000, cheering Harold Washington for mayor, jammed the pavilion of the University of Illinois here, to hear national labor leaders and area political officials urge Afro-American and white unity in electing Washington on April 12.

Speakers at the mass rally included AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, United Auto Workers President Doug Fraser and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees secretary/treasurer William Lucy, who also heads the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU).

Their urgings for racial unity came just hours after Washington, the first Afro-American to win a Democratic mayoral primary, was jeered by a crowd of whites in the predominantly white North West Side community as he entered a church he was invited to address.

Washington, accompanied by former vice-president, Walter Mondale, and campaign workers, was jeered by some 150 people who carried Republican candidate Bernard Epton's name. Washington decided not to address the Palm Sunday worshipers and left rather than disturb the service.

However, at the rally for Washington, cheers interrupted the speakers time and again.

Fraser, in his address to the rally, touched on the race issue when he said, "The issue is clear. Given the political history of this city, this race for mayor would have been over on the day of the primary."

He said in pledging full support of the UAW that the union "has been in the forefront against discrimination and for justice. Washington is good for the welfare of the labor movement and of the country."

Coalition tested

He said the old coalition of civil rights, labor and democratic groups is being tested and the question comes up again: "Which side are you on?"

Kirkland was equally strong in his endorsement, saying that, "Washington has richly earned and deserves labor's vote." He said Washington's 16-year labor record in the Illinois State Legislature was "for the working people" and he was rated a high 94 percent by the state AFL-CIO. In contrast, Epton's vote was a low 40 percent by the labor group.

He said Washington's victory not only affects Chicago, but will help determine who will be in the White House in 1984.

"The only beneficiary of a Washington defeat will be Reaganism. The real losers would be the jobless, the weak and the needy and those who look to government for justice and equal rights," he said in urging all forces to unite for progress.

"Give Washington a solid victory and a strong mandate on April 12," he told a cheering crowd.

Also speaking for labor was William Lucy, national secretary/treasurer of AFSCME, and president of Coalition for Black Trade Unionists (CBTU). He said Washington's victory would "bring a ray of hope to thousands here and millions across the country" as the audience shouted approval and waved placards.

Washington supporters

The cheering for Washington reached a crescendo when the candidate entered the arena. A wave of wild cheering and shouts of "We Want Harold" swept through the pavilion as Washington approached the platform.

Thanking labor leaders and others for their support, Washington told the audience that his campaign was guided by the principle to heal the city and bring all its people together.

He said all forces will have a say in his administration, adding that small business, labor and corporate groups have talent and experience that is needed to make Chicago a better city.

Referring to the racist act that morning, he lashed out at the racist pickets at the church and asked, "What manner of people would do such a dastardly thing?"

Washington pointed to the fact that the racist pickets were wearing Epton buttons and asked, "Is this what he (Epton) calls unity? They are people who have no respect for anyone's rights and liberties."

He said that Southern political leaders are aware of the negativism of racism and were in Chicago last week to support his campaign. They got rid of that negative attitude and yet they saw it here and came up to show their support, he said.

Democratic party leaders from 13 Southern states were here to back him as the Democratic nominee for mayor.

Chicago is divided, is sick and sore, he continued. Washington said that his main concern was to unite and heal.

Others briefly addressing the rally were William Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor; Kenneth Gibson, state AFL-CIO president; George Dunne, president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners; Addie Wyatt and Charles Hayes, both of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union; Rev. Jorge Morales, pastor of St. Lukes, and city councilman, Danny Davis.
Special to the Daily World
CHICAGO — Rep. Harold Washington told an audience of over 500 steel workers Wednesday that if elected mayor he would "work hard to keep jobs in the city."

"The city has to worry about people and their needs," Washington told the workers, many of them unemployed, at their Local 65 headquarters on the South Side.

"The issues facing the city are jobs, schools, and equal employment," he said.

He expressed concern about the joblessness and the growing number of homeless people and families that need emergency care. His solution would be to back city-funded emergency shelter for the homeless.

Labor support grows

Calling attention to the labor movement and its fight against Reaganism, he said that organized labor has "to be able to organize and deal with Reaganism." Byrne was "caught in the web of its anti-people policies after playing footsie with Reaganism for two years," he added.

Washington was introduced by Jack Parton, USWA District director, who just last week said Byrne's write-in campaign was racist. On behalf of the District he presented Washington with a $5,000 contribution.

Among those on the platform were Edward Sadlowski, USWA Subdistrict director, Frank Lumpkin, leader of the Wisconsin Save Our Jobs Committee and Ray Castro, Mexican-American candidate for city council.

This week Washington received the backing of more Democratic party leaders, including Senator Ted Kennedy (D-Ma.), and 13 Southern State Democratic Party leaders.

Under Chicago's glistening skyline lie a multitude of problems. Unemployment has hit this industrial city hard, with many plant shut-downs. Not long ago, 500 unemployed steel workers of Local 65, United Steelworkers of America, held a rally for jobs. Harold Washington (inset), who may become the first Afro-American mayor of Chicago, has pledged to work to bring jobs to Chicago.
A movement that challenges the Chicago machine
governable" and vowed to resign if Washington is elected. Washington responded coolly to reporters that Brzezek appeared to be in need of medical help.

Mayor Byrne added another twist by announcing, after first pledging support for Washington, that she will run as a write-in candidate, using the $2 million left from her $10 million primary campaign war chest to broadcast thinly disguised racist appeals to white voters. The Reagan Administration had gotten into the act by attempting to persuade Byrne, a lifelong Democrat, to run as a Republican. But Bernard Epton, the almost unknown Republican mayoral candidate, refused to step aside.

Byrne had to withdraw because of lack of support. Her candidacy was a vain attempt to block the election of a Black man and the emergence of an independent political movement.

Washington received 80% of the Black vote, sweeping 19 predominantly Afro-American wards by margins of 5-1. An amazing 80% of registered voters turned out, the highest rate in Chicago history.

leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Throughout the 1970s, Chicago's Black representation increased on the City Council and in the U.S. Congress.

The struggle for Black representation is also shown in the increase in Afro-American aldermen, now holding 16 of the 50 seats in the City Council. An important precursor of the Washington campaign was the victory of the Afro-American freedom movement in electing Allan Streeter to represent the 17th Ward.

Mayor Byrne had appointed Streeter to fill an unexpired term, assuming that he would "toe the line," but when Byrne last year appointed to the Chicago School Board two white women, notorious instigators against school desegregation, Streeter voted against their confirmation.

In fury, Byrne turned on Streeter and ordered a "special election" in a drive to oust him. CBUC and other citizen groups were already outraged by Byrne's racist school board appointees and by her refusal to appoint Dr. Manford Byrd as school superintendent. Byrd, an Afro-American, was next in line for the job supervising the broadest participation by white people.

During the primary, Washington appeared at a rally in Bridgeport, an all-white section where the Daley family home is located. He drew heavy applause when he told the crowd, many wearing Richard Daley buttons, "I offer myself not just to the people of the South Side of Chicago or the West Side of Chicago. I offer myself to all the people of Chicago."

With warmth, wit, and considerable courage, Washington has also campaigned in the Gage Park area of Chicago where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was stoned while leading a civil rights demonstration in the 60s.

While, returns from the primary showed that much work needs to be done, the 15% of white voters who cast ballots for Washington indicates a large potential for racial unity.

Progressive white and Latino activists in Chicago view the Washington campaign as the biggest opportunity in decades to deliver a knockout punch to racism. Rudy Lozano is a Midwest organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and was an independent candidate for alderman from the 22nd Ward who came fraudulent registration, etc. But Lozano pointed out that it was not until Latino voters started flexing their muscles that city officials suddenly became super-vigilant against "fraud." Now the Immigration and Naturalization Service is whipping up a hysterical media campaign about thousands of "illegal aliens" registering to vote. Last year a similar drive resulted in 70,000 voters being purged from the rolls — overwhelmingly Afro-American and Latino voters — in the federal, state and city governments' scheme to undercut the movement of independence.

Lozano, who is of Mexican heritage, was one of several Latino and white trade unionists who spoke at a Chicago labor breakfast for Washington, March 6. It was a high point of the campaign. Nearly 1,000 trade unionists were at the breakfast, which was chaired by Charles Hayes, vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Perhaps a third of them were white, wildly scattered at the tables throughout the vast Grand Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton hotel.

Also present was Libby Saries, who is white, a leader of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. She told me her 8,000-member union in Chicago is active in Washington's campaign. "It is going to mean a lot to have a man of the people in Chicago's highest elected position," she said. "We're supporting Harold because he is a better candidate, a good friend who has been with us on all the important issues."

Robert Healey, president of the Chicago Federation of Teachers, said the members of his large local will be working as volunteers in Washington's campaign.

At another table were members of the United Electrical Workers (UE)
The victory was not such a surprise to those who have watched the increasing role Afro-American voters have played in the fight against the machine in Chicago. This was greatly enhanced by the vigorous voter registration drive spearheaded by Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC), the NAACP, Operation Push and other community organizations. Nearly 200,000 voters were added to the rolls in the mostly Black wards of the city.

There were also signals from as far back as 1972 that a profound movement among Black voters was beginning to stir. That year Black voters crossed over from the Democratic Party to vote for Republican Bernard Carey and defeat State Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who had set up the police massacre of Black Panther education of Chicago schoolchildren, who are 75 to 80% Black and Latino. CBUC and other groups rallied to Streeter and he was overwhelmingly reelected.

As Ishaun Flory, a leader of the Communist Party of Illinois and a veteran Afro-American leader, wrote in a Political Affairs article last October, the Streeter campaign opened the way for electing a Black mayor in Chicago.

Broadening Washington's movement to encompass masses of Mexican American, Puerto Rican and white working people is now the biggest challenge of this mayoral campaign. Washington has repudiated any ideas that he is only for the Afro-American people. His campaign invites the within 37 votes of forcing a runoff. He told me, "Harold has a sincere commitment to this concept of a grassroots Black, Hispanic and white coalition. Our concentration is in the field, at the grassroots, door-to-door."

Lozano, who serves on Washington's campaign steering committee, was critical of those in the Latino communities who argue that the path to greater Latino representation "is through accommodation to the machine. I say there is another way: that there exist allies in the Black community and other progressive forces, and if we unite with them we can win real representation that is independent and committed to the interests of the community."

Chicago's political machine has the dirtiest reputation in the country when it comes to stuffing ballot boxes, Local 1154 representing 3,000 workers at five Chicago plants. "Our local endorsed him, campaigned for him, went door-to-door for Washington," said Neil Burke, a white business agent of the local. "If you ask me, Washington is already mayor of Chicago." Erik Randall, president of the local, said Washington's election "is the beginning of eliminating Reaganomics."

Jim Balanoff, former director of United Steelworkers District 31, urged trade unionists, white and Black, to throw themselves into Washington's campaign. Standing in the crowd of trade unionists at the end of the breakfast, he said, "There is no question that Washington has the best labor record. It's easy to support Washington. He's far ahead of anybody else on labor issues. He can unite the city."
A program for Chicago from the Illinois Communist Party

The solution to the economic crisis

Chicago is a city in crisis. The crisis is not isolated. Every city in the United States is in crisis; Chicago’s has its own special features. The economic crisis of capitalism has brought layoffs, wage cuts and budget cutbacks for schools, transportation and all public services. The military-industrial complex, warned against by President Eisenhower, has gained the upper hand in the country.

The voters of Chicago, in a democratic election, have rejected these policies which were supported and copied by Mayor Jane Byrne. They have struck the first blow in reversing these policies, the policies of the Reagan Administration, and setting things back on course. For the first time in our city’s history, the most oppressed and exploited have taken history into their hands. The movement of the Black community has become a powerful magnet for the entire labor movement and all progressive Chicagoans in the struggle to right the wrongs against working people. It is a movement against decades of racism and discrimination. But it also expresses the demands of all workers for jobs, quality education, housing and public transportation.

But the forces of the most reactionary warhawks who support Ronald Reagan have moved into our city to try to overthrow this democratic decision of the voters. They want to prevent the working class and all progressive forces, Black, white and Latino, from uniting to solve the problems. They are promoting racism to sow disunity and distrust among working people. They are seeking to wreck the movement for new jobs, for expanded public services, against racism and for peace. The racist hysteria they have unleashed threatens the existence of democracy itself.

that they now pocket would be used instead to meet the economic and social needs of the people.

Socialism would end racism because workers have absolutely no interest in discrimination. Socialism would end the threat of war because workers have absolutely no interest in war with other nations. Only the monopoly corporations, who profit from these evils, are interested in them.

Make the rich pay

Socialism can only be won when the overwhelming majority of the people want it. In the meantime, however, the Mayor and the City Council can do many things now to soften the blows of unemployment and decaying schools, transit, health care and public services. They can:

- Shift the burden of crisis from the worker to the rich.
- Put the city into the national movement for a new set of priorities: schools, housing, health and public transportation, instead of $250 billion a year to prepare for a devastating nuclear war.
- Declare a moratorium on all foreclosures, evictions and repossessions during joblessness.
- Give public jobs to those most in need of work: those who have been unemployed the longest.

Some of 5,000 trade unionists at a rally for jobs.

moratorium on interest payments as long as unemployment exceeds 5 per cent.
The socialist alternative

The root of the crisis is the monopoly capitalist system itself. Jane Byrne and Ronald Reagan have only aggravated the crisis. Complete economic recovery will come only by ending production for private profit and replacing it with production for social needs. Such a system, under democratic popular government, would be socialism.

Socialism in the United States would guarantee every man and woman a job at union wages; would end discrimination against people on the basis of race, nationality, religion or sex; would end the drive toward war. Socialism, built by the people and the working class through their own political party, would end control of our lives by a handful of top bankers and businessmen. The hundreds of billions in profits

IUE members blast Reaganomics.

- Pass and enforce rent control in Chicago and end landlord gouging of tenants.
- Collect millions in unpaid corporate property taxes.
- Cut fat-cat consultants and contractors out of the city budget and use the money to meet the people's needs.
- Restore the $136 million taken as interest from the city by the bankers to the city budget, by negotiating a

End racism in city government

The Communist Party calls for the abolition of racism in government to unite the people and to unleash the creative energy of the people of all races and nationalities, men and women, to solve the problems of our city, state and nation.

We propose:
- Appoint Black and Latino community representatives to all policy-making boards in proportion to their population in the city.
- Appoint Afro-Americans, Latino-Americans and women at least proportional to their numbers to top administrative positions in the school system, police department, CTA (transit), CHA (housing), and other social services based on true ability to serve and represent the people.
- Establish a policy of affirmative action with quotas to ensure that Afro-Americans and Latino workers are present among city employees in proportion to their populations, especially in the police and fire departments. End the situation where Black and Latino peoples make up 57 per cent of the population and get only 31 per cent of city jobs and take home $161 million less in city wages each year.
- Require that any private firm doing business with the city also implement such an affirmative action program.
- End hiring and promotions in public employment based on political patronage, and extend political freedom to city workers.

A good beginning

Implementing this program will be a good start toward uniting the people of Chicago for the struggle to come against the policies of war, racism and economic crisis. It will be a beginning. With the experience and example of Chicago, the people of the U.S. and the world will be encouraged that unity is possible to meet the challenges of the 80s, to bring about a world of peace, brotherhood and economic justice.
Chicago election

How big biz whips up racism

By TED PEARSON

On February 22, the people of Chicago made history when they went to the polls in record numbers and nominated Rep. Harold Washington as the Democratic Party nominee for mayor.

The Republican Party attracted only 14,000 votes out of the 1.2 million cast. Bernard Epton received only 11,000. Several of the candidates of the Communist Party polled more votes in the 1980 election.

The mayoral primary in the Democratic Party featured three debates between the candidates: Washington, movement that nominated Washington.

It is an attack that emanates from those forces who feel most threatened by that movement: the military-industrial complex of warhawks grouped around President Reagan.

It is an attack that threatens democracy itself, with small but strident gangs of racist hoodlum who brazenly taunt Washington in white communities, as they do in Palm Sunday on the Northwest Side outside St. Pascal's Church.

How did the Reaganites engineer this seemingly impossible transformation? They did it through their most willing tool, Jane Byrne. They did it by feeding fears and prejudices. The full meaning of Byrne's short-lived write-in campaign has become clear.

At the time of Ms. Byrne's re-entry into the race, the Illinois Communist Party said that her act was one instigated by the White House for the purpose of forcing Epton off the ballot and replacing him with her. Byrne, it was felt by the Reaganites, stood a better chance of mobilizing white, Chicano, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican voters, as well as voters of other Latin-American heritages, based on went into action. Jane Byrne's write-in campaign was their first move. When Byrne withdrew from the race, many thought it marked the collapse of this Reaganite strategy. But they were wrong. It just moved to the next stage.

Byrne had rallied the most right-wing, corrupt and most undemocratic forces in the Democratic Party for Ep-
Washington identified himself with the movement against the policies of President Reagan. Ms. Byrne identified herself with these policies and those of Republican Governor James Thompson. The voters went to the polls and overwhelmingly voted against Ms. Byrne.

**Media coverage biased**

Since February 22, however, a strange thing has happened. If you only watched television and read the newspapers controlled by big business, you would think that Washington was the candidate only of Black people. The entire campaign has become focused on the “issue” of race.

The same media who saw so much difference between Washington, Byrne and Daley, all Democrats, now can find no difference except race between Washington, the Democrat, and Epton, the Republican. Epton, who received 11,000 votes out of 1.2 million in the primary — less than one percent — is suddenly transformed into a serious contender.

Now the lie that Black people will vote for Washington and white people will either vote for Epton or stay at home has become an assumption. This transformation of issues into non-issues and vice versa defies all logic. The painting of Washington as a candidate of only the Black community has occurred while he was attracting broader and broader support from trade union, religious and community leaders who are white, Chicano, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and of other Latin American heritage.

**Planned attack**

This is more than just the “normal” anti-working class bias and racism of the capitalist media. This is part of a carefully orchestrated attack on the able election. The business weekly Crain’s Chicago Business became self-critical for ignoring the Washington candidacy. A foot in the door of the new administration was clearly being sought.

This was too much for the Reaganes, the war-hawks and nuclear first-strikers. They saw the movement in Chicago of the Black community, and its growing alliance with labor and other progressive whites, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and those of other Latin American heritage. They saw it as a movement that threatened their hegemony in the government.

The destabilizers of democracy out: stir up and exploit the “race issue.”

**Media stirs racism**

In this campaign the media carefully avoided showing Washington campaigning among white people, especially white workers. They deliberately avoided reporting the tremendous response he receives from white workers while out campaigning.

For example, Washington met with 500 steel workers at the United Steelworkers Local 65 Hall in South Chicago. The meeting was totally ignored by the media. Instead, NBC’s Channel Five editorially criticized the Democratic Party candidate for not campaigning among white people.

Healy, Chicago Transit Union president, and dozens of others were present. This was the second such rally.

This rally was close to 25 percent white, while the percentage was much lower at the first rally. Yet the Chicago Tribune saw fit to give this entire rally only one short line of type, in a story that featured instead the racist attack on Washington outside St. Pascal’s Church on the Northwest Side by less than 150 Epton supporters.

**Labor endorsement**

Washington has won endorsements from every major labor union and labor leader in the city — white, Black, Chicano, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and of other Latin American heritage. This includes the steel workers, the auto workers, the teachers, the teamsters, the state, county and municipal workers, the electrical workers and the machinists. These are the largest unions which together make up the overwhelming majority of trade union members, including whites, in Chicago.

The Black community as a whole, led by Black workers, is in the forefront of the movement against the economic crisis because they are hurt most by it. Reaganism is racism in the extreme. President Reagan has destroyed affirmative action programs at a time of deepening crisis.

This movement is at a high level of development in Chicago. The crisis hit hard here and the Ms. Byrne added insult to injury by refusing, Reagan style, to even recognize the special problems of the Black community.

The result was unity in the Black community that reached across class lines. This unity became a model for all who stand for peace, justice and...
Role of racism in Chi.

Continued from page 4

Economic growth. More and more trade union rank-and-file leaders are seeing that the only hope of reversing the drive toward war, unemployment and poverty lies in unity with the Black people's movement for jobs, for reducing the military budget and for ending centuries-long discrimination based on race.

Lack of understanding

However, some white voters, including some trade unionists, remain uncommitted or even hostile to this movement and to the Washington candidacy. Most do not oppose equal rights for Black people, but have questions about Washington which they do not think stem from racism. Epton and his psychological warfare campaign play on these questions. Some white people fear that Washington's commitment to affirmative action for Afro-Americans will cost them jobs.

Yet Washington's words and decades of history give the lie to this fear. The most progressive laws for both Black and white people have been enacted on the initiative of Black representatives in government.

For example, the first state guarantee of free, public education in the nation was established after the Civil War by governments of Black and white in the South. The Alternative Budget presented by the Congressional Black Caucus, of which Washington is a member, is another example. It would restore and expand all federal programs that served the working class. It would reduce the insane Reagan military budget that threatens to plunge the world into nuclear war. It would reduce the federal deficit, plugging one of the biggest drains on the U.S. economy. White and Black people alike would benefit greatly from its passage.

Others say that Washington's problems with the IRS 15 years ago indicates something negative about his character. In playing on this, Epton is seeking to capitalize on the racist stereotype of Black people as hustlers and crooks. He has publicly stated that his media advisors, the Washington-based Bailey-Deardorff and Associates, have advised him to make Washington's "tax problems" his main issue. Epton's campaign slogan is, "Epton, before it's too late."

But what about Epton? He legally paid $9,000 on adjusted income (after deductions) of over $124,000. In the same year Washington paid over $12,000 taxes on slightly over $60,000 income. And Epton hasn't told us how much his income was before he "adjusted" it.

Dem turncoats insignificant

Several Democratic Party Ward Committeemen have rejected their Party's nominee and endorsed Epton. They have received widespread publicity. Yet rank and file precinct workers for Washington report that the position of these committeemen is not popular among white voters. They are more concerned with jobs, schools, public services and housing than they are with the race of a candidate.

In the 47th Ward, for example, the committeeman is Ed Kelly, who doubles as park district director. He has endorsed Epton. Precinct workers for Washington, however, report that initial contact with white voters brings a rate of commitment to Washington that is three and four times what it was before the primary, when he was faced by both Ms. Byrne and Cook County States Attorney Richard M. Daley. Thousands of such precinct workers are now working in their communities for Washington.

All in all, more and more working people — Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and those of other Latin American heritage — are realizing that the future is bound up in the movement against Reaganism and the economic, social and political crisis in our country. More and more are also recognizing that the promise of victory for this movement is in the alliance with the Black people's movement. This means recognition that the struggle against racist discrimination is, both in the long and the short runs, in the interest of all workers, regardless of race, nationality or sex.
Chicago mayoral race

Labor: racism helps Reagan

By CHARLES WILSON

CHICAGO, March 30 — Thunderous applause from 15,000 people greeted Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, at the rally for Harold Washington at the University of Illinois Pavilion when he said, “If the working people of Chicago are divided along racial lines the only beneficiaries will be the Reaganites.

“The losers,” he said, “will not only be the people of Chicago; the losers will be the millions of unemployed across this land; the losers will be the weak and the needy; the losers will be all Americans who look to this government to promote social and economic justice and equal rights for all.

“You don’t have to look for the Union Label on Harold Washington. His record is clear.

“In Congress, 94 percent of his votes were cast in the interest of the working people of the United States or America.

“When he was in the State Assembly Washington’s record was 95 percent. The record of his opponent in that same assembly was less than 40 percent.”

Emphasizing the crucial importance of Black, white, labor unity, Kirkland pointed out that “in the last half century most of the progress that we have made in this country has come from the combined efforts of labor, minorities, women, youth, and the disadvantaged working together.

Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), in his address before that constantly cheering body of Washington supporters, made this question of Black-white unity the key aspect of his presentation.

“Let’s face it,” Fraser said, “given the political history of Chicago, this election would have been over the day after the primary except that Harold Washington is Black.

Continued from page 2

“I see the issue clearly. Our old coalition is being tested: the coalition of Black and other minorities, and women. And to try to tear us apart — we can’t let it happen.”

Chicago history

History was being made in Chicago at that rally for Washington last Sunday. Never before had there been such an array of top leaders of labor from the city, the state and the nation on the same platform. In addition to Lane Kirkland and Douglas Fraser, there was Charles Hayes, vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCWA); William Luce, secretary-treasurer of the State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Robert Gibson, president of the Illinois AFL-CIO; William Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor; James Wright, Region 4 director, UAW; Addie Wyatt, vice president UFCWA.

Also present were John Agrella, president, Sheet Metal Workers; Robert Simpson, Recording Secretary, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 743; Robert Healy, president, Chicago Teachers Union; Rudy Lozano, director of organization, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, to name only a few.

This crescendo of labor support for the mayoral candidacy of Harold Washington did not reach this point without continued struggle by progressive forces within the trade union movement. For example, at the first labor breakfast for Washington organized by Hayes in December 1982, only 70 trade unionists attended. Only one leader was there officially representing his union — the United Electrical Workers. Only 7 white trade unionists were present.

Contrast this to the second labor breakfast for Washington held in March. More than 1000 trade unionists were present. William W. Winpisinger greeted that breakfast with a telegram of support, as did Kirkland. Gerald W. McEntee, President of AFSCME, keynoted the event.

Despite the valiant struggle of progressive forces in the Chicago Federation of Labor, led by Hayes, that body endorsed Jane Byrne during the primary campaign.

Many rank-and-file formations within the labor movement played an important role. Among them are the Educators for Washington, Health Workers for Washington, the District 31 (United Steelworkers) Black Caucus, Concerned Rank and File Teachers, Chicago Center for Trade Union Action and Democracy.

Of key importance are the endorsements of the two largest steel locals in Illinois. Locals 65 and 1033, and the endorsement by District 31 Director Jack Parton.

The trade union publication, Labor Today, printed 10,000 copies with special emphasis on Black-white unity. These were distributed at plants, shops and union meetings throughout the city. Also distributed during this period were 25,000 copies of the Daily World with the same emphasis.

Addie Wyatt said at the labor breakfast for Washington: “We who belong to unions learned a long time ago that an injury to one, regardless of our race, our color or sex, is an injury to all. If working people remember that on April 12, we will be able to overcome the hate, the confusion, and the doubt that some are trying to inject into our ranks.”
WASHINGTON FOR MAYOR - Section of the more than 5,000 people at the March 27 Washington for Mayor Rally in Chicago. Harold Washington, Democratic candidate, has garnered much labor, community, and religious support in a race where big business has whipped up racism in an attempt to defeat him.

Chicago mayoral election

Racist Rizzo says he’s backing Epton

Special to the Daily World

PHILADELPHIA — Frank Rizzo, former police chief and mayor of Philadelphia, fulfilled a threat-promise last Monday.

"I'm for Epton, is absolutely right," Rizzo said at a news conference called to enliven his campaign for the Democratic mayoral primary on May 17.

Rizzo was defeated by a margin of 225,000 votes in 1978 in his effort to change Philadelphia's charter so he could run for a third term. When he left office in 1979 he vowed to take part in elections all over the country. That followed his pledge to lead a nationwide movement for "white rights."

Chicago Republican mayoral candidate Bernard Epton telephoned his thanks to Rizzo. This support indicates there may be a nationwide, racist, political network orchestrated by Reagan Republicans.


Rizzo's venom is reminding Philadelphians what it was like while he was mayor. He was known to consciously use racism to promote divisions among the people.

He created a frightening police presence in working-class communities that restricted the rights of everyone and put fear into the hearts of Black parents whose children were most often the victims of police violence. In April 1979, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission conducted hearings on Philadelphia police conduct.

To Rizzo, "radicals" were always about to take over the city. Night raids on Black groups were not rare. One foray on a Black Panther meeting led to Black men being lined up naked on a West Philadelphia street.

At his news conference, Rizzo said that visiting Black elected officials were "radicals" who had not come to Philadelphia to speak or meet with organizations, but to disrupt and foment Philadelphia's Black community.

Wilson Goode, former managing director of the city under the current Green Administration, became a candidate in response to a broad-based draft movement. Jobs, human services and competent management are the grassroots issues moving the Goode campaign.

Goode leads Rizzo in the polls by a margin of 20 points.
Letter from a Washington supporter

BY ROMULO FAJARDO

Chicago is in the country’s industrial heartland. Yet, what has happened there and is going on now, has repercussions all over this country. For the first time in the city’s history, an Afro-American has a good chance of becoming mayor; and, if he succeeds, may deal a mortal blow to machine-party politics.

Harold Washington’s impressive victory in the primaries has also given a new sense of hope to the Afro-American electorate, and to independent political action. For Washington is not a run-of-the-mill officeholder of the Democratic Party. In a way, his primary victory was a defeat of the two-party system.

A friend of mine, who until recently was not very much into electoral politics, swept by the hope of a Washington victory, became involved in the campaign from early on. I received the following letter from that friend:

“The primary is over and I’m sure you’ve heard we won! Well, there’s still the general election in April which unfortunately is being taken seriously for the first time in 30 years. But I can’t believe that the taste for power people are feeling for the first time is going to be sacrificed for a dump Republican inciting a dangerously racist campaign.

“God...it’s been so exciting! Election night, there were thousands at the victory party—all colors; and as the results came in, the place exploded. Everybody was hugging and yelling: ‘We did it.’ I honestly could hardly believe it. It took a few days for it to really sink in. We celebrated all night and people were in the streets carrying on, popping victory signs and honking.

“There is a real excitement in the air and some of it is bound to end up in disappointment, but for the time being the power structure has taken a big shift and those who have had no power are feeling control of the system that until now has refused to include them. You should see all of the Washington buttons! And always a smile of understanding between buttons that pass on the street. Now we just have to hope that the changes everybody expects to see will really happen.”

Certainly, what my friend sees in Chicago, that invigorating enthusiasm and will to change things, can be duplicated in many cities across this country. Solutions to the problems we face today will not be found in the traditional politicians, Democrats or Republicans, but in those honest individuals who become the vocal expression of the wishes and aspirations of the working people, the country oppressed, the youth, and other progressives.

Washington and his supporters are shaking the foundations of those who foster racism and exploitation in our country. And in so doing, they are laying the basis for the kind of getting together that should serve as a lesson to the rest of us in other parts of the country.

President Reagan is very closely watching the situation develop in Chicago.

The President needed a Jane Byrne in Chicago—someone who would give lip service at best to what Reaganeconomics was doing to the city and the lives of its people, but someone to hold the “stability.”

Byrne; Epton, the “dump” Republican candidate; the Democratic Party machine; the racists; big business and President Reagan—they all have something very much in common this time: they misjudged the people. That’s why they have mobilized all their might to counter that growing movement for political independence, racial and national unity and anti-big business stands. And they are using racism in the attempt to subvert a Washington victory—the danger lies in the fact they could succeed this time.

They are also reading wrong what the working people are able to tolerate and what they can get away with.

There is a groundswell of anger, dissatisfaction and protest emerging from the roots. And those, like my friend from Chicago, who get involved in it, not only find it rewarding spiritually, but also necessary to give meaning to their lives.

It is then appropriate to remember Karl Marx’s words about philosophers interpreting the world in various ways, when the point is, to change it.

Romulo Fajardo is a staff writer for the Daily World.
Racism in Chicago election

Reaganites back Epton

By MARK ALLEN

CHICAGO — Mayoralty candidate Harold Washington has accused the White House of another direct intervention in his campaign to become this city's first Afro-American mayor.

President Reagan and the Republican National Committee is behind the racist campaign of Republican opponent Bernard Epton, Washington said during a brief fund raising trip to New York March 31. A key link to the White House is the public relations firm of Bailey Deardourff and Associates, called an "in-house" campaign firm of the Republican National Committee by Grayson Mitchell, press secretary for the Washington campaign.

The defeat of Washington on April 12, Mitchell said, "would be a coup" for Reagan. "This campaign is a referendum on the Reagan Presidency and on Reaganomics," he charged. "And it is very crucial come 1984."

Mitchell said that direct intervention by the White House began immediately after Washington defeated incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne and State Attorney Richard Daley in the Feb. 22 Democratic Party primary.

Byrne launched an abortive write-in campaign following her primary defeat. According to Mitchell, and later confirmed by Byrne herself, she "consulted" with the White House through her aides "to force Epton off the ticket" and win Reagan's support for herself.

Chicago, which has not had a Republican mayor for 55 years, is a Democratic Party stronghold. Right after the primary, Epton, who won the Republican primary with slightly more than 10,000 votes, was given little chance to defeat Washington.

The attempt to win White House support for Byrne, however, was reportedly blocked by Illinois' conservative Republican Governor James Thompson. Left with a "very weak Republican candidate," Mitchell said, the White House "had no choice but to try to shore him up."

At that point, in stepped the chair of the Republican National Committee, Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nevada), one of Reagan's closest allies. Laxalt, in turn, brought in Bailey Deardourff, which, according to Mitchell "came into town even before funds were available for their campaign operation."

While Bailey Deardourff has run several dozen campaigns on various political levels, according to Mitchell, this is the first campaign in which "racism has been so prominent."

The firm is also running the campaign of Epton supporter and arch-reactionary former Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo. Rizzo is facing Philadelphia's former managing director W. Wilson Goode in the Democratic primary for mayor. Goode is an Afro-American.

Rizzo took time out from his own racist campaign against Goode to attack Washington March 27. Echoing the slanderous attacks on Washington's character and alleged criminality which have become the heart of Epton's campaign, Rizzo said, "If they elect Washington, they ought to dig up Al Capone and let him run the city."

The Reagan Administration, according to White House press spokesperson David Gergen, is "deliberately on the offensive" in defending its racist policies. Evidence shows that the Washington candidacy has become one of its prime targets.
Youth’s stake in Chicago election for mayor

Special to the Daily World

CHICAGO — Richard Giovanoni, the Illinois coordinator of the organizing drive for a Communist youth organization, has termed the mayoralty election here next week “extremely important for youth and students of Chicago and for the whole U.S.”

Giovanoni pointed out that Reaganites have concentrated their forces in Chicago to insure that their policies of cut-back, military build-up, and racial division continue. “As a matter of fact they see it as a launching pad for the re-election of Reagan,” he continued.

While being interviewed in the office of the local organizing committee, Giovanoni said that for many youth the outcome of the elections will mean life or death. “For example, only one candidate, Harold Washington, has said that he will deal with the police department. But it is this department that is responsible for the murder of and brutality against many youth every year.

“But we can look deeper than this,” he continued. “Where is Epton’s program for dealing with the immediate, urgent needs of the youth? There is no such program. There will be further cuts, support for the bloated military budget, more repression, more homelessness and hunger. A local Reaganite is no different from a national Reaganite,” he said.

The organizer then appealed to all youth to come out and vote for the candidate who “seeks to deal with the urgent needs of youth and students.”

Giovanoni appealed particularly to white youth to reject racism. “The stakes are too high. We cannot afford another dose of this medicine,” he said.

Support for Washington

Chicago Democratic mayoral candidate Harold Washington (right) got an endorsement from Colorado’s U.S. Senator Gary Hart (left) during meeting Wednesday. Washington has received strong support from Chicago labor unions and from national and local Democratic leaders.
Harold Washington, Democratic candidate for mayor of Chicago, talks to a gathering at the Mars Hill M.B. Church Saturday. His opponent, Bernard Epton, and the big business forces backing Epton, have used increasingly racist tactics against Washington, who has stood firmly for jobs and equality.

Chicago mayoral election

Racist police whip up fear

By MARK ALLEN

CHICAGO — By the time Police Superintendent Richard Brzeczek announced his retirement April 5, he had well set the stage for the political mobilization of the Chicago Police Department as a key element in the campaign to defeat mayoral candidate, U.S. Rep. Harold Washington.

For the first time in history, this city's top police officer was brought aggressively into a political campaign at the behest of the Democratic Party machine. Brzeczek, who publicly campaigned for incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne in the primary, charged after Washington's victory February 22 that, under Washington, the Chicago Police Department "will be a circus." Law enforcement, he said, "will suffer."

So aggressive have the members of the overwhelmingly white Fraternal Order of Police been in their anti-Washington campaign, that it sparked an April 16 rally for Washington by more than 500 Afro-American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and other nationally oppressed police officers. Washington has been endorsed by the 250-member Latin American Police Association.

"The Chicago Police Department is notoriously racist and has been taken to court on several occasions for numerous violations of civil rights. On April 6, the department announced its attempt to settle out of court a class action suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which charged the police with some 150,000 "bad faith" arrests of Afro-Americans and persons of Latin American heritage last year. According to the ACLU, the disorderly conduct arrests were conducted "simply to get people off the streets."

The ACLU charged that 95 percent of those arrests were made in massive sweeps with no intention to prosecute.

Under Brzeczek there have been 18 jail hangings of mostly Afro-American and Chicano and other nationally oppressed prisoners in police lockups in 22 months.

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Fear whipped up by racist police

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Most recently, at least 10 police detectives, supposedly working independently and while off-duty, organized a campaign directed exclusively at purging nationally oppressed voters from the voting rolls.

In a city where election fraud has been commonplace, the police have suddenly expressed their concern, but only in the Afro-American, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American communities where Washington is expected to receive overwhelming support.

The challenges to the voting rolls were turned over to the Republican Central Committee and the campaign of Washington’s Republican opponent, Bernard Epton.

Opposition to Washington among major sections of white police is due in part to his demand for affirmative action in the department, some form of civilian oversight, an end to patronage and other major reforms. Brzezek, however, stated publicly last February that Chicago is not ready for reform yet.

Most of the police activity in the campaign, including the reported circulation of racist anti-Washington literature, is purportedly spontaneous activity by individuals. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that it is sanctioned at the very highest echelons of the Police Department. Further, the police department campaign meshes totally with that of the major media and the leadership of both the Democratic and Republican Parties here in its orchestrated drive to deepen fears, intimidation and divisions in this already divided city.

Rumors are widespread in this city of some form of police provocation on or after election day. Further, constant references to possible election-related violence, serve not only to lay the groundwork for such a provocation, but to further reinforce attempts to portray this April 12 election as a race issue, while submerging the fundamental differences on the issues between the two candidates.

Attempts by the media to exacerbate tensions have extended to the public school system as well, with reports that Superintendent Ruth Love has called for increased police in the schools. Charging “distortion and exaggeration” by the media, however, Elaine Soloway, press spokesperson for the Superintendent’s Office, told the Daily World that “there will be no great gangs of police going into the schools.”

It “is not the Superintendent’s policy” to “increase the number of police,” she said.

According to Ted Wright, chair of the strategy subcommittee of the schools Human Rights Task Force, “there have been no incidents,” and “we are trying to go on as normally as possible.” But, Wright said, “The police will have special people around the schools throughout the city. The police went ahead and did this on their own.”

What worries many in this city is that the constant reference to police contingency plans has become both intimidating and provocative.

“We don’t want to fall victim to a self-fulfilling prophecy,” Wright said.

Meanwhile, following Washington’s enthusiastic reception by Afro-American and other officers of Latin American heritage, he took his campaign to a packed rally of nearly 700 trade unionists, well-integrated at the hall of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Local 65, on the South Side.

The rally, organized by Local 65 on behalf of Washington and Aldermanic candidate Ray Castro, was chaired by Ed Sadlowski, Sub-district 3 Director of District 31 of the USWA.

The repeated theme was working-class unity. As Sadlowski said of Chicago’s multi-racial working class, “If they understand their class they will vote for Washington.”

Unity, former Local 65 President John Chico said, “is a lesson learned in the steel mills, working people know how to work together.” Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Int’l vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers, repeated the unity theme.

“We as trade unionists,” he said, “know what unity means. We are not going to be fooled or duped by the scurrilous campaign against Washington.” Hayes said the “stakes are very high” in the April 12 election. He tied a Washington victory to the movement to defeat Reagan. “The President of the United States,” Hayes said, “had the audacity to go to Pittsburgh and speak to laid-off people and tell them things are getting better.”

“Together we have the voting power to heal this city and turn it around,” Local 65 President Don Stazak said. “Let’s keep Chicago a union town and not make it a Reagan town.”
Communists say Chicagoans now confront new struggles

CHICAGO — The following is a statement issued today by the Illinois District of the Communist Party USA on the path of struggle ahead in Chicago after the recent elections.

The election of Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago last week was a victory for the city’s working people. It was based on the solid unity of the Afro-American community, in alliance with the Chicano, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and other communities of Latin American peoples, together with democratically-minded white people. The two rallying cries of the movement that succeeded at the polls in Chicago were jobs and justice.

The election was a giant step toward the formation of an all-people’s front to reverse the anti-labor drive of the most reactionary sectors of monopoly capital, represented by the Reagan Administration, toward war, racism and increased exploitation. The movement that elected Washington will now move to transform itself into an organized structure of independent people for political action. This will form the base for broadening popular support for Washington’s administration.

But the war-hawks and reactionaries still control the Governor’s Mansion, the White House and the Senate. Because the movement in Chicago is a threat to their policies, the Reaganites will waste no time in trying to wreck it. They will use racism, just like they did during the election with unprecedented viciousness.

Racist attack

The racist, fascist-like attack of the Reaganites confused many whites, including white workers. While 99 percent of Afro-American voters and 79 percent of Chicano, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican voters supported the most forward-looking mayoral candidate ever offered Chicagoans, fully 82 percent of white voters voted for Bernard Epton, warming the evil hearts of those who are banking on the use of racism and intimidation to wreck the movement against Reaganism in 1984.

This reality complicates the mandate won by the new mayor and makes

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overcoming racism and uniting the people in the struggle for their basic social needs the main item now on the agenda.

First must be the struggle for jobs. The mayor has already demonstrated, through the use of the powers of his office, how private business can be forced to remain in the city.

Racism in public employment, housing, education, health care, recreational facilities and city services must be ended. This means affirmative action to end decades of racism that served the corporate establishment.

Afro-American and Chicano, Puerto-Rican, Mexican-American people and women, must take their rightful places in the leadership of the city, together with progressive whites. This will require a campaign by labor among whites to show how the depri-

viation of Afro-American and Puerto-Rican, Mexican-American people and women, has meant the reduction of benefits for all.

Struggle for funds

The struggle for full funding of public services has already moved to the fore. Jane Byrne is leaving a city that will fall short of hundreds of millions of dollars for schools, transit and general services. The struggle for a tax increase that falls most on those most able to pay has shifted to the legislature. A graduated state income tax will be the only long-term solution.

There is a national campaign to end the arms race and rebuild our national economy based on peacetime production. Coupled with the Afro-American political movement that has proven itself in Chicago as the most progressive electoral force in the nation, this movement can win in 1984.

But it will not win if it is caught in a web of compromises on principles, especially when it comes to its commitment to equal and full democratic rights for all citizens, regardless of race, nationality or sex. This is the challenge before labor in building a solid alliance with the Afro-American and Chicano, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American communities.

The new administration of Harold Washington has inherited a city caught in the grip of the most serious economic crisis of the capitalist system since the 1930s. Unlike the crisis of the 1930s, this crisis shows no possibility of ending. Ultimately, we are confident that the democratically minded peoples will see the necessity of replacing the present moribund capitalist system with socialism, in which the working people will determine their own future, free from racism, exploitation and the threat of war.
United women back
Harold Washington

By SONDRA PATRINOS

CHICAGO — A spirited crowd of more than 3,000 — including many men — answered the call of the Women’s Network for Harold Washington and braved the winter’s worst storm to get to the Conrad Hilton last Sunday.

The crowd responded with enthusiasm to the roll call of noted speakers, including Coretta Scott King; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; and former Brooklyn Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm.

Also addressing the assembly were Joan Mondale, wife of the former vice president; and Herman Badillo, vice mayor of New York.

The rally was the latest in a series of events organized by the Women’s Network, one of the largest and most successful of the grassroots formations working for the election of Washington on April 12. Started last December at a meeting of 200 women, the network now consists of thousands of women, many representing organizations.

Many organizations

Before Washington’s primary victory, many organizations dominated by white women had supported Mayor Byrne. Since the primary, however, most have become involved in the already large and vital Women’s Network for Washington.

Among those organizations represented on the platform were the Chicago Chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Chicago National Women’s Organization (which previously endorsed Byrne); Midwest Community Council; the Independent Political Organization, a newly formed organization of Afro-Americans, Chicanos, and others of Latin American heritage and whites on the Near West Side and various church, civic and community organizations.

Coretta King called upon the Democratic Party to live up to its professed ideals and guarantee the support of the candidate who won the party’s nomination.

“We must bring the Democratic Party closer to the ideals for which it is supposed to stand. I am not a card carrying member of the Democratic Party, though I have tended to support its candidates. It is up to the party now to show itself.”

The climax of the rally was Washington’s own speech. Escorted to the speaker’s platform by three young girls — Afro-American, Latina and white — he was greeted by long-lasting cheers and chants. The audience shouted, “We want Harold,” and “Don’t wait, Punch 8,” referring to his ballot position.

Washington credited the Women’s Network for bringing “zeal, gusto and verve to a campaign which we know will be successful, but which is not over yet.

“One way to pierce the strident veil of racism that has shrouded the campaign,” Washington continued, “is for women of this city to unite to remove all the impediments of inequality. Women’s voice is necessary for the success of the campaign.

“Women’s issues,” Washington declared, are really basic issues of the campaign. Chicago has the third highest infant mortality rate of any city in the nation; there are 20,000 homeless people in Chicago streets; the city is in critical need of additional child care centers and the city’s school system is one of the worst in the country.

Washington referred to a recent study by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) that showed that 86 percent of the women employed by the city earn less that $20,000 a year, while 80 percent of the men earn more than $20,000. “It is a systematic discrimination, with malice aforethought,” he said, and promised that if he is elected there will be no place, no office or department where women will not be in a policy-making position.
People’s victory jolts Reaganites

By Mark Allen

Rally for Harold Washington attended by over 15,000 people on March 27; Inset, Harold Washington

Already the ideological vultures can be seen hovering over Chicago’s skyline as the orchestrated campaign to belittle and distort the historic character of the April 12 mayoralty victory of U.S. Representative Harold Washington (D-Ill.) begins.

Racism without Reaganism was the strategy, and they worked overtime to deny the inextricable link between the two.

The Republicans and the local Democratic Party hierarchy consciously introduced racism to blind the people to the objective character of the Washington campaign, and its importance as a “referendum on Reaganism,” as he put it.

The so-called “race issue” was manipulated to uncratic Party off the hook, as is now implied. The Washington victory and the role of the Black workers in it was not spontaneous, nor was it solely, as important as that is, a vote for Black representation.

It was a dramatic response to years of racist inequality in the interests of finance capital and administered by a corrupt and moribund Democratic Party machine.

The massive unity and mobilization of the Black community was activated by a candidate identified with working people and the organized labor movement in particular, an outspoken fighter for peace and opponent of the “machine.” Washington became a spokesperson for a movement representing the interests of all working people and democratic elements in this city. His victory had a corollary in the election of a record number of independents to the city council.

Similarly, the growing sentiment for Black politi-
Washington wins in Chicago

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Crucial to the Washington victory was the support of some 75.3 percent of these voters. In some Puerto Rican precincts Washington received 83 percent of the vote, elevating the potential for unity between Afro-Americans and peoples of Latin American heritage to historic levels.

At press time it appears that Washington received very close to 20 percent in areas of predominately white voters with significant inroads into such communities as the Bridgeport ward of State Attorney Richard Daley, one of Washington’s opponents in the primary, where he received 33 percent of the vote.

The Washington victory also resulted from the role of organized labor, led in the main by Black trade unionists but encompassing rank-and-file activists throughout the trade union movement. It was this activity that led to the mobilization of the whole labor movement on Washington’s behalf.

New city council

The independent movement that coalesced around Washington’s candidacy also swept out of office seven incumbent aldermen, ousted by independent candidates closely allied with Washington. And some of Washington’s bitterest opponents who were elected squeaked through by bare majorities, such as Alderman Wilson Frost, chair of the powerful Council Finance Committee. Charlotte Newfield, a strong Washington supporter in the predominantly white working-class northside ward, was defeated by only 63 votes.

The new council now has a record 12 independents, who join 38 other members characterized as “machine Democrats.” Some 16 Afro-American aldermen and four independent white aldermen supported Washington in the primary; 10 others are expected to support him on key votes.

“Chicago has seen the bright daybreak for this city and perhaps the entire country,” Washington said in his victory speech. “Blacks, whites, Hispanics, Jews, gentiles, Protestants and Catholics have joined hands to form a new democratic coalition and to begin in this place, a new democratic movement.”

Political shift

Against an anti-Washington campaign orchestrated by the Democratic and Republican Parties, the major media, and their corporate backers, the April 12 election signifies the most significant political shift in Chicago's history.

Washington himself repeatedly charged that racism was being used to divert the white Chicago electorate from the major issues confronting them, and Washington’s aggressive program in support of jobs, fundamental political reform, trade union rights and peace.

Speaking of the political machine, the Rev. Jesse Jackson said, “Washington’s independence is an even greater threat than his color.”

Yet, despite the jubilation that has engulfed this city, which like all other major urban centers is in the throes of a deep economic and social crisis, there is also a somber recognition of the tasks ahead.

Washington has won the seat in the mayor’s office, but people here are already warning of the massive campaign that will soon be launched to insure that he and the movement he represents won’t exercise that power.
Elation spreads through Chicago

By MIKE GIOCONDO

CHICAGO, March 13 — "I feel great. I punched eight," Ron Hamilton said, waving his arms in the air after he voted yesterday for Harold Washington to be the first Afro-American mayor of Chicago.

That spirit of elation spread throughout the city and climaxed early this morning at Donnelley Hall when Congressman Washington announced his victory to over 20,000 cheering supporters.

Hamilton, who punched "Eight" — the Democratic slate on the ballot punch card — voted on the city's predominately Afro-American South Side. He was one of the nearly 700,000 Afro-American, white, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican voters who cast their ballot for Washington.

That vote gave Washington a narrow victory over Reaganite Republican Bernard Epton.

Optimism

"I've got the feeling we're going to win this one," Hamilton accurately predicted. Other voters shared his optimism.

"I know we can do it," Lindsay Jones told the Daily World as he made his rounds as an area precinct coordinator for the Washington campaign in the South Side 5th Ward.

"We're going to win," he said a few hours after the polls opened and a record number of voters had turned out. The large early turnout was carried throughout the day, ending with nearly 90 percent of registered voters going to the polls, the highest ever in a municipal election.

The good weather moved a voter to remark, "The sun is shining on us today."

Later that day Washington supporters celebrated at Donnelley Hall into the early hours Wednesday. The hall, decorated in red, white and blue banners and large balloons, was jammed by 10 p.m. with campaign backers. On two stages bands played jazz, rock and spiritual music.

Many were dressed for the celebration wearing buttons, paper vests with stars and stripes, imitation straw hats with Washington bands and clip-on antennas that waved blue flags with Washington's name.

Over the main doorway a long banner was hung, reading "Together we have the voting power to heal this city and turn it around toward Justice and Fairness for all Chicagoans." The message was the theme of Washington's address to supporters in which he announced his victory. Many interviewed at the celebration also reflected this sentiment.

A young campaign worker, Darryl Hennington, who distributed literature, said he was "glad the campaign was over" and that "it was worth the hard work."

A college student, Hennington said it was his first involvement in political work, adding that Washington was a tremendous image for young Afro-Americans.

"He's given us courage," he said.

An Afro-American teacher with a large "Teachers Support Washington" button, Loraine Sullivan, said she backed the candidate because "he can handle the job."

"He said he is going to help improve..." Continued on page 11
WASHINGTON BEATS GANGUP
Defeats GOP & Dem machines
Washington wins in Chicago

By MARK ALLEN

CHICAGO, April 13 — When U.S Rep. Harold Washington (D-III) raised his arms in victory above the thousands of enthusiastic supporters in the early morning hours today, he symbolically confirmed the ushering in of a new era of political power in the second largest city of the U.S. And the implications reach far beyond this city of 3.5 million.

Washington won against an alliance of the Democratic machine, the Republican Party, the Reagan Administration and the mass media. Despite a virulent racist campaign against him, Washington not only became the first Afro-American mayor of Chicago, but also the Black mayor with the largest constituency in history. He did it with a broad-based grassroots movement.

An unprecedented Black voter turn-out sparked the largest voter turn-out in Chicago history. Washington garnered up to 99 percent of the vote in key Black precincts. He won citywide with 51.4 percent of the vote.

Washington's victory over Republican Bernard Epton was fundamentally a victory over the policies of President Reagan and the Democratic machine that has ruled this town for more than 50 years. It is a machine that Washington has promised to dismantle.

Fought party bosses

Washington, the victor in the three-way Democratic Party primary February 22, while officially the Democratic Party standard bearer, was openly opposed by the city's Democratic Party hierarchy.

The Republican Party provided the pollsters, public relations firm, money, and the internal corps of the campaign; the Democratic Party machine provided the ward leaders, precinct captains, and troops. The major media also participated in the attempt to defeat Washington and the overtly racist thrust of the Epton campaign.

The independent movement that gave rise to Washington's candidacy and eventual victory was based in the Black community and amongst rank-and-file trade unionists of all nationalities. The campaign made tremendous breakthroughs in the Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and Cuban communities as well.

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Chi. machine attempts coup

By MIKE GIOCONDO
CHICAGO, May 4 — The Democratic Party machine aligned itself with Republicans yesterday and moved to limit the mayor's authority and to block five Afro-American councilmen from committee chairmanships.

Councilman Edward Vrdolyak, council president pro tem, called to order a meeting with only 28 other councilmen of the 50 members, passed several new rules, including one which paves the way for council committees to bottle up legislation proposed by the mayor.

The 29 councilmembers conducted the session after Washington and 21 other councilmembers, including four whites, walked out. Washington had called for a voice vote, then declared the meeting adjourned. The mayor presides over council meetings.

Vrdolyak took the rostrum, held a roll call vote and called the meeting back to order. All 29 present were white and included many Democrats who supported millionaire Republican Bernard Epton in the election.

During the campaign, Vrdolyak, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, joined ex-mayor Jane Byrne in campaigning listlessly for Washington.

The Council session named most of Washington's opponents to head the nine new committees, and several of the standing committees. All but two of the leading positions went to white councilmembers. There are 16 Afro-American council members and one of Latin American heritage.

Washington later commented, "Mr. Vrdolyak and some few of his supporters don't understand that there will not be business as usual, that there will be reforms."

Washington has already announced that he will fight to eliminate the political patronage system utilized by the Democratic Party machine. He has also pledged to establish civil service, collective bargaining for all city workers, the cutting of top administrative salaries, trimming city expenses and opening the city's books and government to the people.

The session was declared void by Mayor Harold Washington and he was supported by both the city's counsel and parliamentarian.

Alderman David Orr of the 49th ward stressed that the session "was a bloodbath." Another white alderman, Marion Volini of the 48th ward stated, "The action would divide the city ra-

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CBTU: key force in Chi. election

By CHARLES WILSON

CHICAGO — When the history of the campaign that elected Harold Washington as the first Black Mayor of Chicago is written, a major section will describe the dynamic role of both the leaders and rank and file of the coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU).

It is fitting that the 12th Annual Convention of CBTU takes place in Chicago. The convention opens today at the Ramada O'Hare Inn with the theme: “The Black Worker: Remembering the Dream.”

Explaining the role of CBTU, the convention call points out, “We stated at our beginning that it is our challenge to make the labor movement more relevant to the needs and aspirations of Black and poor workers. This challenge remains the same and much more needs to be done! We intend to meet the challenge and we are going to do more!”

This was the challenge addressed by the CBTU in the Washington campaign. There was no better way for the labor movement in Chicago to work for the needs of labor than working for the election of Washington. It was exactly those needs that candidate Washington addressed.

Charles Hayes

Charles Hayes is the first name that comes to mind when discussing the role of the labor movement in the

History will record that the backbone of that breakfast was the leaders and rank and file of CBTU. Many names come to mind: Harold Rogers, American Federation of Teachers; Robert Simpson, International Brotherhood of Teamsters; James Wright, regional director, United Auto Workers; Addie Wyatt; UFCW; John McKnight, IBT; Glandis Hambrick, AFT; James Madison, Hotel, Motel Service Employees Union; Claudia Roberson, AFSCME; Arthur Davis, Service Employees International Union; and Tommie Briscoe, Postal Workers union.

Addie Wyatt played a leading role in a Women’s Network that was key to Washington’s victory.

Labor endorsement

It was under the leadership of Hayes and the CBTU that the battle was carried into the Chicago Federation of Labor to secure its endorsement in the primaries. That battle was lost. However, as a result of the massive movement that developed around Washington’s victory as a candidate, the next fight in the federation to get its endorsement ended in victory.

The tremendous movement which developed to elect Washington, a campaign which had 18,000 volunteers in the field, found its reflection in the trade union movement. At the second labor breakfast called by Hayes’ Labor for Washington Committee,
Well aware of the important national implications of this bitter election battle, the mercenary political pundits of the Democratic and Republican parties spent sleepless nights mapping out their strategy.

Washington's victory in the February 22 primary sent tremors all the way to Washington D.C.; his mayoralty victory April 12 has them reeling.

But according to so-called analysts such as the New York Times' Howell Raines, Washington's victory has "neither the Republican National Committee nor the White House...particularly upset." The Democratic Party national leadership, he claims, is ecstatic.

Neither could be further from the truth.

But Raines' analysis of the Chicago election contains within it a series of outright lies and distortions that are being consciously disseminated by the monopoly-controlled media throughout this country to diminish the critical importance of the Washington victory—its impetus for political independence.

Raines and other members of the national media continue to claim that, "indeed, the Republican leaders in Washington kept Mr. Epton at arm's length." President Reagan and the Republican National Committee, headed by his closest Congressional ally, Senator Paul Laxalt (R-Nevada) were directly involved in the racist campaign of Bernard Epton against Washington. They dispatched their PR firm, sent money, and in collusion with Republican Illinois Governor James Thompson, provided the inner circle of the campaign.

They tried so hard to mask their role because that was key to the strategy for the defeat of Washington. The White House was well aware of the deep-seated opposition to Reaganism in Chicago; its Democratic Party voting tradition; and the necessity of mobilizing the Democratic Party machine in the anti-Washington effort.

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dermine the political and programmatic thrust of the movement for political independence that led to Washington's victory.

The national Democratic Party leadership gave dramatic public support to Washington, but it is not true that, according to Raines, "in responding to white Democrats' rejection of Mr. Washington, who is Black, the national Democratic Party leadership also helped diminish the chances of a breakaway presidential campaign by a Black candidate in 1984."

The question of a Black presidential challenge within the Democratic Party in 1984, an idea raised most consistently by Operation PUSH President Jesse Jackson, is a serious one, and one which has been gaining significant traction within the Black community. The Washington victory, and the tremendous Black community movement that spurred it, has deepened that sentiment.

"Mayor-elect Harold Washington's coalition victory in Chicago was not a prerequisite for a Black presidential candidacy in 1984—but it certainly gave it a major boost," Jackson said. "It demonstrated that victory was possible. But it also demonstrated that while some will join us if we assert ourselves, without such aggressiveness no one else will lead our fight for equitable representation, and some will actively oppose our interests despite past service and loyalty to the party."

The Democratic Party paraded a host of Democratic notables into this city, including presidential hopefuls. The goal was to offset the bitterness and anger in Chicago and throughout the country among Black people over the cynical and racist betrayal of the Washington election bid by the Democratic Party leadership of this city.

Further, a Republican mayor in the nation's second largest city would seriously jeopardize the Democrats' attempt to unseat Reagan in 1984.

But the Washington victory hardly lets the Demo-
Editorial:

A great people's victory

The election of Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago last Tuesday was a victory for that great city's working people.

It was a victory based on the solid unity of the Black community, in alliance with the Chicano, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and other communities of Latin American peoples, together with the most democratic-minded white people.

The election was a giant step forward in the development of the all-people's front for reversing the Reaganite anti-labor drive toward war, racism, and increased exploitation. It is no accident of history that the two rallying cries of the movement that succeeded at the polls in Chicago were jobs and justice.

The victory marks the defeat of the attempt of the most reactionary elements of big capital, the military-industrial complex and their corrupt allies in Chicago, to block this epic people's movement.

This election marks the most important victory in the electoral arena by the emerging all-people's front. But the warhawks and reactionaries are not defeated yet. They can be expected to continue their attacks on the people's movement, using racism as their main weapon. For that reason increased organization, vigilance and working-class unity is essential.

Their aim will be to wreck the movement, hamstring the new city council through threats, blackmail and bribery, and to provoke a financial crisis.

The Reagans and their Chicago allies saw in this election not only a movement of the people for equality and economic justice. They saw in this movement the power to bury the policies of Reaganism that threaten the very existence of the people of the world. That is why they plunged Chicago into a filthiest, most racist municipal electoral campaign in the nation's history.

The resistance of Chicagoans to this attack on their city is an inspiration to the country. But there are ominous signs surrounding this victory. No comfort can be taken by progressives from the ability of these racist, fascist-like attacks to confuse whites, including white workers. While 99 per cent of Black voters and 79 per cent of Latino voters voted for the most forward-looking mayoral candidate ever offered Chicagoans, fully 82 per cent of white voters voted for a Reaganite Republican, warming the evil hearts of those who are banking on the use of racism and intimidation to wreck the movement against Reaganism in 1984.

Nor can the leaders of the national Democratic Party claim credit for the victory. Their speeches in Chicago did nothing to prevent the white Chicago Democratic Party establishment, closely allied through corruption with big capital, from joining hands with the most reactionary elements in the country to block from high office a Black man representing all the working people. Most sad of all, the AFL-CIO leadership, also, came into Chicago too late and with too little.

The victory in Chicago belongs to the working people of that city and to the most advanced progressive forces among them. It is, as proclaimed by Mayor-elect Washington, the "bright daybreak for (Chicago) and for, perhaps, this entire nation."

Washington's victory is, thus, a symbol for the nation's working class, for the poor and oppressed of all races, nationalities and creeds, of the great possibilities for unity in the fight for democracy, equal rights, economic justice and a world free from the threat of nuclear destruction and war.

Continued on page 6
Alliance urges support for Chicago mayor

Chicago's political crisis

The deadlock between Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago and the City Council "Old Guard" has many lessons for working people across the country — the first of which is that mass political action can never stop on election day. If it does, the gains of today rapidly become the losses of tomorrow.

The movement that brought Washington to office is a movement for minority representation. Because this movement had to overcome the Democratic machine, as well as the Republican Party, it inevitably became a political movement which is independent of the two-party officialdom and the banks that back them. Built on the movement of masses, it is challenging the austerity measures of big business, and has the possibility of becoming an even more mass movement of all those who oppose corporate control of our cities, Black, white, peoples of Latin American heritage, men and women.

Is this more than the fact the two political parties and the big corporations in Chicago, even those that were compelled by mass pressure to support Washington's election, would like to limit his ability to act? Washington urges these forces because he has indicated his intentions of keeping his campaign promises — first of which is to end the "machine" control. The heart of the kind of politics Washington wants to end is control of key City Council Committees by corrupt aldermen who build control on a system of patronage.

Washington was elected as a result of an historic upsurge of Chicago's working people — but it is this very election that a block of 23 Councilmen, all white, now want to make null and void.

The changes made by the 29 in an illegal meeting of the City Council would virtually strip the Mayor of any legislative role. Not coincidentally, Edward Vrdolyak, the Tench Ward Alderman and self-designated leader of the 29, is himself a multi-millionaire who has headed the lucrative Building and Zoning Committee. His campaign fund for re-election last February totaled over $1 million.

The Vrdolyak forces talk a lot about "majority rule," but they forget that Washington won the election, with an absolute majority in many of the districts in which these machine Democrats were elected.

These realities must now be brought to bear in Chicago, through mass struggle. The program of the movement that brought Washington into office is in the interests of every working person. Angry delegations, phone calls and letters to each of the obstructing officials would certainly be helpful. Mass protests would also go a long way to changing the situation.

Labor, which played an important role in electing Washington, has an even more important role in seeing to it that the results of the election are not nullified. Why shouldn't the labor leaders that came to Chicago to support Washington now return to tell the block of 29 legislators to end their undemocratic actions?

With such mass pressure, especially if it unites Black and white, it will certainly be possible to compel a significant part of the 29 obstructionists to "see the light" and accept the will of the people.

Special to the Daily World

CHICAGO — The Chicago Chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) has urged mass support for Mayor Washington to help him carry out his election promise to end "machine politics" in the city.

The NAARPR stated that the deadlock in the City Council by forces opposing Washington are "part of a nationwide attack on Black elected officials which attack at its roots in the Reagan Administration."

The City Council has been deadlocked since Washington, the city's first Afro-American mayor, took office a month ago. Opposing Washington are 29 council members, all of whom are white, under the leadership of Edward Vrdolyak, 10th Ward Councilman.

Backing Washington are 21 council members, including all of the council's 16 Afro-Americans plus five whites. They have accused the Vrdolyak group of racism and of illegally naming new council committee members at a rump session of the council. Key to the naming of committee members is the chairman of the Finance Committee, which controls city spending and contracts.

The two sides have filed charges in court to settle the deadlock and the legality of the new council committee members. A County Circuit judge ruled in favor of the 29, but issued a stay, hoping that the sides can reach a decision before appeals are ruled.

Text of the NAARPR statement follows:

"The Chicago Branch of the NAARPR joins other freedom loving people in support of Mayor Harold Washington and against the Vrdolyak forces who are trying to limit Mr. Washington's ability to govern."

"This action, designed to humiliate the mayor, is part of a nationwide attack on Black elected officials which has its roots in the Reagan administration. Perhaps the most brutal of these cases is that of Mayor Eddie James Carthan, of Tchula, Mississippi, who now languishes at a Montgomery, Alabama prison farm for merely performing his mayoral duties.

"Vrdolyak and the other councilmen who have joined with him, all of whom are white males, are determined to see that Mayor Washington does not keep his campaign promises to the people to end machine politics."

Illegal changes

The changes made by the Vrdolyak group in the illegal meeting omitted Mayor Washington and all Black and liberal white councilpersons from any role in the reorganization of the City Council. This illegal act eliminated the power of the Black councilpersons who headed committees. Judge James Murray mentioned nothing of the reduction of committees headed by Black councilpersons from seven to three.

"Washington would like to put an end to the patronage system which keeps corrupt aldermen in power in city government. These corrupt aldermen do not represent the best interests of the people in their districts. The people in these districts are not fooled by the talk of 'majority rule' by the Vrdolyak crowd."

"Harold Washington won the election with an absolute majority in many of the wards where the machine Democrats were elected, thus proving that the voters wanted a change from the old "machine politics" and the enslaving patronage system."

"Harold Washington was elected by a democratic, peace-loving coalition of Black, white and Latino voters. This fact has been totally ignored by the Vrdolyak group as they attempt to make the election null and void."

"The Chicago Branch of the NAARPR strongly urges all concerned Chicagoans to join with them to write, call and/or visit the offices of Vrdolyak and all other aldermen lined up with him to turn back the clock and nullify the election of a people's candidate."
Harold Washington runs for mayor in Chi.

By REBECCA BROWN

What is youth's stake in the upcoming mayoral race in Chicago? Under the present city administration, youth have faced hard times. Unemployment has soared with Mayor Jane Byrne, an avid supporter of Reaganomics, at the helm. Public education has steadily deteriorated and student loans and grants are becoming scarce.

But now there is an alternative to Byrne's policies. Rep. Harold Washington, an Afro-American, is challenging her in the elections.

His track record as a legislator and member of the Congressional Black Caucus shows that he is willing to fight for the rights and welfare of people.

The Young Worker recently interviewed Willard Lett, a youth leader and activist in Chicago. He is a strong supporter of Harold Washington as a youth advocate and as the next mayor of Chicago. Lett is a member of the Youth Committee for the Task Force for Voters Registration and Education and a member of CBUC — Chicago Black United Communities. The interview follows.

Question: Congressman Washington has stated that the Chicago school system does not educate and students "continue to lag far behind the country in test scores." How would you expect this to change if Washington was mayor?

Lett: A big problem with the schools is the lack of commitment from the people on the top. There is no representation on the School Board which reflects the racial composition of the students. According to statistics released by the school board, white students make up 16.3 percent of the school's enrollment; Black students, 60.7 percent, and Hispanics, 20.4 percent. School Board members and the Superintendent of Schools are characteristically political appointments. Two years ago Mayor Byrne unsuccessfully tried to appoint Thomas Aires, Commonwealth Edison executive, president of the School Board.

As Congressman Harold Washington begins his mayoralship, he will declare new appointments ... which would be geared more toward quality education and equal representation.

Q: Washington refers to Chicago as a divided city where citizens are treated unequally and unfairly. As a youth leader, how do you see Washington bringing about a unified city?

Lett: By fairness. By not being overly excessive either way — not to work for just Black people or just white people but for all people. Under Washington, I see communities starting to work together. We can activate and organize for demands and put those demands out front.

Q: Washington is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Do you see their Alternative Budget as having any impact on the youth of Chicago?

Lett: There are two major points here. First, under the Alternative Budget there is money for quality education. Under Reagan, education was not a priority. The Alternative Budget provides for increased accessibility to education by disadvantaged students along with funds for financial aid and quality minority education.

The second point is the decreased military spending. Congressman Washington supports the Nuclear Freeze Movement whole-heartedly. He does not see the feasibility of nuclear warfare. I see his priorities being in the area of human services not a bloated military budget.
close to 1,000 unionists attended. The city's leading unionists, both Black and white, participated, as did national labor leaders. The breakfast was keynoted by Gerald McEntee, president of AFSCME, and Robert Healy, president of the Illinois Federation of Teachers, spoke.

Greetings were sent by Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president; Robert Gibson, Illinois AFL-CIO president and William Winpinsinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

History will record that the CBTU was an integral part of that unprecedented movement which resulted in a dramatic change in the role of labor in the campaign.

Nationally, the CBTU, in the person of its chairman, William Lucy, who is also secretary-treasurer of AFSCME, made a major contribution to the election. Lucy spoke at a mass election rally at the University of Illinois Circle Campus attended by 13,000 people. Also speaking at that rally were Kirkland, Gibson, Douglas Fraser, then president of the UAW and William Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Lucy organized a labor breakfast for Washington in New York City, raising $6,000 for the campaign. A post election labor breakfast here, backed by Hayes, raised $120,000.

In the campaign, of the over 2,000 trade unionists who worked as poll watchers, runners, door-to-door campaigners, CBTU contributed its share.

Hayes is one of four announced candidates for the Congressional seat vacated by Harold Washington. Elections in the city's First Congressional District are set for July 26. If elected, Hayes will be the first trade unionist of his stature to become a U.S. representative.

Black workers, including the CBTU, played a major role in the mobilization for the massive 1982 Labor Day demonstration in New York City (I), and for the one-million-strong June 12 march for peace and human needs.
By Tim Wheeler

CHICAGO

Wind and snow whipped the city of Chicago on a recent evening while inside the 71st St. YMCA in the South Shore community a crowd met beneath a big yellow handpainted sign that read: "Spring is Busting Out All Over."

It was a meeting of nearly 100 volunteers in Harold Washington's campaign to become Chicago's first Afro-American mayor. The meeting opened without fanfare, in an atmosphere of calm determination.

"Our most important enterprise between now and next Monday (March 14) is voter registration," began Harold Pates, coordinator of the campaign in the 5th Ward, where Washington's home is and which he now represents as a U.S. congressman. Pates said they had located thousands who still were not registered to vote. Signing up non-voters, he said, could be the key to Washington's victory.

Pates displayed a map of the sprawling ward, which he had carved up into eight areas. He asked several in the crowd to serve as area coordinators, leading teams of volunteers to canvass the entire ward, block-by-block, house-by-house. Ward maps, voter registration lists and piles of literature were handed to the volunteers.

Among the volunteers was Delores Jackson, a young Afro-American registered nurse, who listened as the assignments were handed out. "I never even wore a campaign button before this election," she said, pointing to the blue and white button on her lapel which proclaimed "Washington for Chicago."

She added, "My husband and I got active before the primary and now we're wearing our shoes out, running up the telephone bills, ringing doorbells. It's waking people up to their own personal commitment in contrast to sitting back and letting someone else make the decisions for you."

She said she was already thinking ahead to the elections, to what would become of the vast movement which had so deeply stirred her, bringing her in touch with millions of others throughout the city. A realization had burst upon the the Afro-American people of Chicago of the enormous power of their numbers in motion. It evoked feelings so exhilarating after decades of powerlessness that Jackson said she wanted to nurture it, protect it from harm.

"I don't want impotency to set in," she said. "This is important for my children. Twenty years from now, maybe they will be faced with the prospect of trying to accomplish something. Maybe they will want to run for political office. I don't want them to find that the doors are still closed."

Washington's primary victory February 22 over two white machine politicians, incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne and Richard Daley, son of the late Mayor Daley, was doubly sweet because the Democratic machine had so smugly dismissed its possibility. For decades it ignored or belittled the Black vote in public while conniving behind the scenes to neutralize and decapitate any real political independence.

Chicago without a Democratic machine and patronage was inconceivable to "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, chairman of the Cook County Democrats, or to Charles Swibel, head of the Chicago Housing Authority. Swibel helped transform Chicago public housing into the worst slum in the nation while making himself a millionaire.

The success of the Washington campaign has sent the machine forces into a mouth-frothing frenzy. Roman Pucinski, a red baiting alderman and former U.S. congressman, stormed out of a luncheon at which Democratic National Chairman Charles Manatt announced the Democratic Party's endorsement of Washington. The Afro-American primary winner would have to "come to me ... I'm not going to him," Pucinski snarled.

Police Chief Richard Brzeczek in a series of raving TV ads predicted that Chicago would be "unsafe" and "un-

Tim Wheeler is the Washington, D.C. correspondent for the Daily World.
The Struggle for the All-Peoples Front in Illinois

TED PEARSON

The 1982 elections in Illinois, as in the rest of the U.S., were a referendum on Reaganism. In downstate areas outside Chicago where the labor movement got involved, Reaganites were either defeated or just barely re-elected. For example, Lane Evans, a liberal independent Democrat, won election to Congress in the Rock Island Area (the Quad Cities), defeating a Reaganite Republican. Richard Durbin, a Democrat, defeated Paul Findley, a Republican, in the Springfield area. Robert Michel, President Reagan's House Minority Leader, was only narrowly re-elected to Congress in Peoria, where thousands of Caterpillar Tractor workers were on strike, with thousands also laid off as a result of Reagan's anti-Soviet trade embargo. These results are attributable to the role played by the UAW, which is strong in both these areas.

In Cook County (mainly Chicago), the anti-Reagan wave overwhelmingly passed the nuclear freeze referendum, by more than 74 per cent in Chicago and 66 per cent in the suburbs. This was in spite of the fact that both the Sun Times and the Tribune called for a "No" vote on the freeze. The freeze was on the ballot only in Cook County.

The policy of the Illinois District Committee of the Communist Party, USA, was to help build a movement to defeat those candidates most closely allied with the reactionary policies of the Reagan Administration. The outlook was to harness and channel the anti-Reagan wave to strike a blow at Reaganism and at the same time counter illusions that the Democratic Party offered any real alternative to Reaganism. Emphasis was, therefore, placed on building grassroots political movements and organization that moved away from reliance on the two old parties of Big Business. To this end the Party struggled for the maximum mobilization and unity of the trade union movement, the Black, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican communities, and all progressive forces in a campaign to elect candidates inside and outside the two parties of Big Business who opposed both open and secretive supporters of Reagan's program in Congress and in the state legislature. The main emphasis was placed in campaigns for truly popular Black and Latino representation, working to convince people, regardless of race or nationality, of their interest in this objective. This interest is demonstrated in real life by the outstanding role played by the Congressional Black Caucus on behalf of all working people. The Party's principled and consistent struggle for this unity flowed from the understanding of its members of the necessity for organized labor to play its historic role, and their understanding of the centrality of the struggle for Black liberation. These principles are themselves based on the Party's revolutionary perspective for ending monopoly capitalist exploitation and racism.

The Party sought to base its work among the rank and file of labor and in the people's movements in the communities. The political situation in the state was extremely complex: Republican Governor James Thompson, seeking re-election, was an open supporter of Reagan's program and is the author of its counterpart for the state. Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne, a Democrat, made it clear in many ways that she favored Thompson's re-election and supported Reagan's program. Thus, in no way could the superficial struggle between Republicans and Democrats be said to reflect in its major aspects a struggle between Reaganism and the popular forces arrayed against it, the anti-Reagan wave. This is in spite of last-minute efforts by Mayor Byrne and Cook County Democratic Party Chairman Edward Vrdolyak, a notorious racist and anti-Communist, to masquerade their party as anti-Reagan.

The voter turnout, statewide but especially in Chicago, far exceeded the usual in an off-year.
election—over 71 per cent of the electorate in Chicago, and over 75 per cent in the Black communities. This included more than 200,000 new registrants signed up in a massive drive by independent Black, Latino and progressive white community forces. Both Governor Thompson and Mayor Byrne did everything possible to thwart this registration drive in Chicago, which focused on unemployment compensation offices, welfare offices and other places in Black, Latino and white working-class communities. The voter turnout of 71 per cent compares to only 50 per cent in 1978, the last "off-year" election.

The Black community in Chicago has been outraged by endless racist injuries and insults by Mayor Byrne. (See: Ishmael Flory, "Independent Politics in the Chicago Black Community," Political Affairs, October 1982.) Progressive forces in the Mexican-American community, understanding the centrality of Black liberation to the struggles of the whole working class and all oppressed national minorities, fought for unity of the Mexican-American and Black community organizations.

Indeed, they were responsible for preventing Mayor Byrne from turning the Mexican and Puerto Rican communities against the Black community, through her appointments of some conservative Latinos to various boards in opposition to Blacks. When Rudolfo Lozano, a young Mexican-American trade union leader, appeared at a rally last year of Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC) demanding the appointment of a Black school superintendent, it was the beginning of the highest degree of Black-Latino unity Chicago has seen.

The most significant long-term development in this election was the high vote received by three genuinely independent, popular candidates in their races for the state legislature. They were Juan Soliz, in the Mexican community on the West Side; incumbent State Representative Arthur Turner, in the Black community on the West Side; and Monica Faith Stewart, in the Black community on the South Side.

The Communist Party itself slated Richard Giovanoni, a leader of the Young Workers Liberation League, for the state legislature in the Seventh Representative District on the predominantly white North Side. He had no Republican opponent, and his Democratic Party opponent was a "machine" incumbent who was distinguished for his lack of leadership in the struggle against the Reaganite program of Governor James Thompson or Mayor Jane Byrne. Giovanoni received 530 votes, slightly more than two per cent. The Citizens Party also ran a candidate in the same district, and he polled over 10 per cent of the vote, giving that party the right to nominate a candidate for the legislature in that district in 1984 without collecting signatures. This high vote was due to the absence of a Republican candidate in the district, but still is significant.

Adlai Stevenson III was slated by the Democratic Party to run against Republican Governor Thompson, an open campaigner for Reagan's policies. The Democrats also relented incumbent State Comptroller Roland Burris, who is Black. There is much doubt the Democratic machine ever wanted or expected either Stevenson or Burris to win. The AFL-CIO gave Stevenson only a very half-hearted endorsement and the reason was not only his very weak opposition to Reaganism and some anti-labor aspects of his program. Thompson is an open supporter of Reagan, and is notoriously anti-labor. The coolness of much of the AFL-CIO leadership towards Stevenson reflected the closeness of the Chicago labor leadership to Mayor Byrne, who supported Thompson. Byrne, you will remember, was the only big city mayor who refused to even be present at last year's National Conference of Mayors in order not to be associated with its anti-Reagan positions. In 1981 the leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labor refused to participate in a demonstration of thousands outside a banquet at which Reagan was appearing in Chicago, because he was speaking in support of Governor Thompson.

In the complex situation described above, it was mainly in areas where there were the independent candidates that the Democratic Party machine urged a straight ticket vote. In other areas they encouraged split tickets, and encouraged people to vote for Thompson. The overwhelming vote for Stevenson and Burris in Chicago, especially in the Black community, was thus, in part, a vote against...
Byrne and Reagan. The vote for Stevenson and the extreme closeness of the results (less than a few thousand votes difference) sent the pre-election pollsters into a tailspin. The vote for Burris was even more overwhelming: 86 per cent in Chicago, 58 per cent in suburban Cook County and 58 per cent throughout the rest of the state, making him the biggest winner in the state with 65 per cent of the total.

In Chicago the labor movement did not play a role in the elections. The leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labor, dominated by the building trades, has close ties to the racist Byrne-Thompson machine. There were no open Reaganites running in Chicago for re-election to Congress, only what some call “closet Reaganites,” or those who speak against Reagan and yet support his program in Congress or the state legislature. In the three state representative districts where there were strong independent challenges to such “closet Reaganites,” labor, except for the United Auto Workers, sat it out.

The Chicago municipal election campaign, with the primary set for February 22, 1983, opened the day after the national elections closed. All attention is now focused on the campaign to elect U.S. Rep. Harold Washington as the first Black mayor of Chicago. The record turnout in the November election, the very strong showing of Adlai Stevenson and other candidates not supported by Mayor Byrne on the Democratic Party ticket, especially Turner and Stewart in the Black community, and Soliz in the Mexican-American community, has created an unprecedented spirit of optimism for the city elections to come.

Among the independents, the Juan Soliz campaign was the best organized and the most independent. Soliz is an attorney who heads the Legal Assistance Program in the Pilsen-Little Village Mexicano communities. He has close ties with progressive Mexican-American forces. He was ruled off the ballot in the Democratic Party primary last spring through an illegal maneuver by the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners (they held that he had failed to register a change of address with them, when, in fact, they had “lost” it). He mounted a petition campaign to regain the ballot in the General Election as a “third party” candidate, running on the line of the “Juan Soliz Party.” He gathered over 6,000 signatures and organized his campaign. Turner and Stewart took the same path to regain the ballot after being defeated in the primaries.

The Communist Party and Giovanoni initiated a suit to reduce the number of signatures required to get on the ballot for “new parties” running candidates for the state legislature. The Party discussed the unconstitutionality of the signature requirement with the American Civil Liberties Union and they agreed to take the case into federal court. The ACLU contacted the Citizens Party, which was seeking to file in the same district as the Communists, and also spoke to Turner and Soliz. The Citizens Party joined the suit right away. The judge indicated she would uphold the position of the parties, but also said that she wouldn't rule unless the State Board of Elections knocked one of the plaintiff parties off the ballot. Both parties had filed more than the 3,000 statutory requirement. Turner, who had not filed that many signatures and who was clearly not going to be certified, then joined the suit. The judge then ordered that all third party legislative candidates who filed 1,500 signatures or more be certified by the state Board of Elections, guaranteeing all the independents a place on the ballot.

None of the independent, third-party candidates won, but they achieved the highest level of precinct organization since the historic victory of Allan Streeter for the City Council against Mayor Byrne’s handpicked candidate earlier in the year. Soliz polled over a third of the vote. Turner and Stewart polled only slightly less. Over 700 precinct workers were organized by Soliz alone, and additional hundreds by Turner and Stewart. There was no doubt of the victory they had achieved in the view of these workers as they celebrated election night. They had faced armed thugs serving as Byrne’s “precinct captains” on the crime syndicate controlled West Side, and they had organized a tremendous vote for their candidates. Most significantly, these campaigns had achieved a new level of Black-Latino unity, unprecedented in Chicago.

Progressive independents in the upcoming elections are organizing to launch broadly-based,
grassroots movements to elect Washington mayor. There will be many tactical problems, but these forces, motivated by their determination to defeat Mayor Byrne and the corrupt Big Business forces she represents, will measure up to the requirements of this struggle. The first need will be for white trade unionists and progressives, including those in the City Council running for reelection, to endorse Washington in the face of a racist campaign. The unifying theme will be jobs and Black-white-Latino unity against Reaganism and Byrne. When the mayoral candidates are measured by their records on economic, civil rights and civil liberties issues, it is clear that there can be no legitimate reason for progressive, democratically-spirited people and movements not to endorse and work for Washington's election. Only a fear of confronting and defeating racism, which although deeply ingrained among whites is not impregnable, could explain such a failure.

Most bourgeois observers concede that Mayor Byrne is not re-electable. Increasingly, their favorite to replace her is Richard M. (Richie) Daley, son of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley. Unfortunately for the capitalists, however, Mayor Byrne has not (at this writing) agreed to step aside. Daley has carefully fostered a "fresh" and honest media image as the state's attorney for Cook County. Yet while he has been in that office he has been silent and done next to nothing about racist attacks on Black and Latino people in his own ward, the Eleventh, which remains a bastion of racism and "machine" control. He has been totally silent about the brutal federal, state and city budget cuts against public and social services. He has tried to make "youth crime" his big issue.

Already bourgeois "pundits" are saying that Washington will "take votes away from (Richie) Daley." But who, besides Big Business, wants Daley? A real split is developing in the machine. Some of the liberal whites and even some "pragmatic" Black leaders are saying that the only way to beat Byrne is with Daley. But the fear of another 20 years of a Daley Dynasty is enough to sober many, and as Washington's campaign becomes more viable more and more of the liberal independents and Black leaders will take a stand with him.

The big capitalists will stop at nothing to prevent Harold Washington from winning the mayoral election. There will be fake "independent" candidates thrown up in the general election in April, including some on the pseudo-Left Trotskyite fringe. Newspaper columnists openly speak of a "White Hope Party" being launched into the General Election in April should Washington win the primary. The level of racism in the Big Business press is unpredicentenced.

In such a situation the role of the Communist Party in the struggle against racism, for unity of Black, white and Latino, can be decisive. The Party has a historic responsibility to play this role. The epic struggle that is unfolding in Chicago and the role of the Communist Party in it will lead to the growth of the Party, just as the Party's work in the election just concluded did. More and more trade unionists and community activists are recognizing the special role of Communists and their Party in the struggle to unite the working class and all progressive forces, Black, white and Latino. Indeed, it is not accidental that no other force can make this special contribution. The Party's role and leadership flows directly from its fundamental opposition to monopoly capitalism and the racism that it automatically engenders in its drive for greater and greater profits; and its basic understanding that racism and national chauvinism are daggers pointing at the heart of the working class and the oppressed, regardless of race or nationality.

If Harold Washington wins the election in February 1983, it will be based on the unity of Black people, the overwhelming support of the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American communities, and massive support from white progressives. The Communist Party is in a unique position and has a unique responsibility to lead the struggle for this unity together with others on the Left.
Independent Politics in the Chicago Black Community

ISHMAEL FLORY

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

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

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

Add to this picture the fact of rampant police brutality. The murder of Black and Hispanic people by police all too often goes unpunished, hiding behind the ever-ready excuse of “justifiable homicide.” Add to all of these negatives—lack of democracy and equality—the ingredient that the city of Chicago is the largest employer in northern Illinois, and is dominated by large banking and industrial capitalist interests operating through the notoriously corrupt Democratic Party, the so-called machine. This situation cries out for affirmative action backed by definite quotas to correct the consequences of the racism and sexism historically wielded against against women, Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities and still maintained today.

A Historical Perspective on Independence

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

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

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

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

**Background of the Streeter Campaign**

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

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

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

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

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

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**POLITICAL AFFAIRS**
Streeter Breaks with Byrne

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

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

The next big issue which stimulated the development of independent political tendencies in the Chicago Black community was the question of redrawing the congressional, state legislative and aldermanic districts in Chicago based on the 1980 census. A coalition of organizations, including the Chicago Black United Communities, the Political Action Committee of Illinois, Operation Push, the Chicago Urban League and the NAACP came together to press for equal and proportional representation for Black elected officials in Congress, in the state legislature and in the City Council. This coalition drew upon the work and research of many able people from the academic community, as well as the efforts of Black lawyers. The goal was to retain three Black congresspersons, to elect twenty or twenty one Black alderpersons and to add one more Black state legislative district. The coalition had ongoing working meetings to come up with redistricting maps that would accomplish these goals. This was the most thoroughgoing approach to redistricting and representation in any Black community in this writer's experience.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Why Did Streeter Win?**

In the first election on June 1, Streeter was the top vote-getter, with over 46 per cent of the vote. In the runoff election, Streeter won with some 56
per cent of the vote. The runoff produced a relatively heavy turnout of voters—46 per cent, while only some 39 per cent turned out in the first election.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In both the June 1 and June 30 elections in which the various forces enumerated above merged for a great victory, most of the participants were volunteers. Volunteers took the initiative to organize a committee of women for Streeter. Another woman, who works in an automobile parts plant and has two children at home, came directly from the job, sometimes two or three times a week, sometimes every day, systematically working in a
precinct. Another volunteer trade unionist brought trade unionists working in the campaign together in a group called “Trade Unionists for Streeter,” who then issued a leaflet at their own expense raising the question of affirmative action in the Chicago city government, the biggest employer in Illinois. A shop worker and member of the grain workers’ union organized a group of five volunteers, including this writer, to work in his precinct. During the last week a borrowed van and loud speakers were driven around the ward and through parades; sometimes riding in the van and speaking to the people through the loud speaker was Congressman Harold Washington, or Alderman Danny Davis, or Lu Palmer, or Georgia English Palmer. Senior citizens, including one partisan over 80 years old, came out to leaflet, some climbing steps to peoples’ homes in the ward. Such people came from all parts of the city—West Side, North Side, Central City, South East Side, West Side, some as individuals and some as members of organizations.

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

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

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

Lessons of the Campaign

Below are some of the lessons of the campaign:

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

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

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

Our job is to win and educate the masses away from the narrow and isolationist tendencies. That we cannot do unless we are in there working with the people, part of and pushing the positive currents. Moreover, unless we understand and respect the national heritage and pride of the people, though expressed sometimes in nationalistic or unconstructive terms, we cannot move the Black community. Conscious forces
must be able to illustrate by example and by literature that "affirmative action in the political arena" or even "self-determination" in these United States cannot be won without unity of all the oppressed—the working class, Black and Hispanic people and other "minorities" and women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

Even the aisles and choirs of the spacious Bethel A.M.E. Church on the city's Southside were packed. The Sunday affair was exactly expected, from the opening strains of the traditional black American anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing," to the moment of standing applause as U.S. Rep. Harold Washington took the pulpit.

A husky, handsome man with a drape of gray in his hair and a long, white mustache, Democrat and state assemblyman who successfully rebelled looked out on the waiting signs that proclaimed, "We Shall See In '83." A few days earlier, announcing he would run for mayor of Chicago, Washington had decided that he would see, too.

With his style and stunts, exciting occasional independents, defying State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan in 1972 (after his minions had killed Black Panther leader Fred Hampton) and later with Washington's 1977 mayoral bid after Mayor Richard J. Daley's death (noting only 11 percent of the votes but winning five black wards), blacks in Chicago have geared toward a share of real political power. The dwindling but still noteworthy force of the city's political machine—and the legacy of segregation and racism it had fostered—made the move smoother in Chicago than in many other cities where blacks have won the mayor's office.

After decades of patience and supporting white candidates, Washington told the largely black audience, "Now it's come to the point where we say, 'Well, it's our turn.' It's our turn." And we don't have to make any excuses for it.

Nor will they be the time for blacks and for Washington. If white votes split right between Mayor Daley and the incumbent, the black community was ready to rebuild the gains it lost in 1979, and Washington would Richard J. Daley, the mayor's erstwhile state's attorney, if the swelling rolls of black voters turn out en masse for Washington, and if sufficient numbers of whites (maybe 12 percent or more) and Latinos (20 to 25 percent) go for Washington, nearly everyone acknowledges that he will win.

Washington tells audiences that he expects solid black support but that he is not running a racial campaign, blaming Byrne and past major for a "deeply divided"
Harold Washington takes on the Chicago machine.

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Up from the 'hood

By David Moberg

Harold Washington believes his campaign will be won in the black neighborhoods.

But he is "running a campaign for the benefit of the entire city."

"We are running a campaign for the betterment of this entire city. We want all people in this city to have a fair share in the decision-making and policymaking of this city government. We do not go to close the doors to anyone. But we have worked to hard for or against absolutely, without reservation, and I would urge everyone in Chicago to understand that it is our turn now, it is our turn now." The PUSH crowd roared in approval, but many Chicagoans, including many of the media, have not understood that while Washington clearly relies on the black community—40 percent of the city—in his campaigning and programs he has attempted to appeal to the whole city.

Standing in all parts of this divided city received a substantial boost in the televised debates among the three Democratic candidates. The last known of the candidates, Washington excoriated the Byrne administration's record for having planned "fire at time bombs" in the city, school, and transit budgets. He advocated controversial steps—such as increasing the state income tax and firing the police superintendent. But rough his lush oratorical style, his wif and his candor, he has gained many fans, impressed many doubters and his respect even from those who continue to oppose him.

Nearly everyone sees the race as up for grabs, with Byrne leading and Daley slipping in the Arlington Heights campaign. But Washington's supporters see him as more committed than those of his opponents. He has been registered in Chicago, especially in the black community, there is a chance Washington could win.

To that end, he was at 6:30 the Saturday before last, walking the streets in Chicago, attending a campaign executive meeting and endorsing eight independent anti-Burn machine—city council candidates (including two Latinos and a white incumbent) before the PUSH meeting. At the meeting he received an endorsement from Tony Bonilla, the national leader of United Latin American Citizens, in one of the most interesting demonstrations of the much-discussed but still largely theoretical coalition of blacks and Hispanics (who make up about 17 percent of the city).

From there he headed to the far West side of the city, walking the bus stops and then stopping at a women's lunch, at a rally of West side ministers in support of him, at a youth rally, at a meeting of National Peoples Action (a coalition of neighborhood groups) and at a small gathering of women from the Cabrini-Green housing project.

By then it was late afternoon and the entourage was behind on its crowded schedule. Other representatives were sent to cover fundraising gatherings. Washington addressed a largely white gathering of junior high school supporters for the city slogan, "Up from the hood."
run the city's public housing, schools and mass transit and to reduce black representation on the council through redistricting. Her new low-key manner, cultivated under supervision of her media advisor David Sawyer, provoked one political antagonist to call her "sedated."

Last year it looked like 39-year-old Richie Daley would have an easy time riding to victory on his father's name and his own newly cultivated reputation. In the state senate, despite consistent votes in favor of measures that aided machine politics and a poor record on women's rights, environmental, civil rights and consumer issues, Daley scored points by advocating nursing home and mental health reforms. After he beat Byrne's candidate for state attorney in 1980, he embarked on a cautious campaign of good government and conservative views on social issues.

States Attorney Richie Daley, Chicago's longtime mayor, is a mainstream liberal with conservative views on social issues.

In terms of ideology, incumbent mayor Jane Byrne is the most conservative of the three candidates. She urged giving Reaganomics a chance to work and is backed by the Illinois Republicans.

Daley created a new image as a technocratic reformer and liberal. A wooden and unsmiling speaker who typically loses his record in office in minute detail as his standard campaign speech, he projects no comprehensive program for the future. Instead he talks of greater efficiency in government, bureaucratic rearrangements and smarter work teams, such as improving the city's energy efficiency, that pose no challenge to the existing distribution of power, wealth or city benefits.

With less money than Byrne and worse TV ads (the latest are family pop about what a sincere young man he is), Daley will rely heavily on his own army of precinct workers. But he does not appear to be benefiting from black discontent with his father's administration and has traditionally favored the African-American community.

Washington has captured most of that anger. Son of a minister, lawyer and politician, Washington was for many years a maverick within the machine, but began his separation from it in 1975. A state assemblyman and senator who won numerous awards for his work and pushed legislation on behalf of blacks, women and labor, he made a weak run for mayor in 1977, then beat the machine candidate in the first congressional district primary in 1980.

In Congress he was a leading critic of Reagan and the military budget (ranking fifth in anti-Reagan votes in the last session, according to Congressional Quarterly) and a key figure in steering the renewal of the Voting Rights Act through Congress. He has won top rankings from liberal, feminist and labor groups, such as Americans for Democratic Action, the National Women's Political Caucus and the AFL-CIO. A founder of the Illinois legislature's black caucus, he has been secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Although a strong voice for blacks, he has extended himself on behalf of other constituencies and causes—pushing for rape laws and defending the right of choice in abortion, advocating rights of migrant farm workers, speaking on behalf of disarmament, joining strike rallies and working for full employment legislation and opposing a moratorium on nuclear power plant construction, for example.

Washington would have liked to stay in Congress, but popular pressure from the black community and an opportunity for victory with the surge in black registration and two serious white candidates in the race led him to make the challenge for the job of mayor.

In terms of ideology, Byrne is the conservative candidate (the urged letting Reaganomics have its chance and is backed by leading state Republicans), although she might better be described as ideological and Washington would have preferred a moratorium solely by the dictates of holding power. Daley is a mainstream liberal (although conservative on social issues, such as abortion), Washington represents the left of the Democratic Party. But ethnic considerations, factional traditions (including the open as well as covert racism that has plagued this city, whose leaders have lost their files and who he served 30 days in jail.) The legislative record he had amassed since 1977 was not publicized and still is not widely known. For example, Chicago's gay community is strongly for Byrne, since police harassment of gays has increased, but few gays are aware that Washington is a strong supporter of the gay rights ordnance that Byrne has battled.

Destroying the machine is Washington's primary goal. "Clearly Byrne has cast her die," Washington said, as we talked along the city streets in his dark blue Oldsmobile 98, driven by a security man from the Anti-American Patrolmen's League. A car dealer and a manager of the machine and integrative it into city government with all the fines that flow from it—patronage, city contracts, skewing public policy, planning in the direction of those fat cats. Everybody's paid off, and he can't give us anything. Daley wants the same operation, and would run the same show, but I think he would be a bit more subtle. People say he's changed, and I say they're nuts.

"I'm opposed to that kind of operation. I was once under the illusion that you could reform the machine and the patronage system and make it fair. That's a lot of crap. It's inherently bad. I believe in real open government. The neighborhoods and their own indigenous choices should be integrated into the policy-making of the city."

It's not just a reform of the machine. There's the race factor. That's the core. The motivating factor was we're not getting any out of this; we're just being used."

Washington promises a fair proportion of blacks, Hispanics and women in policy-making offices and a fairer distribution of city services and contracts to minority communities and businesses. That's generally he argues that Byrne, like Daley before her, has neglected the neighborhoods and their economic interests —and concentrated four-fifths of federal economic development money in the Loop, even though only one-fifth of the city's job opportunities are downtown.

Besides redistributing the pie that already exists, Washington proposes increasing the state income tax, increasing the share that goes to cities and making it more progressive by raising the exemption. He argues against the relationship with downtown and suburban cities, many of which are also troubled by economic problems and force the state to live up to responsibilities to fund education and transit (the city lost $35 million a year in transit subsidy in a bad deal Byrne cut with the governor).

By taking a more aggressive role, the city can also bring more jobs, with waste recycling, energy conservation, public works and an Economic Development Program.
and a better use of public money as leverage for private investment can stimulate varied economic development.

Black doubts.
Washington faces, even among some blacks, a fear that without the backing of banks and white businesses, he could not govern. "I don't believe he can make the city work," black transit union president John Weatherspoon, a Daley supporter, says. "I don't think First National will issue the bonds for the city if he's mayor."

"That's a discredited lie and a total ignorance of what money's all about," Washington says. "Business is not here because the mayor is white or female. It's here because there's a market. Obviously there's a question of confidence and the status quo. Business wants the status quo, which happens to be white. If that's no longer the status quo, business will try to make an accommodation with whoever's in charge. They will have no problem reaching an accommodation with me."

"I'm not foreign to the business community. They know my record. They know it is no pro-business. It will never be pro-business in the sense that I want to help them fatten their coffers, but my relationship with them will be a business relationship. They've got to be here, they've got to thrive in order to bring the jobs, to pay the taxes, to improve the community. So common sense dictates that since my community needs jobs, I'm going to relate to them the best I can."

Black mayors elsewhere have inherited declining towns—Gary, Detroit or Birmingham, Ala.—or healthy towns—Los Angeles or Oakland, Calif. They have not been able to reverse city misfortunes resulting from the collapse of the auto or steel industry, but on the other hand, they have not caused business flight. Washington says.

"Don't let anybody tell you business will leave Chicago if I'm mayor," he admonished the afternoon youth rally. "They've been leaping, flying out of this city for ten years, and I'm not mayor. This is a market, and it can be a good market. All it needs is plans and someone with understanding, knowledge, strength, courage and tenacity to make those plans work. I have plans for this city. You know where they came from? Out of the 'hoods."

Indeed, Washington said he felt comfortable going against conventional wisdom and advocating a state tax increase, part of which would go to Chicago's near-bankrupt school system, because blacks are so committed to education they will pay any price.

Pardonably, Washington thinks that

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Corporation, he says. But beyond that, Washington believes greater governmental efficiency, less corruption, improved race relations, more effective policing being a traditional friend of labor may help keep down city labor costs. "I think my relationship with labor will permit me to sit down with them and talk without having to prove a lot. As mayor of this city, I wouldn't function like Daley did (arranging big wage increases without sufficient tax revenue). One reason he had to function that way is because there was no openness about the deal. I don't think labor had a chance to see the budget. One reason I support collective bargaining, public and private, is that if its best labor is an auditor, looking at the books, saying what are you doing there is an executive a quarter million dollars and you can't pay $9 an hour for someone on the assembly line."

"By the same token, labor can say why don't you hire someone who can take care of your shop or why are you giving contracts so lop-sidedly? In the process you let them know what the problems are. If you change the atmosphere, it's easier to work with them. You've got to be responsible. After all, you're dealing with other people's money. You have to expect a day's work for a day's pay. You can't overpay."

Next door problems.
Addressing whites worried about losing their privileges or having blacks in power, Washington appeals not only to a sense of justice but also to a sense of self-interest: "The world's too small. Everybody lives next door. If your neighbor is not civilized, cultured and educated, you've got troubles."

So far, many traditional anti-machine liberals have failed to support Washington.

Instead he has stirred strong interest among a new wave of independents, whites who had experience in the anti-war, civil rights and other movements of the '60s, who look for alliances with Hispanics and blacks, and who are concerned with more than the "good government" reforms of the traditional liberals.

The left, liberal and labor blocs are solidified by racial considerations but also between those who are trying to play an "insider" game with the Byrne machine and those who see in Washington a campaign a broad political movement that transcends the immediate powers of the mayor's office. For example, the local chapter of NOW endorsed Byrne because they felt they had established some relationship with her, because she had swung a couple of votes on the ERA, and because she was a woman, despite Washington's stronger overall record. But an

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alliance of black and white women are arguing that Washington is the real feminist in the race.

Washington clearly sees his goal as going beyond the immediate tasks of the office. An admirer of Adam Clayton Powell and even Daley's black South side boss, William Dawson, Washington also respects crusading white politicians such as Robert La Follette, Clarence Darrow, George McCover and former Oregon Sen. Wayne Morse, an early critic of the war in Vietnam. He frequently tells black audiences of a minister's remarks that black kids' reading scores will probably go up ten points just with the inspiration of a black mayor.

As he accepted the endorsement from the group of 30 ministers, representing a bloc of 200 on the West side, Washington told the audience in the Prince of Peace Baptist Church, "When I get elected on Feb. 22, the first message is going to get out to city hall. The second message is going out to Ronald Reagan. And the third message is going out to everyone that our people in this country have declared war on discrimination, war on racism, war on Reaganism. We are tired of hearing that

the civil rights movement has ended. We are steeped to our necks in political activity.

"I have walked all over this city with open arms appealing to all manner of men and women of all shape, color, hue and ethnicity, of every religious sect, every interest group, busily traversing Chicago's streets for your votes and talking about the campaign will be won in the 'hoods. Don't ask me if we will win. You know in your hearts you are the ones who can make it win. Those of you who will rally in the communities are with us and will stay with us."

"But there is an impenetrable barrier out there that I can't pierce, and I'm not about to break my hand or waste your time trying to do it. I'm sure there are some people who say this campaign can't be won, can't count. We've got the numbers. We've got the issues. We've got the candidates. My mother and father may not have raised the best person in the world, but they raised the best candidate for mayor of this city."

And that crowd, like the others in that varied day, agreed wholeheartedly.
Mayor race divides labor, white liberals

By David Moberg

As the intensely fought three-way battle for the Democratic mayoral primary enters its final days, the voters typically described here as "independents" find themselves torn in many directions. In the years of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, machine independents were defined as outside of and opposed to the machine. They were made up largely of two groups: middle-class, blue-collar whites, who abandoned patronage, graft and closed government, and growing numbers of relatively affluent blacks, who only challenged machine "plunder policies," but also the racial discrimination of the machine. Occasionally they worked together, but more often their paths diverged.

With Daley's death in 1976 and the fractures in the machine and labor ranks, the independent bloc lost its unity, support and its bearings. Although independent voting traditions are strong among blacks, Puerto Ricans and even Hispanics, the machine began to make a few overtures to the independent voters and their leaders.

The independent movement has been steadily evident in their three-way split in this mayoral race between incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne, State's Attorney Richard M. Daley and Rep. Harold Washington. The labor movement, which has in large part been an integral element of machine politics, is also divided into three parts.

Despite this often bitter division, a new independent movement is emerging. It takes the black-Hispanic-white coalition very seriously. More than the earlier independent movement, it tackles substantive issues—tenant rights, neighborhood economic development, fighting racism and confronting the city's historic racism—as well as good-government reforms.

The divisions have also spilled over into national politics. President Jimmy Carter offered a campaign for Daley and Sen. Edward Kennedy sent a letter endorsing Byrne. That prompted a bitter denunciation of both, but Mondale especially, by local black leaders and by the Congressional Black Caucus. "They chose local white politicians over black America," PUSH spokesperson Frank Watkins said.

Yet even if one believes that he has changed his spots, Daley at best represents a moderately liberal, good-government politics. Call in the professionals and appoint independent commissions, he says, but he is unwilling to address fundamental issues of racial discrimination and economic stagnation.

Washington's campaign workers in traditional white independent neighborhoods are encouraged to find how deep racial prejudice is even there. Chicago will eventually have a black mayor, argues Aran Stevens, a lawyer and veteran independent, and the choice will be between a machine hack or a Harold Washington.

"Clearly Washington has the ability and the government experience and clearly he does not come with the baggage of the other two," argues independent Alderman Larry Bloom, the only incumbent white city council member to endorse Washington. "Of all the candidates, he has the capacity to unify the city. People of Chicago have to realize that if Harold is elected the National Bank will still be here. We've got to get over this bugaboo. It's important for the future of the city."

Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers, reluctantly concludes that racial prejudice has to account for why so few white labor leaders support Washington. In a stormy meeting, when national AFL-CIO rules were not followed, the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) reaffirmed the executive committee's endorsement of Byrne. But the voice vote sounded like at least half of those present were independent supporters—mainly white—and Washington supporters—mainly black. Most democratic union leaders have had a hard time making official endorsement.

The divisions have also neutralized many potential Washington backers. A split between Daley and Washington among his supporters led Alderman David Orr, one of the new-style white independents to remain neutral. The political action committee of the Illinois Public Action Council, which was intended to be a left force in electoral politics, has sat out the election, even though Washington was a vigorous supporter of their organization. Most civil rights leaders have found that the white business people who would contribute to groups like the Urban League are unwilling to put any money behind a candidate who might actually do something about racial discrimination.

But much of the white left—veterans of the movement of the 60s—has vigorously thrown itself into the Washington campaign. The question is how far in which was already a tendency to play a larger role in the new independent politics, says Frank Lassan, an associate who organized the ordination candidate. "As far as a black-Hispanic-progressive white alliance, this campaign for Washington is saying more needs for that to grow. It's not going to end here."

But critics calculate who's most likely to win, illusions about the machine reforming itself, single-issue logrolling, fear of advocating a black leader for white communities, simple racism and a lack of strategic political thought have all diminished the influence that white liberals and labor might have played in transforming Chicago politics.
Harold Washington ignites a popular movement to win mayoral primary

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Blacks, left spark Washington win

By David Moberg

For nearly an hour and a half, the jubilant victory crowd stood crushed together, pressing forward for the moment when their candidate would acknowledge what everyone by then believed: U.S. Rep. Harold Washington had just won the Democratic mayoral primary, making him the first black major of Chicago. People chanted, sang, prayed and fainted from the heat, but finally Washington, his usually powerful voice husky and cracking at times, after an intense finish on February 22, stepped forward at 2:00 a.m. to claim the prize.

His stunning victory, he said, was a testament to the hearts of the disenchanted of the city. "As the campaign continues to the general election on April 11, we in the Republican Party face a real problem. We have a serious problem in the black community," he said.

The victory was not simply for blacks, who make up 40 percent of the city, but for the left as well. A pro-labor politician who favors deep cuts in the military and strong government intervention in the economy to create employment, Washington said he intended to be a national antagonist of Reaganism. He will also be a serious force on behalf of the left wing of the Democratic Party.

For the city itself, Washington stressed dismantling of patronage and the remnants of machine politics, new investment, funding and planning for economic development, more money for the neighborhood rather than the downtown. "Louis," a strong neighborhood role in economic development and education, housing rehabilitation and tenants' rights, vigorous public health care, progressive taxation, police reform, affirmative action for minorities and women and more open, democratic government. A campaign and candidate were victorious because of the efforts of the left wing of the Democratic Party.

Besides attacking the Chicago machine, Washington is a foe of Reagan policies. For example, "It was like Harold was Martin Luther King all over again," says political science professor Bob Stark, a leader in the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment. In the final days of the campaign, the hopes and enthusiasm peaked. But Washington had a problem: his candidates were everywhere as badges of pride. Whites and blacks who supported Washington worked together—or simply greeted each other on the street—"with a friendliness and cooperation rarely seen in this city."

As Washington was gaining a percentage point a day on Byrnes and was sliding away the black support she needed to win, she suddenly shifted her emphasis to the public housing projects, where fear and dependence have traditionally kept poor blacks in line. As she walked through the high-rise complexes, crowds spontaneously formed and followed her, chanting, "We want Harold." Eventually, approximately 70 percent of public housing residents backed Washington, less than the over-all black margin but by Chicago standards a "veritable rebellion against the machine."

The white vote splits.

Washington's victory would not have been possible if the two white candidates had not split the white vote, which was even more monolithic as a bloc than the black vote. With 1.2 million votes cast, Washington won with 36.3 percent to Byrnes' 33.6 percent and Daley's 29.8 percent. Washington won only 8 percent of the citywide white vote (according to CBS TV polls taken as voter exited the polls), drawing almost no votes from the middle-class and working-class European neighborhoods on the city's northwestern and southwest sides. He did slightly better than anticipated in the last few words that are usually more liberal and, in places, more affluent—winning a crucial margin of victory.

Especially strong support in the traditionally more independent and slightly better off neighborhoods of the black south side also compensated for less impressive results in the typically machine-dominated poor wards of the black west side.

There were a number of critical turning points in the campaign. Before Washington even announced there were protests of Byrnes' appointments that blacks saw as slaps in the face and the massive fall registration drive that, along with increasing self-organization within the black community, convinced Washington that he could win. After a rough and chaotic start, former Chicago civil rights leader Al Rabé was able to bring a semblance of order to the coalition behind Washington.

One of the most dramatic moments, came in the first of the four widely viewed televised debates, which enabled Washington's campaign to break into the mass media. He could not launch TV advertising until the last two weeks of the campaign, when left media consultant Bill Groenewald's skillful but low-budget ads helped confirm that the campaign was real and could win. In the black ads spontaneously formed and followed her, chanting, "We want Harold." Eventually, approximately 70 percent of public housing residents backed Washington, less than the over-all black margin but by Chicago standards a veritable rebellion against the machine."

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Despite Washington's appeals to Hispanics to join in a coalition with blacks, only 10 percent of the Hispanic voters supported him, with nearly two-thirds choosing Byrnes. That was a manifestation of how the machine still dominates young Hispanics. Yet the beginning of an independent, leftist coalition of Hispanics, blacks and whites were nevertheless established.

A knockout punch.

That, Bob Starke said, was how he did it. "I'm Max Schreiling, and it touched a chord with older blacks. In Chicago blacks, Harold Washington became a political Joe Louis, delivering a knockout punch to the divided old, creepy machine that had long dominated without delivering."

Another turning point came on Sunday afternoon, February 6, when 12,000 cheering supporters packed the University of Illinois football in a roaring rally. It included testimonials from leading black members of Congress, such as Ron Dellums and John Conyers, as well as presidential aspirant Sen. Alan Cranston.

"The next 15 days are the first 15 days of Washington's campaign to knock off Daley."
Washington announced, characterizing the broader political context in Chicago as "a threat—stand his victory. But one of the most electrifying moments in his speech came he could say, "One of the first things I do when I walk into that office is..."

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Chicago's new campaign theme, following earlier and continuing emphasis on jobs and on solving the fiscal crises in schools, mass transit and city government that Byrne had inadequately addressed, was a boost to a series of expose of police misconduct, cover-up of brutality and doctoring of crime statistics to give aping of dramatic progress. Byrne's carefully remade image as a cool, competent administrator who had saved the city from disaster began to crumble under the barrage of attacks by both Daley and Washington and no-holds-barred assaults from the two daily newspapers, which endorsed Daley. Daly himself improved as a speaker and campaigner, but was burdened as much as helped by memories of his father's reign, by his own ties to the machine and by his tainted legislative record.

In person Byrne kept her cool, but she had no fall back campaign theme except a defensive pitch to women that two big men were ganging up on her. She managed to hang on to a disproportionate share of women's vote, the "gender gap" working for the conservative candidate this time. But her machine and campaign lost their cool, resorting in the end to a racist campaign to convince Daley supporters that Daley, who had been trailling in third place by most polls, could not win and the choice was either Byrne...or a black. "We're fighting to keep the city the black it is," Democratic Party Chairman Ed Vrdolyak told a group of northwest side precinct workers the weekend before the election. "It's a racial thing. Don't kid yourself, I'm calling on you to save your city, save your precinct and keep your friends in office."

Some elements of the news media were, in their own way, blinded by an unconscious racism. Summing up the election results, local CBS anchor Walter Jacobs glibly, and inappropriately, said: "This was white against black, black against white."

Blacks were not voting "against whites" but against a mayor who had betrayed their earlier support and for Washington. Although many whites had misgivings about Washington himself as a black mayor in principle, only a small proportion were likely swayed by the Byrne campaign's racist appeal. Polls taken by the Washington campaign showed a shift from more than half of whites feeling negatively about Washington in January to a plurality feeling positive about him in early February. For many whites, Washington was a second choice. As he often said, they discovered by watching the debates that he didn't have h orn. Despite a few largely symbolic forays into those white working-class neighborhoods, Washington, however, did not campaign there.

In order to prevent mass defections to Republican Epston and to govern effectively once in office, Washington will now have to carry his campaign to those whites. He has the potential, ironically, of arguing to them that their self-interest is served by giving blacks a better break. He will have problems with their strong opposition to higher taxes: many of the families have children in Catholic schools, for example, and a disproportionate share of whites are elderly.

But other than taxes, their main concern is "neighborhood stability." For many that is simply a code for keeping out all blacks, but there is a legitimate concern with neighborhood economic decline and with past efforts at racial panic-peddling by reclusors.

Washington can argue that he is committed to an emphasis on economic development of the neighborhoods, with a strong community voice in planning. Moreover, he can tell whites that housing programs are necessary and that more trusted police in black neighborhoods can reduce black-white competition for the few affordable homes and that better neighborhoods can improve Chicago as a location for business and reduce crime.

In his acceptance speech, Washington pledged to carry campaign to each of the city's 50 wards and invited his opponent to "join our movement." Currently many ethnic groups are nervous about what a black mayor would mean. "They're mostly in various stages of concern," one north side housewife said of her neighbors and family. "I didn't vote for him, but I prefer him to Byrne. I hope he will live up to his reputation and institute good policies. I changed my opinion a lot watching his debate. He seemed intelligent and had good ideas. He didn't make any effort to campaign in my neighborhood or show he was a candidate of my neighborhood, but after seeing him and reading his record, I don't feel I've been deceived."

Along the key word in politics: as in "pulverized, work by white lights from Democratic Socialists of America, the Heart of Up town Coalition and part of the older independent movement—helped raise the white percentage for Washington to possibly 12 percent. But the residual, reluctant support for Washington is much higher.

Not surprisingly, Washington did best among low-income people. But age accounted for even more striking differences. According to the exit polls, Washington got nearly half the vote of those under 36, declining steadily to only 12 percent of those over 65. Partly that reflects the racial age structure of the city, with blacks disproportionately young and whites disproportionately old, and partly it reflects conservatism on the part of the elderly. But it is also an encouraging sign of Washington as the candidate of the Chicago of tomorrow, including more tolerant whites.

Washington faces not only the challenge of winning the general election, but also the difficulties of governing. He is committed to removing all vestiges of political-machinery control over city government, but that has always been a source of power for the technically "weak" mayor's office. He faces a City Council with an uncertain balance. Although independents sympathetic to Washington forced some incumbents in run-off races to be held at the time of the general election and incumbent independents held their posts, there were no clear gains as machine candidates managed to win in some black, white and Hispanic wards where independents should have had a reasonable chance.

Washington will also face administrative problems, at first simply figuring out what has gone on in a very secretive City Hall. Then there will come personnel problems. Washington will be torn between giving policy jobs to local supporters and bringing in the best people he can find from across the country, either of which could cause political difficulties.

As Washington argued in his campaign, the city faces "fiscal time bomb" and declining federal aid. His case for an increased state income tax was helped when Republican Gov. James Thompson also proposed an increase. Washington will have to work to change the "political geography" of the state, according to research director Harold Baron, creating alliances with normally hostile, but also gradually growing suburbs and downto city cities, to increase the share of state income tax allocated to the cities.

Yet if Washington can now bring the bulk of Latinos and a large bloc of whites into his movement, he could become a real "gigion" candidate—a Fiorello LaGuardia of the left for Chicago.

"We have a city to build, we have the institutions to preserve, we have the taxes to raise, and we have crimes to get rid of," he said in his victory speech. "We have neighborhood to build, and with the help of God and you, the good citizens of Chicago, we will do exactly that."
Washington faces fight in campaign
debased on race

By David Moberg

WASHINGTON — With the office of the mayor's office continues here. Last week Mayor Jane Byrne dropped her write-in bid. Apparantly, a campaign that had not been effective to reach many of its voters. Byrne's hope that she would be Chicago's Joan of Arc was dashed quickly. In the St. Patrick's Day parade immediately following her write-in announcement (see "These Times", March 23), she was greeted by cheers, rather than scathing. Her business backers and former staff friends showed her. Only a handful publicly came to support her. Byrne's media advisors claimed that working for her would end all his Demo- cratic Party jobs, and the day after she announced, the Merchandise Mart officials would head her campaign, they resigned, reportedly due to pressure from Sen. Strom Thurmond's relatives. Finally, Byrne was unable to make it easier to write in her name and gave up hope of a write-in bid.

Although Washington bought Byrne's write-in campaign—arguing that she was not playing dirty, or inciting violence—Bryne's entry had split the anti- white vote and catalyzed blacks, thus strengthening Washington's chances. But now Byrne benefits from her withdrawal.

Making race the issue. At Byrne's urging, it was decided that he had no intention of making either race or Washington's past personal problems a campaign issue. In fact, he has countered that those are minuscule. In the first televised debate March 21, Epton dismissed it as "panty"—Byrne's entry had split the anti- white vote and catalyzed blacks, thus strengthening Washington's chances. But now Byrne benefits from her withdrawal.

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Racism fuels strong GOP campaign

By David Moberg

The White Cops Stood in the afternoon sunshine at his stationhouse in Albany Park, a largely white section of Chicago’s southwest side. In his pocket he toyed with a blue and white “Police for Epton” button as he talked about the increasingly bitter mayoral contest between Republican Bernard Epton and Democratic Rep. Harold Washington.

How could a cop support a convicted felon? he asked, arguing that “character” was the main issue in the race. But he acknowledged that Washington, whose failure to file income tax returns for four years had been the central issue in Epton’s own campaign, indeed convicted of a misdemeanor charge, not a felony, and owed the government only $9,000.

It became clear as he talked that his reasons for backing Epton were more complex. He believed that Washington was inexperienced and would probably do well as mayor. Yet even if other cities had not collapsed with black mayors, Chicago—to use the famous line from former Alderman Paddy Bauler—ain’t ready for reform. Yes, the city did need change. Yes, anybody could see that black neighborhoods were shortchanged.

But he was afraid, and he said what he feared was all too unknown. Epton was an unknown—barely noticed by anyone until Washington won the primary—and was now judged unworthy because of the police woman on his campaign staff, his position on many police issues. But the copman thought his unknown quantity would probably preserve the status quo.

As a cop, like most white Chicagoans, has had little love for Rev. Jesse Jackson. Despite Washington’s deliberate distance of himself from Jackson, many fearful whites think Jackson will come to power through Washington. (Jackson’s show comments on TV election eve during the long wait for Washington’s primary acceptance speech were a big boost for Epton.) But he was not deeply worried about Washington’s staff, which he thought was competent.

What worried him was an image of a mayor who was outspoken, intolerant of blacks demanding more city services, taking away from his neighborhood and inverting the practice he observed twenty years ago, in the end, his mind was a long way from the distorted version of the tax problems that bothers him.

In the final weeks of the campaign before the April 12 election, white Chicagoans were afraid of an unpleasant surprise in the form of a snowfall, with dozens of black: “Epton” in this one, varied expressions of racism—sprunging from under the surface.

Epton has done his part, with his stove

Washington wants to avoid clashes that heighten racism, but many in the campaign recognize the need to address white fears more directly.

Epton’s negative campaign has put Washington (above) on the defensive, diverting Washington’s planned strategy of emphasizing common problems of all neighborhoods.

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ence to two stays in a psychiatric hospit-
al. Epton says they were connected with a period of 20 years that also was not mentioned.

More seriously, there were reports of how prominent Epton opponents tried to speak privately with a judge before a case in which he had an interest and had refused to grant a temporary for-
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But Washington has been hurt most, in part because Epton has primarily run a negative campaign. Washington, who has explained his tax problems at a re-
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An attorney who was close to the 1972 case involving the time the de-
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Invasion

Continued from page 9

Although at the time of this writing, Congress showed an inclination to in-
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tial direct hand in the anti-Sandinista fighting, Congress conceivably could be united enough to shackle off its support and move against the illegal activities.

But even if U.S. strategies achieve their unified opposition command and manage to sponsor a multi-frontal inva-
sion, there is no guarantee of success, and the effects on U.S. foreign and domestic relations could be devastating.

Nicaragua in 1954 is not Guatemala, 1954, when the CIA engineered the over-
throw of the left regime of Jacobo Arbenz. The 22,000-member Sandinista army is well armed and experienced, and buttressed by more than 40,000 militia volunteers. The populace and govern-
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Epton's contempt for Washington tells people who may have otherwise felt uncomfortable with their racism that it’s OK to be bigoted.

their neighborhoods, that they’re going to integrate. People aren’t interested in that, not in Chicago, not yet. But they have kids, and they’re both undecided, fear a repeat of their experience with neighborhood segregation and worry about the Wallingford political problems. But they both like Washington’s emphasis on improving city services. They don’t want to be thought of as racist, and they want better race relations.

"I don’t want to see this city torn apart racially," Reverend said. "I don’t want to see a Miami here. We don’t follow any more just what our fathers and grandfathers thought."
Chicago

The politics that works

Harold Washington's winning coalition offers lessons for the left

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARC POKEMPNER
Washington victory ushers in a new era of coalition politics

the labor movement and to the interests of working people may enable him to erode racist fears and hostility toward him among working-class ethnics.

But the problems facing Chicago, like those facing all of the old industrial cities, are immense, and the resources available for solving these problems are inadequate and shrinking. In this context, any mayor—conservative, liberal or socialist—must help maintain or create a climate attractive to business. Washington has made it clear that he understands this and has indicated that he will attempt to do this by eliminating political corruption, increas-

In the black community, Washington's campaign became a crusade for dignity. Dellums base is a successful coalition on the left.

If Washington and other black leaders throughout the nation are correct in their belief that Chicago is pointing the way for a new black politics, then there is now also a possibility for a new left politics.

In other words, the left, including its socialist wing, can now begin to enter the mainstream of American life along with blacks. For while a fully mobilized black community can provide the solid core of
“We were slow to move from the protest movement into politics,” Harold Washington said just after he won the Chicago Democratic mayoral primary in February. “We were lulled to sleep thinking that passing a few laws was enough. But we’ve got to be involved in the mainstream political activity. That’s what’s happening here in Chicago,” he added. “And that’s the lesson that’s going out across the country.”

This “coming into political maturity” of minority groups that, as Washington says, once thought simple street protests were enough took a giant leap forward on April 12 when a sizable majority of Hispanic voters and enough left and liberal whites joined the overwhelming majority of blacks to give Chicago its first black mayor.

This was a victory for the left, both in the sense that the natural left constituencies—blacks, Hispanics and the labor movement—were its basis and in the sense that organizational support for Washington outside the black community came from left groups ranging from unions like AFSCME to the National Organization for Women to the Democratic Socialists of America. And it was a victory over racism in the most highly segregated of American cities, even though the election also demonstrated how deeply divided Chicago’s working people are by race.

The growing maturity of which Washington speaks was demonstrated in the high degree of organization in the black community—organization that brought close to 90 percent of the eligible voters in black wards to the polls, thereby continuing the reversal that began last November of the traditional pattern of low black turnouts. But it was also demonstrated in the aldermanic races, which indicated that this was not only an effort to put a black man in office, but also an attempt to get a new kind of representation.

Machine incumbents were defeated in five black wards, as was a machinebacked candidate in one other ward where there was no incumbent running. (Machine candidates also lost in three predominantly white wards where Washington averaged 13 percent of the vote.) The defeat of these machine candidates was a result of the large turnout, which brought voters with more independent tendencies into the electorate and has created the potential for a new kind of politics in Chicago.

**Shift to the left.**

We have frequently argued that the American people, unlike Europeans, do not usually vote in large numbers because they are normally presented with meaningless alternatives. On April 12, the alternatives were real and the turnout was of record proportions. It was heaviest among the blacks who understand what they have to gain, but it was also heavy among white ethnics, especially older ones, who mistakenly believed that they had a great deal to lose by the election of a black mayor. On election night Washington insisted that he would do everything within his power to assuage these fears, which were based on the false idea that Chicago’s blacks want more than their fair share of services and opportunities.

We believe that these fears will diminish as people see that having a black mayor will not destroy their neighborhoods, though just how far Washington can go in neutralizing his white opposition depends on how well he can deal with the city’s serious problems. It won’t be easy, but Washington’s strong commitment to improving the efficiency of municipal workers and providing better educational opportunities, health care and public housing and transit—reforms that are in the interest of all community groups.

In running any city, the pressures to capitulate and subordinate other interests to those of the business community are great. And the temptation to settle for personal aggrandizement, of money and power, are ever-present. It is here that Washington’s base in the black community operates both to give him support in living up to his best instincts and to prevent him from abandoning his principles—or to destroy him if he does. For in cities with a black minority, black mayors enjoy, as it did in Chicago, in many places blacks can be successful only in coalition with Hispanics, labor and the left.

In short, in an as yet undetermined number of places, the possibility of a new kind of coalition politics has emerged—a politics based on black leadership of fully mobilized black communities.

**Up from theory.**

In a sense, of course, this is not a new idea. The left—especially the socialist left—has long talked about coalitions of labor, blacks, women and others. But while such coalitions have frequently been assembled on paper, and occasionally around demonstrations and protests, they have rarely, if ever, been effective in electing our own people, either black or white, to office. And then, too, these past left coalitions have been based, at least in theory, on labor, with blacks and others acting as secondary allies. But the new reality is that the coalitions, if they come into being at all, will be based on mobilized black communities and, therefore, will most likely be led by blacks.

In Chicago, we have now seen that such a coalition can take office. What we don’t know is how much can be accomplished in the face of the truly formidable obstacles imposed by the current recession and the Reagan administration cutbacks. Prudently, Washington is promising no miracles. But he is promising, within the limitations imposed upon him by forces over which he has no control, to provide all groups in the community their fair share of the city’s resources. That promise alone, if carried out, would be a giant step forward.
By David Moberg

CHICAGO

"Wake up, everybody," boomed the voice from a loudspeaker mounted on the car slowly winding its way through the Robert Taylor Homes public housing project on South State Street. "Vote for Chicago. You've got the power to make history today."

Blacks throughout this city, many of them new voters, did wake up on April 12. With a large bloc of Hispanics, a crucial group of liberal whites and a small slice of loyal Democrats from white ethnic neighborhoods, they made history. With the election of U.S. Rep. Harold Washington as mayor over Republican Bernard Epton, Chicago voters turned back the tides of fear and racism that had been generated in the campaign and chose their first black mayor. Just as important, they also dealt a death blow to machine politics and established the beginnings of a new reform coalition that should shift the city—and possibly national politics—to the left.

Moved by hope of change and a new sense of power, the black electorate swelled—filling one of the "holes" in the voting population long regarded as a left constituency waiting for a leader.

Thomas Hooper, a 29-year-old recent junior college graduate, stood between the high-rise housing project—one of the legacies of machine policies that had made Chicago so racially segregated—and the polling place in the local school gymnasium. He simply reminded voters to be sure that the election judge initialed their ballots, since there was no need to plead for their support for Washington.

"A lot of my white friends say black people aren't very political," he said. "But they've been double-crossed so many times, they felt there wasn't a reason. Now they feel there's a reason. This is the first time a large chunk of people thought about politics, thought it mattered. Like Washington says, it's not a race question, but a question of power and greed [of those who have been in control]. If a white person had come and said the right things, we would have voted for him as the reform candidate."

But Washington not only said the right things, but knew how to break the loyalty of poor blacks to the machine. "People now are ashamed to be associated with the machine," Hooper said. "They used to be proud of it."

Four new anti-machine black City Council members were also swept into of-

fice on April 12 in aldermanic runoffs, bringing the "independent" bloc to 15 out of 50 Council members—the core of a majority that Washington should be able to assemble on most issues.

Despite the obvious racial division in the election and the national publicity for a campaign sullied with crass racism from the Epton camp, exit polls taken of voters after casting their ballots showed 18 percent of whites voting for Washington—a significantly higher percentage than in all but one other northern city, Cleveland, where a black mayor first won the office. Washington also captured as much as three-fourths of the Hispanic vote, according to the Midwest Voter Registration Education Project (although other exit polls varied from 52 to 65 percent, with the upper range more plausible).

The only groups of whites who disproportionately voted for Washington were those with more than a college education (51 percent for Washington), Jews (33 percent) and self-identified liberals (39 percent), according to NBC's exit poll. Poles and other Slavic voters, the largest white ethnic bloc, gave him only 4 percent of their votes. In the north lakefront wards, which have large numbers of white liberals and include some blacks and Hispanics, Washington won from 35 to 49 percent, averaging 42 percent. Many of the lakefront whites remained undecided until the last moment. Then, after much

MAYORAL ELECTION

Washington still has a hard row to hoe
agony, at least one third went for Washington.

The NBC poll suggested a curious pattern among whites according to age. Very young white voters were weak Washington supporters (12 percent of those 18 to 20, 15 percent of those 21 to 24), but 23 percent of whites 25 to 49 voted for Washington (followed by a sharp dropoff and then a slight rise among the elderly). This suggests that the generation touched by the civil rights movement and other political upheavals of the '60s and '70s were much more receptive to Washington.

Each sliver of support was important, as Washington won by a margin of 51.6 percent, beating Epton by 45,000 out of 1.3 million votes. Not only was registration up by several hundred thousand, but also 82 percent of registered voters turned out, a record for a municipal election. For the first time, blacks—who make up 40 percent of the city—were registered in the same proportions as whites and turned out just as strongly, possibly more so. It was a better showing than the primary, when black participation had jumped by roughly 20 percentage points over recent primaries.

The race became far closer than most observers had expected, largely because of the blistering Epton campaign attack on Washington's personal foibles in the past, which bolstered an already formidable anti-black sentiment that was especially strong on the city's far northwest and southwest sides. This was compounded by strategic weaknesses and internal problems of the Washington campaign itself.

Troubled campaign.

For nearly a month after the primary, the Washington campaign was very low-key. Anticipating Democratic loyalties to hold better than they did and overestimating the ability of blacks to win without a concerted effort to reach whites, many on the rapidly expanding and overconfident campaign staff were busy jockeying for position rather than launching the general election campaign.

The campaign organization—born at a late date from a community draft of Washington and assembled as a coalition of people and groups with limited experience in electoral politics on such a scale—never established a coherent organization. Campaign manager Al Rabbi progressively lost power, eventually getting pushed out of his position just eight days before the election, and members of Washington's congressional staff assumed more influence. But there was never a clear line of command. As a result, there were innumerable scheduling foul-ups, difficulties getting needed supplies and conflicting agendas, all executed inefficiently.

Within the first week after the primary, Washington went to the blue-collar suburb of Cicero—long a conservative, anti-black bastion—and joined the mayor before a union meeting, pledging to help stop a factory closing. It was a brilliant gesture, attempting to overcome racial divisions by focusing on common economic interests.

Yet in the first month there were far too few such efforts to demonstrate that Washington took all parts of the city seriously. Although Epton never campaigned in black neighborhoods and Washington made repeated forays into all white and Hispanic sections of the city, the campaign did not effectively reach many whites with its issues before the onslaught of Epton attacks, especially the ads by John Deardorff with the now-notorious racial code, "Epton, before it's too late."

Epton concentrated his attacks on Washington's past—his conviction for failing to file income-tax returns for four years and the suspension of his law license for failing to serve clients adequately. The charges were exaggerated, especially in the wave of unsigned leaflets that inundated white wards, often with inflammatory racist attacks on Washington. But they sharply cut into Washington's support among white ethnics and, more seriously for the campaign, the lakefront liberals. Many whites ignored or never knew Washington's record or program and focused instead on his legal and tax problems, leading to a cynical judgment that they faced an unappealing choice between a snoop (or kook) and a crook.

"Washington is almost the last person I would vote for as mayor," one middle-aged Hyde Park liberal said on election eve, "but Epton is the last."

Following Epton's attacks, Washington's support went into what his pollster Pat Caddell called a "free fall." But Washington and many of his closest aides refused to respond to Epton's charges, insisting that Washington had already said everything there was to say—even if most whites had not been listening earlier.

Top campaign decision-makers also tended to dismiss the reaction to Washington's tax and legal problems as simply a cover for racism. The charges did reinforce negative racial stereotypes. As one elderly white woman said, "That's just the way the blacks are around here. They never obey the rules, even the traffic laws." Also, Washington's campaign snafus resonated with white prejudices that blacks were incompetent, even though every political campaign—including Epton's—has its problems.

But the issue had an effect beyond its racial coding, which the campaign could have addressed more directly. In the final weeks, Epton staff fed tips to local reporters who broke stories about Washington not paying back bills or property taxes on a now-abandoned apartment building. Day by day, bit by bit, more revelations were made. The Washington campaign was diverted from its focus on its own issues as attempts were made to respond. (One water bill was actually the responsibility of the landlord of Washington's office. Taxes on the building were to have been paid by the man who took it over from Washington, his brother and a housekeeper who had inherited it. Most of the bills were old campaign debts, not personal bills.)

Heading into the final week, Washington's polls showed him ahead only 48 to 38 percent. Experiences in other cities suggested that undecided whites would overwhelmingly go against him. Although the free-fall had stopped, the campaign was still on the defensive.

The final push.

Then, just as the Epton campaign began to falter, Washington not only fought back but more aggressively courted white and Hispanic voters and sharply delineated the issues.

A revulsion began to set in against Epton's campaign tactics. In the last week, the ads were changed to sell Epton as a moderate reformist and the "before it's too late" slogan was dropped. Epton—who often gave flaky responses to questions, occasionally showed flares of temper and often legitimated racial hatreds with his coded messages—said less and less to supporters or the press. Most of his campaigning consisted of brief platitudeous speeches and hand-shaking, and he never introduced any issues besides Washington's "integrity."

Washington's final round of ads, media consultant Bill Zimmerman said, were designed to present a calm, rational pitch on behalf of Washington and his strong liberal legislative record and to play on emotions of backlash against racism. One TV spot interspersed kids saying the pledge of allegiance with shots of the abusive Palm Sunday protest of Washington's appearance with Walter Mondale at St. Pascal's church. But the most controversial—opposed by many black staff and described as "not to my taste" by Washington—linked the St. Pascal's demonstration to Kent State, Martin Luther King's assassination and Southern lynch mobs and asked voters to be sure they could be proud of their vote.
In the campaign's last week, the widely circulated (and totally unfounded) rumor that Washington was a child molester finally surfaced in the press. Taking a calculated risk, Washington denounced the rumors and escalated his attacks on Dardourff. Finally, some whites may have concluded that Epton's people had gone too far.

Washington had wanted to avoid personal attacks on Epton, who otherwise was vulnerable on various counts, including lying about the length of his military service in his campaign literature and concealing his psychiatric treatment in medical records he presented to the press as complete.

But Illinois Public Action Council, a statewide consumer federation that backed Washington, detailed Epton's role as "Mr. Insurance." Epton had defended the insurance industry's interests in the legislature while his law firm made millions of dollars in insurance business. Washington picked up the theme, portraying Epton as a rich man taking a sabbatical to play with city government as a "toy," and challenging Epton's conflict of interests.

In the campaign's final days, Washington reached out to white voters, addressed worries about his past, emphasized his commitment to political reform and attacked the "greed merchants" who were fomenting racial fears to protect their power.

For example, in the final Saturday of campaigning, Washington met with precinct workers preparing to blitz the south side, attended a campaign worker breakfast arranged by one of the few white committeemen openly supporting him (but still, like many others, reportedly letting his white precinct captains work for Epton), addressed 1,500 predominantly black ministers, made rounds of handshaking through black and Hispanic areas and joined a throng of 1,500 lakefront white supporters in an "issues fair" and rally.

"The battle cry of this campaign never was and never will be race," he told the lakefront crowd. "It was and will be reform." This provoked a chant of "reform, reform, reform." Then, hitting the eight Democratic ward committeemen who defected to Epton, Washington said, "Greed is involved in this campaign, profit is involved in this campaign—and they're using race to cover it up."

At the breakfast with some of Alderman Richard Mell's precinct workers, Washington emphasized his long experience working within the Democratic Party, but he also made clear his support for "neighborhood stability" and his past stands against "blockbusters"—realtors who stir up panic about neighborhood integration in order to profit from hurried sales. At every stop he emphasized that the problems of all neighborhoods were similar, differing in quantity rather than quality, and that everyone wanted better schools and transit, jobs and local economic development, and greater security from crime.

If Washington had approached the few white committee members who were willing to cooperate with him and had made the same pitch to white neighborhoods immediately after the primary, some of his advisors believe that he could have reduced the damage from Epton's personal attacks and increased his margin among whites.

Strategic Tensions.
Why didn't he? It appears that Washington expected the committeemen to come to him. He told In These Times he was surprised that they had bolted from the party. Some of them he quite rightly regarded as enemies of reform. But he was also convinced that as winner of the primary he had certain rights.

Despite his brilliance as a politician, Washington has blind spots. A strong streak of personal pride and stubbornness often appears to lead him to reject personally distasteful tasks—asking recalcitrant white machine pacts for their support, talking once again about his past transgressions for which he feels he has already been inordinately punished. His lifelong independence and frequent lonely battles make him reluctant to turn his authority over to others.

Throughout the campaign there were conflicts between some black staff who did not think reaching whites was very important and white staff, as well as
some older, more conservative blacks, who argued that it was essential to campaign hard for white votes. At times black advisors saw strategies designed to allay white concerns as undercutting black support—even though that was probably unshakeable. One ad with shots of Washington and a narration by white Alderman Larry Bloom on Washington endorsing him over a large field of black candidates almost wasn’t aired.

More than most black leaders in the city, Washington has an understanding and empathy for the problems of poor and working-class whites and an open identification with causes popular among liberal and leftist whites—as evidenced by his close ties with both the labor movement and disarmament groups. But Washington, like many of his closest advisors, came to political maturity as blacks were still fighting for an end to restrictive covenants (prohibitions on the sale of homes to blacks) and the fight for open housing, which brought Martin Luther King to the city in the mid-’60s. Even though Washington sees many of the whites who fled neighborhoods as blacks moved in as victims of banks and realtors, the political consciousness of many of his advisors reflects those battles in neighborhoods where blacks were stoned and their newly purchased homes burned.

Memories of racial conflict run deep in the city. At a southwest side polka party for Epton just before the election, Helen Owada, a middle-aged clerk in a large mail order firm, worried about a possible Washington victory. “We’ll have a lot of race riots,” she said, although most whites in the area expected riots if Washington lost. “When I was a little girl my dad told me about how they used to pull white people off the subways in 1919.” She may have gotten the story inverted—facts collapse before racial fantasies—but the longstanding fears remain.

Some of the misunderstandings are cultural. Jim Zimnicki, a 28-year-old electrical engineer, was also listening to Eddie Korupa and his Merry Makers at the Epton polka party (a sharp contrast to the
Continued from the previous page

searchers and a long roster of black, white and Hispanic advisors drawn not only from labor, community groups and other liberal constituencies but also from the business and banking establishment.

But beyond calming white ethnics and bankers, Washington wants to undertake a program of reform. Many Chicagoans cannot imagine that the machine will go from its own death. Eighty-five-year-old Vito Marzullo, the quintessential machine politician who backed Epton, said after Washington's victory, “The machine will never die. It’s just different people in control.”

But Washington likened the machine to a mortally wounded animal that will go off into the woods and die. For decades that machine perpetuated the conditions that made race such a volatile issue in this election—concentrating blacks in public housing ghettos, deliberately maintaining segregated schools, making no effort to maintain economic stability of neighborhoods that were integrating.

“In other communities across the country where there was sufficient democratic life, where politics was sufficiently in the citizen domain, people had opportunities and necessities to come to agreements and coalitions,” argues John McKnight, associate director of the Center for Urban Policy and Research at Northwestern University. “The machine always acted to keep interests in enclaves and acted as broker. It always exacted a racial price for being the broker in the black communities. The black chip in the game was always half-price.”

Instead of relying on patronage, political funds from city suppliers with no-bid contracts, a cozy relationship with favored business executives and speculators and the brokering of deliberately divided ethnic groups, Washington is likely to usher in a new era of city politics. That is likely to be based on a coalition of blacks, Hispanics, white reformers, labor, certain business and financial interests and those white ethnics who decide to cooperate. Washington intends to encourage neighborhood participation in government planning, and will rely more on mobilization of community pressure to bring about a political majority than the traditional inside dealing. The excitement and involvement generated by Washington’s victory should make that task easier.

Washington is also likely to make unionization of unorganized city employees easier. (Police, firefighters, teachers, skilled trades and some laborers are already organized). AFSCME (the municipal employees union), Washington’s most active labor backer, will probably benefit. Generally, the role of the conservative craft unions in city politics is likely to subside in favor of more liberal industrial, clerical and municipal unions (although the police union is conservative and white police were leading Epton organizers).

The greatest challenge and opportunity is economic development. Despite the precipitous decline in manufacturing employment in the city and the rise of office or service work, Chicago still has a varied economic base. By the time Washington's transition team finishes its research on the city, he should be an in excellent position to coordinate the use of city fiscal policy, purchasing of goods and limited economic development funds to preserve existing businesses and encourage growth.

White flight, despite nervous talk, is unlikely, since many whites would find it financially impossible—as well as undesirable—to move to the suburbs now. At the same time, the suburban black population is rising more rapidly, reducing housing competition in the city.

Whites who nervously anticipate blacks taking everything from them or living on increased welfare payments might be surprised at black expectations from the new mayor. At the Robert Taylor housing project, blacks on election day were clear about their hopes—jobs, not welfare; harmonious relations with whites; a fair administration; improvements in schools and public housing; and the old basics—better cleaning of streets and parks.

“I hope he’ll bring some jobs,” said Ellen Lyles, a 27-year-old mother of two who is finishing a legal training program. “I hope we can all be one, black and white and everyone else. Everybody help each other. Nothing is easy. But things could be better. A person can only do so much. I don’t expect Harold Washington to give everyone jobs, but I expect some change.”

Despite exhilaration in the black community, the expectations are measured. “Some people expect jobs, so there are going to be some disappointments and resentments after two years,” volunteer Thomas Hopper said. “But people who have been around politics don’t expect too much. The economy is screwed up. I’m just doing this for a new day.”
have fallen away in recent years. One of the most serious threats comes from rising black electoral independence, especially since many of the black wards have long been counted as automatic, controlled votes, permitting the machine to focus attention on white wards.

Unlike Dunne, veteran independent political strategist Don Rose argues, Vrdolyak knows how to "cut people in," giving the old-timers and union interests a piece of the action and a sense of importance but also tipping his hat to liberals, suburbanites and other Democrats alienated from the local machine by taking up a few harmless issues.

But the independent voting pattern may be too strong in many areas for even the refurbished machine strategy to work. Blacks, in particular, are demanding not only that blacks represent majority black districts but also that the officials should be accountable first to the community, not the party.

Streeter had been a loyal patronage worker when Byrne appointed him to fill a vacancy in the city council last year. Although he says he was opposed to her controversial appointment of two white women to the school board, he voted for them in the education committee, hoping that in exchange he might get blacks a few jobs—a classic Chicago expectation. "But the people didn't want that," he said on election day as he contemplated the storm around him from his Spartan headquarters. "They wanted someone to stand up for them."

A group called Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC)—referred to as "the blackback"—organized two years ago by popular radio commentator Lu Palmer, attacked Streeter for not representing black interests. By the time the vote got to the City Council, Streeter turned around and was organizing other blacks against the nominee. That was the end to his organization ties.

Originally a coalition of other local black groups, CBUC became a membership organization training a couple hundred neophytes, often middle-class blacks in the nineties of electoral politics. Ironically, Palmer for years had denigrated voting as useless for blacks. Then in 1977 Harold Washington, now a member of Congress and the leading independent black political figure in the city, ran for mayor. "I worked like a dog for Harold," Palmer recalls. "And then election day came and I wasn't registered." He became a convert.

"Our political goals are to bring a measure of political power to black people," Palmer says. "Another major goal is to become an accountable vehicle for black elected officials." All three CBUC-supported candidates lost in the March primaries, but its work on behalf of Streeter may have helped him win an unexpectedly high 45 percent of the vote against the machine candidate's 41.2 percent, with a surprising 39 percent voter turnout in what had always been considered an apathetic, controlled ward.

But the race also revealed some of the pitfalls in the CBUC strategy. As aldermen from numerous other wards proved in 1987, voting for a single, credible candidate does not benefit directly and indirectly from as much as $60,000 in funds from Byrne. CBUC found itself opposed by Raymond Ewell, a member of the Byrne opposition. Ewell had been a candidate in March against a liberal white woman, whom CBUC opposed because the district was largely black.

Streeter, who claims to be fulfilling a "divine mission," may turn out to disappoint his supporters. Although he says he would like to see a black mayor, he was happy to receive help in his primary from State's Attorney Richard M. Daley—the Boss's son and the man at this point most likely to be Chicago's next mayor.

CBUC, as well as many other independent black politicians, have their hopes up primarily for winning more City Council seats next year. But they are certain that a black will run for mayor. Increasingly they also think a black just might win if the white voters are split by several candidates, if there is a massive registration drive (about 60 percent of the roughly 900,000 eligible blacks are registered), if blacks break their allegiances to the machine, to the old Daley legacy and to any liberal white in the race to vote overwhelmingly for the black, if there's money, if...

Washington is everyone's first choice, and he says he's considering the race. Although he also says he likes Congress, he easily begins talking about how a black mayor could stand for "open city government; neighborhood preservation; fairness—run evenly against the excesses of patronage; utilizing talent in apportionments; cutting out waste; improving the infrastructure; getting a better balance between the neighborhoods and downtown."

"What's happening now is a movement," Washington said. "People mistrust it. They said 'black apathy.' Now with the continued development of a decade in independent black voting, a lot of people realize something is possible."

But while independents are skeptical that the something is electing a black mayor, even if they admire potential candidates, "I don't see how it could occur," Rose said. "The numbers just aren't there." Blacks make up 40 percent of the city and 35 percent of the registered voters. Latinos have not only been cool to alliances with blacks but are also unlikely to vote and even then are the group most dominated by the machine. At best a very small percentage of whites would vote for a black mayor. Only a "theoretical symphony" that would depose Byrne of any machine-controlled black back would win, they say. "If there's no other way," Rose says, "that indicates the role of a black public." Organizations, although growing, are still "crippling slow," without enough strong organizers or a clear direction.

Maria Obeme, dean of the white independents in the City Council, sees an increase in black independence in voting, but thinks the victories are localized and do not reflect a real movement with mass support and coherent aims.

The Streeter vote meant, according to Washington aide Sam Pach, that the machine can no longer "count on the black wards." If Streeter had lost, he said, it would have been a message to Daley, "don't come in or we'll crush you." That accounts for the massive presence of attorneys Daley sent in to watch for vote fraud. But the ultimate beneficiaries of a more politically open black community will be the people living there.

"People are beginning to understand," black independent aldermen Chuck Davis said. "That politics in the black community has to be more than how many favors you can do for individuals but rather other politicians have a say and are going to see different kind of politics and leaders."

In short, farewell

Josh Kornbluth, in these Times' assistant managing editor for the past two years and in house master of the quick quips, has taken a job as copy editor at the Boston, Phoenix, leaving us without a snaply comeback.

This issue (Vol. 6, No. 28) published June 10, 1982, for newsstand sales June 16-29, 1982.
Elections and the left in the '80s

By Hal Baron & John Kretzmann

The American Political System: An array of the two major parties, having been reduced to image machinations by the ability of the right half of the eligible voters to the polls in the last presidential election, and for the two decades preceding, have been able to finish two terms in office. A stubbornly inefficient and increasingly inept Reagan administration gives the impression of continuing this trend. The administration is sure to take its lumps in the congressional elections in November as Americans reject Reaganomics and the new bellicosity in Washington.

The nature of the crisis. The instability of the American system goes far beyond being simply political. A series of crises involving both the economy and the empire reinforce each other. In the economy we face the most serious recession since the Great Depression of the '30s. Official unemployment is now reaching 10 percent and plant utilization is down to 71 percent of capacity. The intensity of this period of dislocation extends over a decade of declining growth rates, domestically and globally.

Internationally, the Reagan administration has attempted to revive the unipolar Pax Americana of the early phases of the Cold War. However, this has gone badly and home and abroad has been strong. The result has been the appearance of cracks in the Cold War consensus within the U.S., a rapid development exemplified both by the wide and varied support for the nuclear freeze campaign and by the Congressional and popular opposition to the Reagan policy on El Salvador. Like the New Deal, when the depression threw the system off balance, the present predicament might well make people willing to try new approaches. But the solutions of the '30s that passed the way to our present advanced corporate system, will no longer suffice. The current political impasse has one of its roots in the breakdown of the depression-bom Keynesian arrangement for government management of the economy.

That arrangement, of course, has been accompanied by an implied bargain between capital and labor—labor for peace in exchange for increasing wages and benefits. When this arrangement worked, the large corporations' political representatives could moderate conflicts through economic concessions. This strategy, however, depended on continuous growth. Now that this is no longer possible, the nation is faced more directly with questions of power, class and justice.

How does this general analysis translate into new possibilities for left political action? It is an example of how the last two decades have given us the left looks as its conditions and strategies are being altered in the electoral arena. Labor's influence with officeholders has declined dramatically. The gains of labor over the years have been eroded by new laws and regulations and by the secondary role. Victories that the left has won or assisted in have not created a well institutionalized base, in or out of the electoral framework.

But a move toward electoral action makes sense in the context of the crises of empire and the economy are so clearly reflected in the breakdown in the economy. The major political crisis of the '80s are the U.S. may soon be facing a "critical election" like those of 1860 or 1932. It is essential for the left to start preparing now.

The U.S. may soon be facing a "critical election" like those of 1860 or 1932. It is essential for the left to start preparing now.

Tested, and that the fall elections will offer still more opportunities for such problems may be helpful for the advancement of that process of re-thinking and critical election like those of 1860 or 1932, which have sharpened general realignments of political forces and parties. Whether the current crisis will lead to such a critical election two years from now is not predictable, but unless the left becomes involved now, it will not have much influence on the alternatives considered when a realignment occurs. What the left needs now is to discover how much space it has to operate. It can do that by direct involvement, by probing and testing.

A left electoral strategy will have significant consequences only if it is grounded in a broad alternative policies. Recent history argues convincingly that by itself electing people to office can end up disbanding the syndrome of official and an issue broker, of political platform as a collection of minor adjustments in the status quo. A broader left politics should center on constituency development, the reeducation and the retraining of economic and political leadership.

When we talk of politics, then, we are talking of a broadly defined process of mobilizing popular constituencies and institutionalizing their political candidates. For the foreseeable future, at any rate, elections should still be considered the extension of politics by other means. But the conditions of electoral politics now offer a unique opportunity to accelerate this broader agenda.

What is being done?

A quick review of electoral coverage over the last six months in left and liberal journals, including In These Times, reveals a couple of patterns. Electoral coverage in the whole was generally skimpy; various journals tended to agree in their judging activities have led, in at least some deserving of attention and elections tended to be reported and analyzed in a very localized context. Scattered victories in municipal elections constituted the greatest amount of recent attention. From Burlington to Berkeley, from San Francisco to Santa Monica, some successes have been chalked up at the local level. In many instances, the real left candidates in others, a broadly oriented activity influenced the campaigns. Most of these candidates have provided an additional focus for already highly mobilized constituencies, for groups already involved in a broad range of control and investment and development policies.

The broad major category of electoral-related coverage spotlighted the activities of state-wide groups such as New Jersey's Multicultural Interest Action Council, Illinois' Civil Action Council, Illinois' Public Action Council, etc. It is estimated that by the middle of the year the movement will have also targeted for staff training, voter registration and issue-development programs.

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Our campaign has two major categories of electoral-related coverage. Political Action Committee, Illinois' Public Action Council, etc. It is estimated that by the middle of the year the movement will have...

Yes, I want to support the Parker-Colson PAC.
By MANNING MARABLE

Harold Washington's "upset" victory in last month's Chicago Democratic mayoral primary represents something qualitatively different in national Black politics.

In general, the Black politicians who have become mayors of major American cities since 1967 have generally fallen into two rough categories. The first group, which is dominant, consists of Black liberal Democrats who have run in cities with a near or actual majority of Black residents—New Orleans, Atlanta, Newark, Detroit, Oakland. In other instances, Black moderate-centrist Democrats have won some mayoral races where Blacks comprise fewer than 20% of the total population by appeals to white corporate and establishment interests. Tom Bradley of Los Angeles is an archetypical example of the latter case.

Chicago is different in several critical respects: First, although the Black community comprises 40% of the city's population, its electoral political strength has been dominated by a series of white Democratic bosses since the Depression. Until recent years, Black voter participation was exceptionally low. Out of 950,000 eligible Black voters, less than 400,000 were registered as late as three years ago. Of these registered voters, participation rates of only 22-35% were customary.

However, massive voter registration campaigns increased the total number of Chicago's Black voters from 400,000 to almost 600,000 in two years. In the Feb. 22 primary, Washington received about 420,000 votes or about 36.5% of the mayoral vote (compared to Byrne's 33.8% and Daley's 29.9%) out of about 1.25 million total votes cast. "By this vote," Washington declared in his victory speech, "the Democratic Party has been returned to the people. We shall have an open and fair government in which all people of all colors, races and creeds are treated fairly, equally and equitably." The most powerful and probably the most corrupt political machine in modern American history had been defeated.

What does Washington's stunning victory mean for progressives? It seems hardly necessary to add that he must first defeat moderate Republican Bernard Epton in the April 12 general election. Already there are indications that a reactionary "white united front" is forming to close ranks behind Epton. The day after his election, U.S. Rep. Gus Savage, another Black South Side Democrat, told a New York Times reporter that "white people may see [Washington] as some sort of Black Panther." Liberal white Alderman Martin J. Oberman raised doubts about Washington's ability to compromise with the machine-controlled City Council, declaring that "it's going to take years to accomplish even part of [his] goals."

Even if he is elected, Washington will have only months—not years—to solidify his base and develop an appropriate strategy to carry out his liberal/left program. Washington has already promised to dismantle the corrupt patronage system, and not to require the 45,000 or so public employees under the mayor's power to support his politics. He has advocated a state tax hike for the nearly bankrupt school system, which contains a two-thirds Black enrollment. Washington has promised to revitalize Black and Latino urban neighborhoods, expand public health care, and to reorganize the racist police force. Any attempt to carry out any significant part of this program will generate the intense opposition of many white ethnics, the corporations and banks, leaders in both the Democratic

If we stay outside of the reformist battle to mobilize Black voters, we will alienate and isolate ourselves from the Black masses.

This page is reserved for opinions and analysis from readers and left organizations. Articles are encouraged on a wide variety of subjects from many perspectives and do not necessarily represent the views of the Guardian. Manuscripts should be typed, triple-spaced and 1200 words or fewer.
Blacks and '84: Focus is campaign, not candidate

By AKINSIJU C. OLA

In the past few weeks the news media have taken a wide-ranging strategy discussion among Black political and civil rights leaders and narrowed it to a single issue "debate" of whether or not to field a Black candidate for president in '84.

The prospect of running a Black presidential candidate is exciting and timely, according to a number of those directly involved in the discussion and to others in the Black community. But it is widely agreed that the discussion must by necessity go beyond simply having a Black candidate.

Emerging from the nearly 8-hour-long meeting at the Atlanta airport on March 12, Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said the discussion was the second of three formally planned efforts to develop a platform on employment, healthcare, defense spending, education, housing and civil and human rights. The aim is to focus national attention on issues affecting Blacks and other minorities. The first meeting was held in Washington, D.C., Feb. 13. A third gathering will be in late April in the Midwest.

"Our main priority was the development of a 'peoples' platform," Lowery said in a March 28 interview with the Guardian. "It has already been disseminated by the 'task force' and we have had response to it. There was some consideration," Lowery continued, of running a Black candidate. But at this time, all the media have zeroed in on this one consideration and "consequently, obscured or ignored the other concerns." Lowery also noted that the platform will be presented at "issues forums" this April.

Among those attending the meetings are Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young; Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher; D.C. Mayor Marion Barry, D.C. congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy, U.S. Reps. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), Mickey Leland (D-Texas) and William Gray (D-Pa.). Also present were Cora Scott King, Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, Los Angeles Assemblywoman Maxine Waters and former Manhattan Borough president Percy Sutton.

In limiting their reports to the prospect of a Black presidential candidate, the media zeroed in on the movements of Rev. Jesse Jackson. Jackson, president of People United to Save Humanity, was one of the possible presidential choices discussed at the Atlanta meeting. Other possible choices were Young, Hatcher, Barry and Fauntroy. Young immediately declined, but the others are apparently waiting to see how the group's proposals develop. Jackson as usual made his own decisions.

Without formally declaring himself as a candidate, Jackson began to make the presidential race the principal focus of his talks and travels. In an interview published in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution on March 6, Jackson said he had been studying the options and testing the waters. "I have met with 'many people and many people have approached me,' he said.

Jackson's media visibility has shved the most important part of the current Black political discussions about '84 into the background.

After their disappointment with Jimmy Carter's administration and the anguish brought by two years of Reaganism, Afro-Americans of all political persuasions have been forced to seek some independent way to approach electoral politics.

"The Black presidential candidacy may add to the credibility of the electoral process," says Ron Walters, who teaches political science at Howard University. "The most effective organization of Black interests will allow for more effective coalition with other groups having compatible interests."

"I think the concept of having a Black run for president is a good one," and "can be a very powerful weapon for organizing people," says Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairman of the National Black United Front (NBUF). But Daughtry believes the strategy being put forward does not adequately stress the limitations of an electoral approach. "Even if we elect a Black president it will not solve the problems that our people face," he argues. Daughtry calls for "getting away from this elitist approach of Black leadership and seeking more massive participation."

The NBUF leader is particularly critical of Andrew Young, who has said he would not support a Black candidate. "Real politics is more effective than symbolic politics," Young claimed last month. "And a Black presidential candidate is a symbolic political effort which will reap some symbolic benefits." Instead of "symbolism," Young's "realistic" approach to the presidential race is to back Walter Mondale.

The Atlanta meeting of mainstream Black leaders discussed a report by the Washington-based Joint Center for Political Studies, urging that a 'Black candidate' be run in several Democratic primaries "to increase Black voting strength at the convention and shift the direction of party policy."

The report points out that because the Black vote will be pivotal to the outcome of the general election, Democratic candidates probably will court Black voters before the convention.

Manning Marable, syndicated political columnist and director of Fisk University's Race Relations Institute, believes a Black electoral strategy must go beyond putting pressure on the Democratic candidates. It must bring out a national debate on jobs, nuclear and conventional weapons, affirmative action, legislation and cuts in human services.

(Continued on page 6)
Opinion & Analysis

Many messages for Marxists from Chicago mayoral race

and Republican parties, and a significant share of Black and Latino sycophants who have been "bought out" by the machine.

In a very limited way, therefore, Washington is confronted with the situation faced by Salvador Allende in 1970, in the aftermath of the surprising electoral triumph of Popular Unity over the bourgeois Christian Democrats and the proto-fascist National Party in Chile. Allende had won the presidency by only a 36.2% plurality. He had the support of the unions, leftist farmworkers, miners, socialists, Communists and liberal/left constituencies, but he did not ever control the legislature. Allende quickly discovered that all he had won was electoral political responsibility to administer certain functions of the state. But decisive "state power" was firmly enounced in the hands of the corporations, and zealously supported by the military.

In a radically different sociopolitical environment, Washington's political bloc will have to confront a similar reality. Unlike other Black liberal mayors, he cannot look to a sizeable Black electoral majority to put him automatically back into office in 1987. His clearly social-democratic and antiracist program places him slightly to the left of almost every mayor of any U.S. city—with the exception of Berkeley's Gus Newport. Washington can expect a series of attacks from the right: police slowdowns and strikes, harassment from the banks, corporate flight, political opposition from the state legislature and the Democratic Party.

All Harold Washington has actually accomplished to date is the forging of a Black "electoral front," combined with white and Latino leftists and a smattering of liberals. The key here is for progressives to continue the mobilization of working class, national minority and poor constituents, in the streets as well as beyond the next election.

The progressive momentum which carried Washington to victory, although occurring inside the Democratic primary, was in essence against the racist and pro-capitalist hegemony of both major parties over the lives of Black people. If this popular mobilization fails in any way, or if Washington's key advisers attempt to move the administration to the right to accommodate the interests of the corporate status quo or the machine, then the campaign for radical reform and social justice will fail.

Washington merits the critical support of all Marxists, who must now come to terms with the dialectical relationship between an ongoing series of reforms and the ultimate culmination of social transformation. If we decide to stay outside of the reformist battle to mobilize Black voters, simply because Washington is a "liberal Democrat," we will alienate and isolate ourselves from the Black masses and inadvertently aid the forces of police brutality, corporate dominance and racism. Simultaneously, we must criticize the more rightist tendencies in Washington's bloc in order to push the boundaries of Chicago politics further left.

Perhaps the most interesting feature in the primary election was the failure of most liberal and labor constituencies (antimachine Democrats, gays, moderate feminists, Latinos, progressive trade unionists, etc.) to rally behind Washington's campaign. How and why this failure occurred clearly cannot be attributed to Washington, who made repeated efforts to appeal to both white and Latino voters. Yet on election day, only 10% of the white electorate supported Washington—whereas almost one out of five Blacks had voted for either Byrne or Daley.

The "sellout" of white liberalism occurred at every level of politics. Nationally, the Democratic Party's most prominent spokespersons, Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy and former Vice President Walter Mondale, endorsed the white mayoral candidates. Locally, white liberal leaders' opportunistic actions paralleled those of Kennedy and Mondale. For four years, for example, Byrne had earned a poor record on women's rights-related issues. Nevertheless, the National Organization for Women (NOW) publicly backed Byrne.

Fearful of their own Black rank-and-file, some white union leaders used Black unionists to carry their anti-Washington message. Thus Black transit union president John Weatherspoon, a Daley enthusiast, declared that Washington "coud not" "make the city work. I don't think First National [bank] will issue the bonds for the city if he's mayor." Washington retorted, "That's a diabolical lie. Business wants the status quo, which happens to be white. I'm not foreign to the business community. They know my record. They know it is not pro-business. It will never be pro-business in the sense that I want to help them fatten their coffers, but my relationship with them will be a business re-

The success of Washington's campaign was from beginning to end a result of the forging of an independent Black united front, ministers and Muslims, trade unionists and professionals, entrepreneurs and the unemployed. Of the roughly 365,000 Blacks who cast votes in the Democratic primary, over 300,000 voted for Washington— at least 75% of his total electoral support. Washington received at best token support from the non-Black electorate. It is clear, as in many other recent examples nationally, that race was the pivotal factor in the Chicago Democratic primary.

The primary election victory of Harold Washington should suggest something to Marxists which, although uncomfortable, is an undeniable fact in American political culture. When given an option between a non-white politician who advances a clearly social-democratic, antiracist and antiterrorist agenda, many white labor and liberal petty bourgeois "leaders," will retreat to a more conservative alternative. The fundamental reason, I think, was the fact that Washington was Black.

In the context of an overtly racist society, the battle for militant reforms cannot be fully successful unless the left also views the electoral terrain as one point from which an antiracist politics may be articulated. In concrete practice, by pushing the boundaries of U.S. politics to the left, we can also forge a more principled unity across the color line.

Manning Marable is director of The Race Relations Institute at Fisk University and Vice Chairperson of Democratic Socialists of America.
Blacks and '84

(Continued from page 5)

What is most important, according to Marable, is the process. He favors a mass-based organizing effort among "third world forces, including the Black liberation and Latino movements, progressive church groups, feminist forces, rank and file labor and the peace movement. Unquestionably, the most qualified candidate to do this in an articulate and principled way is [Rep.] Ronald V. Dellums" (D-Calif.).

The aim would be to run a progressive Black candidate (Dellums) for the Democratic Party nomination in a select group of 10 to 12 states that have sizeable blocs of Black, Latino, trade union, etc., voters, to force the party's frontrunner (Mondale) to the left.

One of the ways to organize these social forces and groupings, says Marable, is to mobilize them to join the Aug. 27 march on Washington in commemoration of the 1963 march led by Martin Luther King. "But not," he firmly urges, "to simply replay what King was at that time—rather it would be to emphasize what King had become: the King who had begun to oppose the war, the King who was killed while organizing workers in Memphis." Marable is on the organizing committee for the march.

"Jesse Jackson," says Marable, "would be a disaster. He has proven to be a political quantity of little value: that was shown during the Carter campaign when he served as a 'frontman' for Carter, endeavoring to water down Kennedy-inspired job initiatives. Weeks later, Jackson applauded Reagan's speech before the national Urban League and claimed that 'the Black vote is the wild card in this election. The Black community has the responsibility and obligation to listen to what both parties and all candidates have to say.'"

Black nationalists and most of the left, notes Marable, view Jackson "with undisguised contempt as a political opportunist.... There is a real danger that Jackson-the-candidate would capitulate to Mondale (or even Glenn) at the convention, after a deal had been cut behind the scenes, leaving Blacks and progressives out in the proverbial cold."
Mayoral race making Chicago Democrats squirm

By NINA BERMANN
Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO—Chicagoans are not easily surprised by the reckless, unpredictable nature of their politicians. But Mayor Jane Byrne has managed to turn this city upside down twice in one week, first with her announcement that she would oppose Democratic mayoral nominee Congressman Harold Washington as a write-in candidate April 12, and then with her decision to withdraw from the race.

Reaction to Byrne’s initial decision to run ranged from utter disbelief to charges of outright racism. Washington supporters, along with many journalists and political analysts, suggested that if a Byrne write-in would never have been considered if a white candidate had won the Democratic primary.

Even without Byrne the issue of racism remains a predominant one in the campaign. Opposition to Washington because he is Black is strong among normally Democratic white voters in the city, giving Republican candidate Bernard Epton a chance of winning. Epton has made the most of his racist support, campaigning in the fiercely insulated white ethnic communities in the city’s northwest and southwest sides as the great white hope that will preserve their communities and protect their children. An Epton television commercial shows the Republican standing by a police car with a message warning: “Epton for mayor—before it’s too late.”

Epton denies the ad carries dangerous racial implications, claiming it refers only to the city’s financial troubles. No Black faces appear in his commercials.

The results of this campaign were evident March 27, when a racist crowd of 1300 whites carrying Epton posters booted Washington and former Vice President Walter Mondale outside a northwest side church.

Although Byrne’s withdrawal from the campaign will no doubt boost Epton’s chances in the staunch white communities like Marquette Park, he will need more than the northwest and southwest sides to beat frontrunner Washington. With a solid base of more than 420,000 votes in the Democratic primary (out of 1.2 million) against Epton’s 11,000 in the Republican primary, Washington is hoping to receive a minimum of 650,000 votes on election day. Supporters estimate that to get 650,000 votes, turnout must reach 90% in the Black community, and Washington must get at least 20% of the white vote and an overwhelming majority of the 80,000 plus Latino vote.

Initial canvassing of precincts in Chicago’s Mexican communities shows well over 50% support for Washington. Almost every major labor union in the city—transit workers, teachers, United Auto Workers, District 31 of the United Steelworkers—have all endorsed Washington. Every women’s organization in the city is behind him. And even the Chicago Tribune, considered the more conservative of the two major dailies and with a larger white readership than the Chicago Sun-Times, endorsed Washington.

Yet Washington has not received the strong, unified support of the powerful Cook County Democratic Committee. Thirteen ward committeemen last week refused to attend a Washington endorsement session
called by committee chairman Eddie Vrdolyak. Four of the 13 have already crossed party lines to back Epton and more are expected to follow suit. Those committee members who did attend the session unanimously endorsed Washington—but endorsing and supporting are two entirely different matters. So far there has been little indication that the supposedly pro-Washington committee members will send their precinct captains out to push for the nominee.

The reluctance and trepidation of the Cook County Democratic Committee to rally behind their Democratic nominee points not so much to the fact that Washington is Black, but that her is a progressive, a fierce independent who repudiated that same committee close to ten years ago. As a result, the party is faced with what appears to be an irreconcilable contradiction. On the one hand, ward committee members must at least publicly endorse Washington if they ever want support from Chicago’s powerful Black electorate. For that reason Black committee members and aldermen who vigorously supported Byrne in the primary are now making it overwhelmingly clear that they are firmly behind their constituency’s candidate.

On the other hand, by rallying around the Democratic nominee, ‘powerful’ committee members will be working for a candidate who says he intends to abolish the patronage system, to destroy the machine that has given the party, such strength and has provided committee members with their raison d’être. So it was no surprise to see Edmund Kelly, parks superintendent and committee member from a predominantly white ward, abandon his party and support Epton. Next to the mayor’s office is the parks department controls the largest number of patronage jobs in the city. If Washington is elected, Kelly and those like him, stand to lose a lot.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, a close Byrne friend and ally, appeared in Chicago last week on Washington’s behalf. And the day before Byrne dropped out, two top business executives from the Merchandise Mart who had been involved in the mayor’s effort, withdrew from the campaign following a call by a Kennedy family representative. The Kennedys own the Merchandise Mart.

In fact, the support for Washington by the Democratic National Committee has been overwhelming. Top Democratic party leaders like Kennedy, Mondale, Sen. Alan Cranston (Calif.), Rep. John Conyers (Mich.), former Rep. Shirley Chisolm (N.Y.)—just to name a few—fly in and out of Chicago every day just to appear with Washington. Party leaders clearly see Chicago as a rallying point to generate Black support for their 1984 presidential candidate.

Washington himself has repeatedly stressed the national implications of the Chicago mayoral race and has attempted to provide the movement for Black political power with a progressive ideology that transcends race. When not discussing the city’s patronage system, the school board, the “conspiracy” between state and local officials and the utility companies, rent gouging or neglect of neighborhoods, Washington turns his attention to Reagan’s military spending, the President’s repudiation of the nuclear freeze movement, and the need to replace Reaganomics with a progressive alternative in 1984.

In contrast, Epton has shied away from allying himself with national Republican figures or Republican ideology. In the white middle class lakefront precincts Epton campaigns as a political moderate, although examination of his voting record in the Illinois state legislature shows him strongly anti-labor and anti-women. (He has consistently voted for “right-to-work” laws, for a 72-hour waiting period before a woman can obtain an abortion, and against a measure that would have permitted passage of the ERA in Illinois by a simple majority instead of a three-fifths majority).

In the face of Epton’s undisguised appeal to white voters on the basis of race, Washington has warned that the Republican’s tactics could produce an ugly, confrontational atmosphere. But Washington has not reciprocated, for example by exploiting the hypocrisy of the defecting Democratic committee members. Instead, he has continued to stress his pledge to dismantle the patronage system, and to rely on the powerful coalition of Blacks, independents and progressives that has already demonstrated it is a force in Chicago politics that is here to stay.
A movement starts to transform Chicago

By NINA BERMANN
Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO—With the whole world once again watching this city, a milestone has been reached in the struggle against racial barriers—but just barely.

Last week's mayoral victory by Black Rep. Harold Washington was a major defeat for Jim Crow in one of the country's most segregated cities, in addition to being a severe setback to the notorious Chicago Democratic machine. But the bitterness of the campaign—indeed, the flaunting of their racist message by Washington's opponents—and the narrowness of his win underscore the tremendous difficulties the Democratic mayor-elect now faces.

Washington's victory was a product of a movement, not a campaign. While his organization was constantly bogged down by inefficiency, bureaucracy and general inexperience, the movement he galvanized showed remarkable unity in terms of ideology and sense of purpose. It is now up to Washington to translate the desires of that movement into an efficient, responsive and expert administration.

There was an understandable jubilation among the 20,000 Washington supporters at the victory rally election night. Because of close returns all evening, the candidate did not arrive to deliver his acceptance speech until 1:30 a.m. Before he could speak, the clamorous ovation lasted seven minutes.

(Continued on page 9)
Winning was tough, but changing Chicago is even tougher

(Continued from page 1)

Attributing his win to "a new Democratic coalition," Washington pledged, "We will rebuild the city and open its doors."

The campaign had its less uplifting moments. Although white Republican candidate Bernard Epton dropped his code-word slogan "Before it's too late," he continued to encourage so-called "ethnic pride" in communities where Blacks are permitted neither to live nor walk the streets. Tens of thousands of lifelong Democrats gave their support to Epton, and there was little attempt to disguise the reason. Racist campaign buttons—such as the one showing a watermelon slice with a bar across—abounded.

In the last weeks of the campaign fliers mysteriously appeared accusing Washington of, among other things, child molesting. And in the days immediately preceding the April 12 vote, cops were seen outside predominantly Black housing projects, arresting on spurious charges Blacks who wore Washington buttons in order, it seemed, to intimidate them or prevent them from voting.

Shockingly, Epton—practically unknown three months ago—almost became mayor of Chicago, garnering 48% of the vote in the largest turnout in the city's history.

The movement that defeated this racist challenge began last fall with a massive Black voter registration drive that for the first time in history gave the Black community confidence in its ability to influence Chicago politics. Prior to the registration drive Washington announced that he would consider running if 50,000 Blacks registered—more than 100,000, did—and Washington, still strangely reluctant, was literally forced into the race. He then ignited the Black community like no one had done before, but not so much by stressing race as an issue as class. The long-touted Black/Latino/white progressive coalition that failed to emerge significantly in the primary came out solid in the general election with Blacks voting 98% for Washington, Latinos 70% and whites 18%. In a city where Blacks and Latinos have consistently fought each other not only on the streets but in city government, the Latino turnout was in itself historic, particularly since Regular Democratic Party politicians were pushing hard for Epton in the Latino community.

While the media, especially the national media, painted the campaign almost solely in terms of race, it was more complex. In February, Larry Bloom, a white independent and early supporter of Washington, won a resounding reelection victory against several Black candidates in a predominantly Black ward. And in the aldermanic runoff elections this April, several Black independents, such as former Black Panther Party leader Bobby Rush, ousted supposedly well entrenched Black machine incumbents. These victories demonstrated a new-found political sophistication in the Black community, one that transcends the popular appeal of Washington. To some, they indicate a growing movement toward independent progressive politics.

During the campaign, Washington was continually pressured by the media and those in city government to reach an accommodation with the Regular Democratic Party—the notorious "machine." He refused, keeping to his commitment to dismantle the patronage system and publicly supporting independent challengers over machine incumbents. Following his election, Washington made no move to enthrall himself to the regular party, saying, "The machine is not dead, it is mortally wounded, and, like most mortally wounded animals, it will drift off into the woods and die."

The day after his election, for example, Washington announced plans to incorporate the Park District—currently an independent body under the control of old-time boss Edmund Kelly, a Democrat who supported Epton—into City Hall. At present Kelly controls 4000 patronage jobs, second only to the mayor's office. The Park District has been frequently criticized for its inefficiency and disregard for parks in Black and Latino neighborhoods.

Nor will Kelly be the only one to go. According to political consultant Don Rose, outgoing Mayor Jane Byrne's administration was "one of the most corrupt administrations of the century," and those who nurtured that corruption—like real estate magnate Charles Swibel, Streets and Sanitation head John Donovan, Police Superintendent Richard Brzeczek, Board of Elections chief Michael Lavelle and Chicago Housing Authority chairman Andrew Mooney—will have little chance of surviving under Washington. Indeed, Police Superintendent Brzeczek has already announced his resignation, and Washington's appointment to head the 70% white force in this 40% Black city is likely to be one of his most controversial.

Those who have profited by Chicago's condominium craze and rent-gouging will now face a mayor who has pledged to support
a Tenant's Bill of Rights, drawn up by a tenants' grassroots organization and not by those inside city government. And those who have gained from sex discrimination in employment and housing will now have to deal with an Office of Women's Affairs, prompted by calls from women's organizations throughout the city unified under the Women's Network, a group to the left of NOW.

The issues to be addressed by the Office of Women's Affairs are identical to those articulated in a position paper drawn up by the Women's Network prior to the primary. At present 80% of male Chicago city employees earn more than $20,000 annually while 80% of female city workers earn less than $20,000; only 18% of the city's workforce are women; 80% of public housing families are headed by women but few if any rape services or daycare centers exist for those women; half of all rape cases reported to the Chicago police are thrown out as unfounded—a rate higher than any other city in the country; and of 56 major U.S. cities, Chicago has the third highest infant mortality rate. Unlike other administrations where women's issues have received only lip service, Washington's Office of Women's Affairs was conceived, articulated and defined by women outside of city government who have been working steadily with women's concerns and in the feminist movement.

Another key issue is economic development, specifically, the 1992 World's Fair. A potential boondoggle, the World's Fair has received widespread criticism from community groups that fear its environmental impact on the lakefront, the possibility of massive displacement of low-income residents, the radical transformation of the predominantly Black Near South Side and the overall financial burden to the city and taxpayers. While Washington has expressed deep reservations about the current site, he has not yet proposed an alternative plan. Long-time community activist and a member of Washington's steering committee, Slim Coleman, has suggested a decentralized fair with expositions scattered throughout the neighborhoods. And another plan proposed locating the fair in the city's once-thriving industrial Far South Side.

Yet if Washington is to influence the course of the World's Fair in particular and the city's economic development in general, he must move quickly to initiate his own programs and install people capable of carrying them out. Already Democratic Party Chairman "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, considered one of the most powerful men in Chicago, attempted with some success to stonewall Washington's support in the City Council by stacking committee selections in his own favor and in the interests of the Regular Democratic bosses. Unlike Byrne in 1979, however, Washington has a massive power base he can mobilize, as well as a decent share of support in the 50-member City Council. It now remains to be seen whether with this support Washington can turn his disorganized grassroots movement into a powerful city administration invested with a clear-cut political direction.
Mayor's honeymoon ends fast as backs start feud

By NINA BERMAN
Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO—The notorious Democratic machine that has run this city's government for the last 50 years may be down, but last week it proved it was far from out.

There was not even the briefest political honeymoon for Progressive Democratic Mayor Harold Washington after he took office April 30 as the first Black mayor of the nation's third largest city. The polarization that gripped Chicago for the five months leading up to Washington's narrow April 12 election victory immediately became a blatant struggle for control of the city's legislature, the 50-person City Council.

Washington's first 10 days in office were as stormy as possible. Two sessions of the City Council—split between 29 machine Democrats and 21 Washington supporters—have ended in uproarious shouting matches. A third session was forbidden to convene by Washington, who ordered the police to deliver letters to council members at 11:30 p.m. the night before the scheduled meeting.

Gone are the days when machine supporters invaded city hall, and both sides have asked the courts to intervene on their behalf.

Washington's coattails were too short to carry a majority of his supporters into the City Council, which remains under the tight control of Cook County Democratic Party Chairman and 10th Ward Alderman "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak. The machine's majority can pass ordinances, but it lacks the two-thirds majority needed to override a mayoral veto, a situation that threatens to indefinitely stall city government until a compromise can be worked out.

The first session of the City Council after Washington was inaugurated overshadowed the ongoing struggle. Realizing he lacked the votes to block the Vrdolyak forces, Washington adjourned the May 2 meeting just seconds after he called it to order. He immediately led his 21 supporters—16 Blacks and 5 whites—out of the council chambers, but the Vrdolyak majority remained in place, insisting that the motion to adjourn had not been properly approved. With Washington and his supporters gone, the renegade council proceeded to make crucial committee assignments, retaining the most influential positions for the machine's staunchest supporters.

Washington denounced the council's rump meeting as "an illegal, nonbinding and illegitimate meeting" with no power to make committee assignments or schedule another meeting, as it did, for May 6. "Mr. Vrdolyak and some few of his supporters don't understand that there will not be business as usual, that there will be reforms," Washington told reporters.

Community reaction to Vrdolyak's "palace coup" was fast and furious. The night after the council meeting, Washington organizers and community activists met to discuss citywide strategy that would target pro-Vrdolyak aldermen whose wards either went for Washington in the mayoral election or lost by narrow margins. The consensus reached at the meeting was that any protest should not be connected to the mayor's office; that the Vrdolyak 29 were enemies of the communities—particularly the Blacks and Latinos—rather than any one individual; and that any protests must have unified methods and demands. The group agreed that the May 6 City Council meeting called by Vrdolyak to ratify his committee selections was illegal and should be stopped. The group decided that each ward would demonstrate in front of their alderman's homes, engage in telephone blitzes day and night to both their homes and offices, and circulate petitions.

Some participants at the meeting called for 1960s-like actions, sit-ins etc. to physically block the aldermen from entering the council chamber. It was eventually decided, however, that such actions would invest the Vrdolyak 29 with authority that Washington has refused, and continue to refuse to recognize. Just before midnight May 2, Washington sent the police on their late chores of informing Vrdolyak and his supporters that their planned session was illegal.

The next day, 300 white goons appeared at City Hall in a show of force against any mayoral effort to block the council meeting. Washington made no effort to prevent Vrdolyak's majority from entering the council chambers, but he and his backers boycotted the session. Washington simply vetoed the authorization for the special meeting, leaving the machine Democrats unable to conduct any official business.

Vrdolyak retaliated by scheduling another council meeting for May 7, while filing suit asking the courts to prohibit Washington from interfering with City Council business.

Washington and his supporters appeared at the May 7 session in force, but they refused to allow it to conduct any business for two hours, during which time they maneuvered for parliamentary control, while trading insults, shouts and nearly coming to blows. Eventually the anti-machine Democrats walked out and the remaining members approved the minutes of the May 2 meeting, thereby making the renegade committee appointments official.

While a power struggle for control of the council was anticipated from the start—and was the major reason for Washington's attention to aldermanic races during the election—the intensely emotional outbursts and the formation of what amounts to two City Councils were not foreseen. So far Washington has stood firm and public sentiment, including some editorialists and columnists in the major dailies, seems to back the mayor.

Washington will no doubt be able to deal with a divided City Council. The biggest stumbling block to his administration's success is the still unresolved question of his right to appoint his supporters to positions of authority in the city bureaucracy. If he is prevented from doing so, his efforts to implement his program may be thwarted by a politically hostile incumbent, requiring a continuous and difficult mobilization of his backers at the grassroots.
CHICAGO WILL NEVER BE THE SAME

BY BRUCE SATO

CHICAGO

With the entire country watching, Black Congressman Harold Washington's campaign for mayor of Chicago has cast the sharpest possible spotlight on the politics of race in the U.S. today—as they really are and not as some would like them to be.

Perhaps the most telling indicator of the racialized politics which have long dominated the country's third largest city is the fact that as of this writing, a week before the election, it is not at all certain that Washington, a Democrat, will win, despite the fact that the Democratic Party has held the mayor's office in this city for more than half a century. But whatever the outcome on election day (April 12), Washington's campaign has already changed the political landscape of Chicago permanently and is sending out far-reaching shock waves that will affect the shape of national politics through the 1984 elections and well beyond.

The reasons why the Chicago election is now the focus of every political force across the spectrum come down to two: First, Washington's campaign represents the rise of Chicago's Black community as an independent, self-organized, highly motivated political force, providing a striking example of its political potential; and second, the depth and breadth of the spontaneous racist backlash to Washington's effort offers a pointed reminder of the degree to which the color line remains a defining feature of big league politics in the U.S.

A LONG, HARD ROAD

While national attention was drawn to Chicago's mayoral race after Washington's "upset" victory over present Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne and State's Attorney Richard M. Daley (son of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley) in the Democratic Party primary February 22, the buildup to this flashpoint began some years ago.

Ever since the death of Richard Daley in 1976 and the resulting weakening of Chicago's Democratic machine, leaders and activists throughout the Black community have sensed the potential to challenge the corrupt and racist forces who have traditionally wielded Democratic Party—and city government—power.

The first attempt—in which Washington was also the candidate—was made in 1977. That hastily thrown
THE BACKLASH

Just as the emergence of Chicago's Black community as a powerful and independent political force is one side of the Washington campaign, the strength of the racist backlash against him is the other. Though many with illusions about the politics of race in the U.S. don't like to admit it, the racist reaction was actually inevitable. For the demand for Black equality that lay at the heart of the Washington campaign had as its inevitable corollary the dismantling of a system of white privilege from which, in varying degrees, the overwhelming bulk of Chicago's whites derived some concrete, immediate advantage.

The centerpiece of Washington's program is a direct challenge to white supremacy in the city.

More and better job opportunities, favored treatment by the police, cleaner streets, better schools and health care services—for years these have been tangible, definite benefits of being white in Chicago. The city government and the Democratic Party machine have been the crucial instruments for maintaining those advantages for whites.

The signal that Washington was fully prepared to challenge this racist infrastructure came in the first of the campaign's televised debates. Focusing on the long history of racist abuse which has characterized the Chicago Police Department, Washington went right for the jugular and stated, "One of the first things I will do when I walk into that office is fire Police Chief Brzezek!" Nothing could have polarized the campaign more effectively or indicated that Washington's campaign pledge to eliminate Chicago's corrupt system of patronage was more than an idle threat. To the entrenched white power structure in the Chicago machine, the declaration served notice that Washington's election would shake up Chicago's notorious system of white political privilege in a way that had never before been attempted. This was a direct threat, not just to symbols of power, but to real power.

Even the many whites whose tangible benefits from Chicago's racialized economic and social structure are little more than crusts and promises have been heavily in the grip of the racist backlash; as the scope of anti-Washington sentiment in the city's poorest white areas all too vividly showed.

The results of the primary campaign showed how deep the racial polarization had become: Washington received 80 percent of the Black vote, but only six percent of the total among whites. (He also got only 15 percent of the vote of Chicago's Latinos, a total kept small due to a legacy of anti-Black sentiment in that community and Mayor Byrne's extensive efforts over the last two years to exacerbate that sentiment, pit Latinos against Blacks, and build a base for herself in that community.)

But of the racist groundswell, however,
only became clear after Washington’s victory when Bernard Epton, an obscure Republican who happened to have his party’s usually worthless nomination for mayor, suddenly became a serious contender. Epton was catapulted to an unprecedented prominence by a widespread, spontaneous upsurge in the city’s white ethnic communities that was clearly based on only one thing—his color. And while the Cook County Democratic Party organization, under massive pressure from national party figures, formally endorsed Washington, hardly a white Democratic committeeeman in the city pledged to work actively on his campaign. Many others privately supported Epton and some publicly defected. “The question isn’t Epton or Washington,” said one. “Everyone’s for Epton. The question is whether it would help or hurt Epton for them to come out openly and say so.”

The national Republican Party, sensing the potential of a previously unanticipated victory, quickly poured more than $350,000 into the Epton campaign, dispatched media expert John Deardourff to assist, and watched in glee the insidiously racist “vote for Epton before it’s too late” commercials on television.

The campaign also has an even dirtier underside: racist epithets spray-painted at locations where Washington was campaigning, and a Washington campaign office burned down in a suspected arson; demonstrators shouting Washington down in churches in white areas; cars with Washington bumper stickers getting stopped an amazing number of times for the most minor or imaginary violations. Hanging over it all like a poisonous cloud is the crystallization of what can only be called a “white united front” which has set the political agenda for the vast bulk of Chicago’s whites in an anti-Washington drive whose racist thrust has become unmistakable.

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**Chicago...**

continued from p. 3

As the battle-lines in Chicago were drawn, observers all over the country began a careful watch to see what strength each side could muster and where the few remaining fence-sitters would come down.

Black politicians, civil rights leaders, and community activists have their eyes riveted on Chicago, trying to determine whether the political clout mustered there can be duplicated elsewhere. Particularly as Black leaders weigh their stand in the 1984 election, the question on everyone’s mind is: will any substantial number of white Democrats hold the line with Washington, or will the desertion rate be so severe that Blacks will turn away from the Democrats in total disgust?

This latter possibility is the nightmare of the national leadership of the Democratic Party, not because they have any serious concern for the struggle against racism, but because they need millions upon millions of Black votes to regain the presidency (and a majority in both houses of Congress) in 1984. Consequently, Democratic presidential hopeful and a host of state party chairpeople have been rushing to Chicago in an effort to stem white Democratic defections from the Washington camp (or at least to look good trying).

Meanwhile, every right of center political force—from the Republican Party leadership to the denizens of the New Right—is watching Chicago eagerly, relishing the prospect of winning masses of working class whites to their camp and gauging carefully the proper manner in which they should make their appeal to racism in order to do so.

The conjuncture offers a microcosm of the politics of race in the U.S. today which ought to give the left food for thought. For at the heart of the racial polarization in Chicago is the contradiction between a politics that serves the interests of the working class and one that reinforces the rule of capital—even though workers, not so accidentally divided along the color line, are to be found on both sides of the campaign.

The Washington campaign demonstrates that the surest social base for working class politics in the U.S. rests in the least privileged, least buffered, sections of the working class, particularly among minority workers. It also demonstrates—and this, perhaps, is the most crucial point of all—that a working class oriented political program with the struggle against racism at its core is the necessary condition for bringing that social base into the political arena.
"CHICAGO WILL BE OURS":
THE REVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF
THE HAROLD WASHINGTON ELECTION VICTORY IN CHICAGO

Eighty years ago, Upton Sinclair concluded his famous novel The Jungle with the stirring words — "Chicago Will Be Ours, Chicago Will Be Ours, Chicago Will Be Ours". On April 12, 1983 a step toward making that old socialist's vision a reality was taken. For on April 12, 1983, Harold Washington, progressive petty-bourgeois politician from the Afro-American national minority community was elected Mayor of Chicago, the third largest city in the USA, and the heart of the industrial heartland of the U.S. imperialist oppressor nation. Washington's victory is a blow to Jim Crow as it inflicted a significant defeat on the entrenched white supremacist Daley Democratic Party Machine which has politically run Chicago for fifty years. Washington's victory has provided hope and encouragement to the Afro-American national minority people as well as to much of the large Latino national minority population in the U.S. (north) oppressor nation as well as to the Afro-American people in their Black Belt homeland.

For in recent years, under the impetus of the capitalist economic crisis, the Afro-American and Latino peoples have suffered the most economically from the layoffs and massive unemployment, cutbacks in social services, attacks on affirmative action, etc. As in the past they have been the "last hired and first fired".

At the same time, the Afro-American and Latino peoples have been setback politically as the Reagan regime and U.S. imperialism have tried to make these oppressed nationalities and national minorities into a scapegoat for the capitalist economic crisis now plaguing the people of the USA, channeling white working class frustration and anger into chauvinist paths that divide and weaken the working class.

Under these conditions, Washington's election platform spoke to the desires and needs of the people.

Washington's platform included: creating jobs as "first priority", ending of police brutality including the promise to fire the white-supremacist police superintendent Richard Brzeznek, support for a Tenant's Bill of Rights formulated by grassroots tenants unions, the
establishment of an Office of Women’s Affairs to deal with sex discrimination in employment and wages, housing, city government, male supremacist treatment of rape cases by the police department, etc. as outlined in a position paper drawn up by the Women’s Network, a united city-wide coalition of women’s groups to the left of NOW, (National Organization of Women), the strengthening of neighborhood health clinics and leadership in the fight against Reagan cutbacks in health, and the elimination of the city’s patronage system with its replacement by a civil service program involving aggressive affirmative action.

With this positive program, Washington was able to mobilize a broad united front within the Black community including workers and trade unionists, small business owners, welfare mothers, students, ministers, and the unemployed — practically every class and stratum in the Black community with the exception of “major Black capitalists like John Johnson, publisher of Ebony, and some Black ministers and politicians with patronage positions or funding from the Mayor.” (Unity p.4 2/11-2/24/83)

According to Unity:

“This united front has been built over the last two years in a mounting mass struggle to unseat Byrne and elect a Black mayor. Wave upon wave of voter registration drives spearheaded by Rev. Jesse Jackson, Lu Palmer, Bob Lucas and Conrad Worrill have resulted in registering some 250,000 new Black voters. These have been combined with a series of mass protests against Byrne’s most blatant racist policies, such as purges of Blacks from the Board of Education and Chicago Housing Authority. The most notable was the Black boycott of the Chicago Fest entertainment festival last summer.

- Many of the forces active in these struggles have coalesced into the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment. It includes community activists and organizations, social service agency figures, ministers, elected officials such as Alderman Danny Davis and Clifford Kelley, PUSH, Chicago United Black Communities and the Black United Front....

Washington has also received the active backing of Black labor leaders in Chicago, including Charles Hayes and Addie Wyatt of the United Food and Commercial Workers. He was endorsed by the United Electrical workers union. Two years ago, Washington was the only elected official to walk the picket line with UE workers on strike at the Stewart-Warner company. (p. 4 2/11 - 2/24)

While the driving force in Washington’s campaign was the Black Liberation Movement, his campaign reached out to “representatives from the Latino community, neighborhood organizations of unemployed and lower strata white workers, progressive trade union officials, nuclear freeze activists and other liberal and left organizations.” (ibid. p.4)

The two main factors that enabled Washington to achieve victory in the Feb. 22nd Democratic Party Primary were, on the one hand, the Black liberation movement and specifically the massive voter registration and renewed political activism and sophistication of the Black masses of Chicago, and, on the other, the fact that the powerful Daley machine was divided in its mobilization between incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne at the helm of the machine, and the Prince of Darkness, the son of Daley himself — laying claim as the “rightful heir” to the Daley machine.

**Black Unity**, then, was the foundation of the Primary victory. In a Democratic Party stronghold like Chicago, this primary victory would ordinarily have guaranteed victory in the Mayoral election against the Republican candidate. But not this time.

First Mayor Byrne initiated a write-in campaign. But with the Presidential elections coming up, the national Democratic Party figures such as Senator Kennedy and former Vice-President Walter Mondale could not afford to continue to support Byrne (and/or Daley) against the Black winner of the Primary. Otherwise the Democratic Party would have alienated the Afro-American people in Chicago, in the U.S. (north) and in the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South. This could only result in the weakening of the Democratic Party vis a vis the Republican Party and, more significantly, lead to the politically aroused Afro-American people becoming the driving force behind a third party alternative to the twin parties of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

The Byrne write-in campaign was stopped. National Democratic Party leaders now expressed support for Washington.

But on the local Chicago turf itself, the basic Daley machine forces decisively came out in support of Republican Epton. For example, Ed Kelly, the head of the Chicago Parks District (CPD), who controlled 4,000 patronage jobs (second only to the Mayor’s office) was among the first Democrats to endorse Epton.

Though a “moderate” Republican, Epton ran a white supremacist campaign — focusing almost solely on the all-white ethnic neighborhoods, making the tune of "Bye Bye Blackbird" his theme song, issuing campaign slogans such as “Epton — Before It’s Too Late”.

Tens of thousands of white life-long Democrats supported Republican Epton. Racist campaign buttons, including one with a bar across a watermelon slice, were commonplace. Cops arrested young Afro-
Americans on the eve of the election saying, that was “one less vote for Washington”.

As the *Guardian* observed,

“...in the last weeks of the campaign fliers mysteriously appeared accusing Washington of, among other things, child molesting. And in the days immediately preceding the April 12 vote, cops were seen outside predominantly Black housing projects arresting on spurious charges...Blacks who wore Washington buttons in order, it seemed, to intimidate them or prevent them from voting.

Shockingly, Epton — practically unknown three months ago — almost became mayor of Chicago, garnering 48% of the vote in the largest turnout in the city’s history.” (*Guardian*, 4/27/83 p. 9)

Indeed, even *Unity*, newspaper of the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), which on the whole played an excellent role of early and critical support for the Washington campaign, seemed to have some illusions about the Democratic Party and the power of the vote under U.S. Imperialism. For they underestimated the problems that would arise within the Democratic Party for its Primary winner on the way to the final election and thereafter. *Unity* concluded one article with the following:

“With hard work, a decisive Washington victory seems likely April 12. Such a victory will send a strong message to Byrne, Epton and their racist backers that the basic, democratic rights of Black people can no longer be trampled on in Chicago.” (p. 6 *Unity* 3/25 - 4/7/83)

As *Unity* correctly observed following the election,

“...Epton’s gain from 1% of the total votes cast in primary elections to his 48% in the general election shows the influence of white chauvinism in the working class. It shows the danger of the right wing trend against oppressed nationalities and any people’s movement fighting to protect jobs, living standards and democratic rights.” (p. 7, 4/22/83)

The fact is that with hard work 52% of the record 82% voter turnout went to Washington, a close but encouraging win!

Key to this win was the increase in Washington’s Afro-American vote from 80% in the primary to 98% in the election. Hence *Black unity* remained the foundation. Upon this foundation a new level of *Black - Latino unity* began to emerge with Washington’s Latino vote rising from about 12% in the Primary to 70% in the election.*

*Also Washington’s white vote increased from about 6% to 18% in the final election. Unfortunately, for the most part, Washington’s white support came from middle class liberals and not from the white workers.

Manning Marable, in an otherwise excellent *Opinion and Analysis* column in the *Guardian*, presented a conclusion just the opposite of what the facts which he had presented about the Washington victory revealed. After correctly stating that, “The success of Washington’s campaign was from the beginning to end a result of the forging of an independent Black united front...”, Marable concludes the following: “In concrete practise, by pushing the boundaries of U.S. politics to the left, we can forge a more principled unity across the color line.” The Washington victory actually showed that, by forging a more principled unity across the color line, we can push the boundaries of U.S. politics to the left.

*Black unity* led to a victory in the primary. *Black - Latino unity* led to victory in the Mayoral election. *Black - Latino and white working class unity* can achieve democratic rights in Chicago, opening the way to workers power and socialism.

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During the campaign, between the primary and the election, there was constant pressure from the media and the ruling class for Washington to reach accommodation with the regular Democratic Party Machine. He steadfastly refused — keeping the faith with his commitment to dismantle the patronage system and publically supporting independent challengers over machine incumbents.

Chicago’s ruling class might go along with a few moderate reforms of the corrupt machine but they are already pressuring Washington with advice that he better not dismantle this social - political - military prop of monopoly capitalist rule in Chicago.

“An article in *Crain’s Chicago Business* warns Washington to appoint responsible professionals who will run the city like a major corporation and not allow the city to be governed by ‘ideology’.” (*Unity*, p. 7 4/22/83)

Of course, if the Washington forces are successful in their effort to break the Democratic Party ‘Machine’, this will result in the toning

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*Newsweek Magazine, for example, punished him with damaging coverage, spread spreading the distortion that Washington was only the candidate of Chicago’s Black people, and spreading rumors and slanders regarding Washington’s alleged “tarnished past”. (Contrast, for example, the much more favorable treatment according to W. Wilson Goode, Black candidate for Mayor in Philadelphia, in the 4/11/83 issue with. the slanderous treatment of Washington’s campaign in the same issue.*
down of police repression, better city health and sanitation services for the Afro-American and Latino minority communities, etc. These and other reforms would result in a stronger, more dignified and more unified working class. In other words, it would mean a threat to the profits of Chicago’s rulers.

Since they retain economic control, big business is now using the old Democratic Party machine to help them hold onto political control.

As Washington and the Afro American people of Chicago are seeing, occupancy of the Mayor’s office does not constitute bourgeois political control of Chicago city government. The old Daley - Democratic Party political machine still controls the 50 member Chicago City Council. This machine majority on the Council, led by Cook County Democratic Party Chairman and tenth Ward Alderman “Fast Eddie” Vrdolyak, can pass ordinances though it lacks the two-thirds majority necessary to override a mayoral veto. Hence the prospect of a long-term stalemate of the city government.

Already in less than a month in office, in the fight for bourgeois political control, Mayor Washington with his 21 City Council supporters (all 16 Afro-Americans and 5 whites) have been in a state of perpetual war with the 29 “machine” members on the Council. Washington adjourned the City Council’s first session on May 2 only seconds after he had called it to order, recognizing that he didn’t have sufficient votes to block the machine forces. Washington then led his 21 Council supporters out of the chamber, whereupon the Vrdolyak 29 proceeded as a “renegade” council to make crucial committee assignments, with the staunchest machine members obtaining the most important positions. Vrdolyak scheduled another “council” meeting for May 6 to ratify the decisions of May 2nd. It is noteworthy that 300 white goons appeared at City Hall to guard against any attempt by Washington to block the Vrdolyak 29 “council” meeting. Though they met, Washington’s veto of the authorization for this meeting left the machine Democrats unable to conduct official business. Vrdolyak rescheduled the meeting for the next day, while filing suit asking the courts to prohibit Washington from interfering with City Council business. On May 7th after some delaying tactics by the Washington forces, the corrupt machine democrats were able to ratify their May 2nd meeting, making their renegade committee appointments official. The courts have since sustained the machine’s position at least up till now.

Washington himself, with his own bourgeois - democratic illusions under imperialist rule had underestimated the imperialist enemy and its white supremacist Democratic Party machine. Washington had stated that, “The machine is not dead, it is mortally wounded, and like most mortally wounded animals, it will drift off into the woods and die.” Lenin, on the contrary, had taught that imperialism is the last, dying stage of capitalism, and that in its death throes, it can be extremely dangerous and aggressive.

In order to effect any significant reforms promised in his campaign, (e.g. the firing of police chief Brzezicek) Washington will require the support of a mobilized army of people ready to go into the streets, to battle with the police, etc. For there are now two City Councils, two city governments. Which one will be victorious?

What are the revolutionary lessons and what are the revolutionary opportunities and tasks that flow from this election of Harold Washington in Chicago?

1) The election of Harold Washington has provided a springboard for electoral resistance by the Afro-American people to the reactionary attacks against them being made by crisis-ridden U.S. imperialism all across the USA. Washington’s victory (with his promise to fire the white supremacist chief of the police department that murdered Fred Hampton, the brilliant young Black Panther leader) provides a real mobilizing vehicle for resistance to imperialist reaction. For the path to fascism in the USA is being spearheaded by the violent police suppression of the Afro-American people and the Latino national minorities in the U.S. (north) oppressor nation.

Already in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the fourth largest city in the USA, on May 17th as this is going to press, W. Wilson Goode, an Afro-American candidate, has defeated Frank Rizzo in a head to head confrontation in the Democratic Primary. Despite the fact that Goode compares Philadelphia to a corporation, while Washington is definitely not “pro-business”, Goode’s victory over Rizzo, notorious former Police chief and Mayor of Philadelphia who ran practically a police state there, is definitely a blow against the drive to fascist reaction in the U.S. (north). And there is no doubt that Goode’s election victory over Rizzo was greatly aided by Washington’s victory in Chicago.

In Boston, Mass. Mel King, a veteran Black activist and state representative, is running for Mayor against the incumbent Kevin White and his machine. White has been in office longer than any other big city mayor in the country. But his machine is currently charged with corruption and incompetent administration.

Unlike both Chicago and Philadelphia, where the Afro-American population is approximately 40% of the total, Boston’s Black population is less than 25%; and, even with the Latino population, it does
not come close to adding up to a majority. Yet Mel King has demonstrated ability to win in his own district with majority white voters and ran a very respectable third in the Democratic primary four years ago.

One big complication, is the candidacy of City Councillor Ray Flynn of South Boston. Flynn represents the embryonic fascist movement, as a politician who became prominent in the anti-busing (anti-Black) movement in the mid-1970's. Flynn has more recently supported rent control and opposed airport noise and electric company pollution. The former issue is a largely lumpen - proletarian class issue while the latter are petty bourgeois class issues. These are the very classes that come together in a fascist movement! Interestingly, many "leftists" in and around the Mass. Tenants Organization and disturbingly some labor unions are supporting Flynn against Mel King on the basis that a Black man can't win white votes in Boston. Even the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) may endorse no one in the race because of internal division about the candidates. Hence, the social democrats are supporting the candidate of white supremacy because white supremacy is dominant! Of such "logic" and political "courage" is fascism made!

Nevertheless, the Mel King campaign has been inspired, also, by the Harold Washington victory. And in Boston, too, clearly the issue is rising chauvinism and fascist reaction or Black leadership and more democratic rights for working people and the national minorities.

Indeed Washington’s victory is providing a springboard for other electoral initiatives by the Afro-American people in defense of their rights against the Reagan regime and U.S. imperialism.

2) The Washington victory in both the primary and the election, the massive voter registration drive and the large number of active Washington campaigners, reveals the qualitatively more advanced political consciousness of the Afro-American people than that of the white working people at this moment of economic crisis. The Afro-American masses are exercising their democratic right to vote and to support their own candidates, etc.; in an attempt to relieve the burden of the crisis which has fallen heavily on their shoulders through at least minimal "political action". Meanwhile, the fact that the white working people voted against Washington and for the millionaire Epton and his pro-business, pro-patronage and anti-Black platform reveals their dangerous backwardness at this moment of crisis, and

*We call on Manning Marable, Vice Chairperson of DSA and its leading Black spokesperson, to fight as zealously within DSA for endorsement of Mel King as he fought so effectively in the pages of the Guardian for "Marxists" to become active in the Washington campaign in Chicago.

that their frustration and anger is being channeled into the chauvinist path of fascism — against their most valuable allies — the Black workers.

Quite obviously, reaching the white workers and linking them up with the Afro-American workers and Latino workers, as well as with the Afro-American and Latino peoples will require persistent, protracted and sustained effort. This effort will need to be made in opposition to such forces as Guardian correspondent Nina Berman who concluded an article on the Washington campaign by pushing for the "valuable tactic" of "mobilizing Black, Latino and white liberal support", instead of calling for mobilization of Blacks, Latino and white working class support. (see Guardian 3/9/83, p. 5)

3) The Washington victory in the primary and the election reveal the need for Black unity first, which won the primary, Black-Latino unity second which was key to the victory over Epton for mayor and finally the need for Black-Latino unity with the white working class so as to be able to implement the democratic reforms Washington has espoused. Such a united front needs to go in the direction of a mass anti-fascist, Black-Latino and Labor Party, independent from the Democratic as well as the Republican Parties of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

In New York, Black unity behind the Afro-American candidate for School Chancellor, Dr. Thomas Minter, played the key role in stopping the chauvinist Mayor Koch from appointing the unqualified white son of former Mayor Robert Wagner to the chief education post in New York City. The Metropolitan Black United Front(Metro BUF) played an active part in this fight. When Koch was forced to back down from Wagner, he appointed a Latino candidate, East Harlem District Superintendent, Anthony Alvarado, whose educational record was very positive among the Afro-American and Latino peoples of New York City. But Alvarado was neither as militant nor as qualified as the Black community’s candidate, Dr. Minter.

In its political maturity, the leadership of Metro BUF refused to allow the white supremacist Mayor Koch regime to divide the Afro-American from the Latino national minority communities. The Black United Front ended up calling on the Black community to accept this significant though partial victory for the education of the children of the national minority peoples and of the working class of New York City.

Hence under the leadership of Metro BUF, Black unity provided the basis for the peoples victory on the Education front. This victory in turn helped provide the basis for the development of Black-Latino unity in New York City where the national minority peoples have just recently become the majority population. The process of development that took place in Chicago against the Byrne Administration.
over the past two years leading to the election of Mayor Washington is now well underway in New York City against the Koch Administration. Here, too, the white working class must be educated to the fact that the Koch political hack appointee, Wagner, as School Chancellor would have meant a blow to their children's education and that the Black-Latino victory is also their victory as well. Here, too, orientation around the development of a "Dump Koch", independent, anti-fascist Black-Latino and Labor Party seems on the order of the day.

4) Under the impetus of the Black Power Movement, in the late 1960's and early 1970's, Afro-Americans have become mayor in a number of the largest cities in the USA. In none of these cities has there been a qualitative change in the living conditions of the majority of the people. Before Washington's election, Blacks were mayors of 17 U.S. cities with populations over 100,000. With the election of Washington in Chicago and the probable election of Goode in Philadelphia four of the six largest cities in the USA will have Black mayors!

It is no accident that the period in which big city Black mayors have emerged is the same time these cities have fallen into deep financial crisis. As Barbara Arnwine, co-national representative of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) has pointed out, "Usually, we take over after the economic disaster of a city has hit."

On the eve of Washington's victory, Newsweek reported that, "Chicago faces an estimated $100 million revenue shortfall left behind by the Byrne Administration." (p.29, 4/25/83)

According to Unity, "the federal government is demanding repayment of millions of dollars that Byrne misspent." "Chicago public schools face a $200 million deficit." And "Washington will face tough choices between raising taxes, freezing salaries of city workers and cutting services." (Unity, p.7, 4/22/83)

To help defend Chicago from strangulation and disintegration Mayor Washington is proposing to the state government a one percent Illinois state income tax increase with the revenue earmarked for Chicago. Reflecting his genuine democratic sentiment, under Washington's plan taxes would only increase for people earning over $20,000 per year.

But in order to get this proposal passed and to get Chicago out of the financial nightmare left as the legacy of the Byrne administration and the old Daley-Cook County Democratic Party machine as well as to break the political stalemate with the machine-dominated City Council discussed above, Washington will have to be backed up by a strong peoples movement of the oppressed national minorities and working people which will be ready to march in the streets, etc. Such a movement will of necessity be independent of the banks, the corporations, etc. and therefore at some point will have to break with the Democratic Party of the banks and corporations. Experience will show Washington and the movement around him that they will have to embark on the independent Black-Latino-Labor Party road or go down to defeat in Chicago.*

We would do well to remember what Mayor Richard Hatcher of neighboring Gary, Indiana said in 1971: "It may be the mayor, but U.S. Steel is still in control." (quoted in National Leader, 4/21/83)

Given the terrible obstacles and challenges which Mayor Washington faces in Chicago, we can understand what has happened in Washington, D.C. where Mayor Marion Barry a former civil rights activist who campaigned against the machine has been a disappointment in office.

Mayor Washington and the Black-Latino and working class people of Chicago have a real opportunity to become the spearhead of the drive toward an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist independent, Black-Latino-Labor Party in the USA. For the industrial proletariat with its great capacity to lead the fight for democratic rights and workers power is centered in Chicago as are the monopoly industrial corporations with which they must contend. And the movement around Mayor Washington is more mass and democratic and more spirited than any since the great days of the Black liberation movement of the late 1960's, while the corrupt and chauvinistic "machine" of the Cook County Democratic Party is arrayed against them on behalf of the corporations and the banks and "business as usual".

Key to the ultimate success of the Washington mayoralty is the willingness of Washington and the movement around him to retain their integrity and independence vis a vis the Democratic Party.

Jesse Jackson's current well-publicized U.S. wide speaking tour spearheading a voter registration drive among the Afro-American people thus has two aspects. On the negative side is that Jackson is helping to keep the politically aroused and (relatively) politically advanced Afro-American people "contained" within the Democratic Party and under the strategic leadership of the monopoly capitalists and imperialists who dominate the Democratic Party at a time when the Afro-American people are getting more and more fed up at their plight in the current capitalist economic crisis. On the positive side is the fact that Jackson is helping to stir the Afro-American people back into political activity after a decade of passivity and apathy.

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* Mel King's candidacy for Mayor in Boston has already taken the independent path.
No seductive prospects of Jesse Jackson for Presidential candidate from the Democratic Party should keep the Afro-American people chained to the Democrats.

And it is up to the communists and other anti-imperialist freedom fighters to help Jackson, Washington, and other Afro-American bourgeois and petty bourgeois politicians revive and ultimately for these vanguard fighters to lead the struggle for Black bourgeois political power as an initial step for thousands of Afro-American working people back into the political life of the country. In the process, we must fight alongside Jesse Jackson for maximum involvement of the Afro-American working people in the exercise of their bourgeois democratic rights; while in opposition to Jackson we must fight for maximum exposure of the wretched limits of this imperialist bourgeois "democracy" for the Afro-American people and for working people generally.

For as Lenin taught,

"revolution is impossible without a change in the views of the majority of the working class, and this change is brought about by the political experience of the masses, and never by propaganda alone." (p.66 Left Wing)

5) Finally, what is the responsibility of Marxist - Leninists in relation to the Washington victory in Chicago? In his exposure of "Left-wing" Communism as an infantile disorder, Lenin taught that,

"as long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and every other type of reactionary institution you must work inside them, precisely because there you will still find workers who are stupefied by the priests and by the dreariness of rural life; otherwise you risk becoming babblers..." - and that is the whole point - we must not regard what is obsolete for us as being obsolete for the class, as being obsolete for the masses." ("Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, p. 42

Lenin's emphasis)

In the April 1983 issue of the Burning Spear, newspaper of the African People's Socialist Party (APSP), the APSP opposes those on the left who have been supportive of the Harold Washington campaign; the APSP opposes the Harold Washington campaign!

The Burning Spear article of the APSP says, "that it is a pure abstraction to say that the attempt to get Harold Washington elected as Mayor of Chicago is a struggle for Black power."

But it is the APSP which is dealing with "pure abstraction". In opposition to the Guardian's statement that "currents of change are finally blowing in the Windy City", the APSP says, "what change could they possibly be talking about?" The APSP's very next sentence is: "The fact is that Washington's[primary] victory took an overwhelming voter registration drive that registered an additional 130,000 black voters". Yet the APSP article a sentence or two later states that, "The only 'current of change' the Guardian could possibly be talking about is the so-called 'ferociously Democratic town' changing into a 'ferociously Republican town.' The APSP with its focus on the Democratic and Republican Parties in the abstract misses the limited but significant massive entry of 130,000 Afro-Americans in Chicago into the political arena and the organized movement which aroused and registered them!

Another example of APSP "abstraction" is the following: "The attempt at posing the Chicago election as a struggle for black power is an attempt... to reverse our movement back to a struggle for civil or democratic rights, when the struggle has clearly developed into a struggle for state power." Here the APSP seems unable to grasp the fact that over a decade ago the Black liberation movement was setback, that even at the height of the Black Power movement the struggle for democratic rights had never been gone beyond in the fight for state power, and that given the low level of Black struggle and resistance today, the massive involvement of the Afro-American people of Chicago in political struggle (even at the lowest level) in their own defense is a real step forward.

The APSP article characterizes "Washington's whole campaign around creating jobs and ending police terror and violence" as "mere posturing" "since these are basic components of colonialism..." "...and if, and it is an if, Harold Washington is elected mayor of Chicago, the general horrible colonial conditions of existence of life for Africans in Chicago will not change."

Here the APSP supports the U.S. imperialist effort to instill and preserve the fear of failure in the oppressed Afro-American people ("if, and it is an if..."), to instill and preserve the feeling that the Afro-American people are powerless to change things.

As Manning Marable had pointed out, "If we decide to stay outside of the reformist battle to mobilize Black voters, simply because Washington is a 'liberal Democrat' we will alienate and isolate ourselves from the Black masses and inadvertently aid the forces of police brutality, corporate dominance and racism." (Guardian 3/16/83, p. 23)

Yes, the real posturing, here, is the "revolutionary posturing" of the APSP, a group made up of its chairman Omali Yeshitela and perhaps a handful or two of inexperienced Afro-American youth backed by a few dozen well-heeled white petty-bourgeois ultra-leftists, who sneer at thousands of Afro-American people who have generated a real massive political movement.

Lenin had taught that,

"We can (and must) begin to build Socialism not with imaginary human material, not with human material invented by us, but with the human
material bequeathed to us by capitalism. That is very "difficult," it goes without saying, but no other approach to this task is serious enough to warrant discussion." ("Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder p.34)

And again,

"If you want to help "the masses" and to win the sympathy, confidence and support of "the masses", you must not fear difficulties, you must not fear the pin-pricks, chicanery, insults and persecution of the "leaders" (who, being opportunists and social-chauvinist, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), but must imperatively work wherever the masses are to be found. You must be capable of every sacrifice, of overcoming the greatest obstacles in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly, persistently and patiently precisely in those institutions, societies and associations—even the most reactionary—in which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found." (Ibid. p.37)

The APSP proclaims that they “vehemently defend Washington against the racist attacks coming down in Chicago, and Ron Dellums and Mayor Carthan against attacks the government has launched against them...” Yet the APSP defends Washington by attacking his campaign and supporters and dismisses the massive voter registration drive in Chicago which has been among the most powerful defender of Congressman Dellums and Mayor Carthan!

But so as to disclaim all responsibility to the Afro-American masses and other positive forces involved in and inspired by the Harold Washington campaign and objectively to help U.S. imperialism discourage these newly aroused forces, Yeshiteia and the APSP conclude their article with the following neo-Trotskyite “wisdom”: “we repeat, there can be no freedom and Black Power without the total destruction of U.S. imperialism”.

Buried and long forgotten by Yeshiteia and the APSP is Lenin’s teaching that, “For the whole task of the Communists is to be able to convince the backward elements, to work among them, and not to fence themselves off from them by artificial and childishy ‘Left’ slogans.” (Ibid. p. 38, Lenin’s emphasis)

Of course “left” opportunism and right opportunism have the common “nutrient” of underestimation of the masses’ role in the historical process and consequently underestimation of the necessity to struggle to win the hearts and minds of the working people. Hence while the ultra-leftist claims that the bourgeois political electoral arena can be avoided because it is unimportant to the class struggle for freedom and socialism, the right opportunist, on the other hand, sees the bourgeois electoral arena as the all-important solution to the problems of the masses in the class struggle.

When supporting bourgeois and petty-bourgeois candidates and political parties and going among the masses in support of such candidates and parties, this right opportunist tendency easily emerges as the dominant deviation from the Leninist path of revolution.

In the Washington campaign, the Guardian correspondent, Nina Berman, has betrayed this rightist tendency. In the May 18, 1983 Guardian, Berman concludes that if Washington is prevented from appointing his supporters to positions of authority in the city bureaucracy, “his efforts to implement his program may be thwarted by politically hostile incumbents, requiring a continuous and difficult mobilization of his backers at the grassroots.” (Guardian, p.7) Berman here makes it sound like the last thing the “revolutionary” Guardian reader should desire is an ongoing movement of the masses in defense of the democratic rights of the working people and the oppressed national minorities in Chicago against imperialist and fascist reaction! The petty-bourgeois democrat, Berman, desires that the hollow and wretched bourgeois democracy of U.S. imperialism somehow work without organization and struggle by the workers and oppressed peoples.

For the proletarian revolutionary, on the contrary, the knowledge of the imperialist enemy and of its inevitable attempt to crush the Washington majority (to the extent that Washington keeps faith with the masses) reveals a fertile soil upon which we have the responsibility to help lead the masses from defense of the Washington Majority through their own experience to the necessary, just and grand struggle for socialism.

Lenin sums it up this way:

“In Russia, too, we had a great deal of opportunist and purely bourgeois commercialism and capitalist swindling during election times. The Communists in Western Europe and America must learn to create a new, unusual, non-opportunist, non-careerist parliamentarism; the Communist Parties must issue their slogans; real proletarians, with the help of the unorganized and downtrodden poor, should scatter and distribute leaflets, canvass workers’ houses and the cottages of the rural proletarians and peasants in the remote villages...they should go into the most common taverns, penetrate into the unions, societies and casual meetings where the the common people gather, and talk to the people, not in scientific (and not in very parliamentary) language, they should not at all strive to ‘get seats’ in parliament, but should everywhere strive to rouse the minds of the masses and to draw them into the struggle, to catch the bourgeois on their own statements, to utilise the apparatus they have set up, the elections they have appointed, the appeals to the country they have made, and to tell the people what Bolshevism is in a way that has never been
possible (under bourgeois rule) outside of election times (not counting, of course, times of big strikes, when, in Russia, a similar apparatus for widespread popular agitation worked even more intensively). It is very difficult to do this in Western Europe and America, very, very difficult; but it can and must be done, because the tasks of Communism cannot be fulfilled without effort; and every effort must be made to fulfill practical tasks, ever more varied, ever more closely connected with all branches of social life, winning branch after branch and sphere after sphere from the bourgeoisie." ("Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder, p. 79, Lenin's emphasis)

— Defend the efforts of Mayor Washington and the Growing Peoples Movement of Chicago to Exercise Their Democratic Rights!

— Workers and Oppressed Peoples Unite!

— Ultimately, Chicago Will Be Ours!

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In Chicago, A "Good Alliance" Brews

By Bob Friedman and Jacqueline Salit

With the 1984 Presidential elections just around the corner, key local races around the country are taking on a national significance. Some are becoming tests—not simply of the strength of particular candidates in particular areas but of the possibilities for alliances of progressive forces on a regional and nationwide scale.

In 1981 the Frank Barafo for Mayor race in New York City gave impetus to the spread of progressive independent politics and helped to lay the basis for the dumping of Ed Koch in the statewide gubernatorial race the following year. In 1982 the Pennsylvania Consumer Party's ballot status victory gave credence to a progressive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. And several 1983 local races will be a measure of the growth of anti-machine, anti-Reagan politics and will provide a reading on the basis for different progressive forces—both inside and outside of the Democratic Party—working together in 1984.

This Tuesday the race for the next mayor of Chicago will provide one such reading. Incumbent mayor Jane Byrne, elected as an anti-machine insurgent in the last election is now reaping a harvest of disillusionment on the part of most...
poor and working class Chicagoans because of her coziness with the Democratic regular machine. Following her upset victory four years ago she quickly mended fences with the city's power brokers, endorsed the politics of Ronald Reagan and speedily shed any pretensions that she represented the interests of the city's poor, women, or black and Hispanic communities.

Challenging Byrne is Richard Daley Jr., son of the late Mayor Daley whose racist machine regime and sanction of police brutality are now legend. Daley, Jr. is a cleaned up version of his father, hoping to restore the age-old Daley machine ties which Byrne utilized during her current tenure in office.

The third candidate in the race is Congressman Harold Washington, a black representative from Chicago's south side. Washington is the only candidate in the race who is addressing the issues of poverty and racism. In a city with an overall unemployment rate of 12%—20% in the black community and 55% among black youth—Washington says that "jobs and the ineptness of government" are the key concerns in the race. For his outspokenness on these issues and his broadside attacks on Byrne ("Jane Byrne is destroying our city," he charged), Washington has attracted support from a notable collection of community, labor and political forces. He has also drawn the attention of progressive activists around the country who are supporting Washington's candidacy and weighing the possibilities for a broad national coalition in 1984.

Harold Washington

mayoral hopeful for 1985, flew to Chicago to campaign with Washington in the Hispanic districts, and former Brooklyn Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm also did a campaign tour. Though key CBC members withdrew their endorsement for Chisholm's handpicked successor to her Congressional seat in last year's elections, she was more than willing to go out on the stump for Washington and he was more than willing to have her. "She's the best known black woman in the Midwest," he commented in an interview with the Alliance. "She has a receptive audience and a real feistiness, not a pseudo-feistiness like Jane Byrne."

While national attention is focused on Washington, he has kept his eye on races in other parts of the country which are telling much about how tight a grip the local Democratic machinery has on the black electorate. The Boston contest where incumbent Kevin White faces a stiff challenge from a progressive black former State Representative Mel King and the Philadelphia race where moderate black city manager Wilson Goode will make a try for City Hall, are considered key by Washington. An added factor in these races may be the pressure on insurgents to run as independents. The independent Consumer Party now has ballot status in Pennsylvania, and independent politics is gaining ground at the grass roots level in Boston following a strong showing by

of Labor, representing the craft unions, behind Byrne while the industrial union leadership is quiet. Said Washington, "We have the support of the rank and file, the municipal unions and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists."

Washington has also picked up the support of Dovie Coleman, head of the Illinois Welfare Rights Coalition and Recipients Union, which is seeking collective bargaining rights for welfare and other public aid recipients. Coleman is one of Washington's supporters who has raised the issue of independent politics. "Our people are sick of the Democratic Party," she declared. "I hope Washington wins. But, win or lose we need to be building independent politics so that poor people can have something to fight with in the future."

Dovie Coleman

"We have the numbers. The question is to get them galvanized to go out and vote."

Harold Washington
CRITICAL SUPPORT WITH WARNINGS
Chicago right wing murders Rudy Lozano

Blacks and Latinos battle machine for political power

sec., pg. 3

Thousands of people attended a mass memorial and funeral march for slain Mexican leader Rudy Lozano and to express their anger at the Chicago Democratic Party machine. (UNITY photo)
Thousands of Latino, Black and white people attended the funeral procession for Rudy Lozano, June 13 (UNITY photo).

Chicago right wing murders

Rudy Lozano

Chicago — The professional-style assassination of Mexican-American activist Rudy Lozano represents a qualitative escalation of the class struggle that has been raging in Chicago since the 1970s. Harold Washington's mayoral victory was a member of Washington's transition team, a strong candidate for appointment to the mayor and a key figure in Chicago's emerging Black-Latino alliance.

On June 11 Lozano was gunned down in his own home in front of his two-year-old son. Although the murderer has not yet been arrested, all indications point to a political assassination.

Lozano's assassination occurred during a tense period in the city. The mass movement that elected Mayor Washington and the forces of white racism and reaction. While Democratic machine aldermen, led by Edward "Fast Eddy" Vrdolyak, have stopped at nothing to stifle the voices of the black and Latinx communities.

Immediately after Mayor Washington's election, the machine aldermen awarded 26 of 29 council committee chairmanships to whites, in defiance of city council rules. Council meetings have degenerated into shouting matches and near physical brawls as the reactions attempt to prevent Mayor Washington from carrying out his mandate from the people.

Mass anger has spontaneously held Vrdolyak and his reactionary alliance responsible for Lozano's murder. Overnight, spray-painted messages appeared in the Latino Little Village area warning Vrdolyak that the community will have its revenge.

Community outrage

Some 5,000 people attended the four-day funeral and the streets poured into the streets for a funeral procession June 13. The procession was led by the Mexican-American Women Union, Mexican and other capitalists considered Lozano a troublemaker for his efforts to organize undocumented workers. He sought to end the "patron system" under which workers are brought from Mexico and paid substandard wages.

An ugly battle erupted recently at Terrell-Del Rey, a plant Lozano was involved in organizing, when the Mexican owners called the immigration to stage a raid on their own factory, in an effort to intimidate union sympathizers.

While activists such as Lozano had worked in the Chicago-Mexican community for years, until recently it remained under the tight control of local capitalists and the Chicago machine. In close alliance with the Mafia, through selective use of both bribery and terror, the machine had sought to use it as a buffer against the growing demands for political power in the Black community.

For example, Mayor Byrne had appointed a Mexican as president of the Chicago Board of Education, who then constipated policy on the board while members on issues of importance to Black people.

But with the tide of the Harold Washington campaign sweeping across the city, a major transformation took place in the Chicago-Mexican community. During the primary election, Byrne was able to use her power to bring out a majority in her favor. Yet, in the short period between the primary and the general election, the majority of the community went to Harold Washington. It was the emergence of this Black-Latino alliance, showing itself in both the Chicago-Mexican and Puerto Rican communities, that provided the crucial base for Washington's victory and the defeat of the machine.

This rapid political realignment has brought about a shift in the class forces in the Chicago-Mexican community as well. Suddenly activists such as Lozano had become prominent community leaders with widespread support among the masses who want to see still further change take place. Lozano was now being seriously considered for the job of vice mayor, in keeping with Mayor Washington's pledge to appoint a Latino to that position. This would have been unheard of only six months ago.

Lozano's murder shows that the struggle for democratic rights that brought about Harold Washington's election has only begun. Defeated at the polls, the machine and its capitalist backers are turning to other means of maintaining their control.

As one Mexican worker told UNITY, "You can just look at what's happening in the city council to see that they don't want to allow Blacks any power; the murder of Lozano shows they don't want Latinos to have any power either. But, you know, I think this is going to make people more angry than afraid."

Donations to the Lozano family may be sent to: Rudy Lozano Memorial Fund, Second Federal Savings and Loan Association, 1500 W. 26th Street, Chicago, IL 60612.
Harold Washington for mayor

Struggle for Black power in Chicago

Chicago

Harold Washington, Chicago's leading Black congressman, is running hard to take charge of the mayor's office at City Hall.

His two main opponents are Jane Byrne, the incumbent mayor, and Richard Daley, the state's attorney and son of Chicago's late notorious political boss. A Democratic Party primary will be held February 22 in preparation for the April general election. The three-way race is one of the most significant in this city's history, and its outcome could change Chicago's political landscape for years to come.

"I'm running for mayor," Harold Washington declares at the opening of all his public appearances, "because Jane Byrne is destroying our city. While she fights for fat-cat contracts for her cronies and patronage army, unemployment in Chicago increased over 100% and 200,000 people are out of work."

Washington's mass support could clearly be seen when over 12,000 people came to a rally February 6 at the University of Illinois Circle Pavilion. It seemed more like a civil rights event than a campaign rally. Washington had clearly captured the hearts of the mostly Black audience with his demands for jobs and opposition to racism. The crowd spontaneously began to chant "fire Brzezek, fire Brzezek!" echoing Washington's pledge to get rid of the racist white police superintendent.

Much more than a clash of public figures, the campaign is a daily, hard-fought effort in every neighborhood, precinct and street corner in the city. Washington and Daley have each fielded upwards of 30,000 volunteers. The mayor has her "patronage army" of tens of thousands of city employees, the official backing of the Democratic Party, and a personal campaign fund of $10 million. Daley has amassed nearly $5 million.

Such a big effort is being made on all sides because of the high stakes involved in this election. Washington's election would be a significant gain in the struggle for Black democracy and a blow to the racist and corrupt political machine which has ruled Chicago for the better part of this century.

Democracy for Blacks

Chicago machine politics have always been racist politics. The machine has historically continued on pg. 4
Harold Washington for Chicago mayor

UNITY endorses Harold Washington for mayor of Chicago.

We support Washington, first, because his campaign is an expression of Black people's struggle for democracy and political power in Chicago. (See article, pg. 1.) The unequal and powerless status of Black people is at the heart of their national oppression. The Afro-American people are struggling for full democracy and for self-determination for the Afro-American Nation in the South. The Washington campaign is a component part of this fight for democratic rights.

Second, the Washington campaign is hastening the breakup of Chicago's racist political machine which has helped keep the city's working class divided.

And third, the campaign has begun the process of putting forward an immediate program that speaks to the needs of the people. Such a program can be used to strengthen the people's organization and their fighting capacity no matter what the election's outcome may be.

Some forces on the left have adopted "super-revolutionary" sounding positions of not supporting Washington because he is a liberal Democrat or because electoral politics are "bourgeois." Of course it would be foolish to think that fundamental change can result from electing a mayor — or from any democratic reform, for that matter.

But as communists we understand that the struggle for socialism must include the struggle for democracy. These democratic struggles are the fuel for moving the masses to revolutionary and socialist positions. The campaign to elect Harold Washington mayor of Chicago is one such democratic struggle that helps further the long-term battle against capitalism.
Struggle for Black power in Chicago

continued from pg. 1

ruled by the "divide and conquer" formula — posturing as the protector of "white interests" against the sizeable and growing Black and, more recently, Latino communities.

The machine's political clout has been traditionally based in the white ethnic neighborhoods, whose loyalties are rewarded with patronage jobs, favors and better city services. Since the early 1930's, every mayor except one (Bilandic) has been Irish and all but one (Byrne) from the 11th Ward in Bridgeport.

Meanwhile, Black people and other minority peoples have been excluded from city politics and kept strictly segregated and at the bottom of the economic and social ladder. To this day, there are parks that Black people can't use and streets Black people can't cross in safety. Under Byrne, 20% of the city employees reside in just four out of 50 wards, and those are predominantly white.

Today, however, Chicago's political machine is weakening. The split in the machine between the pro-Byrne and pro-Daley factions is only the most obvious result. Vast population and economic shifts — the exodus of the white middle class and upper strata workers to the sub-

Black ministers backing Daley, in addition to working in Washington's campaign and continuing Black voter registration.

Washington has also received the active backing of Black labor leaders in Chicago, including Charles Hayes and Addie Wyatt of the United Food and Commercial Workers. He was endorsed by the United Electrical Workers union. Two years ago, Washington was the only elected official to walk the picket line with UE workers on strike at the Stewart-Warner company.

Progressive coalition

this issue. The mayor simply says things are better now than ever before, thanks to her leadership. She and Daley both claim to oppose tax increases. But Washington has exposed and opposed the hidden and regressive taxes supported by his opponents. Instead, he calls for an increased share of state and federal revenues based on more progressive forms of taxation. He also challenges his rivals to "join me and the nuclear freeze people to stop wasting funds on a bloated military budget and spend them on human needs." In Congress, he was one of the earliest and hardest fighters for the freeze.
For the first time an Afro-American has a chance to become Chicago mayor. His progressive program can unite all workers.

United front

Harold Washington has such a movement behind him. The candidate himself is a progressive spokesman for Chicago's Black middle class. Washington is a progressive Democrat who comes out of the anti-machine movement that has been growing in the Black community since the 1960's. He was elected to local office, the state legislature and then Congress. He is well-known and widely respected as a fighter for democratic rights for Black people.

Washington's mayoral campaign has gotten the support from, and in fact is the result of, a broad united front in the Black community that includes workers and trade unionists, business owners, welfare mothers, students, ministers, young people and the unemployed — practically every class and stratum in the Black community. The few glaring exceptions are major Black capitalists like John Johnson, publisher of Ebony, and some Black ministers and politicians with patronage positions or funding from the mayor.

This united front has been built over the last two years in a mounting mass struggle to unseat Byrne and elect a Black mayor. Wave upon wave of voter registration drives spearheaded by Rev. Jesse Jackson, Lu Palmer, Bob Lucas and Conrad Worrill have resulted in registering some 250,000 new Black voters. These have been combined with a series of mass protests against Byrne's most blatant racist policies, such as purges of Blacks from the Board of Education and Chicago Housing Authority. The most notable was the Black boycott of the Chicago Fest entertainment festival last summer.

Many of the forces active in these struggles have coalesced into the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment. It includes community activists and organizations, social service agency figures, ministers, elected officials such as Aldermen Danny Davis and Clifford Kelley, PUSH, Chicago United Black Communities and the Black United Front.

In the last month alone, the task force has challenged the elections board for certifying a machine candidate who used a boarded-up house as an address. She was running against Black Alderman Davis. They picketed Byrne and agitated against the driving force of Washington's candidacy is the Black power movement, a citywide progressive coalition is taking shape. It includes representatives from the Latino community, neighborhood organizations of unemployed and lower strata white workers, progressive trade union officials, nuclear freeze activists, and other liberal and left organizations.

Washington's platform, of course, is a key factor in bringing these forces together. Briefly, he is running on the following planks:

- Jobs — "Creating jobs is my first priority," says Washington. His two opponents say the same thing, but the difference is that Washington insists that funds spent on public projects be diffused throughout Chicago's neighborhoods rather than concentrated on big downtown developments. For every dollar spent, this would produce more jobs among lesser skilled workers than at present.

- Discrimination — While both Byrne and Daley have avoided this issue or have claimed that they have done wonders for minorities and women, Washington has forthrightly denounced discrimination. He has promised to eliminate the city's patronage system and institute a civil service program with aggressive affirmative action.

- Housing — Washington has solidly backed a tenant "bill of rights" put forth by city tenant unions, while Byrne has opposed it and Daley has equivocated on it. Washington also calls for reallocating funds to rehabilitate neighborhood housing, rather than spending it on projects in upper income areas as is being done now.

- Health — Washington has attacked Byrne on two main points. First, she has understaffed neighborhood clinics with political cronies with no health training. Second, she has done little or nothing to fight Reagan's cutbacks in this or any other area.

- Economic policy — Both Byrne and Daley have tried to hoodwink voters on while the hard political facts are these: Washington needs about 80% of the Black vote, 12% of the white vote and a substantial chunk of the Latino vote. If Byrne and Daley split the white vote, then the congressman can take a plurality, if not a majority, and win. This would be a victory in the struggle for Black democracy, a blow to the racist machine, and help push forward the struggle of workers of all nationalities in Chicago.

End Police Brutality — Washington has vowed to end police brutality in Chicago and has promised to fire the racist police superintendent Richard Brzezek. This issue more than any other has galvanized support for Washington in the Black community.

While not a full program, each of these planks is progressive and can be solidly supported by the left. Of course, Washington's ability to deliver on all these points would be limited. If elected, he would come under enormous pressure from the city's big business and financial interests, and he has no control over the economic trends which produce the unemployment and industrial flight. Nevertheless, Washington's election can lead to some reforms and create better conditions for furthering the mass struggle.

Additionally, his election would sharpen class struggle in the Black community, as the limitations of democratic reform, especially for the Black working class majority, become more apparent. What has been seen already in Atlanta, Newark, Gary, Detroit, Los Angeles and other cities with Black mayors will be seen in Chicago as well. Ultimately the profit-driven economic system itself, which is the basic cause of national oppression and exploitation, must be overthrown.
BLACK LIBERATION AND THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST STATE:
A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO REVOLUTIONARY BLACK POWER
AND THE CHICAGO MAYOR RACE OF 1983

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November 19, 1982

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On behalf of Peoples College, I would like to express our appreciation for being invited to speak at this very important forum. The current situation in the United States, in the world, and certainly in Chicago is one of great promise and yet it is filled with great danger for all of us. The promise, of course, is a future free of want and suffering which the masses of people, led by the working class, will remake society consciously and collectively to serve human needs, all of our needs. The danger is that the capitalist forces, in dealing with an ever deepening crisis, will continue to force the masses of people, most especially the working class and the oppressed nationalities, to bear the burden of the crisis. They will not only lower the standard of living and the quality of life, but in many respects they attack life itself. And therefore this forum, focusing in on the possibility of change in the government and the possibility of beating back the danger, moving closer to the promise, is one that has great significance and we're most pleased to be able to participate in it.

Our contribution will focus in on three specific questions. First, what is a revolutionary position on electoral politics in the United States? Second, what's at stake in the Chicago mayoral race in 1983? And third, what is the role of revolutionary forces in 1983 and what difference does it make?

**A Revolutionary Position**

When we speak of a revolutionary position, we're explicitly meaning a position based upon the theoretical tradition of Marxism-Leninism, and its associated political practice throughout the world. We mean fighting for socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, of course, this
position is historically based, relative to the current historical stage of the world and development in the United States.

The development of the United States itself represented part of a worldwide process by which capitalism emerged as the dominant system of political economy, and democracy became the governmental structure associated with capitalism. Thus, the dynamic material force of the so-called American Revolution, is written in the principle political documents, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, that established in general, a democratic state in the USA. Of course, we say "in general" because by definition Blacks as slaves were excluded from participation in the political system. This, as well as the denial of full democratic rights for women constituted at least two of the major and fundamental shortcomings of democracy at its beginnings in this country. However, in relationship to what was happening in Europe and other parts of the world we must see the advent of democratic institutions in the USA as an advance for human history.

This revolutionary fight for capitalist democracy with regard to Blacks didn't end until the middle of the 19th century, at least in principle, with the Civil War and the passing of constitutional amendments overturning the anti-human rights position of the U.S. For women the vote was not won until 1919. The point is that for Blacks and women, for nearly a century or more after the adoption of the US Constitution, the fight for democracy under capitalism remained a revolutionary struggle because they were trapped in the pre-capitalist state condition of being excluded by political principle from the democratic process. Simply put, for a slave, to fight to be included in the capitalist democratic state was a revolutionary act.
However, after the Civil War, after Congress voted in the 14th constitutional amendment, the situation became qualitatively different. Under these circumstances, in principle, capitalist democracy was universal. The critical question was implementing it. Not only was this a question during the Reconstruction and at the end of the 19th century, but it has remained a question throughout the entire 20th century. The issue has not been a question of principle it's been one of practice. The limitations of capitalist democracy have denied democracy in fact, not in principle, but in practice. And, of course, the courts, lawyers and judges spend most of their time back and forth between these two levels: the levels of the theory and practice of capitalist democracy.

In a world context, we can look at capitalist democracy in light of two contradictions to give us some clarity about the role that it plays on a world scene, particularly in the 20th century. With the turn of the century we find the emergence of imperialism by which capitalism had out of necessity extended its tentacles throughout the world, creating an integrated worldwide system of domination and exploitation. The fight for democracy against this worldwide oppressive system by the oppressed nations constituted a new form of revolutionary democratic struggle. The main thing was that capitalism had turned into its opposite. It had become an oppressive trend for the dominated colonial people of the Third World, whereas earlier it had been a liberating development for all classes in the emerging capitalist system. So that nations, meaning all classes in those nations, fighting against imperialist domination represented a fight for capitalist democracy (on its terms), and this fight indeed was a revolutionary fight. Lenin is very clear in pointing out that the development of national liberation struggles has got to be seen on a
worldwide scale. It has to be seen in relationship to the fight within the imperialist system by the working class, because indeed they both were part of the same struggle against the world imperialist classes.

The second contradiction on the 20th century world scene is between socialism and fascism. Socialism represents the highest qualitative political practice of the workers movement in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has either been established or is an eminent question that class conscious workers are placing on the agenda. On the other hand, fascism represents a qualitative transformation of a capitalist class, and its state in crisis, whereby the most militaristic and oppressive rule is perpetrated against the masses of people and the peoples of the world. This struggle reached its high point with the emergence of socialism in 1917 (USSR), and the full-fledged development of fascism of pre-World War II (Germany, Italy, Spain, and Japan). So that today, these two contradictions stand over us representing both a promise of the future as well as an ominous retrograde trend to drag us back into the past.

In sum, whether one looks at the United States or the world one cannot help but come up with the conclusion that capitalist democracy was at one time relevant and revolutionary for people all over the world, but now that capitalist democracy has turned into an oppressive system, it needs to be replaced. In other words, once capitalist democracy was positive, but it has now turned into its opposite, a negative force. Once it was something to be fought for as a significant revolutionary gain, today as a significant revolutionary gain it doesn't exist, but is a source of the greatest suffering and pain. In this sense, in terms of world history, capitalism is no longer a progressive system, and its form of democratic government is a joke.
However, this represents a strategic view of world history, the big picture, and is merely our point of departure. Our central question here is actually how to advance the struggle from within the confines of the capitalist system, from within the confines of the so-called democratic system. Therefore, we must focus more specifically on our position on the electoral process within advanced capitalist so-called democracies, particularly the United States of America.

As revolutionaries we have long known this country is run by the conspiracy of capitalist rule. This capitalist rule is an evil system that feeds on its masses from the cradle to the grave. People living in this system, focusing on the day-to-day concrete details of their individual lives, do not often get a chance to systematically view how the system works, how it's organized and who their enemies really are. Only with revolutionary consciousness can the details of their day-to-day lives be viewed in such a way that they can get a glimpse, a vision of how to change things, of how to transform their daily lives by transforming the system in which they are exploited and oppressed.

The fact is that very often the opposite is what occurs. The farce of a democratic government appears to offer some hope of change in direct relationship to the needs of the people as they perceive them to be in their day to day lives. The government appears to be a mechanism they can reach out to. Furthermore, often it is the reform leadership in the community, in the trade unions, in the educational institutions, in the neighborhoods that articulate this position that the governmental system (the electoral process) is the answer to their needs. "You can make the system work, just
go out and vote for the candidate of your choice, get in there, get in the system and make it work."

Of course this point is driven home much more intensely in relationship to the outrageous denials of capitalist democracy to Black people every since the end of the Civil War. The fight by Black people, particularly middle class Blacks, to use the governmental electoral process to solve problems is kept alive by the residual denial of capitalist democracy for Black people. The fight for voting rights up to and including the 60s, and now the 80s, is an example of that. The movement for Black elected officials continues to be an example of that, so that everytime there is some insurgent movement in search of democracy, it is quickly turned toward the electoral arena.

In fact, we can see it quite clearly in the development of the Civil Rights movement. In the 1960s, in the South, there was the most blatant denial of democratic rights, denying Black people the vote and certainly keeping them from being able to play a significant role in the Democratic Party or as elected officials. The battle for voter registration and voter participation on the part of Blacks in the Black Belt South was a heroic struggle, a heroic story in the overall fight for democracy in the United States. However, it would be wrong to assume that this was revolutionary struggle. In fact, if one follow the careers of certain key individuals, whether it's Marion Barry who started out as a SNNC activist and is now mayor of Washington, DC, or Julian Bond who started out as SNCC activist in Atlanta, Georgia who ended up in the state legislature of Georgia, one would find a history of how people fought for Black voter registration and participation, and ended up utilizing that vote for personal goals to get elected to office. And to this extent, obviously, it has paid off for them, and to some
extent it has met an emotional or psychological need for Blacks to have some perception that they can be effective in the world.

Of course, in the overall scheme of things in this country one point is that there are some concrete issues that affect the day-to-day lives of people around which voting is absolutely critical. For example, "Proposition 13" in California. If "Proposition 13" could have been avoided, life in California would, to some minimal extent, be better for the people. Certainly, this is generally true in terms of Reaganomics, that to continue with a full dose would make day-to-day life just a little bit harder. Certainly, this is true in the trade union movement where continuing to vote for concessionary contracts is, on a day-to-day basis, going to make life harder.

But, overall, as revolutionaries we cannot reduce our point of view down merely to the day-to-day level. A revolutionary position can be simply stated as the position that maintains that the structure of capitalism and its so-called capitalist democracy is the essential problem, and that it must be replaced by socialist democracy. Under some circumstances it is possible, even necessary, to use the mechanisms of bourgeoisie democracy to further our struggle for socialism. This is the key to a revolutionary position. A revolutionary is for building the socialist revolution, but a revolutionary knows that a plan of action is essential, and that we must use everything possible to further our end. Even if we must use the mechanisms of capitalism itself, we will do so.

Peoples College still upholds the Leninist principle that, participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary rostrum is obligatory for the party of the revolutionary proletariat specifically for the purpose of educating the backward strata of its own class,
and for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped downtrodden and ignorant rural masses. While you lack the strength to do away with bourgeoisie parliaments in every other type of reactionary institution, you must work within them because it is there that you will still find workers who are duped by the priests and by the conditions of rural life; otherwise you risk turning into nothing but windbags.

Of course, the main point here is that one must get in there and fight to educate the masses of people to rise up and destroy the very institution they hoped would solve their problems.

The Chicago Mayoral Election

But not let us turn to the concrete question of what's at stake in the current 1983 Chicago mayoral campaign. In general, there are two dimensions of the current crisis: the crisis of capital accumulation and the crisis of the legitimacy of capitalist rule. The economic side of things is in crisis because plants are closing, people are being laid off, the capitalists are not reinvesting their profits, goods from abroad are available, cheaper and more plentiful, life in general is getting harder and of course, most of this trouble is paid for by the masses of people. They face less income, and they face rapidly increasing prices.

The debate going on in the city is where the line of future development will occur. Generally, the capitalists seem to be united around the use of "high technology" as a stimulant to the economy. However, the fact is that the leap to "high technology" represents an even further move toward capital intensive production, qualitatively decreasing the size of the necessary work force. This is being opposed by individuals arguing for more integrated plan of economic transition in which the older industrial work force would be
maintained and transformed. All of this of course is going on while the
corporations are forcing concessionary contracts on the major unions, and the
landowners are forcing greater concessions and attacks on neighborhoods in the
city (reclaiming land for its technological and administrative petty bourgeoisie
strata of employees). In other words, the class character of the city is at
stake.

On the legitimacy side of the question, the government in the city of
Chicago achieved its greatest sustained legitimacy in the rule of Mayor
Daley, "The Mayor." During these five terms, the Democratic machine became
synonymous with city government in such a way that an accepted and consistent
pattern of rule was maintained. However, when Daley died, certain internal
contradictions which had been developing emerged full blown, so that after
this point the waters have been quite rocky. From the days of the Metcalfe
revolt to now, Blacks have constituted the most unreliable source of support
for the Democratic machine. In part, this is true because the Democrats never
really attempted to turn out the masses of Black voters, they simply wanted to
maintain control of their wards, and only occasionally called on large numbers
of voters for a large presidential vote. Apparently, the one exception was the
large Black vote for Mayor Byrne, and this case makes the point even stronger.
The vote for Byrne was a vote against the Democratic machine because the
Democratic machine had put Bilandic as their candidate, and therefore, the
vote for Byrne was a vote against the machine. This is the context in which
it's essential to sum up the major candidates in the election and the funda-
mental issues that are being raised. Here we are assuming that there are four
major candidates. Byrne the incumbent; Daley, the son of the former mayor;
Pucinski, associate of the former mayor, ex-Congressman, now City Council
person; and Harold Washington, former state legislator, now Congressperson.

These candidates can be summed up in terms of three major factors: race, nationality and class. On the racial level the contradiction is Washington versus Bryne, Daley and Pucinski, Black versus white. On the level of nationality, within the whites, the Irish versus the Polish vote is critical, with Pucinski representing the Polish vote. On the issue of class there is no significant difference in any of the candidates. This lumping of all the candidates in the same class category is the most significant point of the entire discussion. When the proletariat is not organized with its own party, with its own basis for political advocacy, its interests are unrepresented. All of the candidates are essentially middle class lawyers or party functionaries who maintain ties with some mass base and who in their political lives, and certainly as part of the city government, would have to effect a compromise working relationship with the leading corporate structures in the city with no countervailing proletarian base upon which to build any resistance to corporate rule. For this reason all of the candidates must be viewed as essentially petty bourgeoisie political elites who would represent, and effect, different compromise relationships to implement the same corporate capitalist rule.

In sum, our position is as follows: The campaign must be approached on two levels. First, the level of race and nationality, and then the level of class. On the first level, racism, that is the anti-Black vote, must be fought as a retrograde trend, while the pro-Black vote must be supported as a progressive trend. Further, the Democratic right of an oppressed nationality, the Afro-American, must be recognized as a political right for majority rule in the context of the capitalist system that in which Chicago exists, and that
other nationalities on the basis of their neighborhoods should interface with this Democratic trend in such a way the aims of democracy are met. In other words, it is legitimate and democratic for Blacks to vote for Washington as their democratic right, while whites must oppose a backward racism and seek to unite with the Washington campaign from the basis of realizing their own neighborhood goals and objectives, at the ward level, are interfacing with the overall democratic trend in the city toward the election of Washington, a Black Democratic candidate from the majority nationality, especially since this nationality is an oppressed nationality.

On the other hand, the support of Washington on a racial and a nationality basis is different than the support for Washington on class terms. Washington has and will put forward various reforms that will improve the economic conditions of the masses of people, but we do not expect Washington to put forward a systematic critique of capitalism such that he affirms the necessity to destroy it and to build a socialist system. Therefore, in a strategic sense, the bottom line for Washington is to affirm the existence of capitalism, albeit in a somewhat altered and changed form. We consider this, on a strategic level, unacceptable. However, to base our position on the campaign on that plane is to as Lenin would say-stand on the sidelines and to turn into "mere windbags."

On the other hand, if we support Washington and do not make a distinction between Washington's views and our own then we cease being revolutionaries and we become merely reformists advocating incremental change through the electoral process. This leads us to our last question. What is the role of revolutionary forces in 1983 and what difference does it make?
The Role of Revolutionaries in 1983

Peoples College advocates the strategic slogan of Revolutionary Black Power in the 1980s, particularly with regard to the city of Chicago. This position is simply that, independent of the will of the revolutionary movement, in search of democracy, Black people will fight for Black power. As Black people increasingly become a majority, Black people will increasingly fight for their Democratic right to rule. However, in most cases this fight for democracy will be led by middle-class forces who, in the end, will effect a compromise with the capitalist rulers, and even when it's led by community activists the fact is that the absence of a clear revolutionary alternative will always result in community activists having to make the same sort of compromise that would be made by the more established elites that traditionally run for office. Here, I am contrasting the community organizer with the lawyer in a downtown firm.

The movement, the revolutionary forces in Chicago have the responsibility to support the legitimate fight by Black people for Black power. However, it must do so in its own way. Revolutionaries must do so while at the same time carrying the red flag of socialist revolution into that battle. The purpose of getting involved in the bourgeoisie electoral system is to undercut its legitimacy. The purpose of supporting the Harold Washington campaign is not to demonstrate that through elections the masses of people can have their grievances met, or it is not say that Harold Washington in being elected can ultimately change the conditions of their lives. But rather it is to get involved in a Democratic struggle while at the same time pointing out that the reformist Democratic struggle is bound to fail whether or not Harold Washington is elected.
We believe the tension concretely comes down in these terms. On the one hand, we fight for the slogan "Fight for the Democratic Right of the Majority to Rule," and use this slogan in the context of beating back white racism and national oppression against the Afro-Americans. On the other hand, we raise the slogan "Fight for Reform, but not for the Capitalist System" in an attempt to unite with any position taken by Washington or any progressive alderperson that will likely improve the day-to-day condition of the masses of people. An example of course would be a public jobs program today. Therefore, while defending the reform we oppose reformism by addressing the limited nature of all reforms.

But we really want to consciously attack, undermine, and expose the capitalist system and its overall governmental structure of capitalistic government because only in that way we can educate the masses of people and prepare them for the battle against capitalism that must unfold and become sharper at the level of the capitalist system, and not at the level of any individual piece of legislative reform or not simply at the level of electing one official or another.

We want the movement for Harold Washington to win - if the people get more organized, get more conscious understanding, get more self-confident, then regardless of the vote we will have won.

Forward! Make this election a battle, the revolution is the war!
The Relevance of Local Politics
by Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College
Delivered at The Closing Plenary Conference on Black People and
Mayoral Politics in the 1980s

Before this is done, let me say that I bring greetings from
Peoples College. We are an organization that's been active for over
ten years now in various parts of the country. We are not part of the
big time "left" that has been mashing its newspapers on you and exerting
its self-proclaimed authority. But we are, however, an active part of the
movement that has had its high points as well as its low points. And
further it is all a part of our attempt to understand the world so that we
can more creatively participate in it and bring about desired ends. That
orientation is one which we think you share as well.

As the comrade mentioned earlier, Peoples College has been very
active in Black Studies and certainly I have been active in a leader-
ship position within the National Council for Black Studies. But it is
not in that context in which I speak. Peoples College, while certainly
active in Black Studies at various levels approaches the question of Black
Mayoral politics with a certain point of view - one which I will put
forward this evening.

I want to be very short and brief and to the point. I want to start
out with four basic points and I will provide some analysis of how we
approach the current electoral campaign and then this will set the stage
for some questions.
These four basic points are as follows:

(1) The centrality of the capitalist system as the main course of all problems:

(2) In the political realm of the government or the state, the current crisis is characterized by the crisis of accumulation and the crisis of legitimacy;

(3) Urban areas--the cities--are theatres of our current but ongoing battle; and

(4) Within these urban areas, there are two main arenas of struggle--the workplace and the neighborhood.

Let me develop each of these points briefly.

(1) The central source of all our problems in this society--and they are related to the main problems in the world, is the capitalist system in all its forms and manifestations. Fundamentally, when we say the capitalist system we're not talking about an abstraction; we're not talking about something that has a color. I will speak about what color it is a bit later. We are talking about the concrete realities that Black people know in relationship to their everyday lives.

In the morning most Black people get up and go to work. And, if they don't, they want to! Our grasp of contradictions they confront when they are going to work and when they are at work is essential if we are to begin to get into the reality that I'm talking about. When people attempt to mystify the world and to direct our attention away from the system which oppresses us, we want to compel them to describe the daily reality of Black people. Beginning there with the lived experiences of our people, then we want them to explain in conceptual terms: what kind of system it is that organizes our every day life in the way that it
does. We think that it amounts to a capitalist system and within that, specifically, we're talking about Black people occupying relations that exists between the people who are in the position of ownership and control of production and distribution of the wealth in this country and, in the end, appropriate and consume, for their own benefit, all the profits. Those are one class of people, on the one hand. On the other hand, we are talking about the masses of people--White, Black and all colors--who are forced to work, who are forced to slave and labor in order to produce these profits and, in the "bargain", get wages necessary to reproduce their lives, pay rent, and feed their kids so they too can grow up and go to work in those same jobs and under similar conditions. The point then is that the central source of all those problems is the capitalist system. This is my first thesis.

(2) The second point. Within this system is Black peoples' relationship to the "government", or as we would say, the state in it fullest manifestation. There are two main problems.

(a) Overall, there is a crisis in how the capitalist system is able to reproduce itself and keep going, day-to-day, week-to-week, year-to-year, and on a decade to decade basis, etc. The first problem is an accumulation crisis, - the capacity of the capitalist system to continue to generate profits, which after all is the life blood that feeds this vampire. There is an insatiable desire to accelerate the acquisition of profits. That is the fundamental and golden rule of this system. And yes, to borrow a phrase from Malcolm, "The drive is to extract as much profit by any means necessary".

(b) The second aspect of the overall crisis is the crisis of legitimacy. This means that as the capitalists go about this avaricious
quest for profits; mind you, at the same time they do so in the context of a democratic political system. Now, this presents the problem of maintaining consent/agreement by those people who are forced to slave and suffer and produce the profits for the system's beneficiaries. In other words, not only do they have the problem of how to acquire more and more profits from us, they have the problem of convincing us that it is good, that we like it. Now, that's a hell of a difficult situation to be in. And yet, the capitalists have been somewhat successful. That constitutes a second thesis, these two problems: the crisis of accumulation and of legitimacy.

(3) The third point. Urban areas are key zones of battle. Even in this period of so-called "urban crisis", even in this period of a downturn in the economic, fiscal, political, social, moral, cultural, and educational aspects of the city, the urban areas are the zones of battle. This parallels the two points above. First, there is a concentration of wealth—both of production and of administration has a location. Especially in terms of what's referred as the "point of production" i.e., factories—are still concentrated in cities. Even with suburbanization, we are talking about simply a metropolitan phenomena, the expansion of the urban, with cities as the hub. While there are governmental units, there is also an increase in the size of these giant corporate concentrations. Which tend to be headquartered in urban areas—chiefly the central cities.

They are non-randomly distributed things. There are still vast areas of the country, relatively speaking that are sparsely populated, and that do not have wealth concentrated there. But the cities represent the concentration of wealth and of production, distribution, and consumption, on the one hand. On the other hand, the urban areas are where
of legitimation and social control are there. On the side, I have to refer to Richard Pryor's statement about prisons in Arizona. He went to a prison whose inmates were virtually all Black. So, there are obviously places outside of the city that are very important, for social control. But in the main, these mechanisms are concentrated in the city and concentrated in the structures of the government as the key aspect of the state.

(4) The fourth point. The final point, in terms of our introductory conceptual framework in this. In relationship to these things, and there are two key focuses of struggle, two arenas that are embattled: the workplace and the neighborhood. The workplace is where the masses of people confront the reality of their enemy in a day-to-day struggle to raise their standard of living. It is here that people deal with the reality of the benefits that serve as the social insurance for their lives, where people talk about retirement, health, benefits. Its here where we must first begin to analyze the condition of their families and what's going to happen to the lives and condition of their children. This determines the quality of their lives! The active negation of this is due to unemployment, people being forced out of the workplace. Thus, the workplace within the city is the key area.

The other key area, dialectically related, is the neighborhood. It is in the neighborhood that workers live; it is in the neighborhood where neighbors realize the weakness and the insecurity of their lives. Of course, obvious health/welfare conditions are important. Just as health/welfare conditions are important at home, so are they in the neighborhood.
(4) cont.

But, there are two things in contradiction here— the workplace, on the one hand, and the neighborhood and the home on the other. One of the important realities of the city is that you have different struggles occurring out of the workplace, and different struggles out of the neighborhoods. You often have two different sets of people. You often have ideological and political styles that differ. And people often have different perceptions and think of themselves, too often, as being in conflict with one another. Those of us in Chicago who have grown up with the political machine know that Machine to be more deeply rooted in the neighborhoods than are reform movements, and that is a large part of its (the former) success.

On the other hand, one of the great strengths of the alignment effected by the ruling class since the New Deal and lasting through Daley’s regimen in Chicago was that they were able to effect some kind of coalition between workplace and neighborhood, for their own ends. When we talk about Daley, we have to be very sober. He was not only talking to the State Street Council, a leading organization of Chicago capitalists, he was talking to the unions in this city as well. In presiding over the transformation of Chicago’s economy and demography, Daley was able to hold together a tenuous alliance between State Street merchants, city workers and the ethnic-based neighborhoods that enabled him through the Machine and patronage, to spread tenacles of control throughout most of the City— including the uneven incorporation of a significant strata of growing Black population.
Given these four points, I have to remind you that in coming into Chicago Black people have come a long way. We've got to constantly, as one brother said, remember where we come from, how we came, and what the nature of these struggles were in those different stages so we don't think we are in a different stage of the struggle than what we are actually in. For example, we think of our history as occurring in qualitative stages of development. And each stage has a particular character, a particular logic, a particular set of politics because it was those politics at any given stage which helped to push it forward. You can't go back and repeat them but we have to understand these stages to grasp the requirements of future struggles.

STAGES OF BLACK POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Slavery. Black people as slaves were outside of but also within the system; we've always been within the (economic) system when it comes to production relations. When somebody put on a cotton shirt during slavery it was the reality of the use value of that shirt that "turned them on". And frankly speaking, when they put it on it didn't matter whether it came from a slave or anybody else. And to that extent, today--whether its an automobile, this shirt, these things, whatever--nobody "gives a damn". It is the use value for us that we are concerned about. In the end, its the capitalist who doesn't "give a damn" either. Because in the realization of profits, although one can manipulate the margins, it doesn't matter who it is that is producing--Black, Japanese, women, young people, old people, whatever. Slavery also represented the time when in all other aspects of society--like politics--we were excluded. Blacks were on the outside, Blacks were on the bottom. We were not even viewed as human beings. Under slavery anything that Blacks did to undermine the sytem was politically progressive.
Rural is after the Civil War, after the realization of capitalist democracy through the transformation of the U.S. Constitution, that the fundamental break in this exclusionary system was made. Then Blacks began their long journey toward their full inclusion into all aspects of U.S. society. A struggle still yet to be completed.

In the rural period, the model Black experience was land tenancy and tenant sharecropping. In this period the church and schools were the pivotal social institutions. And while democratic laws were on the books to protect citizenship rights of Blacks, the dominant pattern was that the dominant apparatus of State. Courts, police, jails - were used to deny Black political participation and the fuller realizations of these Citizenship rights. It was the continued mechanization of agriculture, influx of northern capital and twentieth century wars that broke up this system, providing the basis for greater political gains.

Urban. First, its only with the migration of Blacks to the cities, into factories, into the bureaucratic apparatus of the private and public sector, that Blacks moved right into the heart of the capitalist system of production. It is at this point that Black people began to get situated in a way that would make Blacks comparable to all other people in this country, in general. Many struggles have continued after being in the city, after being in the plant, moving from one shop to another etc. A fundamental transformation occurred. Consequently to Worl War I, World War II, into the fifties, the development of the mechanization of agriculture which pushed more people off the land, pushed more people into the cities, and into jobs that are essential to the capitalist process.

Harold Baron made a very important point, (in this morning's plenary). After this inclusion into the capitalist industrial setup, that there was a delayed reaction. There was a "second wave" at a political and cultural
Urban (cont)

level most characteristic of the 1960s when Black people became conscious and began to make demands that were comparable to the demands that had been made, in different ways perhaps and at other times, by other groups. But these demands were essentially for inclusion into the system in their own way. That was what it was all about. As a matter of fact, we wouldn't be here in this discussion at the University of Illinois-Chicago and students would not be enrolled in colleges around the state had it not been for all the ways that we fought to be included. We wouldn't have those things had it not been for the 1960s.

The struggle did not occur in the abstract nor isolated from historical forces. That struggle occurred as a result of an Blacks incorporation into the city and into the heart of the objective production process that sustains the capitalist system. We fought to be included democratically, in every institutional sector. In point of fact, it is the continuation of the democratic struggle that brings us to this conference today. We're fighting to get into City Hall. That's the fight. The fight is to elect a Black Mayor. That is what many, many people are talking about and that's what we are trying to analyze.

I would like you for a moment to turn to the special Black Mayoral Conference Newspaper and open it up to the inside. I want to review with you three key points. On page two in the third column at the top it reads: "How Do Black Mayors Get Elected?" This newspaper points out five things not that we are advocating, but rather by way of a review of the scholarly and political literature regarding this question. What has happened? How do some people, in fact, get elected to be Mayor?

The first factor is the mobilization of the Black vote based upon a large percentage of Black people in the voting age population.
That is, the mobilization, the registration, the result of tactics to get out to vote. The second point is the broadening of support. Read that carefully. The building of "broad support". We're not only talking about money, but in the end we are talking about how the city views the legitimacy of the Black candidacy. Its very important that up to now, while it has been a struggle, to some very real extent the capitalists have acquiesed and agreed that Blacks have the set of requisite resources and that the coincidence of shared realities in the country are such that they are willing to have Black mayors in major cities.

As was it mentioned, Bob Kirby, who headed CORE shortly before Gibson was elected in Newark, reported that Prudential said that "Y'all can have the Mayors Office. It is O.K. wit us." And I suggest to you, without talking about any particular candidate, that is a reality of contemporary social life, approaching electoral politics the way most people approach it. At least this is what the social sciences are telling us.

Third of course, there is the question of organization. And fourth, the question of viability, the first is an objective factor. The fourth is a subjective factor which has to do with the credibility of the candidate in the eyes of the masses of people. The fifth and last factor is this: that, in general, Black mayors have emerged in times of crisis and the main crisis has something to do with what I said earlier about capital accumulation. How does city hall assist business in being able to acquire profits? As a matter of fact, it doesn't really matter who is in city hall; that is the function of city hall.

On the other hand, there is the legitimacy issue. We know, that that's exactly what a Black mayor does--bring legitimacy in the eyes of the masses of people. That's not necessarily a bad thing. It is a bad
thing if its sold to Black people as a panacea to solve our problems and that "now everything is great". But legitimacy can lead to greater political efficacy. Because if you attain a victory and the people are in motion, under certain particular conditions, that motion can be sustained and developed to a higher level of political clarity and broader vision.

When we talk about Black voters who do not vote--the fact is that a lot of people don't vote. A lot of people don't do anything! Do you understand? And if somebody's kicked back watching the Superbowl, drinking a can of beer, thinking about nothing, or being depressed, or being forced and beatendown—that person is not making a statement of protest that's going to lead to change. But if people actually accomplish something without being hood-winked, they might in fact develop a sense that it is possible for us to take history into our own hands, and shape it and make it something that will serve our interest. That is at the essence of what we are talking about. Obviously, however, that doesn't have to happen at least, not without a plan. We can be tricked. But that is the central question. We've been talking about a lot of different cities: New York, Newark, Gary, Atlanta and what has been the lessons derived from their study. As a matter of fact, its dangerous to have such a conference. We are being criticized for having such a conference because people view it as being subversive in these times. On the contrary, we think that the conference is exactly what we should be having. Not only at the city wide level, it should be in the neighborhood. It should be in the schools. We should be having teach-ins just like we did during the Viet Nam War, just like we do whenever there is a serious public and community wide question. The business at hand cannot continue as usual. We have got to get to the bottom of the questions. We have got to bring in people from other cities.
have got to talk about these matters and only then can we, in fact, give guidance and leadership. Otherwise it's some more game.

Unless somebody can tell me what the people are going to get out of some election, I got to think that they are looking for something for themselves, I can start from this premise for no better reason than that I grew up in Chicago. I got relatives who work in both parties in every election. This is Chicago!

The next section of this Conference Newspaper article deals with: "What Difference Do Black Mayors Make?" In passing, its clear that these Mayoral elections result in outputs. We have the data drawn from other cities. Everybody ought to ask yourself: what is the result of the existence of Black mayors, and what can we expect? As a matter of fact, what must we demand? This is another way of saying how can we assist? I hope you understand my point here. You will be doing the campaign of a Black mayor at least, and the aspirations of the masses of people a disservice unless you demand that city hall constantly be responsive to the needs of our community and our people. The key point of analysis is who actually benefits, and in what form?

Moving on to the next section, to the "Limitations Of The System," I hope we speak to these things that are questions and that we sum up the workshops in light of these points. First, the question of racism. The one thing you know about Chicago is that racism is an engrained part of the fabric of this City and of the social relations that exist here between the Black and White sections of a neighborhood and between neighborhoods. Number one, the racial borders in this city stare out at us like they are street signs--like the "Iron Gates", the second point is the complex network of government bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is not only a set of rules that you have to learn. And, frankly
speaking, if you're not involved in it you don't learn it. Now that we are about to acquire something, we discovered we don't know it. Most people don't know how streets and sanitation and parks and all these different things work. After all, these things constitute certain jobs in the city, they make up the city budget. But, this bureaucracy and the people who occupy it constitute the "permanent government" -- the people who don't necessarily change when the mayor changes. These are the people you've got to go to when you are talking about taxes and real estate, different bills, the police, etc. There is a bureaucratic apparatus. And bureaucracy combines with racism to make what amounts to a formidable bastion of resistance inside the government that will not change when an election occurs, simply because the elected officials are changed.

The election of a Black mayor is really the only beginning of the struggle for power. It's a "foot in the door". That is not taking power from "City Hall". Everybody knows Chicago has a big City Hall. In smaller towns, we might have the illusion that voting in a person might have a significant impact on the percentage of the people in the building. So we might think we have power. In Chicago that is not the case - especially when many people on the payrolls don't ever report to work.

Intergovernmental relations is the next area -- the relationships between the city and the county, the city and the state government for example. Remember that Chicago has a Cook County Democratic Party. There is also the state and there is the federal level as well. The fact that there are two trends here that can't be ignored. (1) first the growing trend of metropolitan government units poses a serious challenge to Black proportional representation. Second, the cities with Black
mayors are almost universally dependent upon large in-flows of federal dollars.

The last two points are what I want to end up with--this question of "class" that I will explain a little more and this question of "a theory of change", taking these other things into consideration. Given the problems that Black people have in general, what do we see are the answer to the main points raised in this question?

The black masses are saying in Chicago that the answer is "Black Power". And it's an answer being given independent of our will, given independent of Harold Washington, given independent of a whole lot of other people and things. People want power. After all, Black people are Americans and that's what America says you need. You need a "piece of the rock", a "piece of the action" and we want ours. That's what Black people want, some money. There are various ways of describing this.

In the 1960s it was a little confusing. "What do you want?" What did we say to that: "Well, we want to be like ya'll". That was the answer, however it might have been phrased. But now, people want power. It's clear, and it is righteous. It is, we think, the legitimate democratic aspirations of the masses of people to want power.

However, our answer, you must understand, is that the answer is revolution. The answer is the negation of capitalism--socialism. That is what we think is the answer. Now here is the problem: we're over here with socialism as the answer (we are hovering). The masses of people are rising up and fighting for Black Power (the building's on fire). That's our problem. Now, what do we do about that?

We have made a proposal, and have been putting this forward since 1980, it is based on the notion and the real necessity of unity in
in struggle. We believe that Revolutionary Black Power in a case like Chicago is precisely the programmatic road that we should travel. We do not question the struggle for Black Power because of the aspect of democracy and especially since this struggle is against white racist, bourgeois-democratic rule. Its capitalist rule—rule to keep Black people from power in the most vicious and ruthless way. But, we uphold revolution and within this fight for Black power we struggle for it and we put socialism on the agenda. We are not talking about socialism as some infantile students are proclaiming it and thinking that the world is going to magically transform because of something they said. Neither do we build for it if they speak in unison, nor if they bring four people to a meeting (and that represents a discernable percentage) and they space themselves in different parts of the room and speak about it and you announce the significance of yourself and your organization—the world is going to somehow change. NO! That is crazy! That is infantile! That is ridiculous. We have had outbursts of that here. We have been taught how ridiculous the Left- or people who want to give the Left a bad name—can be.

We need socialism because we think, straight forwardly, that when people want their problems solved, they don't necessarily know that word ("socialism") subjectively but that is what they want objectively. Everybody wants a job; everybody wants something to eat; everybody wants decent housing and health care, and education. Failing a productive job, they want an income— a way to make it. Here's the problem. The system of capitalism ain't never going to give it to anybody. Matter of fact if capitalist gave us all some, he or she would be a bad capitalist. You can't even take it from capitalism and let capitalism stay there. They would take it back and put you away. A whole lot of the older
Brothers and Sisters have commented on how many of them "used to be" socialists. And there are a whole lot of people who don't want to comment that they used to be socialists. And their names have been cast about here in the last couple of days. The point is that there is more basis to talk about socialism in this society than many of us might realize. It should be natural discourse given our level of needs.

The principle contradiction in this election we think right now is the question of "color" or "racism" and "nationality". That is the unity of the anti-racist, anti-national oppression struggle that has at its heart the fight of Blacks and Latinos in the neighborhoods. This is the central reality of city politics in Chicago. This is an objective process that we seek to understand and it puts us in unity across class lines. And there, we are talking about the working-class and the middle-class, in particular. But as people who believe in socialism - we have an independent role to play and within that process fighting for the interests of the working class upper most. Now, we are not strong enough to just teach that as a subjective reality. Everybody here is fighting for Black Power and its the unity of Blacks and Latinos who fight against racism. But there are all kinds of tricks being played. But underneath it all are real objective class forces at play. Most of it has not openly surfaced, but after the election it will surface. (Incidentally, Black people, in the end, better start learning Spanish. That is the real thing. People talking about, 'they won't vote for us'. And you got a translator standing there and you're trying to translate to somebody and you don't know what they are saying. You represent a Gringo, and Anglo, when you go before the Latinos and you cannot speak Spanish. I'm up here saying that, and I can't speak it either. We are trying to deal with that ans we must).
We don't own the media. We don't have 10 million dollars for the PR and the newspaper. We cannot just convince people that it is a class struggle. We can't just tell people: "y'all ought to just believe in socialism "and the" bam!" We can't put so many ads and billboards that people will just say: "well, I guess that's it". The D.J.'s will not just be able to play records, "Believe in socialism! Believe in socialism, with RB sound and other revolutionary hits on the "top ten". Then everybody would say: "hey, that's it! Socialism is what's happening!" It is not going to happen that way. The subjective factor divorced from the objective context in struggle won't work. Anybody tht thinks that that is the way the linking goes down doesn't understand the relationship between those subjective factors and the objective context within which it occurs. Anybody who doesn't know that in Chicago needs to read a little bit more Chicago history -- relationship, what was the guy's name? Cody (John Cardinal) and the Catholic Church, or Reverand J. H. Jackson (former head, National Baptist Convention) or any of the other major religious forces and the political-economic roles which they play. That is linkeage between subjective and objective factors. We are not strong enough to do that.

What we have to do is to use our ideas as a teaching tool in the context of struggle -- the unity of theory and practice. And in the sense, we have to do it as part of the campaigns of the masses of people wherever they are. As long as these campaigns are righteous and a part of the masses of the people, we must be right there with them as part of it. From the inside, from the outside, during and after. And, we need to stress the "after" part because one of the strengths of the revolutionary movement is that we understand that in the short-run our greatest victory is in defeat. Our greatest victory is in defeat because of what
we do, we're going to lose in the short-run...lose a lot of times. When we have righteous goals and aspirations and when people are educated as to why we lose -- we had better appreciate the victories -- But why do we lose? We focus upon why we lose so that we become wise about the social system that we are a part. This of course is not supposed to happen. But when it does, then, people are prepared to make the "leap" to understand the systemic nature of the problem. And that is very important because it is the prerequisite for understanding how to, in fact, solve the problem.

What is the expression of class rule? You can look at your paper again and see what we've done. Look at, for example, page two. Look under "Class analysis". Under the "class analysis", you see under "capitalist class", the "number of Fortune top 1,000 headquarters located in each of the cities - their administrative headquarters. This is a suggestive chart but it begins to show you the dynamic here. And then in the next column you get the "number of Fortune top 100 Banks and insurance companies" located in these cities. And then there is a calculation -- obviously this is an approximation, figures they put out in the popular media -- of their "total profits in millions". And in the next column we got the "city budgets".

So with a city like Los Angeles 25½ billion worth of profit is represented by the corporate headquarters in that city while the city budget is only 1½ billion. And you could go down the list. Of course, the key fact is that most of the cities are going broke. But these corporations grow fat. On the other hand, turn to page four (4). Look at the table at the top; in the middle. The fourth and third columns from the right. In 1950 there were X number of manufacturing establishment and Y number of manufacturing wage workers -- the people who produced.
You see that the workers got smaller and smaller and smaller. But what is happening on the profit side in terms of what wealth is created? (page two). You see that the parallel is in the profits, the basis of the profits, get larger and larger and larger and larger. Fewer and fewer people creating more and more wealth. Fewer and fewer people working to create the wealth, creating more but being ripped off to a great extent.

If you turn back to page four (4), and look in the lower right-hand corner, it is not a mystery who these people are. They got names. Matter of fact, they got addresses, phone numbers. They got neighborhoods. They go home somewhere at night. And, what is interesting, we are stumbling around trying to find out who they are. You know they read this. They laugh at this. They said things like, you know, "Hey Joe, they missed you". They didn't even know that the real deal isn't even down here in terms of where we sit and talk. We know that this is nothing but an exercise in helping us understand that we can identify the ruling class. That is what we are trying to accomplish here.

Now, flip it back over to page four (4) and look at the top right hand corner. You begin to see the corporations that they are connected to. What we have tried to do in this paper is just give glimpses based on some data that gets us closer to the real world so that we can understand what the nature of the game is.

For us -- the key in the mass movement. In this movement, this electoral campaign, or any other aspect of the mass movement, in addition to other things, it is a must to popularize socialism. It is almost dangerous to say it. It is almost like it is un-American to say it. Frankly speaking, we don't think you can be more American -- that is to say, speak in the interest of the masses of American people -- when you say that
socialism ought to be on the agenda, that socialism is the Black answer, that socialism is the White answer, socialism is the Latino answer -- it is the answer of the masses of all the people.

And if you find somebody who is opposed to socialism, always ask why. And most often when you do you get two kinds of responses. One kind of response is: "they are going to take my shoes". "They are going to take my car". Or, "I can't live in but one room". These are educational problems. And, we can work this out. Maybe we will all decide on two pairs of shoes. On the other hand, maybe its got nothing to do with your shoes.

The other type of response is when people actually express their vested class interest. And there it is simply a matter of the facts. Not a matter of ideology or faith in religion. What we talk about with our students is: "You want to be a millionaire, cool. Let us discuss how Blacks can become millionaires, because we know they can't be millionaires". And in the process of trying to figure out how they can be like Rockefeller, they can understand why they can't be like Rockefeller. As a matter of fact, they can probably figure out, even on a moral basis, why they really shouldn't want to and they don't want to be like Rockefeller. They really want to be like Malcolm. They really want to be like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. They really want to be like Heroines and Heroes all over the world who have served the interests of the masses of people. Just like them. That is who they really want to be like. And therefore we have to help them to understand.

We think that Watts, (the U.S. Interior Secretary) is out of his gourd, when he says that the Indians have gotten messed up by socialism. He is really referring to the most glaring expression of fascist, racist, and repressive rule, where people have been denied dignity and respect,
where all their traditions and customs have been violated; and where
their children have been abused. And then in their desperation, after
being forced into the "firewater" situation, there's desperation i.e.
turning to alcohol, reflection of all other forms of disorganization,
incidents of delinquency, family destruction and everything, etc.
Watts spouts out all this brutal and repressive venom from his mouth
that they -- the victims -- are the cause of their own condition.
And he didn't talk about the age old game of the Indian agent, still
"ripping-off" the Indians. He didn't talk about that! He is a fool.
He is dangerous, but a fool!

We have put out these comments that in relation to this particular
question. I want to end it this way: We have "tow legs" on which to
walk. I think we have got "two songs" to sing of necessity. We have got
to "Lift Every Voice And Sing Till Earth and Heaven Ring". Now don't
hear this like I heard that song before. Listen to the words and the
aspirations that led James Weldon and brother to put this down and led
people to take up as a song for Black people to sing. "Lift Every Voice
and Sing, Till the Earth and the Heavens ring. Ring the harmony of liberty.
Let our rejoicing rise high as the listening skies. "You can't get higher
than that! High as the skies. "Let it resound lous as the rolling sea".

"Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us." The
dark. By that they meant the bad times. Has taught us. "Sing a song
full of the hope that the present has brought us. Facing the rising sun
of a new day begun. Let us march on, til victory is won".

But we got another song. It is the song we want y'all to sing.
There will be a lot of people singing it. Listen to these words: "Arise
ye prisoners of starvation". Now think about that. Does that have any-
thing to do with black people? No. It doesn't. Right? If you are out
four o'clock at 47th and King Drive, you would sing, "Arise ye wretched
of the earth". You heard that before? The Wretched of the Earth. Who
wrote that book? No European wrote that book-- Frantz Fannon wrote
that book. "Arise you prisoners of starvation. Arise you wretched of
the earth -- for justice, thunders, condemnation. A better world in birth.
"No more traditions - chains". (You know how Reagan said, "I remember
when we didn't have a race problem"), well,"No more traditions, chains
that bind us. Arise ye slaves, no more enthralled. The earth shall
rise on new foundations. We have naught". (We ain't been nothing)
"But we shall be all".

We can make the future and this election can help only if it creates
a greater capacity to fight - only if we understand the need to support
Black power and to match this with the desire to transform the system.
For this is the desire of our people, the desire of the masses of people
of all nationalities.

As one song says, "We must ourselves decide our duty". And the
other one says, "Because the road is stony, that we trod". And back to
the other one it says, "We must decide". And "We must decide and do it
well!"

Thank you.
Peoples College Black Liberation Month Forum
February, 1983
Chicago, Illinois

AA: First of all let me say that as the last speaker I realize the responsibility to be brief and I'm going to try not to repeat some of the things that represent I think some kind of emerging consensus, and get at some of the things that make up our position. First of all greetings. We're certainly pleased that Peoples College Forum this year can be in the context of such an important struggle. We are often, as I think most of us are on the Left, "toiling in our vineyards" waiting for the sparks that somehow make many of the theories that we read about in other parts of the world seem to come alive to us. Particularly for those of us who are young and new to the revolutionary struggle, these are precious moments. These are moments to be maximized and that's why we risked the criticism that some people raised against our even having this Forum: "Why aren't you out in the street knocking on doors?" Which obviously is important to do and had it not been done by many of us, the Washington Campaign wouldn't be where it is. On the other hand, for our small group, qualitatively the question facing us was in what way could we make the most pressing and decisive contribution. The current broad interest and extensive mobilization of Blacks in support of Harold Washington's mayoral bid for us, has raised the question revolutionary Black power - How can we bring revolution to Black power movement? In the Harold Washington Campaign obviously what we've got to some great extent is a "Black power movement" - not in the sense of what Harold Washington stands for but in the sense of what we think is the most profound response at the level of the door-to-door realities of Chicago.
We're talking now about and describing the consciousness-raising potential we think has made the Washington Campaign of high political significance. The campaign is not only significant because of the policy implications of a Black, White, Latin, labor, liberal coalition. This has existed before. Daley was attacked by this kind of coalition on occasions. We are now talking about what's on the surface. This type of coalition has been there. It is the Black power movement and the demographic realities of Chicago that have forced people to stop and deal with the Harold Washington campaign. This is clear - it's out front. This is the surface level. However, beneath the surface revolution is being whispered. People say that what is implicit residing deep in the spontaneous movement, there is a revolutionary spark as Lenin instructed. But then that's why we think this Forum in necessary, because we think that to the extent that there is democracy in the country, the Left has to realize it and move forward with great dispatch.

Basically there are four main points of analysis of the campaign. I'm going to go over these points quickly to get to the comments at the end. And it has to do with what we think is characteristic of the campaign, what we think we have to assess in order to determine the direction we have to go.

The first point is that we think the campaign to some great extent is a struggle that centers around oppressed nationalities. And what we've got to do is to transform this struggle into a struggle not only against National Oppression - which we must do in a big way - but we have to make it a question of class exploitation and class struggle. Here we're talking (and this is addressing the nationalist aspect) about the potential of the demographic factor. The fact is that Chicago is becoming a
Black-Latin town. That factor led to this. More over, it was the voter registration drive, mainly in the Black community; and (third) we have a Black candidate who has a progressive character relative to the other candidates. Again, these are objective facts and this is what leads us here to seriously take up the potential concealed within the current campaign. On the other hand we can ask the question: where are the trade unions? Certainly there are local trade unionists working in the Washington campaign, but trade unions, as such, have not become a major city-wide factor in this election. And that's an important factor that we've got to deal with. Also, and this gets really to heart of the issue, where is the popular indictment of capitalism. By this we do not mean a mere discription of the economic questions that liberal democrats have always raised. And there are good ones and bad ones. We understand that there are liberal democrats and, of course, in a campaign you do attack the incumbent. Now in a campaign, rhetoric is notorious. What we are listening for is an indictment of the capitalist system that can be put forward in a popular way which would transform this campaign into more of a class struggle. And again, this is with the understanding that there are class realities here, but its more of a task of bringing them out into the open. From the national struggle to class struggle. While we can define and support this struggle on this basis - we should not leave it on this basis.

The second point is, and has been pointed out that we are talking about in the main a spontaneous struggle. This "blue button" is a spontaneous phenomenon in Chicago. It has become an important political symbol and it
happened many other times when we have had mass movements. There are symbols that somehow represent a spark. Picture yourself being in an elevator and you look over and somebody has a "blue ribbon" on and you say "How is it?" Where are you working and they say: "Oh, well in our neighborhood thus and so, and he (Washington) came and spoke and we're doing this and that". A lot of the "who are you" and kind of body language, indicates that there's a dynamic. There's an electricity - a charge- to the spontaneous movement and maybe that's what is unique and new. Of course this is an election year and it's hard to know. Yet its the spontaneous movement. It's mass, its multi-class, it's city-wide - although it's concentrated in the Black Community, and its in places where people are working hard. And its probably in more places than we all know.

We are interested in it because people are in motion. Responding, initiating. The key issues that led to this Campaign were responses to definite attacks. Whether it was the Singer campaign, whether it was the obvious racist disregard for the changing demographic composition of this town with regard to the Board of Education, etc., there are a number of related issues. So that it (the movement) built up in the context of the worsening economic social and fiscal conditions. But here is what this political system has got the kind of demonic flexibility that all the forces--and I'm putting this forward foa a little discussion - all of the forces in this Campaign are potentially mobilizable by the Democratic Party in their fight against Reagan. And that the Left and liberals will join with it and be led - they think on the road to revolution - on the road to bringing another Democrat to the White House and they will justify it because: "After all, you know when Democrats are "in" everybody knows
in Chicago if you elect the right people then there is more money on the street. And that is ultimately the rationale. The kind of 'Economist' rationale that would lead us right back into the arms of the Democrats.

Therefore, it is not a spontaneous movement but a movement led by conscious-revolutionary leadership is what is obviously necessary. But once again in the United States there are many communist organizations and there are many parties, it's not just that we need a party and some sort of a proclamation. What we need is revolutionary leadership that can popularize revolutionary ideas and make them the ideas of the American people. We need to be able to transform the rhetoric from the past and from other places and bring it into the hearts and out of the mouths of the American people. This somehow is difficult for the Left in this country. Historically it's been difficult for the Left. Theory has not been a strong point of the American Left. By theory I'm talking about a strategic orientation toward the development of revolution. This is somehow not something that the Left in the United States has been able to bring to mass struggles.

The first point was national to class; and the second was spontaneous to conscious leadership.

The third point is this. The big thing now is an election. That is the main event. That's what is going on. And in an election people are geared up in to a movement aimed toward one giant cathartic act - voting. And it's not clear to us that this movement is deep enough, or that it is profound enough to last long beyond election day. That's why we have to consciously begin to question - How do we transform our own thinking to the extent that we can begin to move this event from an election-oriented thing to bringing more into the forefront the question of state power,
bringing more to the fore front the question of how the ruling class rules - and what we have to overturn in order to "straighten out this mess".

Now again, many of us have read the same books. But, the question is: can we make those books come alive in the context of struggle in this country. What, after all, is state power, how does the ruling class rule? What is interesting about Chicago and the Left (or really the United States and the Left) is how few who really understand what the ruling class is in Chicago and the limited extent to which this understanding is popularized. Is there a book you can point to? Has any of the communist organizations written an analysis of the actual world we live in? The Chicago situation? That's the question, and the fact of the matter is that we haven't had the kind of analysis. You want to talk about the Harold Washington campaign. It would be very interesting if everybody in here understood how the campaign was actually run, from the inside. That is in terms of who is it that made an analysis of the world and put policy forward for Harold Washington to speak out about. Let me tell you, things don't look so good.

A lot of people are pimping the aspirations of the masses and not getting down with the reality that the Left is bankrupt in this country and it is not taking care of business. I mean all the organizations. We read all the papers, including our own. The fact is that it's a little weak. We should be a little bit more humble, even to mention the work Lenin when we talk in the context of struggle in this country. It's like we're "sitting on books". We have to really be very self-critical
and this is a critical moment. It's a moment where the people are crying out for the Left. Where is it?

And of course the forth point is the summation. The main aspect is the struggle to link reform to revolution. We don't need to be simply concerned about spontaneous Black-Latino struggles against racism, motions against national oppression, or spontaneous working class struggles, against attacks. These are the righteous response of the masses that will always be there. What the left brings is an orientation to create conscious, not merely spontaneous, class struggle. For the stategic unity of all oppressed and exploited people in struggle for state power. Otherwise of course any spontaneous motion will degenerate. All spontaneous movements ultimately degenerate without revolutionary leadership. And you know what's going to happen - we think many people who consider themselves revolutionaries and Left are going to snuggle-up inside City Hall. Just like the Black nationalists did in Washington, D.C. Many of the SNCC people sitting right there with Marion Berry on T.V. saying "Well actually there is nothing you can do in city government". Same thing was true in Detroit, Gary and a lot of other places. A lot of people on the Left, a lot of people who really are Liberals get right up in on the action and then what? They rationalize what's happening in these campaigns.

This election gives us an opportunity to define a role for the Left in new terms for the movement in Chicago. Of course we believe that revolution is possible - socialist revolution. But what is so critical is how we hoist the "Red Flag" within the mass movement. No, not as neophytes trying to jam it down the mouths of people not as "ultra-leftist" who are standing up reciting various forms of dogma. But we must respond as
seasoned veterans in a serious movement. What can the Left do that the spontaneous mass movement alone can not? First of all, we can use our science of Marxism - Leninism as a tool to demystify the world. We can use it to push aside bourgeois mystifications and reveal the nature of exploitation and oppression. We can train mass leaders as conscious revolutionary forces. We can openly proclaim our revolution - and withstand the inevitable pressures from the capitalist state. Which ultimately is part of the damn reason you have a communist organization.

You've got to have people who can actually do what it is that the masses and their spontaneity won't, or can't or don't know how to. The facts are however, that: (1) there is no clear Marxist-Leninist line on Chicago that we can popularize; (2) there are no obvious new class forces emerging in the Campaign as revolutionary fighters; and (3) there's no socialist theme, no Red Flag has been hoisted in the context of the Campaign. So what we can do apparently we are not doing - at least in the sense that it's not happening on a city-wide level. It's happening in a lot of particularistic ways.

We hope that we can - all of us - participate afterwards in a summation. A summation of this experience from precinct work on up. We want to do this particularly since Ish Flory(I.F.), of the CP USA was supposed to be in this Forum and he wrote an article recently where he summed up his campaign activity in some previous campaign. Perhaps he can deepen that for us, and perhaps some of us can do the same.

HOW do we see the future and the tasks ahead?

What can happen in this election? First, Peoples college is going to try to contribute, and People College calls for everybody to help contribute to a serious analysis of this election, particularly as it is
directed for the advanced. That is, we mean people who are active in the Campaign, who are consciously struggling to bring about change, that's what we mean. What we're going to do is publish a documentary volume of all the leaflets, newspaper articles and campaign materials we can get our hands on and share that with everybody immediately after the Campaign so that we can build a foundation for deepening our grasp of an analysis. We think this is essential because what's going to happen is there will be a flood of self-serving analysis that will come out afterwards and we need to take a hard look at it. Secondly, we are going to publish the proceedings of our (recent) conference on the role of Black mayors in the country, with some discussion of the key role of the Left, because we think this whole question of city-level politics is very important in our gaining an understanding of state power as well as achieving an understanding of the spontaneous struggles that will eventually emerge under the leadership of the Left as the leading aspect of a national revolutionary movement.

Now on this question of summation, we would call for people to speak to that and hopefully to contribute to that and in the discussion period and then afterwards. The second point is that People College wants to turn this, help to turn this, motion in Chicago into an anti-Reagan, (meaning anti-capitalist) fight over the next year, two years. We want to turn it into a war, with at least the minimal goals of creating greater class consciousness and an enhanced capacity of the working class and oppressed strata to continue to fight, creating what would be a bigger and broader United Front. We want to have a greater organizational capacity leading to some victories on the local level. Hopefully we can get into this in more detail in the discussion. We think after this campaign one of the big questions is going to be
how to make the anti-Reagan fight not just another appendage to the
Democratic party. That's going to be a major question. And this recent
involvement of Mondale, Kennedy and what's the other guys name?
"Cranston". Right. This is just the beginning of involvements like
this. Many of the people who led the fight against Machine people are
going to lead the fight back into their arms.

In Chicago however, this question of Harold Washington whether
winning or losing we see this way: As it said on the leaflet, the most
important thing that happened is not the promises that anybody has
made for change, because as you well know the world is characterized
more-from our perspective - by the objective contradictions than by the
desires of any given politician. And after all, there is only so much
he can do.

Washington can't produce jobs for people, although a jobs policy
can produce jobs for some people, but not the kind of jobs that will
meet any of the significant, systemic problems of the working calls, even
middle strata folks in this area and so forth. What he can do is speak
out as a democratic voice using the legitimacy of City Hall. That's what
he can do; and if the findings from our mayoral conference assessment
tells us anything about Black Mayors practice in other cities, he can
stop some of the police brutality visited on Blacks. That's why this
whole question of the police is so significant in Black mayoral campaigns,
including this one.

That has actually happened in other cities. All the rest of it hasn't.
Now, he might be able to break some new ground...We doubt it. Therefore,
the key question is this: the key question is not what we can expect from
Harold, that's not the question at all. The fact of the matter is, if we
actually put it down front - is that Harold Washington's father and Harold Washington grew up and developed politically in the context of the Machine and his ties, the center of gravity of the whole motion in Chicago - a lot of it is connected to the machine. Not the old machine, whatever, but the Machine. It is different people acting out the same role. We are talking about relationships - their class impulses towards contracts, jobs in City Hall, better consultantships, all the rest of it, etc. The main thing is that the people, I think, very much support what A.V said - "It was a community based movement that led to the Harold Washington campaign."

The key question is HOW IS THAT MOVEMENT GOING TO GROW AND DEVELOP AFTER THE ELECTION?

Now what you've got is this. What you've got is, and I think he's (A.V.) right again, that the federal government ended up supporting all these community organizations. When the move occurred to support insurgent politics, independent politics in Chicago, independent democratic politics, the funds started getting cut off. So that there is a crisis now in the community organization area. How are these organizations going to continue? Because they all had staff and technical support coming from funds that come from the federal government through the city. So for us right now, the key question facing the Left is HOW TO BUILD A MOVEMENT FOR PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION? Which is not the same thing as saying we have to build a movement to support Harold's policies once he is elected mayor.

I don't think anybody in here is in a position to trade the sentiments of the people and the needs of the people for anything that anybody who is mayor of any city has to offer. What we can do is to create an opposing
force for the ruling class elements that control Chicago and, in the process, continue to wage struggle to win Harold Washington away from the vacillation of the middle-class and the past ties with the Machine and the Democratic Party. That progressive possibility could continue to the extent that the People's Movement is strong. Washington would be a candidate that represents the People's interest. In other words, what we think is this - You can have an analysis that Harold Washington - the man - is above all of the deals, and all the corruption, and all the pressures, and all the rightward drift - We don't believe that, we don't believe any individual is. Secondly, you can believe that what we've gotta do is get more involved in the "body politics". That is get elected to city council, get up into city government, and then use that to beat back the "Fast Freddie's" and all the rest of them. We don't believe that's possible either. What we believe is possible and necessary is to build a conscious revolutionary movement within the broad mass movement using Harold Washington as Mayor, with freedom of information at City Hall, with the legitimacy of city hall, to build a movement beyond election day that would be bigger and better in the future. A People's Democratic Movement for Education. That's what we can get out of this. We can't get jobs. We certainly can't use the police to seize power, to take over the factories (which would be great if we could). To take over the Sun-Times and the Tribune? The fact is we can't. But we think that part of the problem with the Left is that we don't think about doing that kink of thing enough. And therefore, the bold creativity of the masses is not matched with an intellectual grasp of the concrete contradictions by the Left.
So, in sum, basically, what we are saying is this: We're saying that Harold Washington's campaign is the reflection of the righteous mass indignation. It is the response of the masses of people, centering in the Black community, basically coming off the cities demographic transition, the massive voter registration, the selection of a Black candidate, etc. However, the main problem in the campaign has been that the "Left-Liberal" forces in the Harold Washington campaign, in the end have proven impotent. It has been the spontaneous uprising of the masses of people. Everybody who has been close to the campaign knows that. And people have been brought in from outside, okay, to shore it up, "Let's quick, do something". Whether it's Conyers, or whether it's the campaign manager or whatever. Those are the brutal facts of the matter. And hopefully we'll have an analysis that will make it a little clearer, when you get all the way inside. What we can do, as revolutionary forces, is concentrate on what is happening among the masses of people and figure out how to help that develop. That would be the greatest contribution to this campaign toward transforming politics in Chicago, and toward making this campaign contribute to the revolutionary movement overall. Hopefully I can clarify some of these ideas in the discussion period. Thank you.
Forum Question and Answer Segment

A.A.: I agree very much with at least the question that T.T. raises about the relationship of democratic struggle and the fight for socialism. In other words there is the spontaneous fight for reforms, the legitimate struggle of people who are denied democratic rights fighting for reforms. That's on the one hand. On the other hand there is the question of how the fight for socialism, the revolutionary rupture is developed and generated. Now, historically the Left in the United States has had the problem of thinking that - and this is generally true in the Left in advanced industrial countries, (Europe is a perfect example of that) - that electoral districts are the basis for building a significant mass revolutionary struggle and that's historically been the case in the United States. In fact there is an article by Ish Flory, (I'm sorry he's not here, but) he actually says that what the party has got to do - almost as important as building unity in the shops or equally as important - is build unity on the precinct level. That that somehow is going to develop is problematic. Now anybody who knows anything about the city of Chicago and the recent re-districting fight knows how silly that is. What in the hell is a district? What's a district yesterday can change tomorrow. What is out there is an objective reality of how people live their lives. You know, sort of like the statistics you were giving - may or may not be consistent with electoral districts. So that's one (I think) very important question.

But also more to the point that you were raising generally. Some of the stuff that happened here in the city of Chicago for example, there was an attempt to build an all Chicago Community Congress. Here is where people would come together out of the neighborhoods and address the central questions of the quality of life in their neighborhoods and so on.
Now that's a particular case in point. Basically our view of that effort was that it was not a great and overwhelming success. But we think that there is a lesson to be learned in its development because what they attempted to do was to organize the very forces that are at the heart of the Washington campaign, bring them together in one place and say it's possible that we can put forward an Agenda that reflects the kind of line that now is being articulated at the Harold Washington campaign and hold the "new government" make accountable. And basically it seems that something like that, although not organized along electoral lines, but rather organized along the lines of the mobilization of class forces, of nationalities, of social groups, within these forces: the youth, women what have you, that make up the constituency of this new reform campaign - can serve as the basis of some advanced, on going popular educational activity. It is this sort of political exposure, leading toward the development of greater consciousness among the masses of people that can be the revolutionary contribution of the Left.

We think what Harold Washington can do is open the doors of City Hall and give up some information. He's not going to have alot of jobs, he's barely going to be able to control the police. And as time goes on, people are going to become more cynical and upset as they have become in every city thus far having Black mayors. Coming as the result of mass, extensive mobilizations. You see, it's the motion and aspirations of the masses that's important. How can we serve that? How can we heighten that? How can we feed it with information? That's our position.

In the context of struggle, struggle comes down against concrete attacks - somebody is killed by the police (finger snap) a committee is
formed, somebody is thrown in the slam - a committee is formed, a protest mounts. Some building burns down, some people get burned up, because of city violations and a struggle is born. Those are the sparks of struggle we've got to fan and burn. There is no grid that we can chart how every motion is going to develop. But if we had a city-wide effort to bring about revolutionary popular education - and this is why we're criticizing the Left. We're not criticizing the Left because we haven't given adequate attention to a particular trade union struggle and a particular local issue or a particular strike or whatever, all those things are constantly going on. There should be more and we ought to know about more of them. What we're trying to raise is this: If a communist organization exists - party, no party whatever - it has got to distinguish itself by bringing forward the tools of Marxism-Leninism in the context of the experience of the masses of people it purports to serve and to work with. Without that, without that no matter what else is said you're "tailing" the masses because the red flag, the sun, is not rising. I'm not saying you run around with the red flag and act like a jerk, you know like one of these Trotskites (we kept out of here). But what I am saying is this: If somebody who has been active in this city for a long time can say that 10 years ago people called for a socialist analysts of Chicago and it's not out here yet and if anybody knows it ans is keeping it a secret then its worse. If this is the case then the Left should all stand up and give a little self-criticism and come off some of this "high horse" action. We need to come up with the product of some hard work. That's all we're saying.
I'm going to try not to represent the Vatican or any other religious organization. However, I'm going to try to avoid the very dangerous pitfall of perhaps staying too close to the ground - i.e. empiricism, economism, etc., or various other ways to express it. First, I'm going to deal with the issue of the National question. Here is the way we see it. We believe that this struggle is part of the democratic fight and I tried to stress exactly how this was the case. The fact is that it is a democratic fight for everybody that supports Harold Washington. It's not just Black People being effected, its everybody. Because these forces believe that Harold Washington, to some extent, is going to provide some relief, some reallocation of whatever resources are there. Some believe that they'll have some access to power (like he (Washington) puts it: "You won't have to learn how to deal with City Hall, you'll be in City Hall". You know that is what people believe. And to some extent, to the degree that they believe it and fight for it - its real.

Now it becomes less than real when people believe that the fight, that the gain, that the political essence of the struggle is in Harold Washington and not in themselves. That's a danger. And in every election the fundamental capitalist logic is what? - "Vote for me and I'll set you free." That is the essence of every bourgeois election. It's not: "vote for me and I'll organize you to rise up against the capitalist class". Ha! Every politician believes that their personal experiences, their personal skills, their style, and personal ability to articulate, how they look etc., all of that is going to end up in them being what? - All these attributes makes them a better servant of the people. "All you'all have to do after I'm elected is go home. I'll take care of things from here." Politicians do not want to be bothered with too active, too politically
consciously a constituency. Even the best of them don't want an active electorarage that has a capacity for independent action.

But more specifically to some formulations - We believe that the national question in the United States is not a two-stage struggle in which one fights for Black power, or Black empowerment and then fights for revolution. It's a question of how we get involved in and transform that democratic struggle, that Black power struggle into a revolutionary struggle. So, we want to make that clear. Just fighting for Black power, you must understand, in the United States today is not nearly sufficient nor always correct. This is not some previous century, this is 1982 Chicago and the fact of the matter is the Black Community is composed of some real vipers as well as the vast majority of people who are righteous masses. Let me tell you, the vipers are closer to the reigns of power now than they were before the Harold Washington Campaign. That's one of the necessary evils we had to drag along. A second fact is that when it comes to the vast voter registration drive, that whole drive, when it came down, some of the middle-class elements who came out of the movement had to be shoved aside because they couldn't handle it. They had to bring some other people in, some slick people (audience) Right!! That was La Salle Street coming dead into it.

Those are some of the realities of the campaign. You know some people in the campaign are real "politique" is what they say...Any way, this two stage business - we don't believe in that. At the same time nor do we believe that the National question can be reduced to simply a class struggle. We believe that the oppression of nationalities is a fundamental contradiction within American society. And that even
Forum Question and Answer Segment

AA: cont.

with the working class seizing power, it will remain a fundamental contradiction and it will prevent socialism from developing until that contradiction is placed at the heart of the transformation of this society and resolved. Now, what we think is this. We believe that the present spontaneous movement has a certain united action character to it. We think that building it and building struggles like it, builds the united front against the common enemy, that ultimately the role of communists are to draw out the class essence of that struggle, and to develope revolutionary core within all the constituent parts of the united front. Those revolutionary cores will see farther than the Front has developed and has become. Thus, the Front can become a revolutionary core and that will be the process by which qualitative can be leaps make and by which the ruling class is actually threatened and challenged.

Now in the context of the Harold Washington Campaign there has been a parallel structure set up called the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment. These are the "Black Power" people - that's who that is straight up "Black Power". It is composed of people who said "let us form this Black power organization because there are some things Harold can't say. There are some things the campaign can't do, these things we'll do". Okay. Many of us know about this. We have been there and so on and so forth. There are reformists and revolutionaries in this Task Force for Black Political Empowerment. But where are the communists? Where are the Reds? Where is the Left? It's not there! That's why the Nationalists can attack because the communists aren't there as communist. Right? Communists in America speak English you understand. The point is that if we had a clear Left presence with a clear voice, the nationalists
would crumble. It would negate the kind of comic book characterizations they make of the Left in relationship to what are the actual needs of the masses. They would fold because the Black nationalists who dominate in this—in the end—have a bourgeois essence and not a revolutionary essence. That doesn't mean everybody but I'm saying in the end you're talking about people who will get up in City Hall and do what?—The same thing that has happened in Newark, Detroit, and Gary and other places where nationalists have taken over City Hall will happen here. They'll turn into the most vicious vipers you can imagine and they know all of us, better than the one who were in before. So any way we don't think we ought to be too easy on the people who are going to be hard on us. We take a harder view of that than perhaps others do. But the main thing now is where is our position and how do we put that forward? Then, how do we unite in the mass movement? etc.? How do we keep the momentum moving in the direction in which we have established by the goal that is to say, the goal of socialism?

Now, we hope that at least this logical, academic schematic helps to at least clarify where we're coming from on that particular question.

On the question of economic developments we will just quickly reiterate basically what we're talking about. We think that there has to be revolutionary popular education based on class analysis. The key question after that is the mobilization of the masses of people. In the end that's the key and that's why we keep raising up the All Chicago Community Congress as the most recent example of the people who say: all forces in the City of Chicago can come together to talk about problems and solutions. And as far as we know, that's the most significant effort
that's happened ans we think that ought to be furthered and developed. Something like that is important as a form because just as someone said, I think A.V. put it: If Harold Washington is elected and we don't have mass mobilization with revolutionary education then it will quickly degenerate and move to the right. So we're talking about the development of a "Peoples Agenda" rooted in the mass struggles that exist. But it also must be open to the conscious theoretical guidance of the Left. To the extent that we can mobilize that and put those two things together, we think is essential.

We also think that this peoples movement has to be to the Left of Harold Washington politically. It cannot be built just to support Harold Washington. We think that would be essentially a betrayal of the aspirations that people have. Third we think that it has to be movement-oriented. We think that it can't be reformist or technical-oriented. There is a role for the technical-oriented community organizations to deal with, i.e. rehabbing in the communities, etc. There is a role for people in the trade union movement with regard to contract negotiations etc., etc., and in the day-to-day struggle in work places. But we're talking about a mass movement that maintains the motion that revolutionaries can bring and popular education - that's the critical question of the basic masses. Right now for instance literacy is becoming a problem again in our community. We had a conference earlier we were talking about the "new illiteracy" - computers and numbers, etc. But we are talking about being able to read and write now, in Chicago. So basically we think that to the extent that the motion the popular spirit in this campaign - the "blue button" phenomena - dies, then its over whether he wins or loses. What we have
got to do is to figure out how to take this phenomenon, and keep it going while bringing revolutionary education to it. Now, at the same time we continue building revolutionary organizations, linked to mass organization, "fight back", win all the gains we can win, put forward the final goal. But the point now is we've got people in motion - and, the other side of it is that - and we don't know how to stop this dynamic that is unfolding. You can see it coming. What can you do about it? Given our current strength what can we do? - The compelling reality of the next presidential election is on us now and the amount of money that's going to flow from the Democrats and sections of capital through many of the people who are supporting Harold Washington down to many of the people we work with - it's going to take all this motion and run it "dead-smack" into the arms of the Democratic party. And a lot of people are going to become very disappointed and let down when they see that happen. When they see leaders beat it to the Democratic Party meetings as they did to get more support for Harold Washington. They will be discouraged when they see the movement turned around and the trade in for other kinds of higher level bribes. You know what I mean. Bribes are still on. It's just how many people are in on it that becomes the main point.

Thank you for sharing your time.
Professor Gerald McWorter:

When one assumes the role of speaking with many hats, you've got to face certain contradictions, certain problems, and because I am an untamed child of the 60s, I will sort of risk speaking my mind. There is an interesting parallel to Harold Washington in intellectual terms in this city, and it has to do with the extent to which Black people are developing the capacity to make an analysis and to think independently on the big questions. It's curious that the phenomenon that has most impacted Chicago, for the most part it's colored peoples, have been acting in a manner different than they have been expected to act hertofore--principally Black people but also Latinos of varying nationalities. And this Conference is overwhelmingly (in the terms of the previous panel) represented by "the old, liberal white mold." With something like 30 or so people speaking in the Conference, there has been only three Black people, all on this panel. This is hardly representative. On the other hand, there was a Conference in January (1983) dealing with the question of Black mayors that was held at the University of Illinois-Chicago and sponsored by the Illinois Council for Black Studies. Here, there were approximately 50 or so people, with 5 to 8 white people who made presentations. It's clear that racism, at least structurally if not in other ways, is a defining characteristic of intellectual activity in this City, possibly the country as a whole.

One might even suggest that what has happened in City Hall might well happen within academia, so that we might then be able to have a dialogue in
terms which we do not have the comfort of speaking to those who share our frame-of-reference, but rather, we would be required to confront the world as it actually exist. The Chicago Historical Society certainly is in need of being in touch with the City of Chicago, not just this conference, but the whole "che-bang." That's my first comment.

Secondly, as a result of this Black Mayoral Politics Conference that we had the proceedings are starting to come out, as well as other documents. In these documents, there was a discussion regarding the role of the media. There is an interesting thing about the media, because the print media is here on an issue today and then its gone, leaving the scholars to debate it. Media articles is not so readily accessible by people other than scholars once an issue is "dead." But we have put together a documentary volume containing the articles on the Campaign so you can go back and check what "Royko" said and what "so and so" said, what was in the "Defender" versus what was in the "Tribune" and so on and so forth. We can gauge whether or not at the at the beginning of the mayoral race Harold Washington was even considered a viable candidate and how his campaign developed and changed. Incidentally, perhaps this is a good thing this volume is on sale in the bookstore outside.

--Audience approves of pitch--
Okay.

More particularly let me speak to some of the comments that my colleague made about the question of the election and voting. The first point, with regard to this period say from 1955 to 1979, and since then up to now, it seems that in general, that one really misses the boat in making an analysis of politics if one does not go beyond voting statistics-and of course that is an essential empirical measure of institutional political activity—but it is difficult to place it in the broader context of the political activity that
has been called the "civil rights movement" and the "Black liberation movement." This seems to have been the case both in terms of leadership, as well as in terms of meaningful periods of time in which to analyze political struggles that have resulted in change. It's really interesting to think in terms of how many times in social movement terms, in socio-political terms, large numbers of Black people have done things that have not been predicted by the social scientists, or otherwise have run counter to conventional findings. Coming out of the 50s into the 60s, the conventional notion of social movements was that from Eric H and the like, was that if you had people who are alienated, who were not well-adjusted, who were misfits etc, might find themselves becoming involved in a social movement in order to achieve to some ends which they could not have otherwise achieve in the normal way. "Normal" meaning -- join a political party, talk to your local political representative, vote for the candidate of your choice, have your grievances articulated in the political system etc. The fact is that due to the most barbaric forms of racism, Black people were traditionally excluded from that process, and therefore the "normal thing" for Black people was to become involved in a social movement. This is exactly the opposite of the conventional finding. For an example in this City, take the 60s when the Chicago school boycott shook the City and created a movement reverberating throughout the country, not once but twice. This was totally unpredicted.

This was true for the 60s in general. The political behavior of Blacks in terms of large involvement, mass involvement in various forms of political practice required a new approach to its analysis and interpretation. And it's also interesting that the second boycott, which was built under conditions of considerably much more pressure, it was the middle class Black people who defected, who sent their kids to school, to the extent that anybody did. And
there in this case, we have an example of a militant form of political practice where the "staying power," the durability of the movement was based within and sustained by the working class, Black and poor people and not the Black middle class.

Therefore, I would say that the "new politics" that we observe is really part of the extension of the post civil rights, anti-racist, anti-white power politics emanating from within the Black community. In the most recent manifestation, the Washington election/campaign--the civil rights and the Black liberation movement are interlocked and transformal. The mayoral candidate is symbolically translated as a cause celebre, and a "Holy Jihad" if you will was waged within the context of institutional politics. Now it remains to be seen how long that the current political upsurge actually lasts. If you take a conventional political approach to understanding it, then its possible that you won't understand that this is likely to be a momentary thing. It can continue to express itself in votes or it can express itself in some other way. However, the important things to grasp are, what is actually motivating Black people, and why do Black people choose one form of political practice versus another. This current fight--Black power versus white power--is what is going on in the City Council and it reflects a developing current on the national scene. It reflects the general national picture. Now at the heart of this development is--what has been called the "class/race" problem or contradiction. Put simply, it seems that white racism is what unites Black people. This is the most simple way to put it. Now that's not all that unites Black people because there is history, there is a culture, there is a set of institutions that bind people in a positive meaningful way. All this is internal to the Black community.
This national development notwithstanding, relative to this discussion today, it's white racism that created this motion. It's white racism that continually creates or reproduces this phenomenon across the country. It's white power that did it, but on the other hand, it is class-based issues which divide Black people and it is understanding this dual dynamic etc., as pointed out by the voting/registration statistics, the turnout statistics etc., that should be one of the interesting developments over the next couple of years on a local and national scope.

It appears that the basis for reform in the Harold Washington experience, and here I would tend to agree with Tom Roser, it really is the people on the outside who are using reform to redistribbute recourses, and in this case, it seems that the fight for reform is rooted in the basic struggle of class forces in the City of Chicago. On the one hand, it is neighborhood-based working-and poor-people in groups--poor whites, Latinos, and Blacks. On the other hand, the corporate interests, the banks and real estate interests, and this takes place in struggles around many, specific issues. Whether its the 1992 World's Fair, phenomenon or issues around the distribution of public money, revenue issues, what have you. In this sense, the struggle in City Hall is a contested area. Right now, the white power structure is still in tact to some extent (with the "29"--but this alignment obviously is going to change. It is more consolidated within the bureaucracy of City government and it will be interesting to see just exactly what happens in relationship to Shakman and what lasting impact it has there. On the surface, Washington in not wanting to go along with Shakman appears that he's going back to the "old machine way" of doing things. However, there is another way to look at it. He may be publicly responding to the fact, that there is no public mechanism that he can use as
a tool or a forum to address the current situation, one which enable him to
dismantle the white power structure, in control over the day-to-day affairs of
government.

It's analogous to what White depicts in his Making of the President;
the distinction he makes between the presidential government and the permanent
government--there is a permanent government in City Hall that after Daly.
In this case, what he's trying to do is to dismantle that. This might be the
same mechanism that Shakman attempted to dispose of for other reasons. This
appears to be the issue. How can a new day-to-day government be brought into
being?

Now, I said that City Hall is a contested zone and if you look at the
experience of Black mayors around the country--its apparent that a "trickle-
down" process has been associated with Black mayoral performance. That is,
they are elected and the results have been minimal in mass terms. Of course,
some positive results have been attributed to the performance of Black mayors
such as stopping some of the murdering of Black people--(much as Coleman Young
did in Detroit. Detroit had the highest incidence of Black people being
murdered at the hands of the police). But the main aspect of the outputs
derived from Black mayors is that Black professionals are appointed into
positions comparable with the numbers of Blacks in the City. Of course this
is outrageous in the eyes of many inside the white community--a bloc that has
grown accustomed to this barbarism that I spoke of earlier--this chronic,
persistent racism that remains to fester in this country. However, it remains
to be seen and documented whether or not there are any tangible welfare, or
material, payoffs for poor people as a result of Washington's election.

The key to understand the potential of reform for Harold Washington is
the extent to which the Black unity he achieved in victory can be transformed
into a neighborhood based alternative, one that is decidedly based in the Black community but with strong allies among Latinos and whites as he had them in his campaign. It may well be that this factor is at least contingent upon other factors i.e., the function of state and national politics. In Chicago, politics is not as exciting as the electricity of the issues that will be coming down the pike flowing from state and national politics.

In closing, and on behalf of the people who celebrated the night that Harold Washington was elected, this unknown source or at least under estimated political resource in the Black community, that scared the hell out of people in Chicago (especially, when they saw these people, who in their eyes were mere "Jungle Bunnies," celebrating the fact that there was a political victory about which they could do nothing). On behalf of them, I hope that you remember the words of Malcolm X on grass roots politics, when he gave a speech and he said "It's the ballor or the bullet." In 1983, Harold Washington is the ballot--and 1984 is the next year.

Thank you.
Question Number One:

I would like to know from anyone on the panel, there was no mention made of the vote as far as women in Chicago. Has there been any study of that?

Number Two:

I've heard a lot of discussion about demolishing the white power structure. What about the white male power structure? It was alluded to once with your saying Jane is called "Jane," Harold is called "Harold" but Daley was called "The Mayor."

Moderator:

I think the question is first of all whether there was any study or has been any study of gender differences in voting behavior in the most recent election and second whether there is any likelihood of—-I think yo were referring to the destruction of the male--white male establishment.

Preston:

As far as I know gender differences to date have not been broken down. The only thing I've seen broken down was on ABC News. They did a breakdown on the 1982 turnout. But to my knowledge, nobody has done a gender breakdown. The other question is really not in my area. Let me pass that on to Gerald McWorter.

-----Audience laughs-----

McWorter:

What was that question again?

Question:

You referred to the breakdown of the white power structure. I want you to address the issue of white male structure in Chicago. I'm talking about the coalition not just of Hispanics and Blacks but Hispanics, Blacks and females.
McWorter:

I'm not sure what you're asking, "Do you want to know what I think about it?"

Question:

I want to know whether you saw or see that kind of coalition happening in support of Harold Washington? I saw it a lot.

McWorter:

One thing I think is clear, although I'm not as close to the political aspects of the women's movement in the country and how that articulates with other political forces in Chicago, but it seems to me fairly clear that at least symbolically something happened with Jane Byrne. As I understand it, some people alleged that maybe women did not move into as many positions of responsibility as perhaps she had suggested that she had facilitated. The point is that there was a big contribution on that front made by her. Now, Harold Washington has spoken I think very strongly in support empowering women by increasing the number of appointees and facilitating the involvement of women. I think that there was a very large coalition of women in support of Harold Washington, I'm not really aware of what support there was for Epton, I know that NOW and a number of other organizations supported Byrne. I guess just holding ranks. It seems to me what was started on a symbolic level with Byrne will continue in a substantive way with Washington. Beyond that, I think it's going to be a function of how politically active women get. While male supremacy is really a factor which has to be openly and actively struggled against by women and men in Chicago, the real questions have to be attacked within this context are those issues of broad, substantive concern among most women--working and poor women in Chicago. Second, how are they
articulated, politically, with the activity around the substantive and symbolic issues raised by the masses of people—Black, Latino and whites that continue to push forward the process of political and social development.

Thank you again, Professor McWorter.
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The Chicago" Evening Post-Inquirer

What's Really Shrinkin' In Chicago...
a related reflection of all this, a social fabric in a number of positive ways. There is a sense of community that seems to be growing stronger, a sense of pride in our city that was once lacking. In fact, I think the city is returning to its roots, to the days when people knew each other and looked out for one another.

On the other hand, there are also some negative aspects. The cost of living is rising sharply, and young people are being priced out of the market. It's becoming harder and harder for them to find affordable housing.

In conclusion, the city is facing both challenges and opportunities. We need to work together to ensure that the gains we have made are not undermined by the forces of gentrification. We need to support programs that help those who are struggling, and we need to invest in our communities so that everyone has a chance to thrive.

This is why I urge you to vote 'yes' on this ballot initiative. It's a vote for a stronger and more inclusive community. Thank you.
Chicago...

Continued from page...

due consideration to the CHA as a vehicle for patronage. This more than anything, may explain why the CHA has been unwilling, possibly even unable, to implement the recommended changes."

The controversy around the CHA played an important role in galvanizing opposition among Black people to Byrne in the spring and summer.

Of more long-ranging significance was a recent federal court decision that drew the ward maps for virtually the entire city of Chicago in order to ensure electoral representation for Black people and Latinos (Under Daley, many wards had been systematically gerrymandered to ensure white representation. A map drawn up by the City Council under Byrne was ruled in violation of the Voting Rights Act.) Re-maps are the usual practice in the wake of census reports; but what was unusual was the Justice Department’s intervention on the side of the plaintiffs in the suit which initiated the process, which included many Black and Latino community organizations, actually becoming a party in the suit against the city of Chicago. Among other changes, the suit resulted in the creation of two new wards with majority Latino populations.

The Feds’ efforts to curtail the strength of the Byrne campaign — and in the long run to help shake the machine out of its entrenched position — came to a head around the election itself when U.S. Attorney Dan Webb promised a massive federal presence to oversee the balloting for the first time in a local Chicago election. Since resurrecting the dead to go to the polls, persuasion to vote the “right way” from goon squads, $5 payoffs and wine have been machine election practices for decades, this sudden concern over “a fair election” is somewhat belated. But no matter, off of last November’s election, Dan Webb began an investigation into vote fraud that resulted in five timely indictments just three days before the primary. On election day itself, Chicago was overrun by a small army patrolling the polling places — 90 federal prosecutors backed up federal marshals and FBI agents. Webb also announced that federal protection would be extended to all voting records in the mayoral primary, meaning that anyone committing vote fraud could be subjected to federal charges.

Now, given all this, the emergence of the Washington campaign would appear to be hardly coincidental, certainly not the simple product of a “progressive coalition” of rank and file citizens, as some have argued. Before the primary, Crane's Chicago Business, a kind of local version of the Wall Street Journal, ran a favorable article on Washington, pitched toward the business community. After praising Washington’s effectiveness as a legislator, the article concludes: "It is clear from a wide-ranging interview last week and from Rep. Washington's record that while the Congressman wants to rock the boat in Chicago, he doesn't want to sink it." This is accurate. It isn't a question of “overthrowing” the machine; it's a question of roping it in. Some heads may roll in the process, but at the same time, it has been and will be fully necessary to come to terms with large numbers of Democratic party hacks — both Black and white.

Even in the event that Washington doesn’t win, the forays by the Feds will continue, and the campaign will still have elevated all this bourgeois maneuvering to the pedestal of “popular demands.” And besides this, it will have stimulated what’s referred to as the “civilian interest,” so vital to democracy, especially these days, especially as regards the dispossessed.

"Commitment to the Ballot"

In an October 11, 1982 editorial entitled "The Rush to Register," the Chicago Tribune proclaimed, “One fact about the coming elections is hard to explain and impossible to ignore: the astonishing success of a voter registration drive among the black and poor Chica
goans... This is exciting news. It hints at a new age for Chicago politics — one in which no race, no ethnic grouping, no economic class can be taken for granted by any party, and leaders have to win their own votes instead of taking title to them. Anything can happen in a city where elections are decided by conscious choice instead of automatic habit.”

The voter registration drive isn't really all that hard to explain. Even before the entry of the credible “independent" Black candidate Washington, many creative methods were employed in the voter registration drives: The El Rukn street gang combed the projects, turning out voters. A Black southside priest (the Church is a powerful institution in Chicago's Black areas as well as white) threatened to ban non-registrants from his church. An army of activists, even a number of so-called revolutionaries, signed up for the effort.

In a post-primary column entitled "Blacks Show Faith in the Ballot Box," Tribune writer Vernon Jarrett summed the results up as follows: "What a magnificent rally. The historic coming together of supporters of Harold Washington for mayor of Chicago. Regardless of the outcome of the February 22 primary election, history was made on this city's once riot-torn West side last Sunday afternoon when a largely black crowd collectively voiced its commitment to the use of the ballot."

Without question, this is a major concern. An entire study was devoted to the issue by the Urban League, a Rockefeller-funded outfit, entitled "Why Chicago's Blacks Do Not Register and Vote." Published in September, 1981, the study is specifically looking toward the 1983 mayoral race. The study found that 73% of the potential Black electorate was registered to vote, but generally only 50-60% of these actually turn out in an election. More recently, the Urban League estimated that the Chicago voter registration drives lifted the number of registered voters by 175,000 to a total of 60,000, while the number unregistered stands at 175,000. The study contains the typicalquotes that, "Many Blacks do not participate (in the electoral process) both because they are young, poorly educated, and lack pertinent knowledge, relevant experience, and to some extent interest."

What all this adds up to is that there was some shrewd, cynical thinking behind a statement made by Jesse Jackson on the night of Washington's primary victory: "Tonight, Fred Hampton can rest easy."

The Biggies Visit Chicago

"The Big Capitalists," wrote the revisionist CPUSA in a recent edition of Political Affairs, "will stop at nothing to prevent Harold Washington from winning the mayoral election." This assertion is laughable on the face of it. Whether or not Washington actually wins, it is clear he hasn’t exactly been bucking an avalanche of “big capital” opposition.

The Congressman has won the endorsement of both major Chicago newspapers, the accolades of no less than the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. An almost unbelievable stream of national Democratic party leaders — Kennedy, Mondale, you name it — have paraded through town, stumping for Washington. This is, of course, tied in with the 1984 presidential elections, at which time, according to the CP (for lack of a better witness), an “anti-Reagan tidal wave” will crash down on the White House.

It has all just gotten a little bit bizarre. The Chicago Sun-Times reports on a luncheon organized for Washington, where he was flanked on one side by Ted-
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dy Kennedy and, interestingly, on the other by Cook County Democratic Chairman, “Fast Eddy” Vrdolyak. (Vrdolyak, a Byrne ally, had bucked the Washington victory earlier, but now had seen the light. We have received reports that he has attempted to assuage his constituency by spreading the word throughout his ward that “publicly” he is for Washington, but “privately” he is for Epton!) The same day as the luncheon, the Sun-Times reports, Washington got another boost from curious quarters. “In a symbolic gesture, 12 Southern Democratic state chairmen also appeared to stump for Washington...the Southern Democratic officials, who had been organized by Georgia chairman Bert Lance, endorsed Washington.” The Democrats! A symbolic gesture indeed — and one intended to keep the racists in the Democratic party. While we overheard no private discussions, one can imagine the approach: “For Christ’s sake y’all — at least he’s a Democrat.”

Beyond these facts, we would simply like to point out that among the many well connected people on the transition team that Washington recently announced, three names deserve special attention: John Perkins, chairman of Continental Bank; Barry Sullivan, chairman of First National Bank; and Robert Wilmouth, chairman of La Salle National Bank.

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It’s important to take stock of the fact that the turmoil which has come about (though set into motion by the bourgeoisie) is, as mentioned earlier, not without its positive aspects. Things have been shaken loose to some degree, and a generally stultifying atmosphere thrown into a certain amount of turmoil. Everybody is talking about racism, for example. They are not talking on revolutionary terms, obviously. But splits, cracks and contradictions have set them talking — and thinking — nonetheless. In the future, in some remotely analogous situation, it may not be as easy to keep the fallout from internece disputes within the bourgeoisie limits they have been confined to in this case. Then things could really get interesting.

Revolutionaries should not only take stock of this present turmoil, but they should also take advantage of it — to do revolutionary work!

Unfortunately, though, the Washington campaign itself has drawn the active support of a number of people inclined toward revolutionary politics, many of whom in the past have had an easier time avoiding the temptations of the electoral trap. This election, it is said, is different.

More than anything, the overt racist reaction has been rallying progressive people to Washington. Analysis of the actual forces at work, though, makes it clear that rather than sticking it to the racists, such support for any of the candidates in this election simply turns one into a pawn in the strategies of the big bourgeoisie. Even without all that has been said above about the particular features of the Washington campaign, given the last 15 years of history in this country, it would hardly seem necessary to show that the election of Black mayors doesn’t mean any less brutality heaped down on the masses of people. Can anybody seriously argue differently about Detroit, L.A., or — for god’s sake — Atlanta? Does this have to be demonstrated in every single city where Black people live before any conclusions are drawn?

Working for Washington isn’t working for revolution. Ironically, some people reject work which is genuinely preparation for revolution on the basis that the activity of a relatively small number of politically advanced people can’t “make a difference.” On the other hand, here are the same people — a relatively small number of politically advanced people — stumping for Washington! Evidently they think they can “make a difference” here.

But the difference made by spreading the illusion that the election of Harold Washington will in any way change things for the masses of people is the difference between fighting to sustain the life of this putrid system and fighting to end it. Why? Because until the proletariat learns to recognize and distinguish its own class interests, it will be the continual victim of any and every demagogue that comes along, the constant victim of deception and the unconscious tool of every bourgeoisie scheme that comes down the pipe. As long as the system exists, the bourgeoisie will never run out of demagogues. And as long as the advanced in society insist on handing over the masses to these demagogues, then these same masses will be enslaved: They will grope in the dark for cynical promises that offer the smallest reform, as is mainly the case today — or, when things sharpen up in the future, they will still be fooled and unable to recognize that during a revolutionary crisis, as Lenin put it, “every scoundrel becomes a revolutionary.”  ■
What Better Way...

At the celebration following Harold Washington's election as Chicago mayor somebody raised up a banner bearing the inscription: "Rizzo Is Next!" And sure enough, on May 17 Frank Rizzo was defeated in Philadelphia's Democratic mayoral primary by Black candidate Wilson Goode, who will presumably win in November. Further evidence of the trend stressed to the point of agony in the wake of the Washington election: the Black electorate has "come of age," Black people have become "part of the process," the system works.

That the system is working, and working hard, is beyond doubt, but by what means, and to what ends? Apart from the desire to knock the old Daley machine down a few pegs in Chicago, leading lights were set aglow by the success of the Black registration drives among Black people which preceded and accompanied the Washington campaign. In fact, no sooner had the Chicago victor stepped into the winner circle than attention began to focus on another, bigger horse race: there was Jesse Jackson (again), now talking about how the "time had come" for a Black presidential candidate (himself) and of the potential to register two million Black voters towards this aim. A New York Times editorial (May 11) bluntly surveyed the value of a Black "bid." The Times, for one thing, took issue with the way the subject had been framed to date: it's not whether Jackson in particular should "make the run," nor is it whether "any black candidate would achieve desirable leverage over the eventual Democratic nominee." This is just fluff. "There's a much more important question: how much such a candidacy could increase political participation by blacks and thus increase their rightful political influence, not just for 1984 but for the future."

"What better way for blacks to express their growing frustration with high rates of unemployment, curtailment of federal programs including the erosion of affirmative action, and the apparent resurgence of racism, evidenced by increasing acts of racial violence." Of course, "No black could now enter the primaries with any hope of reaching the White House..." — it's just an "apparent resurgence of racism," mind you! "But he (or she) might well become the focus for a national black voter-registration drive."

"What better way? — what better way indeed! There's more here than just a hollow and cynical call to increase the "rightful political influence" of Black people. They're admitting straight up that voter registration drives, Black mayors, or even Black presidential candidates have absolutely nothing to do with any kind of change in the position of the masses of Black people (except for the worse). But these things are certainly the best vehicle through which "frustration" might be expressed. Towards this end, the system is clearly working. At a time of profound and growing crisis, a time when the oppression of the Black masses is all the more vivid and glaring — exactly now the system must work all the harder to bring forward the ballot and working within the system as not only "the better," but "the only" solution. And, of course, it's true that this is not just for 1984 but for the future." Signing 'em up for the vote in '84 is very much connected to signing 'em up for something else "in the future" when "political participation" will mean participation not in the polling booth, but the foxhole, and increasing one's political influence in the system will mean, above all, going down with the Soviet social-imperialists so that there will be a U.S. imperialist system around to work within.

The cities are today the focus of the movement for "Black power" (what a contrast in the ring of these words today as compared with the '60s!) and this alone indicates the possibility of another future than that noted just above. Columnist Neal Peirce, following Washington's election, unknowingly got to this in an April 18 article in the Chicago Sun Times: "Mayors, in fact, are the cutting edge of U.S. black political power. Their ranks have swelled 159 percent — from 86 to 223 — in the last decade. The number of Blacks in Congress, by contrast, has risen just 50 percent, from 14 to 21, raising questions about the popular theory that the federal agenda is the best one for black interests." The Black agenda is now a local agenda: it's all just coming back around to the grassroots, the brother on the block (or in the office), the community from whence all political power emanates... and so on.

But seriously, there is a point in these observations, if one can step out of the writer's own arena. Out of several hundred Senators and Congressmen, only 21 are Black. But there are Black mayors in 223 cities! And we're not just talking small towns here. Major cities with Black mayors include: Chicago, L.A., Detroit, Washington D.C., New Orleans, Atlanta, Oakland, Newark, Birmingham, Rochester and now, Pennsylvania, Philly. And the Chicago election brought speculation by New York City Mayor Koch that the Big Apple would see a Black mayoral candidate in the '86 election. The question actually raised in the Peirce article is not that of the "best arena" for the pursuit of "black interests." The question raised — and answered — is this: In which "arena" especially must figures like Harold Washington be brought to the forefront as the representatives of the system and in pursuit of its interests?

There is obviously some long range thinking involved here, some strategic recognition of the role and significance of the cities. The ruling class is well aware that the cities may become storm centers of a revolutionary movement, rooted among the proletariat and oppressed nationalities. And more, there is some recognition of the potential of such a struggle to draw in far broader sections of the people who can be won to supporting a revolutionary onslaught, or, at least, won to a position of "friendly neutrality." Certainly, stacked up against even the possibility of such a movement, the Washingtons, the Goodes, the Jacksons and the voter registration drives all embody the "better way."

And anyone who views as far-fetched the idea that these are the real terms of the "maturer" of the so-called Black political power might pause for a moment and wonder why it has become all the rage in certain circles. The New York Times editorial cited earlier reeks with the horror of things going over the edge in the '80s. It concludes with the remark that "the best weapon for promoting the welfare of black America is the ballot." The ballot, not the bullet. Interesting advice, but evidently not reciprocal. When it comes to ballots and bullets aimed against the masses of people, the bourgeoisie will continue to use both.
EDITORIAL

The Chicago Election: Illusions and Reality

Like Americans all over the country we have followed closely the Chicago campaign which has just ended with the election of that city’s first black mayor. The racist campaign by the Republican candidate and its effectiveness in Chicago’s white ethnic communities show that racism is alive and kicking in the good old U.S.A. Indeed, as the crisis of our country deepens, we must expect it to assume even uglier forms.

At the same time we are very clear that the election of Harold Washington was an exercise of the right which every other ethnic group — Germans, Irish, Poles, Italians — has exercised in our cities down through the years. Until recently this tradition stopped at blacks. Now, however, as a result of the heroic struggles of the 60s, the mobilization by Chicago blacks and the refusal by 20% of Chicago’s white voters to give in to racism, Chicago joins the more than 400 other American cities with black mayors.

But — and this is a big but — Washington’s election also has a very dangerous aspect because it has reinforced the illusion that power can be won at the polls. Encouraged by Washington’s victory, black politicians will be organizing black voters all over the country in order to increase their influence in the Democratic and Republican parties and to win political jobs for black careerists. On the community level, Chicago blacks may easily be lulled into passivity because they don’t want to embarrass the new administration. This means that conditions in Chicago will continue to deteriorate.

That is why it is important to emphasize that the election of black mayors today is part of the same racist tradition which over the years has bequeathed to blacks the substandard jobs and the used-up homes, schools and churches which whites have discarded. At this point blacks are inheriting the crumbling cities abandoned by runaway multinational corporations who welcome the election of black mayors in order to defuse the anger of black people.

These corporations know that mayors, whatever their color, ethnic origin or party, have no real power. All that any mayor does is provide services like sanitation, public transportation, fire and police protection and, in some cities, schools and health services. Meanwhile, the tax base of every city has eroded because multinational corporations have abandoned the big cities for other parts of the country or other countries where they can make more profit by exploiting cheaper labor — or are blackmailing cities for huge tax abatements and concessions. So every mayor must raise the taxes of those citizens remaining while at the same time cutting back on city services and demanding wage cuts and concessions from city employees.

Like the riders on the slave plantations, the mayor of every city today can only carry messages back and forth. The real power is wielded by multinational corporations like GM and U.S. Steel who tell elected officials what to do.

This is the reality that Detroiters are coming to grips with after ten years with a black mayor and a majority-black Common Council. That is why Detroit is now in the vanguard of the next great struggle for human dignity, a struggle which goes beyond defending the rights of any one ethnic group and has as its goal taking power from the multinational corporations, so that we can begin rebuilding our city on new principles of social responsibility and new forms of decentralized power.

National Organization for an American Revolution

WHO WE ARE

We are American citizens who have chosen to become revolutionists out of our deep concern for the future of our people and our nation. Our members reflect the rich ethnic diversity of our country. At the same time we place special emphasis on developing black Americans and other Americans of color into revolutionary leaders—because we know that there will be no American revolution unless those at the bottom are involved in the struggle for a new America.

We believe that eventually we will have to take power away from the capitalists, who, in their determination to increase profits, are destroying our right and responsibility to govern ourselves.

WE CAN CHANGE THE WAY IT IS
Dear Abdul et al,

I was at your forum last weekend. I enjoyed the discussion and was pleased to see your desire for revolutionaries to discuss their role in such activities as the election. I did not speak there but I do want to make a few comments to you all in hopes of continuing discussion.

I felt the greatest agreement with the position of People's College as articulated by Abdul. I will direct my remarks to that presentation; specifically, the contention that the movement that now exists in the Black community will survive long past the campaign and the question of where there is any evidence of an anti-capitalist and/or working class content to the campaign.

My first question, and it is not a rhetorical one in that I'm not confident my current answer is the correct one, is this: is the observable movement in the Black community one that is based in real motion and initiative by the people themselves or is it orchestrated by various community leaders? I fear that it is the second. To hold this position it is not necessary to deny that people can be mobilized around the campaign. Mainly because Washington is Black but also because he is consistently liberal, his candidacy can stir support both active and passive. This support is real and substantial but it is based on hopes of what Washington can do for the people rather than on any pre-existing movement's ability to make Washington their candidate and therefore potentially more accountable to their already defined demands.

If this is the quality of the motion around Washington, then post-election it has few options. In victory the movement will be absorbed into city politics, especially city hall. All the campaign leadership will be vying for posts and the lead will become bargaining chips for determining which appointment means how much influence in the community. In defeat, there are no issues beyond Washington's candidacy that provide a sharp enough focus for immediate continuation around a particular action. Rather defeat means that any movement around other issues will have to start all over in an attempt to unify the varied sectors in the community. And in all those efforts, all the old barriers to unity will be found to be as real and as difficult as before the campaign. The joint work on the campaign has not transcended differences but only submerged them.

Where is the anti-capitalist content in the campaign? Nowhere, of course. My assumption is that leftists, alone, even if unified, could not inject an anti-capitalist content but would have to raise it somehow outside the campaign organization, as an independent initiative. The only way anti-capitalist content might emerge from the Washington campaign itself would be if there existed a mass anti-capitalist sentiment in the Black community which would have to be appealed to. This does not exist in any conscious form.
So why be involved in the campaign if you're a lefty? Putting aside reformist illusions, the main rationale is "where there is motion, there we should be also." I have already given my not-too-favorable estimate of the nature of the current motion. But still there is the possibility of using the motion to bring communist ideas to the masses. Leaving aside the obvious absence of a distinct left presence that is attempting to bring communist ideas, there remains the question of its workability in this campaign.

This brings us to the time-honored (but tarnished) debate around consciousness and spontaneous movement. What Is To Be Done is usually the M-L final authority on such questions. The argument is that spontaneous struggles of the working class are necessarily economistic and/or reformist and can only be made revolutionary by the outside introduction of revolutionary ideas. My belief is that Lenin's critique of spontaneous movement in WITBD is wrong and that he also discounted parts of it later himself. For example, in November 1905 in "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies" he refers to WITBD as being written in outdated, entirely different conditions. The difference I think he's referring to is that there existed spontaneous activity that was undeniably revolutionary.

This is where I think a lot of revolutionaries mess up. That is, in believing you can bring revolutionary ideas to reformist activity and come away eventually with revolutionized workers. It is my belief that revolutionary ideas emerge from revolutionary activity and not visa versa. The whole logic of a Washington campaign must be that his election matters and there is a distinctly ideological aspect to being mobilized around a campaign (again in the absence of real motion from below) and that ideology is reformist. The only people whose ideology is inconsistent with the logic of the campaign are the leftists.

If spontaneous movement is any activity and demands are not defined by revolutionary leadership, then this qualifies as spontaneous activity. If spontaneous activity also implies real impetus from below, then I think there is ground for contending that his is not spontaneous at all but directed by conscious reformist elements. Spontaneous activity of the masses is two-sided, both revolutionary and reformist at the same time. The revolutionary's job is to cultivate activity which expresses and develops the revolutionary aspects of mass movement.

Granting for the moment that the movement has a base, the current absorption of the movement into the Washington campaign would indicate that the reformists are on top. A revolutionary's task would be to seek out and stimulate activity that breaks the bourgeoisie constraints upon struggle, the demand to be legal and orderly. What is needed is not Harold Washington but building occupations by the homeless, confiscating food for the hungry, finding mass ways to keep the police at bay whilst these other activities take place. These activities are the arena for growth of revolutionary ideas. They cannot be mechanically grafted onto an activity which is reformist to the core.

I could write more but would rather talk face to face some time if you are so inclined. My phone number is and it is best to call me in the mornings. I'll be back in town after March 1st.

Again, I would like to express my support for your efforts to debate the question of Harold Washington and the left.

In the struggle,
TO ACTIVISTS WHO THINK THAT WORKING FOR HAROLD WASHINGTON 
IS A WAY TO BUILD A MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

We are not addressing ourselves here to supporters of Jane Byrne or Richard Daley. Support for either of them obviously means support for the traditional racist anti-popular politics that have prevailed in Chicago for decades, and we presume that those who support them know what they are doing and we hope they get what they deserve.

But to that fairly large number of people who were, and in some cases still are, active in the movements against racism, U.S. military intervention abroad, and war, we address the following:

We don't see how anything can be gained, from the standpoint of building a strong and durable popular movement for social change, by working for a candidate who has shaped his campaign in a way that discourages the emergence of such a movement.

It is true that Washington's voting record in Congress has been fairly consistently liberal, and that may be a good reason for liberals to work for him. But his positions on any of the issues in the mayoral campaign have not been distinguishable from the positions taken by the other two candidates. In fact, we challenge anyone to delete the names of the various speakers and then determine, from the text of the debates, which speaker is which!

We know, and the people we are talking to here know, that the number one problem facing the city is racism. That is precisely the problem Washington has declined to address in his campaign. When asked about affirmative action, he replied that discrimination was a problem that had to be dealt with in the family and the church. Can anyone take that seriously in the year 1983? In an interview published in the February issue of Chicago magazine, in response to a question about popular perceptions of him as a "black candidate," Washington replied, "Nothing in my background would indicate that I am a 'black candidate.'" Unfortunately, he is right.

Perhaps as important as the positions taken by the various candidates is the manner in which the campaign is built. Has Washington engaged in a genuine dialogue with any sector of the community? Is he in any way representative of initiatives coming from the community? His plan to distribute a million leaflets with his economic program is representative of his lack of relation to popular movements: according to his staff, it is the most important single effort of the campaign, hundreds of people are being mobilized to take part -- and no one even knows what the plan contains!

This campaign is a far cry from the days when the freedom movement put forward black candidates, like Fanny Lou Hamer, who ran on a program determined by open forums and discussions at the grass roots. In those days, candidates, in order to gain movement support, had to support and raise money for movement activities. Now, the community and social activists are asked to support a candidate and raise money for a campaign that is subject to no control from below.

At this late date, does Chicago need to repeat the experiences of Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Atlanta by electing as mayor a representative of old-line official politics who happens personally to be a member of an oppressed racial group?

We are not suggesting to people that they vote or don't vote for this, that, or the other candidate. In our view, how one chooses to vote is probably one of the less important decisions one is called upon to make every few years, and we wouldn't waste paper arguing about it. But we do think that how radicals, social activists, revolutionaries, people with a vision choose to spend their time is a very important question that can have great influence on the world we live in, and we submit that working for one of the candidates in this particular election is not a wise use of time.

There is no shortage of issues, or of people to be organized around them, if those who are supposed to be motivated by some conscious awareness of history and the social process will only take a look around them. For our part, we offer this message respectfully to those people, and we would be happy to engage in further discussion with those who are interested.

Distributed by: STO, PO Box 8493, Chicago, IL 60680
Racists suffer setback in Chicago

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — "There are 200,000 jobless in Chicago. Twenty million workers across the nation are unemployed or underemployed. The government is trying to drag us more deeply into a new Vietnam in Central America.

"Under the blows coming down on us, more and more workers — Black, Latino, and white — recognize that we have some common problems; that we need to conduct united actions as part of a single working class.

"This is the deeper impetus behind a racist campaign that has been whipped up here in Chicago. They want to prevent working-class unity in action on any of these issues."

Those were the words of Andrew Pulley speaking at the wind-up election rally for Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago and a laid-off garment worker.

Pulley was the SWP’s candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1979, and the party’s candidate for U.S. president in 1980. He flew in from Detroit to be one of the featured speakers at the April 9 campaign event.

Pulley concentrated his remarks on explaining the deepgoing changes taking place in this country today, and on things that had changed in Chicago since he ran for mayor four years ago.

"The big-business media have been telling us that white working people as a whole are becoming more racist," said Pulley. "But that is precisely the opposite of what has been happening."

Pulley recalled the strike of the Chicago fire fighters that occurred in 1979, soon after the last mayoral elections.

The fire fighters — who are mostly white — refused to accept Mayor Jane Byrne’s union-busting campaign when her city administration attempted to deny the fire fighters a contract. They went out on strike and appealed to the Black community for support.

"They united in mass action with the Black community," Pulley recalled. "Not only that, the fire fighters also decided to force the city to carry out an affirmative action program. And they won the strike.

"The solidarity between the Black community and the labor movement spelled victory. It was a historic strike — a first of its kind in Chicago history."

That is the kind of working-class unity in struggle against the employers that shows the way forward for Chicago working people, Pulley stressed. "That is what they are afraid of. That is what they are trying to prevent."

Mayoral candidate Warren focused his remarks on the same theme.

"The racism that has been fostered as a part of this election campaign is a product of capitalism. But racist attitudes among white workers are not spreading and getting deeper. On the contrary, they’re losing ground."

"What we are seeing is something else," Warren stressed. "There is a class polarization taking place across the country as the employers deepen their attacks on the Black community, Latinos, women, and the entire labor movement.

Warren explained that the bosses try to make us all believe that the real divisions are race or sex, not class. They try to foster race hatred to obscure the truth.

"But the problem for the capitalists is that their system is falling apart," said Warren. "It’s not working. And more and more workers know that."

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SWP candidate Ed Warren selling Militant. Warren supporters focused last week of campaigning on talking to workers at Chicago’s plant gates.
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Capitalism is less and less able to provide for the basic needs of the vast majority of humanity, Warren explained. As the system decays, the racist, antilabor, antifemale, reactionary ruling class that runs this country is moving more and more to the right, trying to solve their problems at the expense of working people.

Blacks in Chicago, who suffer from racist segregation in housing and schools, cop brutality, soaring unemployment, and lack of political representation, rallied around putting a Black person, Democratic candidate Harold Washington, in the highest office in the city.

But there was much more to the polarization than the demand for more Black officeholders.

This was symbolized by the opposite stances taken by the cops and the AFL-CIO tops in the elections.

On the one hand, you had the ultra-reactionary Chicago cops, who dropped their traditional support for the Democratic Party and threw their weight behind Washington's Republican opponent, Bernard Epton.

On the other hand, the top AFL-CIO officialsdom campaigned hard for the Democratic Party. Thirteen thousand unionists showed up at a rally for Washington organized by the AFL-CIO and addressed by top officials such as Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers and AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland.

They weren't there simply to rally around the Democratic Party. They were mobilizing against something as well. Against the racism, and against the broader social reaction that was clearly being fostered by the ruling class. They could smell the labor-hating stench of those who were rallying around the Epton campaign. And they felt threatened.

The problem, however, was that the organizers of Washington's campaign were not proposing that working people and Blacks reject the Democratic Party and strike out independently. Washington's campaign was geared toward helping refurbish the Democratic Party's image among working people. And the Democratic Party is committed to maintaining capitalism, which fosters racism and reaction. The fundamental problems facing working people can never be solved through the political parties of the capitalist class.

War abroad

Matilde Zimmermann, Pulley's vice-presidential running mate in 1980, flew in from San Francisco to address the rally. Zimmermann focused her remarks on the U.S. government's war against the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean, pointing out that this crisis of the capitalist system is a worldwide phenomenon.

The attacks on working people in the United States by the employers and their government are totally interrelated with the Republican and Democratic bipartisan efforts to prevent the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean from determining their own destiny.

The class polarization in Nicaragua is deepening, too, Zimmermann pointed out. Working people there are pushing forward to establish a new society based on justice, equality, and peace with dignity. The Nicaraguan capitalists, backed by U.S. imperialism, don't like it. They too are threatened by the fighting unity of the working class and its allies. And "that is why Reagan is attacking Nicaragua today," Zimmermann stated.

Independent political action

Marie Head, an unemployed steelworker and SWP candidate for mayor of Gary, Indiana, pointed to the need for a working people's political alternative, genuinely independent from the Democrats and Republicans.

She called for a labor party, based on a fighting trade union movement, that would be a powerful weapon with which to combat racism, union busting, and attacks on women's rights.

And socialists also support any political initiative by Blacks or Latinos running campaigns independent of and against the two capitalist parties, she stressed.

Warren campaign a success

Craig Landberg, the SWP candidate for city treasurer, told the rally that over 5,000 copies of Warren's "jobs not war" campaign platform had been handed out in the previous week alone.

Eight hundred copies of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial had been sold by campaign supporters that week. They cussed much of their efforts on bringing the socialist campaign to Chicago's plant gates and factories. Warren's campaign received several hours of radio and television time, as well.

In response to Landberg's appeal for funds, $1,700 was donated for the final campaign blitz.

Young Socialist Alliance leader Candace Wagner reported that a number of young people had been won to the socialist movement during the course of Warren's campaign.

Vote for new perspective

Warren summed up the rally by calling on all those fed up with the war, racism, unemployment, sexism, and violence of the capitalist system to vote SWP on April 12, and to join the socialist movement.

The growing opposition of workers — Black, white, and Latino — to racism, reaction, and all the crimes of capitalism must be channeled in a different direction than support for the Democratic and Republican parties, he said.

Even though only a few thousand people will vote for the SWP in this election, Warren told the rally, tomorrow, through their own experiences, hundreds of thousands of working people will come to agree with the socialist perspective of organizing politically to get rid of capitalism.

"What Chicago working people want," Warren said, "is a truly human society. We want peace, not war. We want full equality, not segregation. We want jobs."

"The capitalist system can never give us that. It's only by taking political power out of the hands of the employers and putting working people in power that society will be able to move forward." Everyone who agrees with this perspective today, Warren said, belongs in the SWP, reaching out to the millions who will agree tomorrow.
Chicago elections: why socialist candidate got good response

BY MALIK MIAH

"The employers have two political parties — the Democrats and Republicans — to defend and protect their interests.

"The bosses are carrying out a bipartisan war against our living standards and our basic human rights — such as the right to have a job, decent housing, and a good education. Abroad they are conducting a deepening war in Central America and other countries against the workers and peasants fighting for their freedom.

"That's why working people here need a political weapon independent of the two parties of the rich. We need a labor party, based on the powerful trade unions. We need an independent Black political party that can challenge the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties in the Black community.

"A labor and/or Black party would organize the unorganized; unite workers, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, and women against the big-business program of the Democratic and Republican parties.

"A labor party would fight against the current capitalist government of the rich and seek to replace it with a government of our own — a workers and farmers government.

"I'm running for mayor because I think socialism is an idea whose time has not only come, but is long overdue. Those who agree should join us in the fight for a socialist future."

Only working-class candidate

Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, spoke those words in May 1982 when he announced his campaign. Warren is a young laid-off garment worker from the city's South Side and a member of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). He was the first and only working-class candidate on the ballot in the April 12 mayoral election.

Also on the ballot were Democrat Harold Washington, an attorney, and the other candidate for mayor who was Black; and Republican Bernard Epton, a millionaire. Washington won the election.

Thousands upon thousands of working people heard about the Warren campaign and the ideas presented by his party. They heard him on radio and television; read about him in the major newspapers and several community weeklies; read his campaign newspapers, the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial, and met him and his supporters at several plant gates while he was campaigning.

Media cover-up

This hearing was achieved in spite of a conscious attempt by the news media to keep his independent working-class program hidden from workers because he was the only candidate who spoke the truth about the problems workers in Chicago faced, and offered the only solutions to end the economic crisis placed on the backs of workers.

But when workers were able to learn of the Socialist Workers Party platform, they listened carefully, especially those backing Harold Washington. Why? Because workers in Chicago, as in the country as a whole, are looking for alternatives to the Democrats and Republicans even as they vote for the "lesser evil" or "greater good" among candidates presented by the capitalist parties.

Warren; Craig Landberg, the SWP candidate for city treasurer; and Nicolee Brossen, the SWP candidate for city clerk; and their party participated in the big political discussion on which was the way forward for workers in Chicago. A review of the success of that campaign is instructive on the political changes in Chicago and in the country, as well as on the growing value of running independent socialist election campaigns. It also points to the value of running independent Black and labor candidates for office.

An indication of the type of thinking going on among Chicago workers was first evident when SWP campaign supporters went out to petition in late June and through July to place Warren's name on the

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Chicago socialist got good response

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ballot as an independent candidate.

In four weeks 35,000 signatures were
 gathered in all parts of the city. The biggest
 response was in the Black communities;
 but also among workers at plantations.

Jim Little, Warren's campaign manager,
said, "It was some of the easiest petitioning
I've ever done." Warren said the discus-

ession with workers ranged from the anti-
labor and racist policies of incumbent
Mayor Jane Byrne to the federal govern-
ment's bipartisan counterrevolutionary
wars in Central America.

With 200,000 Chicago workers un-
employed, 120,000 cut off from any type
of medical care, with city services falling
apart, and the city having one of the high-
est infant mortality rates in the United
States, it was no wonder that petitioners
found a good response to Warren's simple
but radical proposal: the war budget must be
eliminated and a massive public works
program launched to build socially neces-
sary goods and services to put laid-off
workers back on the job at union-scale
wages.

At this time, too, the main talk in the city
was the impending race between Byrne and
her archival, Cook County State's Attor-
ney Richard Daley, Jr., for the Democratic
Party nomination.

There was no talk, of course, about the
Republican since one hadn't won the
mayor's office since 1927.

Discussions in the Black community

It was in this context of a deepening
economic crisis in the city, a racist, anti-
labor city administration, and a dying
Democratic Party machine that several
Black community leaders held a series of
meetings to discuss the prospects of run-
ning a Black candidate for mayor.

The first meeting was organized by Lu
Palmer's Chicago Black United Com-
munities organization and Jesse Jackson's
Operation PUSH. Those present included
community activists, trade unionists, doc-
tors, and preachers.

Warren, who attended all those meet-
ings, explained what type of program and
perspective an independent Black political
campaign should have to represent the in-

terests of the Black community and all
workers: uncompromising support to the
social, economic, and political rights of
Blacks, Latinos, and all other workers; no
support to candidates of the Democratic
and Republican parties. This, he said,
would be a step toward building a mass in-
dependent Black party, which would help
the unions face up to the need for a labor
party.

This first meeting discussed how Blacks
and Latinos are now the majority of the city
— 55 percent — and the time was ripe to
place a Black in City Hall. Blacks, people
said, had historically been segregated
politically and otherwise in the city by
the Democratic machine.

The meeting drew up a list of 10 to 15
names of potential candidates. The list in-
cluded Harold Washington, Jesse Jackson,
Danny Davis (an alderman), and Lu
Palmer.

These names were then to be placed in
the Defender, the city's daily Black new-
paper. Based on who got the highest vote
what they called a "plebiscite" — that
person would be the candidate.

At this meeting Warren spoke and
explained the position paper on indepen-
dent Black and working-class political ac-
tion he had distributed. He pointed to the
formation of NBIPP as an example to fol-

low and said its charter, which stands op-
posed to the capitalist parties, could be the
basis of a platform that a genuinely inde-
pendent Black candidate could run on.

Only electoral tactics flowing from a stra-

tegy to form a new nationwide independent
Black or labor political party, he said,
could be effective. The participants lis-
tened attentively to his proposals.

Plebiscite and boycott

The second meeting took place in late
July. It occurred at Operation PUSH's
offices.

At this meeting a number of important
decisions were reached. First, the list of
possible candidates was again discussed.
Holding a plebiscite in the Black commun-
iety was reaffirmed. Second, the majority
present decided to launch a voter registra-
tion drive. And lastly, the majority called
for a boycott of Chicagofest, which is or-

ganized by the city. The boycott of this
two-week event was called to protest
Byrne's decision not to appoint a Black as
head of the Chicago Housing Authority,
which mainly services the Black and
Latino areas of the city.

SWP campaigners also participated in

this meeting. Since Warren was the only
announced candidate — who also hap-

pened to be Black, as well as independent
of the two parties of exploitation, racial
oppression, and war — it was necessary for
a leader of PUSH to explain why running a
Black candidate did not mean supporting a
candidate like Warren.

The PUSH leader said they wanted a
candidate who could win — what he meant
was someone who would enable the Demo-

cratic Party to win once again.

That response to Warren's campaign
clearly stamped the character of the dis-

cussion about a Black candidate: it was for a
Democrat who, in fact, couldn't serve the
interests of Blacks; as opposed to a work-
ing-class candidate representing the in-

terests of the Black community and other
working people who would be independent
of the Democrats and Republicans.

The third and final meeting took place at
a community church in early October. Fif-

teen hundred people attended. The results
of the Defender plebiscite were reported:
15,000 people voted and Harold Washing-
ton, the South Side congressman, was the
first choice. He was also the choice of most
of those present.

It was at this meeting that Washington
said he would run for the Democratic Party
nomination only if 100,000 more Blacks
were registered to vote by the time of the
November statewide elections.

Warren was there too. Warren and his
party had been campaigning for indepen-
dent Black political action. Warren, how-
ever, wasn't allowed to speak since he
wasn't on the plebiscite list.

However, his campaign supporters dis-

tributed literature that explained:

"We'll never change anything as long as
the Democrats and Republicans are all we
have to choose from. These two parties are
bought, paid for, and controlled by the
rich. This tiny handful of businessmen
and bankers who hold so much power will stop
at nothing to save their profits."

Warren explained that democratic dis-
cussions held at these meetings, and the
poll, showed the real potential power
Blacks and other workers had. But, he
said, it would be wasted if it was used to
play power politics in the framework of the
capitalist parties. To gain more influence
in the Democratic Party — Blacks do have
more than they did 20 years ago — does not
bring Blacks and other workers any
closer to political and economic control
over their lives, Warren added.

Over 40 Militants were sold at the meet-
ing; and hundreds of socialist campaign
statements were distributed.

The voter registration drive, which had
begun over the summer, had been a great
success. Over 100,000 new Blacks were on
the voter rolls by November.

On October 29, at a public forum spon-
sored by a Black student organization and
the National Black Independent Political
Party at Northeastern Illinois University,
Warren, Washington, and others spoke on
the elections and independent Black poli-
tics. It was at this meeting that Washington
announced he would definitely make his
decision to run for mayor after the results of
the November elections.

Washington's formal announcement to
Another district judge issued a ruling January 19 awarding $3 million in back pay to 200 women clerical workers who worked for the city's Water and Sewers Department and had been paid less than men. Warren hailed the ruling. "This is a victory for those who run this city should be an inspiration to women, Blacks, and Latinos to continue the fight against inequality and segregation. It is one more example how the Democrats and Republicans who run this city do so only in the interest of the bankers and big business..." Their interests are counterposed to ours."

The February primary

What finally brought the Chicago mayoral campaign to the nation's and world's attention was the outcome of the February 22 Democratic Party primary. The program of the candidates — Democrats and Republicans both — had not altered. They all stood by their call for fiscal austerity and in support of policies favoring the rich. But when Harold Washington won the primary it was a shocking "upset" for the ruling class.

The entire history of the Democratic big-city machine had been to keep Blacks at the bottom — politically, economically, and socially — but also tied to the machine through the patronage system and other services it provided.

Times have changed, however, due to advances made by Blacks and other workers in the last 20 years and the weakness of the system. But the Democratic bosses in Chicago refused to recognize that change, thinking the old ways would remain.

The disintegration of the old machine had begun long before Washington even announced his campaign. But when he won the primary, ultrarightists in the city took the initiative to whip up a reactionary, racist campaign against Washington and for the Republican, Bernard Epton. White cops were the cadre organizers for this operation led by local Democratic Party officials and backed by Republicans. The media joined in to portray the election contest as "race against race."

Ultraright stamp

The ultrarightists sought to whip up racism to get white, Latino, and Black workers to fight among themselves and not focus their attacks on the bankers and employers who run the city. They sought to deepen divisions in the working class along racial lines, and to set the stage for more openly reactionary attacks after the elections against working people.

The ruling class as a whole was not for this campaign. They knew from experience that a Democrat is a Democrat no matter his or her skin color. That's why so many top Democrats came in to campaign for Washington. That's why the business big shots said he was okay by them.

The ultrarightists, however, placed their stamp on the election.

Warren's response to the blatant racism of the media, Epton, and right-wing hoodlums was to explain more firmly why independent, working-class politics is needed, while defending Washington and the Black community, as well as the entire working class, from the racist attacks.

Attempted bribe

Because the Warren campaign explained what was happening in class terms, he got a hearing from workers.

He also had a place on the ballot — in what would be a very close race. Thus, on February 24, four men approached the socialist campaign committee, offering big money and posts in city government in return for the socialists' ballot spot. The four businessmen said they were interested in "making you [Warren] a lucrative proposition whereby you would step down and we would field a suitable [non-Black] candidate who could win the general election." They said they were offering anywhere from $50,000 to $1 million; and a position in the Chicago Housing Authority.

(Later incumbent Jane Byrne ran an abortive write-in campaign to keep her job. The speculation was that Byrne supporters wanted the SWP line for themselves.)

In response to this attack on working people's democratic rights, Warren said, "My party is not for sale — at any price. Last year 35,000 working people in Chicago signed petitions in order to put the SWP on the ballot in April. We didn't do this for money or posts in city government.

"There are thousands of working people..."

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in Chicago — including many who voted for Washington, Byrne, and Daley," Warren continued, "who are disgusted with the two-party system, but haven't yet figured out that the alternative is to strike out on their own."

Big political discussion

Because of the racist campaign against Washington by ultraright elements, a big political discussion opened up in the city over the elections and over politics in general.

Warren's campaign received a better hearing by workers in this context. His campaign was not seen as alien to advancing the interests of Blacks or other workers.

The seven-week period from the end of February to April 12 was a time of constant political discussion — especially among workers backing Washington.

The main themes of Warren's campaigning continued to be singling out the crisis of the capitalist system as the root of workers' economic problems, and the root cause of racism. In that context, he and his supporters denounced the racism directed at Washington.

This became an important contribution to the discussion of working-class and Black politics because most of the left and socialist groups in the city capitulated politically to the Washington campaign. They did so on the basis that voting for Washington was a vote against racism; so the class content of his candidacy was secondary.

Organizations like the Communist Party, Communist Workers Party, Workers World Party, Democratic Socialists of America, as well as radical newspapers such as the Guardian and In These Times back Washington. These "socialists" didn't help to advance working-class political consciousness in this big discussion. They in fact gave a left cover for supporting a "lesser evil" in a capitalist election.

Leaders of the local chapter of NBIPP also backed Washington, despite the party charter's clear opposition to supporting the Democratic and Republican parties.

Warren explained why this view of some NBIPP leaders was a blow to Blacks building a truly mass Black or labor party. He went to NBIPP's March central committee meeting and participated in the debate there on the Chicago elections. This was the most important discussion on independent Black politics NBIPP has had in its three-year history.

Media coverage picks up

It was during this two-week period before the elections, that Warren got most of his media coverage and best response from workers.

At plant gates, for example, workers readily took his "Jobs, Not War" platform. Many workers wearing Washington buttons would stop and talk about the big issues facing workers — from the war in El Salvador to racism to the lack of jobs.

During the final days of the campaign Warren received coverage in the two main capitalist dailies; was on five television stations for a total of two and a half hours, in addition to radio talk shows; and had his campaign statements picked up on many more radio stations.

This coverage got out the socialist program to hundreds of thousands of area workers. It led to people coming down to the campaign offices — including Washington supporters — to talk politics. Some people said after the election that they voted for the socialists running for city clerk, Nicolee Borgen; and city treasurer, Craig Landberg (they received 14,000 and 20,000 votes respectively); but for Washington for mayor. It reflected their view that what Warren's program said was right, but "realistic" politics meant taking the "greater good" as they saw it.

That response, however, confirmed the correctness of running a socialist campaign. Many of these workers will continue to consider the ideas of the campaign after the elections, especially as it becomes clear Washington is fundamentally no different than previous mayors.

Next challenge

Nearly 4,000 workers, from most parts of the city, pulled the lever for Warren. They saw the connection between the racism issue and their class interests and voted for a perspective of fighting to end the entire capitalist system.

The historic challenge for Chicago workers, as for all workers, is to stop playing the capitalist two-party shell game. The next opportunity for socialists to explain this is the special congressional election this summer for Washington's old seat on the South Side.

The Chicago socialists will be right in the middle of that discussion.
Black-Latino-labor coalition is discussed for ’84 elections

BY MAC WARREN

The potential political power of Blacks, Latinos, and the labor movement, expressed in the recent Chicago elections, has sparked a major debate on which way forward for political action that can advance the interests of working people and those who oppress them.

Two views are being expressed in the wake of the election victory of Democrat Harold Washington, the first Black to become Chicago mayor. Jesse Jackson, leader of Operation PUSH, calls for running a Black in the Democratic presidential primaries, and links this to a massive voter registration drive among Blacks.

Jackson says now is the time to "negotiate our relationship with the Democratic Party. We're not arguing a Black agenda; we're arguing a national agenda from the perspective of Blacks."

Jackson has held several meetings with Tony Bonilla, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), to discuss this perspective with him.

LULAC is assessing the massive (over 75 percent) vote for Harold Washington by Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other Latinos and what that means for a Black-Latino alliance in the Democratic Party for the 1984 elections. The recent gathering of the National Conference for Puerto Rican Rights, held in Newark, took up the same question.

A second point of view in this discussion is articulated by Andrew Young, the mayor of Atlanta and a prominent Black Democrat. He argues it's wrong to run a Black in the Democratic primaries. This would divide Black leaders, he says, and possibly create a racial polarization that could jeopardize a Democratic victory in 1984.

In other words, it would shake things up.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, has talked of a labor-Black coalition, but he shares Young's approach and opposes Jackson's.

This discussion has received prominent coverage in the major dailies, the Black press, and on television. The question is being discussed at political meetings across the country.

"Building a political alliance of the labor movement and the oppressed is a major question for workers today," comments Ed Warren, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the recent Chicago mayoral election. "This discussion is a very important one for Blacks, Latinos, trade unionists, and socialists."

A laid-off garment worker, Warren is a member of the SWP and the National Black Independent Political Party. He actively participated in meetings in the Chicago Black community about how to mobilize Black political power prior to the decision of Harold Washington to run for mayor.

In those meetings Warren explained that the events in Chicago reflected the real pressure that has built over the last decade among workers for solutions to the crisis of the capitalist system. He pointed to the crumbling of the Chicago Democratic machine as a sign of the growing incapacity of the two-party system to contain the push by Blacks and other working people for a political solution to the problems they face.

Warren said the logic of this push is toward breaking with the Democrats and Republicans, and running independent Black, Latino, and labor candidates. He pointed to the potential for building a mass independent Black party, and the impact this would have on unionists seeing the need for a labor party.

The perspective of the SWP was a significant factor in the Chicago discussion. While all socialist groups in the country are small today, what they do and the stands they adopt are important, especially at a time like this when workers are thinking about the idea of an alliance between Blacks, Latinos, and labor. Historically socialists—even when a small minority—have been an important factor in big turning points in the class struggle, from the rise of the CIO, to the civil rights movement, to the formation of labor parties in Continued on Page 15
Black-Latino-labor coalition discussed for ’84

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countries like Britain and Canada.

This is why it’s important to call attention to the fact that every other major group that identifies itself as socialist endorsed the Democratic Party candidate, Washington, in the Chicago elections. This includes the Democratic Socialists of America, Communist Party, Workers World Party, Communist Workers Party, and the newspapers In These Times and the Guardian.

These groups capitulated to the pressure to support a capitalist candidate instead of recognizing the big opportunities for gaining a hearing from working people for a different course, a break with the Democrats and Republicans. Instead of advancing the fight for independent political action on the part of Blacks, Latinos, and the labor movement as an underlying strategy, these groups bolstered the idea that workers should give the capitalist parties another chance.

They put forward similar arguments to cover up their wholesale collapse in the face of the Democratic Party campaign of Washington. Perhaps the best example of this is the Workers World Party (WWP), which called the election a “referendum on racism.”

In a departure from previous practice, the WWP campaigned openly for the Democratic Party candidate. To overcome resistance in their ranks to this crossing of class lines, the WWP defended its endorsement of Washington and attacked the socialist campaign of Ed Warren in an article in the April 15 Workers World.

“The Chicago race was not analogous to an election between a liberal Democrat and a conservative Republican as such,” Workers World said. “That is an election campaign where political program is key, where the responsibility of a working-class party is to expose the false policies of the capitalist parties.

“The Chicago election,” it explained, “was an election in form. It was, in reality, a referendum on racism.”

Warren’s campaign against the capitalist parties was a “surrender to racism,” the article proclaims. He should have withdrawn in favor of Washington.

The idea that capitalist elections are in reality just referendums on one or two issues is not new. In 1964, workers were told the race between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater was a referendum on the Vietnam war. Most voted “against the war” and elected Johnson, who proceeded to escalate U.S. involvement.

Similarly, the 1984 elections are already being portrayed as a referendum on Reaganomics. To defeat Reagan’s social and war policies, you have to vote for the Democrat.

And races between a Democratic candidate who is female and a Republican who is male can easily be described as a referendum on sexism.

This is the logic of the course the Workers World Party has embarked on. The class character of the Democratic Party — the fact that it represents the interests of the employers — is dissolved into an abstract struggle “against racism.” Exposing the nature of the Democratic or Republican parties becomes irrelevant, political program is no longer “key,” and the candidate of a genuine working-class party, Ed Warren, becomes an agent of reaction.

The Workers World Party relies heavily on moralism to push its retreat from Marxism and presents an utterly patronizing view of both Black and white workers.

Workers World claimed that Warren’s campaign would be viewed as racist by workers in Chicago. “Blacks and whites will perceive a call to vote against Washington as giving aid to the racist forces,” the paper said.

But the SWP did not call for a vote against Washington, but rather a vote for a socialist perspective and against the two capitalist parties that monopolize political power today. And this is what won Warren a good hearing among workers, contrary to the Workers World predictions. Blacks, whites, and Latinos responded in a friendly way to the socialist campaign. Over 800 copies of the campaign newspaper, the Militant, were sold in the last week before the election, a significant number of them at plant gates.

The many thousands of workers who met SWP campaigners were politically much more sophisticated than the WWP and other socialists gave them credit for.

Close to 4,000 people voted for Ed Warren. Fourteen thousand voted for Nicole Brorsen, SWP candidate for city clerk, and 20,000 for Craig Landberg, SWP candidate for city treasurer, indicating that thousands who voted Washington for mayor also registered their support for the socialist perspective. These Blacks, Latinos, and whites who voted SWP were the vanguard of the many thousands more who listened, discussed, and learned from the SWP campaign.

What the Workers World Party really expresses is its own lack of confidence in the political capacities of Blacks and all working people.

They have decided that it’s not possible to talk about socialism with the American working class, especially with Blacks, who are apparently incapable of thinking in class terms.

By the same token, white workers in the WWP view are incapable of grasping that racism is against their class interests.

The WWP fell totally for the frame-up of white workers orchestrated by the capitalist media. Accepting the lie that the core of reactionary opposition to a Black for mayor was in the white working class, they talked to white workers on a moral level. “White workers need to be educated on racism, need to see that racism is a deadly poison that divides them,” Workers World preached.

They went on to say that “under the existing circumstances, it was the first duty for a working class party truly interested in building unity to come out strongly and unequivocally for Washington.”

In other words, white workers are racist and to help them overcome this racism, working-class parties should tell them to vote for the racist, antilabor Democratic Party.

The entire framework of the WWP and other socialist groups who caved in to the Democrats is false. Their inability to look at politics in class terms leads them to miss what is actually happening in U.S. politics.

The real lesson from the Chicago elections is that it is easier today than ever before to get a hearing for a strategy of independent Black, Latino, and working-class political action. Socialists, class-struggle fighters in the labor movement, members of the National Black Independent Political Party, and other political activists should join in the discussions going on today about how to build an alliance of Blacks, Latinos, and the unions. They should participate and help advance the perspective of breaking with the racist, antilabor capitalist parties and charting a course of independent working-class political action.
Harold Washington's Victory in Chicago

Black Upsurge Meets Electoral Trap

Harold Washington's election as mayor of Chicago in April, following his upset Democratic Party primary victory in February, is being hailed by both black and white activists as a magnificent step forward in the struggle for progress in the United States. The black congressman's triumph in such a heavily segregated city did reflect a leap in black consciousness; at the same time it is significant testimony to the way that consciousness is being perverted and turned against the black masses.

The contradictory upsurge is occurring in the context of the simmering crisis of capitalism, which has had a profound impact on the way the bourgeoisie rules the country as a whole and specifically its second largest city. The collapse and fragmentation of the infamous Chicago political machine reflects not only schisms within the bourgeoisie but, alongside the black resurgence, an increasing polarization within the white working class.

Statistics measure part of the significance of the political shift. Black voting figures in Chicago as well as elsewhere have until recently been traditionally low and (as with Hispanic and working-class whites) decreasing. In the 1980 Reagan-Carter presidential election, with 950,000 Chicago blacks eligible to vote, only 400,000 were registered and only about 30 percent of these actually voted. However, two and a half years later, 77 percent of blacks as well as whites who were registered voted in the primary, and Washington got over 80 percent of the black vote. In the interim, black leaders and leftist politicians had succeeded in getting over 150,000 additional blacks to register. Since Washington won the superheated primary with a bare 36.7 percent of the vote while the rest was split between two white machine candidates, incumbent mayor Jane Byrne and Richard Daley, son of Chicago's long-time machine ruler, the black shift was decisive. Washington then got well over 90 percent in the

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election against Republican Bernard Epton.

Washington referred to his primary campaign as a "crusade," and it certainly was much more than a winning electoral effort. The avalanche of blacks into the voting booths was touched off by Mayor Byrne. Blacks had backed Byrne when she split the once-monolithic machine in 1979. In office she stabbed them in the back: she ignored a popular black educator in favor of one of his subordinates as her candidate for the city's school superintendency; she replaced blacks with whites on the board of education and the Chicago Housing Authority board; her police chief was the notoriously racist Richard Brzezek. All this led to a campaign to boycott last summer's ChicagoFest, part of Byrne's program to stimulate commercial activity; then to the successful voter registration drive; and finally the elections. While the spark that lit the fire was Byrne's conduct in office, the fuel came from far more profound causes reflecting the thwarting of the U.S. social structure.

Washington's Moderate Program

Washington himself jumped at the opportunity to underscore the significance of the massive black primary vote. It was, he said, blacks' "coming into political maturity": "We were slow to move from the protest movement into politics. We were lulled to sleep thinking that passing a few laws was enough. But we've got to be involved in the mainstream political activity. That's what's happening here in Chicago. And that's the lesson that's going out across the country."

Here Washington seizes on the fact that the gains blacks made in the 1960's have been rapidly eroding (a fact, by the way, that liberals and reformists never warned of but was predicted repeatedly by Marxists); that is why he criticizes the ideas that protest or "passing a few laws" were enough. But no one should imagine that new and greater achievements are now possible. Actually Washington means the exact opposite. Politicians like Washington believe that the Democratic Party is the place for compromise. "Maturity" in his book means surrendering adolescent fantasies, such as eliminating racism and winning full employment, education for all, etc. It means getting smart — that is, becoming cynical. It means accepting the fact that the earlier ambitions were unreal and unachievable in the real world.

One of Washington's aids said of the "crusade" that "It was like Harold was Martin Luther King all over again." But whatever his actual accomplishments, Martin Luther King had a dream; Harold Washington says wake up and look at the world around you — only small changes are possible. According to representative Gus Savage, Washington's close friend, "White people may see him as some sort of Black Panther, but he's actually a moderate." He is indeed. Take his interview in the February Chicago magazine, when he was asked about Chicago's notorious "invisible government — the business community, suburban executives." He answered, "I'm meeting with them daily, in singles, pairs and groups. And they find out I don't have horns. ... I wouldn't say the business community to a man is anti-black. They want the status quo and, to a certain extent, so do I. I'm not talking about changing the whole make-up of the city of Chicago, ... I'm talking about trying to create a city in which business will be, shall we say, more relaxed about coming in. ..."

Obviously a candidate who loved the banks and big corporations of Chicago — where their conservatism has never been veiled, they have always sided with the machine and always supported the white status quo — would not have much appeal among black workers. Nevertheless, Washington knows how capitalism works. The city could not survive without credit from the big banks and the trust of the giant companies. An ardent pro-Washington reformist, David Moberg, writing in the Chicago-based social-democratic paper In These Times, quoted Washington as saying, "We have to conduct ourselves in such a way that in the process of winning we do not make it impossible to govern." Moberg points to the difficulty Washington would face as a result of "white flight or a capital strike against the city by banks and businesses."

In fact Washington openly campaigned for a state income tax increase to bail Chicago out of its financial crisis. That is one reason why the little white primary support he got came mostly from the upper- and middle-class Lakefront districts. Washington had said aloud what Daley and Byrne wouldn't admit — that all three candidates stood for the financial program of the banks and the Republicans. If he could not get higher taxes from the state he urged that "we go on an austerity budget ..." Austerity for the workers is now very popular among capitalists, and Washington's little get-togethers had their effect. The president of the Greater State Street Council noted that Washington had "said many of the things the business community wanted to hear."

Harold Washington's dilemma is the same as that of any liberal or reformer who takes office at the head of a popular movement these days. And not just in the decaying cities of the U.S. For very similar reasons, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas try to keep capitalists in their government, plead their moderation internationally and work overtime to keep the

Organized Epton backers hurl racist epithets at Washington. Democratic Party "answer" to racism will only make it stronger.

masses in check and private property as inviolate as possible. Likewise Robert Mugabe seeks to placate the imperialist U.S., apartheid South Africa and white racist ex-ruler Ian Smith at the expense of the Zimbabwean people. Salvador Allende played the same game in Chile in the early 1970's, and lost.

The choice is clear. If capitalism is to be maintained, business must be allowed to squeeze out its profits and the
banks their interest. When times are tough it is the working people who must be squeezed. Fewer workers will have to do the work once done by more, and they will receive less pay. Social services needed by working people will have to be drastically cut. And capitalists invariably demand harsher terms from reformist politicians than from others: the risks are greater, and therefore the returns must be greater or the sources of investment will dry up and go elsewhere. For capitalists are frightened of mass movements, especially during crisis-ridden times. They fear that the reformers cannot control their base and that the populist rhetoric the politicians use to reassure the masses will instead inflame them. In some cases, the rulers suspect that the reformist leadership is lying and is really responsible for mass upheavals and threats to property.

The trick for the reformer is to placate both his popular base and the bourgeoisie. This is not always an easy task, but it has been done. When Andrew Young, Martin Luther King's former aide and Jimmy Carter's former U.N. ambassador, took the mayor's office in Atlanta the capitalists were not overly scared. There had been no real movement by blacks. But Young had employed a populist tone to keep his ties with black voters in the growing economic crisis. So far business has had no need to worry. The president of the Chamber of Commerce and a leading banker told the New York Times (March 20, 1985) that "His first year has been a good one. The business community has been pleasantly surprised. He has gotten things done that others couldn't."

That is exactly the point. The Times underlined just what Young has done for capitalism in Atlanta: "For years City Hall had wanted to meet its financial problems with a sales tax increase. In 1979 voters rejected the tax by a 2-to-1 margin. In November, after some diligent campaigning by Mayor Young, a similar referendum for a 1 percentage point sales tax increase, to 5 percent, was passed by a margin of 53 percent to 47 percent, with support from poor blacks who would likely be hurt by the additional tax but voted for it anyway because Mr. Young asked them to. After a year, the tax increase is to be accompanied by a dollar-for-dollar decline in property taxes, a relief for corporations and homeowners."

Harold Washington's tax proposal in Chicago is similar to Young's in Atlanta, the one that "poor blacks who would likely be hurt" by it voted for because of Young, the one that provided "a relief for corporations." But the situation is not exactly the same: in Chicago there is an actual black movement that Washington rode to victory. As well, in Atlanta there is a history of collaboration to a degree unknown in Chicago. The ingrained racism of "the nation's most segregated city" and its bourgeoisie adds to the depth of the chasm between Washington and business. As in the nation as a whole, the bourgeoisie in Chicago is torn between a desire to deal with black leaders in order to keep social peace and the feeling that the system must turn to grinding workers harder — so much so that both leaders and led have to be subdued now.

But Washington has made the start he promised. His transition team includes senior executives of major Chicago banks. In addition, the absence of a black majority (present in several other big cities led by black mayors) acts as a further pressure on Washington to make peace with Chicago's "invisible government" at whatever cost. Still, to keep his mass base he will have to deliver a few spoils. He would surely fire the already resigning Richard Brececz — but, as he already warns, there will be few other changes in the racist police force. In general, the small gains that were possible in the 1960's are out of the question in the present state of capitalism. Washington's task, like Andrew Young's, like Coleman Young's in depression-ridden Detroit, will be to preside over austerity, not spoils. And when you are dealing with a hungry movement, that's a real dilemma.

Why Electoralism Today?

The Washington campaign reflects not only the bourgeoisie's need for reformers with popular support to keep the masses in place. It is primarily the product of a genuine, if limited, mass upsurge. But why has there been a response now? Over the years blacks have often been provoked and scorned by white politicians, brutalized by white police, without a mass electoral countermovement. Liberals and leftists have sallied forth time after time to register blacks en masse or to marshal their votes behind a "progressive" candidate — to little avail. The liberals and their leftist camp followers think they know why, beyond Byrne's provocations, the result was different in 1985: Ronald Reagan. There is truth in this but only half of the truth.

Reagan's across-the-board attack on poor and working people has certainly hurt blacks worst. Black unemployment is double that of whites, and it climbed by 25 percent in 1982. Black youth unemployment is at 49.5 percent compared to 21.6 percent for whites. And these official figures conceal millions more, as well as the alcoholism, drug addiction and suicide that accelerate as a result.

But blacks have hated Reaganism before this. What delights the liberals and leftists is that now the anti-Reagan sentiment has been congealed into a "solution": electoralism behind a progressive Democrat. There were hints of this turnabout in last November's New York elections, but no real movement yet. Previously all the evidence indicated that the growing contempt by white workers for the Democratic Party and liberalism was echoed among blacks as well. Despite the current liberal-left mythology, most blacks have been well aware that Reagan did not cause the economic crisis. He worsened it for workers and the oppressed, while the Democrats and liberals offered no alternative except further austerity.

In the 1960's when Martin Luther King's pacifist civil rights campaigns whetted the ghetto's appetite for a better life but failed to deliver, the masses erupted in riots and rebellions. These in fact produced most of the gains that King and the other leaders couldn't get. When the ruling class was prosperous and feared civil strife, it was willing to pay off within limits. Today the balance of forces has shifted. Prosperity is gone; the black masses are on the defense. Riots secure little, as Miami has proven more than once. Labor strikes — and blacks in the large cities of the North provide a large portion of the most powerfully organized layer of the working class — have been divided and corralled by the labor bureaucracy and so have led to little but retreats and concessions. Despite all the cynicism, the only alternative to an even worse future that appears to exist is the wretched Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party, in fact, contains a negative confirmation of the strength of the black working class. Since the 1960's a number of black leaders have become mayors, congressmen and other elected officials, mainly as Democrats. Propelled into office in the ebbing years of the once formidable mass black upsurge, they were wheelering and dealing and seemed to have carved out a few niches of power. They carried the authority of being recognized as brokers for the black masses by the white rulers. With the collapse of
radical black nationalism and the absence of militant labor struggles, the black Democrats appear to offer the only source of power against the Reagans, Byrnes and Brezezeks. Thus the blacks' turn to electoralism in large numbers is a defensive move by people who have given up their past hopes for a society of genuine racial equality, full employment and liberation.

The Democratic leaders did not create the new movement, but on the surface they seem to meet its limited expectations at least for the moment. The shift toward the Democrats and electoralism is only an initial reflection of the movement, not a long-term commitment. Despite the present mixed consciousness of the black masses, their needs and political experience will drive them away from this trap. The very strength that blacks have demonstrated acts to undermine the cynicism that limits their aspirations, ones that the Democrats cannot fulfill. Perhaps Jesse Jackson's comment was more apt than he realized when he said of the February primary, "What you saw was a political riot, disciplined rage." Demagogues like Jackson have worked to keep blacks tethered to (and their aspirations disciplined by) electoralism, so his choice of words was probably meant more as a threat to the white establishment than anything else. But the explosiveness could burst its

'liberal democrat,' we will alienate and isolate ourselves from the Black masses and inadvertently aid the forces of police brutality, corporate dominance and racism."

We will deal with the charge that not backing Washington aids the capitalists and racists shortly. As to isolation from the masses, contrary to Marable blacks are hardly wedded to electoralism -- yet; all the electoral statistics prove that. They will be if the Marables and Harringtons have their way. Marable's particular sense of isolation stems from the fact that for years the masses ignored the idea of an independent black party. The programs advocated for such a party were for major reforms under capitalism -- much the same as the programs of the black Democrats. Which is why people stuck with the Democrats: whatever elements of that program were felt not to be utopian under decaying capitalism were better fought for with a party that existed, had power and ties to the white rulers. A non-existent party couldn't compete on the same grounds. Black workers have learned to be captive of radical rhetoric aimed at narrowly limited ends.

Marable particularly believes that the decisive question is black unity:

"The success of Washington's campaign was from beginning to end a result of the forging of an in-


electoral channels and undermine the power brokering business of the Jacksons and Washingtons.

Washington's Popular Front

One leftist black spokesman who approves of Washington's form of "discipline" is Manning Marable, a vice-chairman of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Significantly, Marable has criticisms of Washington, whereas DSA itself makes none, at least in public. Marable is not one of the ordinary social-democratic leaders who has toiled in the Democratic Party vineyards for years, like his comrade DSA Chair Michael Harrington (still defending his support of Lyndon Johnson in 1964 -- to keep American boys out of Vietnam, remember?); Marable long favored an independent black party and is only a recent convert to the Democrats. In justifying his new stance he wrote in the March 16 Guardian: "If we decide to stay out of the reformist battle to mobilize Black voters, simply because Washington is a dependent Black united front -- ministers and Muslims, trade unionists and professionals, entrepreneurs and the unemployed."

The problem is that such coalitions are inevitably dominated by the entrepreneurs and professionals, as Washington's pro-business program demonstrates. True, Washington has also promised to improve public health in Chicago and revitalize black and Latino neighborhoods. But as Marable himself points out, "Any attempt to carry out any significant part of this program will generate the intense opposition of many white ethnic, the corporations and banks ..."

Marable is amalgamating two questions: the banks' and businesses' objections to real reforms, and working-class (both white and black) opposition to higher tax burdens. Washington has made little or no appeal to working-class interests, despite labor's backing for him after the primary (beforehand the local AFL-CIO had endorsed Byrne). If the
working people in Washington’s “united front” start pressing for their programs, the coalition will break down very quickly. What will the black politicians and entrepreneurs do then, those who depend upon an orderly, stable government? Very little different from their white counterparts; Detroit’s Coleman Young, formerly far to Washington’s left, is now the model black strikebreaker and austerity liberal. Those who are channeling the black liberation struggle into dependence on middle-class and petty-bourgeois elements are the ones who “inadvertently aid the forces of police brutality, corporate dominance and racism.” It is critical for working class people — blacks especially, given their far greater consciousness of the rottenness of capitalist society — to organize themselves independently of all capitalist interests and such electoral fronts.

Marable, an avowed Marxist, has some inkling of this, however corrupted he is by his fear of isolation from the class-collaborationist popular front he describes. When the corporations and police pull out all the stops to hamstring Washington’s program (Marable suffers from the illusion that a capitalist politician like Washington would really carry his efforts that far) Marable notes: “The key here is for progressives to continue the mobilization of the working class, national minority and poor constituents, in the streets as well as beyond the next election.”

But Washington’s front, his “disciplining” of the masses’ rage, is designed precisely to forestall mass action in the streets and in the factories. How many times have working-class militants been told — in Allende’s Chile, Mitterrand’s France, Coleman Young’s Detroit, etc., etc. — “don’t rock the boat; we’ll wheel and deal in the corridors of power.” Washington in power, like Mitterrand, will tragically hold the allegiance, at least for a time, of the masses who put him there (perhaps a long time, given the sharp racial nature of the elections) — and he will use it to carry out his austerity program while his base is momentarily tranquilized. That is the lesson that Marxists should be fighting to teach, no matter how unpopular it makes them for the moment. But there is more.

The Chicago Machine

The real significance of Washington’s coalition is shown by its relation to the traditional Chicago machine. Formed during the 1930’s in order to head off the threat of mass radical politics and unions, the machine rested chiefly on strong white working-class support. Like similar organizations elsewhere, it operated to break up class-wide solidarity by reinforcing the ethnic identities of the different segments of the class. The majority of workers within each group could get little from capitalism. But by identifying with the gains made by the upper layers of their group they could raise their hopes. Thus petty office seekers and petty shopkeepers (some not so petty) became influential, the more so if they could dispense favors. Ethnicity always tends to increase the influence of the petty bourgeoisie over the workers, since this element acts as power brokers between the ethnic group and the ruling class.

Each group vies with each other in showing loyalty to the machine, in order to win a piece of the pie. The machine’s ethnic dynamic and its usefulness for the bourgeoisie was summed up by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, now Democratic Senator from New York, and his academic buddy Nathan Glazer. In an article in Commentary magazine (October 1974) called “Why Ethnicity?”, they noted that ethnic assertion was on the rise and that this was linked to the growth of the welfare state. In modern society it is not useful, they stated...

... to assert claims on behalf of large but loosely aggregated groups such as ‘workers,’ ‘peasants’ .... Claims of this order are too broad to elicit a very satisfactory response. ... As a matter of strategic efficacy, it becomes necessary to disaggregate, to assert claims for a group small enough to make significant concessions possible and, especially, small enough to produce some gain from the concessions made.”

In plain English, Moynihan and Glazer advocated a strategy of abandoning working-class-wide demands which capitalism cannot meet in favor of smaller demands for a privileged few; later others can hope to imitate their success.

“Disaggregation” is academic jargon used here to mean class division. The same concerns are voiced by the big bourgeoisie: thus the oft-quoted Wall Street executive Henry Kaufman, in an address to the Economic Club of Chicago two years ago, said that a “fundamental change has been taking place in our society over the past five decades;” the American majority now favors “democracy oriented to an unaffordable egalitarian sharing of production rather than equal opportunity” (In These Times, January 28, 1981).

Translated, this means that capitalism can’t afford to have everyone live well. Instead of such “egalitarian democracy,” Kaufman prefers “equal opportunity” — a few live well while most of us satisfy ourselves with the unfulfillable “opportunity” to do so.

The task of the urban machines was to arrange this “disaggregation” under the banner of “equal opportunity.” Chicago’s machine had an additional New Deal twist: it fattened itself off the federal deficit spending policies that allowed it to grease its operations and prevent rubbing components from overheating. Today, with reduced government revenues and giant deficits constantly in need of refinancing, the machine is wearing out. Chicago’s heavy load of blue-collar job patronage and huge contracts for favored companies who hire the right workers is being undercut by the economy. The obvious point of friction is the ethnic and racial divisions. In the February primary, Byrne took the North Side ethnic wards, Daley the South Side and Washington the blacks.

For Chicago’s machine has rested upon the black population as well. The blacks had their own machine, subordinated to the white, mostly Irish-led operation. The solidity of the blacks and the ability of black politicians to deliver a solid vote contributed to the strength of the white machine. Reciprocally, the white-run hierarchy enforced unity and loyalty on the blacks.

Parallel to the white, the Chicago black machine had ties to the tiny black bourgeoisie as well as with the old-line ministers and storekeepers. The original version under congressman William Dawson had a deservedly Uncle Tom image; Dawson even endeared himself to various Dixiecrats in Washington. But in return for subservience Dawson got his little quid pro quo in patronage and favors.

The black machine was weakened by the civil rights movement and the black power rebellions, when blacks found the strength to fight oppression and not just coexist with it, but it was not destroyed. But more recently it has begun to fracture, like its white counterpart. Especially since the black city population, unlike the white, has been growing: there are more needs and less cash for favors to be doled out. The depth of the economic depression facing blacks has raised the demand for machine aid tremendously.
Middle-Class Revolt

In Chicago, the machine stymied the civil rights movement but could not itself meet the needs of the expanding black professional layer. The new elements want — like their white counterparts — "clean" government free of not only hustlers and unsavory types but also of inelegant politicians and storekeepers. Their education reflects modern bureaucratic and corporate needs. Their idealism stresses social welfare solutions for the masses' needs, the bureaucratic version of the old machine favors and patronage. Their belief in their own altruism is unmarred by the fact that they desperately want professional positions in government commensurate with their status. And the machine has been unable to deliver.

The new professional middle-class elements provided the most solid core of Washington's support in the primary. Obviously the majority of blacks who voted for Washington were workers, given the small number of even relatively affluent blacks. But as David Moberg pointed out in In These Times (March 2), "Especially strong support in the traditionally more independent and slightly better-off neighborhood of the black south side also compensated for less impressive results in the typically machine-dominated poor wards of the black west side." (Social-democrat Moberg tried later to downplay the implications of this with the contradictory claim that "Not surprisingly, Washington did best among low-income people.") Nevertheless, as Washington's status as a serious candidate grew he picked up more elements of the old black machine. He had always had the support of the few small "entrepreneurs" who welcomed his popularity and recognized his ability to handle the pork barrel. The "united front" had an old familiar flavor.

Harold Washington was an old machine product who, with his mentor, former congressman Ralph Metcalfe, had had to oppose machine mayor Daley after some particularly vile racist acts in the early 1970's. But until then he had loyally served Daley in the Illinois legislature. Now he quite loyally reflects middle class ambitions and has promised to junk the patronage system. But he has also sent signals to both white and black machine leaders that he is still willing to deal: "In a sense, I am a product of the machine. I've dealt with it for years. It is proper in its place" (Chicago Sun-Times, February 23).

Immediately after his electoral triumph over Epton, Washington renewed his pledge to eliminate patronage (which the courts had just ordered ended anyway). But at the same time he was careful to publicly embrace his machine enemies of just the day before, including ward boss Roman Pucinski, a leader of the Democratic rush to Epton after the primary. There will be no "business as usual," Washington promised — but business there will be.

Middle-class "issue-oriented" reform movements have taken power from crumbling machines in many cities. Typically they find it necessary to build alliances with elements of the old machine in order to stabilize their rule. They make their own deals as well: instead of filling the government apparatus through appointments at every level from top to bottom in the old Daley manner, they appoint only the top layers, and that is enough to control the new bureaucracies. Their original verve for democratic "good government" disintegrates, to be replaced by their elitism which makes the reformers even less responsive to working-class pressures than the machine. The road from crusader to Koch has been traveled before.

Under the impact of the capitalist crisis the machine has come apart: As a Daley aide put it, "There's a lot more fragmentation now. No one has the megabutton any more." Even without Washington and the courts vowing to end patronage, bourgeois reality has already pulled the rug out from under it. The old forms of bourgeois rule are crumbling, but the new middle-class power brokers are seeking new forms to lock in the restless black workers.

While reform regimes, black and white, have won elsewhere, they have rarely done so riding a volatile race movement as in Chicago. This gives the new administration a far more fragile character than normal. An embryonic "popular front" — to give it its real name — has arisen in black Chicago to play the role the machine can no longer perform: to detour the potentially radical mass movement and tie the revived socially conscious workers to decaying capitalism.

The Racist Campaign

The steamroller that put Washington in as the Democratic candidate picked up speed as the main issue became race. Democratic Party chairman Ed Vrdolyak, a Byrne backer, told precinct workers: "It's a racial thing. Don't kid yourself. I'm calling on you to save your city, save your precinct and keep your friends in office." After Washington's primary victory, Byrne endorsed him but then stabbed him in the back with a brief try at a write-in campaign of her own, obviously largely motivated by the race of the victor. And the Republican candidate, given an unexpected lease on life because of the color of his skin, raised the blatant campaign slogan "Epton, Before It's Too Late." The Police Department served as the center for virulent race-baiting of Washington.

Democratic wardheelers went over to Epton by the bucketload, and drummed up fear of a black menace among their constituents. During the electoral campaign these elements organized several viciously racist incidents. There were, however, no mass race riots like those that confronted M.L. King years ago.

The isolation of the blacks reinforced the tendency to stick together and gave Washington considerable support out of solidarity of the oppressed. For blacks are more than just another "community" of ethnics. Vital to the economy, they nevertheless have always been a pariah caste viciously discriminated against and held at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder by strong racial barriers. There have always been lower wage scales and higher unemployment for black workers amounting to significant super-exploitation. (The small but politically important black upper strata have never been able to avoid identification with the black masses nor to escape the barrier of prejudice; they too earn less than their white counterparts and have far greater difficulty obtaining suitable employment.) The division of whites into strongly encapsulated ethnic groups allowed imperialism to nurse an aristocracy of labor into existence as a barrier to class consciousness. However, whites as a whole, including all the white ethnic groups, were allowed to join in the aristocratic ethos because they could feel themselves rewarded as long as black labor remained qualitatively more victimized.

The attempt to rebuild white solidarity linking the ethnic subdivisions in Chicago after the Byrne-Daley fiasco can only be carried out by wielding the black "threat" as the binding force. If the impact of the crisis has hit blacks harder, white workers (especially in the industrial Midwest) are also seeing their world fall apart. Economic distress has combined with other social factors to undermine all aspects of their existence, including "their" machine.

Ethnicity was always reinforced by living in common neighborhoods; in Chicago the ethnic communities lasted longer than elsewhere, with less of a post-war white move to the suburbs. They rely on traditional moral and religious standards and strong family ties. But the Catholic church, the...
ethnic social cement, has been evolving. As well, there are new migrations that replace old; youth gain wider horizons and rebel; old cultural and family ties break down. The crisis sped up all these conditions, as unemployment shook up the family structure even forcing workers to move in search of jobs, vital city services collapsed and crime became rampant. With the growing black urban population desperately expanding its ghettos, many of the problems white people face could be conveniently blamed on blacks and channeled into racism.

Moreover, the machine's grip on its mass is weakening, given the social breakdowns and the politicians' inability to act as go-betweens with government for dwindling services. On top of this, Washington personifies a real threat: if more blacks and social reformers get city jobs, then there is far less for the machine's remnants. Under these conditions, if the Byrne-Daley split were to continue with an even deeper struggle among the white ethnic groups, then all would be lost for the machine. It had no other card to play but racism.

Thus: the only open racism in Chicago politics, at least partly in consequence of the machine's interest in maintaining segregation. However, racism was only one impulse among many in the white working class; it was deliberately whipped up when necessary. Thus it is no accident that the racism expressed by white workers during the campaign still carried a significant troubled undertone: people told reporters they were voting white even though they knew something was wrong about that. The attempt by the media and the national Democrats to present the machine politicians as merely responding to irrational mass racism was a direct inversion of the truth.

The Pro-Democrat Strategy

Only through the binding forces of racism could the Chicago machine hold itself together. But it is not just the machine: maintaining the Democratic Party in any form requires it. The Democratic Party is the chosen vehicle for the task of absorbing mass consciousness, churning it up and destroying it. Machine structure or no, it wields racism to this purpose: witness the slimy mayor Edward Koch of New York, who relies more on high-level public relations than precinct work for his racial slurs.

The only difference between Chicago and the rest of the nation is that here the necessary weapon was used more openly and threatened to get out of control. That is why multitudes of national Democrats who had backed others in the primary rushed to Chicago to force white precinct leaders, aldermen and even congressmen into line behind the candidate. Presidential hopefuls, Southern politicians and even Koch stuck in their contributions. The Kennedy family used its business connections to strangle Byrne's write-in campaign. Why? Because a Washington defeat could have provoked a black voter withdrawal from the Democrats nationally; at minimum it would have produced a black presidential candidate in the Democratic primaries in 1984. It might also have set white racist forces in motion in the Democratic Party across the nation. And that would have meant the end of the Democrats’ power, based as it is on burying political polarization by compromising and avoiding "delicate" questions.

The Democratic Party is an assemblage of various groups — ethnic, sectoral and social. The famed New Deal "coalition" was put together very much like the Chicago machine; the same sectors were represented. But the Democrats barely survived the Depression, when workers rose to the heights of industrial unionism and economic class consciousness but stopped short of independent class political action. World War II and the post-war prosperity kept the Party going. Now the return of the crisis has undermined its already fading "coalition" as well as the surviving machines. Under such circumstances blacks are inevitably singled out to be the fall guys, the group officially designated to get nothing. But they form one of the largest groups; their withdrawal would end the Democrats' "natural" political majority. It could also lead to the collapse of electoralism as a diversion for the masses, at least the black masses — and thereby to social explosions. Hence the concern of Mondale, Kennedy et al. Their future was at stake.

The Democrats term their molecularization of class politics "coalitionism" — the knitting together of discrete interest groups and ethnic groups with separate consciousnesses. Coalitions arrived at through deals among the leader-brokers are fragile at times of social movement. Each of the allied sectors is bisected by class lines, where there is a mass flowing. The petty-bourgeois class outlook of the leadership is fundamentally at variance with that of the mass base, even if there are points of agreement. When the practical struggle breaks out into open movements, the difference between the brokers and the broke is revealed.

Liberals Betray Alliance

In Chicago there were two coalitions that held. One was between the black middle strata and their white counterparts on the Lakefront. The second was the alliance of the black masses behind the black middle class. But even the first of these working coalitions was weak: only 39 percent of the liberals, according to polls, were on Washington's side in the blatantly racist election campaign — a testimony to the puerile nature of liberalism and the fragility of an alliance built on the good will of the affluent. With the machine crumbling, many liberals turned to it, swallowing their previous contempt; the rich have a great stake in stability and therefore in keeping business, the banks and the politicians reasonably happy.

Harold Washington's "new Democratic coalition" with the liberals is aimed also at winning sections of the white working class, over time. And the way to try to do this is through its present leaders, like Pucinski. The trade union leaders, for what they are worth in terms of a base that will follow them, are mostly already collaborating. For the AFL-CIO bureaucracy nationally is now an important voice within the Democratic Party, charged with responsibility for heading off any resistance on the industrial front. It has been successful so far, through its electoralism and coalitionist strategy with liberal interest groups (see our "Labor after Solidarity Day" in Socialist Voice No. 15). Registration has recently been rising nationally among the poorly paid and the jobless, white and black. Some of this is due to incessant AFL-CIO propaganda: all of it is due to the bureaucrats' success in blacking off more volatile forms of struggle.

To gain white support and achieve social peace now that it is in office, the black middle-class leadership is offering to preserve white neighborhoods. Al Raby, Washington's campaign manager, said, "We're very interested in community stability" (in These Times, March 30). This means not only physical preservation but ethnic stability as well. It means preventing "white flight" to the suburbs, which would ensure capital and job losses. It therefore means collusion with the white liberals who don't have a mass base and with the machine bosses who do, as part of a national alliance among power brokers.
Washington’s “Stabilization”

But like all capitalist pacts in this society of each against all, this one is doomed to fail. For stability cannot be restored. The masses, white as well as black, sense this and are justly frightened. The attempt to promote an inter-racial compromise based on the status quo is epitomized by the black middle class’s totally giving up on the forced busing program for school integration that it had championed in the past (with less enthusiasm from working-class blacks whose children were on the front lines of battle). The ethnic sense of community is dissipating, pulverized under the hammer blows of the crisis. Blacks must seek new housing. All need scarce jobs. The interracialist solution is possible only through a class struggle against capitalism, not through compromise within it.

Stabilizing the white neighborhoods along their present lines is a strategy bound up with ‘struggle’ through electoralism and the revival of the Democratic Party. Action to defend people’s interests, when not confined to voting, becomes at best lobbying, rent strikes, pressure tactics and petitions — anything but the industrial action that brings to bear the power of the working class.

Neighborhoods (hardly “communities”) do not have the inherent organization that factories and industries do for workers. Neighborhood consciousness stresses a multiplicity of enemies: not only murderers and addicts, but landlords, merchants, ethnic intermarriage, the kids hanging out, the blacks moving in, the next precinct getting some favor from city hall, the next district getting a favor from Washington, the next state with lower business taxes, etc. As usual, the pulverization of working-class consciousness must single out the blacks as victims — the easiest group to scapegoat and unite the rest against. This is the real program of those who advocate “progress” through the Democratic Party.

The Working-Class Alternative

In contrast to neighborhood organization, struggle centered on the industrial front teaches in short order who the real enemy is: the capitalists and their political and ideological agents. The potential for united, national and even international struggle lies in the fact that the primary relationship workers share in society is to the means of production.

That is why revolutionaries counterpose industrial action to “community” struggles as a central strategy. Of course, these days local strikes led by defeatist union bureaucrats frequently lead to losses. The real potential in strike action is to open up a fight for a general strike which can unite workers of all stripes against the oppressive system. A general strike inevitably poses the question of who shall rule in society, the bosses with their crisis-ridden capitalism or the workers with their capacity to control, centralize and revitalize industry. In the whirlpool of powerful strike action, workers will learn their strength as a class rather than their disunity as competitors and passive voters. This is the milieu for the revolutionary party to develop in as a real alternative.

In contrast, “community stability” and electoralist discipline over the masses have the potential for disaster. The reformists, liberals and middle-class “socialists” who advocate returning to the status quo of yesteryear feed the fires of class division. When they claim the banner of the left and of anti-racism, they leave only one radical alternative to white workers who are facing what looks like a free fall into disaster: a racist and, in the future, fascist course. Harold Washington’s program of higher taxes and austerity, a replay of what drove Jimmy Carter out of office, won’t fool black or white workers for very long.

The liberal middle class on the Lakefront can afford to be more “tolerant” (to use Moberg’s expression, which he means as a compliment) because their competition with blacks is not as intense. Their moralistic sneering at white workers, their desire to “educate” them that racism is nasty, overlooks one fact that workers understand far better than they: under this system competition for jobs is real and it will indeed be a question of white versus black as long as capitalism remains. It is no surprise that workers have often followed the petty-bourgeois machine leaders rather than the intelligentsia: in this perverted society the former understand reality better.

“We want ours” is an accurate response in the land of “opportunity.”

The revival of social movement among blacks in Chicago is a very positive sign. The present uneasy coalition at the top between the black and white liberals and shifting sections of the machine will be only a temporary brake upon mass consciousness if the movement takes off. In the 1930’s there was a genuine, mass-class-wide industrial movement. Then the Democratic Party was only the means for distributing sops to the masses, not the weapon for winning them. If the movement accelerates today, the system will be under pressure to dole out more than its leaders wish, although its resources are more limited than even in the 1930’s. The capacity of the embryonic movement to achieve partial aims and then, its appetite whetted, much larger goals, is aided by its leadership’s fragility — but its greatest barrier is the racist division of the class inherent in the Democratic Party set-up.

The black working class is strategic to the economy of both Chicago and the nation. It has the opportunity, when its proletarian consciousness and leadership develops, to lead the entire working class by providing a concrete alternative in action. Militant strikes undertaken despite the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the early 1970’s showed that white workers even in the South would follow the lead of blacks in struggle for their mutual benefit. Revolutionary propaganda for general strike action among black workers is crucial in Chicago and the nation today.

Whatever happens, the “stability” fought for by the coalition leaders of today will fail. If ethnic solidarity and therefore racist solidarity wins out among whites, reaction is inevitable. The political polarization among white workers in Chicago is real; at the moment its direction is bad, but it can be reversed. The black masses, whose motion is the most significant fact, will undoubtedly break with their present leadership. This does not mean that they will cease to understand the need for racial solidarity as a defense against attack; it means that they will understand that unity can only be achieved without the misleadership of strata too attached to the system. But as the “left,” black and white, maintains its present reformism, the pressure on black workers will be towards a narrow ethnic type of self-identification at the expense of class consciousness. Their modest hopes dashed once again, they will be forced to turn to the dead-end of separatism and nationalism as an answer to the dead-ends of integrationism and electoralism. The tragedy will be that the bankruptcy of liberalism and reformism will leave the masses nothing but reactionary alternatives if the revolutionary, proletarian pathway has not been laid.

April 25, 1983
Fight Racist Backlash Against Black Mayor

Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago

The "morning after" Washington has "unity" luncheon with racist pols: (from left) Saul Epton, Jane Byrne, Richard Daley, Jr.

Chicago blacks will still face the same police brutality as these did lining up for temporary city jobs.
CHICAGO—The second-largest and most segregated city in the United States now has its first black mayor. Democrat Harold Washington narrowly snatched victory from a racist mobilization instigated by the Democratic Machine he loyally served for three decades. Hundreds of thousands of black people in Chicago and millions across the country see the Washington election as their victory. Jesse Jackson proclaimed it “the most significant national event” for blacks since the Selma-Montgomery march of 1965. But the hair’s breadth election of this Democratic Party hack is no victory for the black masses. The racists have been emboldened, the cops are preparing for the next round and Harold Washington is desperately trying to maintain the status quo. The white racist backlash that whipped through Chicago during the recent mayoral elections reveals the dangerous potential for race war in this depression-ravaged country. But there is also the tremendous potential for class struggle in Chicago, in the industrial heartland of America.

Harold Washington must betray the aspirations of black Chicago. The Democratic Party for decades has kept labor and minorities tied to their most determined enemies, from Southern Dixicrats to openly racist Northern mayors like Jane Byrne and New York’s Ed Koch. But Washington has as much right to be mayor and exercise the prerogatives of his office as any other capitalist politician. For half a century the Democratic “primary” had been the real election in Chicago. But after the black candidate won the February vote, the Democratic Machine in effect scheduled another election. Defeated mayor Jane Byrne launched her one-week “white-in” campaign. They tried to reduce Washington’s powers of office by rushing through appointments. The Republicans saw their chance. The cops launched Republican Bernard Epton’s racist campaign with police chief Brzeziki’s threat that the streets would not be safe under a black mayor.

When the “stop Washington” campaign sprang up last month, we wrote:

“Washington has the right to take office, with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office. Byrne and the bonapartist police better keep their hands off. The election of this Machine Democrat (a fractured Machine) is no victory for black people—it will mean more of the racist austerity; strikebreaking and cop terror; blacks suffered under Boss Daley. Bilandic and Byrne. But this is supposed to be a bourgeois democracy, and Byrne lost.”

—“Jane Byrne, You Lost!”

WV No. 326, 25 March

Now Washington has won again, and again there will likely be attempts to deprive him of victory or to take revenge against blacks. The danger of a cop riot in the black communities and a cop revolt against the new city administration is very real. Such naked displays of police power must be met with mass mobilization by Chicago labor and blacks.

There was a plot to stop Washington by local Democratic pols determined to hold onto their spoils system. There was another plot by national Democratic Party bigwigs to elect Washington in order to herd the black vote into the anti-Reagan “popular front” in the 1984 presidential elections. Had Washington lost they faced the possibility of an “independent” black candidate. Now Washington is using the euphoria over his election in the black communities of Chicago and “around the country to build illusions in a new Democratic coalition.” But just as Washington is now embracing Byrne, Daley and the rest of the racist Machine Democrats who kicked him in the face and unleashed the lynch-mob fury, the Democratic coalition ties blacks and labor to their oppressors.

But while numerous reformist left groups were climbing on the bandwagon of this black Democrat, the Spartan racist League (SL) refused to give political support to Washington. As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago he has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he’s going to break strikes. He’s going to slash social services. He’s going to lay off city workers. And he’s going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can’t take it any longer. That’s Harold Washington’s job.

Our job is to break through the racial polarization in Chicago which can easily become a race war. And that means racially integrated class struggle against both bosses’ parties. Jobs for all—30 hours work; for 40 hours pay! Sit-ins against mass layoffs! Mass organization of the unemployed under the leadership of the unions! Fight racial and sexual discrimination! Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist war machine! To fight for this program requires a revolutionary party of black and white workers whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the capitalists’ hands and establish a planned economy.

The Morning After

Now that Washington’s won, all the bigwig black politicians are trying to cool out black expectations. Maynard Jackson advised Washington to “temper the extraordinarily sky high expectations of an ecstatic black community. The first black mayor is not Superman incarnate” (New York Times, 17 April). Washington never promised to fight for open housing in the first place, but already he’s backpeddling as fast as he can on the question of construction of public housing: “...it’s not in my purview to pick the sites.... Public housing is not going to flourish; it’s a question of dollars and cents.” Washington postured as a “reform” candidate, but he has dirty work to do now. The guy who used to visit the prisoners

Democratic ward heelers built Republican Epton’s “before it's too late” racist backlash campaign.
in Cook County jail every Christmas will now be stuffing those jails.

Washington acts as if blacks are just another ethnic group like the Irish, Poles or Italians, and there is a widespread illusion that Washington's victory means Chicago blacks will finally get their chance to make it. "I'm a child of politics," said Washington. "I saw the Irish pick themselves up by the bootstraps... the ballot box was the avenue." But black oppression is deeply rooted in this capitalist society where blacks are overwhelmingly concentrated in what Marx called "the reserve army of labor." That's the reason for the astronomical unemployment rates in the ghettos, even in times of relative prosperity. No Harold Washington's going to do anything about that. It took the Civil War to free blacks from chattel slavery, and it will take a social revolution to bring about real black equality.

Black people know something terrible is happening to them. The question is how to fight it. This is not the first mass black voter registration drive. The civil rights movement did it in the 1960s. So now we have black mayors enforcing austerity on the black masses. The liberal-led civil rights movement of Martin Luther King came to a dead end in Chicago precisely because it failed to address the basic economic oppression of black people. Jobs, housing, education—these are the same problems Chicago blacks face today. Thousands of steel workers have been thrown on the streets, and huge steel mills stand idle or are working at only a fraction of their capacity because the steel bosses can't make a profit. Dilapidated houses and decaying housing projects stretch for miles after mile on the South Side. The El system is falling apart and now they're shutting down service to the black neighborhoods. The teachers haven't had a raise in two years, and the schools may not open in the fall if they can't find the money to pay off the deficit. Just what is Harold Washington going to do about all that? You have to have a program to overturn the boom-bust capitalist system, a program which can mobilize black and white workers to fight their common enemy.

**Smash the Racist Backlash!**

The Democratic Party, with its 50-year legacy of ethnic-patronage politics, made Chicago Segregation City to begin with. Boss Daley's Democratic Machine ensured that there was never even an attempt to implement busing here. Byrne, elected with a minority vote, infuriated the black population with her high-handed, abusive racism. When she passed over a black for head of the Chicago Housing Authority, that was the last straw—blacks were determined to turn her out.

After Washington's primary victory we wrote, "Harold Washington Takes Over: Chicago Machine." Well, he certainly tried, but it wasn't that simple. The Machine's black captains had always dutifully delivered the black vote for the party's candidates, and Washington made it clear he expected the same from the white aldermen. But a number of the ward bosses went into open revolt. No one did more than Byrne to inflame the situation. Her one week write-in campaign, appropriately dubbed a "white-in," was a brazen attempt to "save Chicago" from a black mayor. The Nazis backed Byrne as a "symbol of resistance" and urged a vote for her as "a step in the right direction—a white power.

The Republican candidate shamelessly pitched his campaign to the racists with the slogan, "Epton, before it's too late." Ugly racist mobs sporting Epton buttons twice accosted the black candidate as he campaigned in predominantly white neighborhoods. All the hoopla millionaire Epton made over Washington's taxes, in a town like Chicago where millions of dollars of graft flow openly from the City Hall each year, was a deliberate attempt to smear all blacks as shiftless hustlers. It was a cover for the racist vote. In the final days of the campaign Epton proclaimed "bitterness and hatred" are the price of freedom and championed the "freedom to hate." Then Epton refused to sit in the same TV studio with Washington for a debate. "Meet the Press," Washington responded, "He thinks he's in South Africa.

In fact, Washington's unheard-of (for a Machine-loyal flunky) 36-day stint in jail for failing to file income tax returns for four years, involving a measly $500 of outstanding taxes, was the result of an "investigation" launched by then-state's attorney Ed Hanrahan, who was infuriated because Washington had raised criticisms of the FBI/Chicago police-organized massacre of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. That Washington hid this—virtually his only decent act independent of the Daley Machine—during the attacks on his character, which eroded much of his liberal support—indicates his willingness to capitulate to the racist status quo rather than be associated with black militancy.

The notoriously racist and corrupt police department provided the shock troops, for Epton's campaign as the "Great White Hope" to stop Washington from taking office. When the cops were told there would be no on-the-job politicking they simply painted their Epton buttons white. Racist propaganda was posted in precincts around the city. The day before the election, the bop broke of the white cops to conduct mass arrests of blacks to prevent them from voting. It was an ominous bonapartist display of muscle by the cops, as was the special unit they organized which knocked 2,500 blacks off the voter registration lists. The cops are the racist enemies of blacks and working people and any bonapartist drive on their part to organize as an independent political force or break loose from civilian control must be smashed.

The racist backlash swept through the city. White punks sported T-shirts emblazoned with slogans like "Go get 'em Jew Boy" and "Vote Right, Vote White" on St. Patrick's Day. White fears that gains for blacks will come at their expense were whipped to a fever pitch. One steel worker was quoted as saying, "You've got to vote racist, there's no other way. They've got nothing, you've got a little something, and they're going to take yours away." Washington said during the primary, "It's our turn."

The ethnic porkbarreling politics of the Democratic Party only fuel these racist fears.

Conservative columnist William Safire cynically alibis the white racist backlash:

"...if it is laudatory for black voters to vote as a bloc for a black candidate, the logic dictates he should bolster nobody that white voters are likely to vote as a bloc for the white candidate....Voting on the basis of race is racist."

---New York Times, 24 March

Safire's too "civilized" to get down there on the streets with the mob and put on a "White Power" T-shirt. But it's "White Power"—a fascist slogan—that Safire is really trying to put over with a slick, twisted "logic." His article is a call for more "sophisticated" racists to mobilize "before it's too late." To talk about "reverse racism" in the face of the brutal oppression of black people in this country and the current drive by the ruling class to roll back even the limited gains of the civil rights movement is an obscenity. The cutbacks have been aimed with almost surgical precision to hit blacks and minorities hardest. But the depression has meant millions of white workers too, now find themselves on the unemployment and welfare lines with nowhere to turn. The bourgeois hopes to deflect any possibility

*continued on page 9*
for a long time class struggle against racist austerity by pitting white against black in the scramble for increasingly scarce jobs and resources.

The ugly racist backlash won’t be stopped in the voting booth. Working people are under the gun and something’s going to happen—either powerful class struggles or more racist polarization. The seething racism goaded by economic contraction, makes the city a fertile recruiting ground for race terrorists like the Nazis and the Klan among the white ethnic losers. The Nazis have threatened to march on June 27 again this year. Mobilizing the organized power of labor and blacks can stop them. When they tried it last June 27 the Spartacist League mobilized 3,000 blacks, unionists, Jews, gays and socialists and stopped their “White Power” provocation against the Gay Pride Day march.

The people who brought you Harold Washington did nothing on June 27. When we contacted Lu Palmer, one of the main promoters of the Washington campaign, and asked what he intended to do about the Nazis all he could say was, “Aw, brother, I can’t deal with it...” Now that Washington and Palmer are in City Hall, we know they won’t deal with it. When the Spartacist League initiated and led a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading the streets of the nation’s capital this past November, black mayor Marion Barry flew to L.A. for a conference, leaving his cops behind to protect the Klan. Workers and blacks must rely on their own strength to sweep the fascists off the streets.

Whose Turn?

In announcing his candidacy, Washington declared:

“We’ve been giving white candidates our votes for years and years and years unthinkingly, hoping they would include us in the process. Now it’s come to the point where we say, ‘Well, it’s our turn, it’s our turn’.”

On election night, Jesse Jackson and Atlanta’s ex-mayor Maynard Jackson talked on Chicago TV about the 223 black mayors across the country who got “their turn.” In every one of these cities, they bragged, since the election of a black mayor there have been no black “riots.” Black ghetto upheavals were understandable, if futile, explosions of black outrage in this racist capitalist system. They peaked in the mid-and-late ’60s as a result of the deep frustration of inner-city blacks and their betrayed hopes in a civil rights movement that proved impotent in the North. Here the racist status quo could only be smashed by overthrowing the capitalist system in which it was rooted.

The rise of the “BEOs” (Black Elected Officials) was a direct result of the decline and defeat of black struggle in the Northern ghetto. It also occurred at the same time as a rapid deterioration in the conditions of these ghetto which had already become hellholes for blacks. Take Detroit where Coleman Young was elected mayor over a decade ago. Running on his background in the auto plants, and with black nationalists and self-proclaimed “socialists” in his administration, Young’s election was viewed with great hope by black and labor Detroit. Coleman Young’s contribution to “black power” in Detroit has been the new bankrupt Renaissance Center. Here he hosted the 1980 Republican Convention that nominated Ronald Reagan, after breaking a militant city workers strike. These “black faces in high places” are mainly out for themselves, and they have one-and-all become black front men for the capitalists. As Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), recently said: “I can remember back in 1968 when Andy Young and I were arrested in Atlanta for lying down in front of some garbage trucks during a strike. Today Andy is mayor and in charge of the trucks.” The Youngs and Barrys demonstrate the bankruptcy and treachery of those blacks who have sold their political souls to the Democratic Party.

But without a mass-based workers party, black people are going to continue to give their votes to the Democrats. The national Democratic Party figures that black people are the only constituency it can count on. Even when it ran Dixiecrat Jimmy Carter, it captured close to 90 percent of the black vote. National Democratic politicians knew the eyes of blacks across the country were on the Washington campaign, and if they had won the primary, they were deprived of victory by a racist backlash mobilized by the Chicago Democratic Machine, that might well sour the black vote in the ’84 presidential elections. So national Democratic Party bigwigs threw their support behind Harold Washington and paraded to Chicago to campaign for him.

Washington’s victory was a victory for reviving the image of the Democratic Party which had paved the way for Reaganomics, for anti-Soviet militarism which takes lunches away from school children to help purchase Trident submarines; the Democratic Party which rolled back integrated public housing, busing and many other gains of the civil rights movement and even the Civil War. Washington’s demagogic talk of “our turn” in Chicago is the opportunity for another black politician who will betray the hopes and expectations of black working people and poor, just as “our turn” in the White House means electing the Democratic successor to “Ethnic Purity” Carter.
The Democratic "Coalition" as the American "Popular Front"

On election night Washington told his enthusiastic supporters:

"Out of the crucible of this city's most trying election...blacks, whites, Hispanics, Jews, gentiles, Protestants and Catholics of all stripes have joined hands to form a new Democratic coalition and to begin...a new Democratic movement."

In fact, this is the old Democratic coalition that was forged in the Great Depression under Roosevelt's New Deal between Southern Dixiecrats and ethnic minorities, between industrial workers and their exploiters in the corporate board rooms. It is that coalition which today makes it possible for a George Wallace and Harold Washington, for California KKK "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger and Black Panther Bobby Seale, to inhabit the same party.

In the U.S. the politically backward and racially divided working class has not formed a mass reformist workers party. In the 1930s, the Communist Party used its considerable influence both within the labor movement and among black workers to tie revolutionary struggle for industrial unionism (represented by the rise of the CIO) and the awakening struggle of the black masses against Jim Crow to the Rooseveltian Democratic Party. This was and is the American version of the popular front. It has shackled struggles for black equality, for working-class justice, for the rights of labor and the oppressed, to a party which represents the mortal enemies of those struggles. The CP in Chicago is so tied to the Democratic Party that it even endorsed Jane Byrne in the last mayoral election. Thus it was not surprising that they worked wholeheartedly for Washington's election this time around.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ran their own candidate, Ed Warren. The SWP downplayed the racist mobilization in Chicago, claiming "racist attitudes among white workers are not spreading" (Militant, 22 April).

No wonder: the SWP has avoided like the plague the labor/black mobilizations initiated by the SL which have stopped the fascists across the country. Instead the anti-Trotskyst SWP seeks "debates" with Klansmen and Nazis as if race terror and genocide were debatable and fighting the fascists an academic exercise.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

The desperate economic conditions in this country generated by the crisis and decay of American imperialism have turned the Midwest industrial heartland of this country into a wasteland, the so-called "rust bowl" of the '80s depression, and fueled the growth of a fascist fringe. The strident 'bipartisan' anti-Soviet militarism generates on the fringes of both capitalist parties the shock troops for race war. The Hitler lovers want to transplant here the lesson of the Third Reich: to wage world war against Russia abroad requires race war at home.

The black Democratic mayor of the destitute Indiana steel town of Gary, Richard Hatcher, had the following words of advice for Harold Washington based on his own experience: "Black mayors do not have the power and resources to liberate black people."

True. And their job is to see that black people don't get those resources. The industrial resources to rebuild America are there but it is going to take the revolutionary expropriation of capitalist industry by a workers government to open up the plants, put the unemployed back to work, and begin meeting the just needs of working people, the poor, the aged, the oppressed minorities.

If it is to be "our turn" to rule for blacks, workers, Hispanics and the poor, they must break with the Democratic Party and find within their ranks the class-conscious leaders that can forge a fighting workers' party determined to wage class war for power. Chicago may be the most segregated city in America but it has a powerful working class with an enormous potential for integrated class struggle. That potential was historically exhibited by the militant International Harvester workers. But after a long and bitter strike in which these workers faced down a union-busting campaign by IH management, the plant has been virtually closed! The lesson is that the ordinary, economic trade-union struggle, no matter how militant, is insufficient to beat back the savage anti-labor attacks in this period of profound capitalist crisis.

The struggle in the plants must be linked to the ghetto, to the organization of the "unorganized" worker and the unemployed worker, to the fight for labor/black mobilizations against race terror, as was exemplified by the SL-initiated demonstration in Chicago last June 27. It must be led by a party that can mobilize working people and the oppressed on the picket line and in the streets, a party that fights to extend busing to privileged white suburbs, and fights for a massive public works program including low-cost quality integrated public housing.

The industrial might of this country must be unleashed from an irrational, capitalist system driving toward world nuclear holocaust and placed in the service of the working people and the poor both in the U.S. and internationally. The defense of the gains of the Russian October Revolution, the first and only successful workers revolution, must be an integral part of the program of the Leninist-Trotskysty party of the American socialist revolution. And such a party will find some of its best fighters and leaders from those militant black workers who really want "our turn."
Labor/Black Struggle vs. Black Democrats

Harold Washington to Black Chicago: Cutbacks, Layoffs, Cop Terror

January 1983: Chicago cops brutalize unemployed blacks when 40,000 people show up for less than 4,000 temporary jobs (right). Harold Washington (above) offers more of the same.
Democrat Harold Washington has become the first black mayor of Chicago. And he has wasted no time in letting Chicago blacks know what is in store for them: continued cutbacks, layoffs, cop terror. Just moments after being sworn in as mayor on April 29, Washington stated that economically the city “is in far worse condition than we thought. Reluctantly, I must tell you that we must cut back,” and announced an immediate wage freeze and layoffs of over 500 city employees—as the first step (New York Times, 30 April). Reluctantly or not, Harold Washington is already doing exactly what we said all along he’d have to do: betray the aspirations of Chicago’s black population who really believed Washington’s “it’s our turn” demagogy.

Washington became mayor on April 12 by barely defeating a racist backlash mobilized by the same Democratic Party Machine he served for 30 years. The backlash began as soon as Washington won the primary: aldermen flocked to Republican Bernard Epton’s “Before It’s Too Late” campaign geared to the racists; they tried to abridge his powers of office, rushing through the appointment of a white chancellor for the mostly black city colleges. The cops threatened mass arrests of blacks on election day. But Washington has as much right as anyone to be mayor. Washington’s victory in the face of this ugly racial polarization is touted nationwide as a major breakthrough for blacks. But his election is no victory for black Chicago. With only days in office, this Democratic Party hack has been busy scrambling to appease the racists and maintain the status quo.

Chicago is falling apart, and blacks have the worst of bad conditions. Black oppression is deeply rooted in this capitalist society where racists are overwhelmingly concentrated in what Marx called “reserve army of labor.” That’s why unemployment rates are astronomical in the ghetto, even in times of prosperity. In the current depression, black teenage unemployment is over 50 percent in the tenements and crumbling housing projects on the South Side. The schools are so far in debt they may not even open in the fall. Financial aid is being slashed, and tuition hikes—up to 60 percent at the University of Illinois at Chicago—threaten to make the campuses virtually lily-white, forcing minority students onto the streets or into the army. An entire generation has been thrown on the scrap heap. Small wonder that black youth made up the ranks of the strong demonstration that stopped the Nazis in Lincoln Park last June 27, initiated by the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League. The fight for a future for black youth means abolishing separate and unequal education, for defense of housing and its extension into the suburbs. It means smashing the tuition hikes through a fight for free tuition, open admissions, and a state stipend for all students. It means an integrated class fight against both the Republicans and the Democrats, the twin parties of capitalism. It took the Civil War to end chattel slavery, and it will take a socialist revolution to liberate blacks.

Black illusions in Washington as well as the racist backlash are products of 50 years of segregation enforced by the Democratic Party. Black precinct captains could get out the vote for Boss Daley’s racist Machine, but he made damn sure they never got elected to any important office. So the simple fact that a black man has been elected mayor has touched off the highest aspirations of the black population. Buttons reading “I’m Proud to be Black” were everywhere during the election, and in some black wards Washington polled 99 percent. One button even depicted Washington on the phone to Martin Luther King in heaven! While most blacks expect Washington to do something about unemployment, segregation, poverty and cop terror, some expect him to turn the nightmare of black oppression into the American Dream. “If Washington can be mayor of Chicago,” one young campaign worker told Young Spartacus, “in 20 years, I’m going to be president.”

But Washington will, and must, betray those hopes—and he’s already begun to do so. As Democratic mayor of Chicago he has the same responsibilities to his capitalist bosses that Byrne and Bilandi did: slash social services, break strikes, lay off city workers, and administer the police department. And Washington’s job will be to keep a lid on black struggle. The teachers, for example, haven’t had a raise in two years and face mass firings, and the mostly black union was expected to strike when its contract expires this summer. Now, however, many teachers feel that there won’t be a strike: there’s too strong an “understanding” between the union and Mayor Washington. Washington is mending fences with the racists who kicked him in the teeth. Even though he never promised open housing and reportedly “does not advocate” busing, Washington has rushed to assure white neighborhoods that there will be no “stampedes” on integration and public housing. Washington complains that his mild criticisms of the cops during the primary were “blown out of proportion.” Nowdays, he “praise[s] Chicago’s ‘good’ police department...and describe[s] most of the officers as ‘first rate people’” (Chicago Tribune, 23 March). He is reportedly considering

Who was right? The morning after, Washington promised cutbacks.
Washington...

(continued from page 12)

appointing James O'Grady, Police Superintendent Richard Brezenzuk's right-hand man, as chief of Chicago's 13,000-member police force. When Byrne tried to appoint O'Grady four years ago, there was such a protest from the black community that she chose Brezenzuk as a "lesser embarrassment."

Washington hopes the "O'Grady appointment will give [him] many opportunities to appoint more blacks to key positions without getting too much opposition from the white officers" (Defender, 18 April). And he won't be the first black Democrat using racist cop terror to maintain capitalist law and order. Take Los Angeles black mayor and ex-cop Tom Bradley, whose LAPD is notorious for the "choke hold" murders of blacks. In Detroit, black Democrat Coleman Young, whose election over a decade ago was viewed with great hope by most blacks and labor—and supported by the reformist "left"—crushed the militant 1980 city workers strike, and has had nothing but cheese lines and soup kitchens to offer thousands of laid-off Detroit auto workers. Washington's real job is to enforce capitalist austerity against the working class and black masses. Like other mayors of decaying industrial cities, he needs his cops to keep the population in order.

While the local Democratic Machine whipped up racist hysteria against Washington, the national Democratic Party backed him for its own interests. Teddy Kennedy used family connections to squelch Byrne's "white-in" campaign by forcing her campaign managers to resign; national party heavies paraded through Chicago campaigning for Washington. They backed him because they knew a Washington victory would provide illusory "proof" that the system, and the Democratic Party, will "work for blacks," removing the threat of an "independent" black presidential candidacy. And as a report by the Joint Center for Political Studies noted, "A Democratic presidential victory in 1984 is inconceivable without a strong black showing in northern cities and the South" (Chicago Tribune, 10 April).

The Democrats are counting on Washington to get out the black vote, in Chicago and nationwide. Jesse Jackson has already gone on a Southern tour urging blacks to vote Democrat in the 1984 election. Washington is using the euphoria over his election to promote a new Democratic coalition. But there's nothing new about this "coalition"! It was created back in the Great Depression under Roosevelt's New Deal, and for the last 50 years has been the single greatest obstacle to the liberation of the working class as a whole. They're simply using "anti-Reaganism" to refurbish its reputation, to continue tying blacks to the party of Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter, George Wallace and California Klansman Tom Metzger.

It is the urgent responsibility of socialists to fight for integrated class struggle, to break this class collaboration. Instead, the fake-left has capitulated to Washington. Their alibi was most clearly phrased by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party. In a polemic against "some left groups," including the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, who supposedly "surrendered to racism," they argue:

- The Chicago election was only an election in form. It was, in reality, a referendum on racism... The Chicago election issue was very simple: Racism—Yes or no?
- Workers World, 15 April

No, it wasn't that simple. The Marcyites try to make it appear so to write off Washington's 30-year history— as a machine Democrat as "irrelevant." But the fact that Washington is a Democrat—and a long-time loyal flunky, at that—is quite relevant. Despite the Marcyites' contentions, Washington's election was no referendum on racism. The Chicago election was quite simply an election, a ballot box decision on which bourgeois party would rule. The racist backlash dominated the campaign and we insisted that blacks have a right to elect whomever they want to office and that Washington, if elected, had the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. But there was nothing to support in Washington's campaign. You can't fight racial oppression by voting for the Democrats; they made Chicago Segregation City!

The Marcyites' enthusiasm over Washington stems from a defeatism toward class struggle. They simply cannot envisage breaking through the racial polarization in Chicago through class struggle which, of course, means taking on the Democratic Party. Nor can they envisage any struggle by the black masses except in the framework of bourgeois electoral politics. Workers World reported Washington's victory as an "uprising" (!) that occurred through electoralism because "there was no other available avenue for the oppressed masses to articulate and express not merely their anger and protest, but their aspirations as well" (15 April). But just because most blacks feel that Washington will fight for them, it doesn't mean he will. In office, Washington (like Coleman Young, Tom Bradley, etc.) will bleed the working class—black and white—dry to preserve the capitalists' profits.

- It's appropriate that Marcy cites the 1948 Progressive Party campaign of "independent" Henry Wallace as a precedent to the Washington campaign. Henry Wallace, a former Democratic vice president, was an imperialist "dove"
Exchange with a Howard University Reader

Yes, Harold Washington Betrays Black Chicago

Many of the concerns expressed by the Howard University Reader, a publication that focuses on issues relevant to the Howard University community, are echoed in the letter to the editor from a Howard University student. The student expresses concern about the perceived betrayal of Black interests by Harold Washington, the mayor of Chicago, and his administration.

The student argues that Washington, who has been praised for his efforts to improve the city's infrastructure and reduce crime, has failed to address the needs of the city's Black community. The student cites examples of the mayor's policies, such as the closure of public housing projects and the displacement of residents, as evidence of his betrayal.

The student also criticizes the student body of Howard University for not adequately addressing the issue. The student argues that the university's silence on the matter is a form of complicity in the mayor's neglect of Black Chicago.

In conclusion, the student calls on the university to take a stronger stance on the issue and to support the Black community's needs. The student concludes with a call to action, urging other students to speak out against the mayor's policies and to stand in solidarity with the Black community.

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Victory to Chicago Teachers Strike!

Union-Busting Fuels Racist Backlash

The letter to the editor expresses concern about the recent victory of the Chicago Teachers Union in their strike against the Chicago Public Schools. The student argues that the strike was justified because of the union's efforts to combat racism in the schools.

The student cites examples of the union's efforts to improve the educational experience for Black and Brown students, such as the implementation of culturally relevant curricula and the hiring of more teachers of color. The student argues that these efforts are necessary to counteract the legacy of racism in the schools.

The student also criticizes the city's efforts to undermine the union, including the use of private contractors to provide substitute teachers and the attempted closure of public housing projects. The student argues that these actions are intended to weaken the union's bargaining power and to perpetuate segregation in the schools.

In conclusion, the student calls on the city and the schools to respect the union's right to a fair and just contract and to support their efforts to improve the educational experience for all students. The student concludes with a call to action, urging other students to support the union's efforts and to stand in solidarity with their colleagues in the strike.
Chicago... (continued from page 3)

League are even threatening to go court to force the opening of the schools. This supports the view for "desegregation" is cynical and laughable: the Board of Education's phony plan cannot work because Chicago's 987 public schools will remain all black or Hispanic while setting up "magnet schools" that only 8 percent of the schoolchildren—20 black students—will attend. According to a study by the Chicago Tribune (July 17), the "desegregation" plan will leave "the majority of children in segregated schools that get less money and offer fewer opportunities."

The black poet's use of this "desegregation plan" is nothing butunion-busting demagogy. Washington refuses to support busing. A report by Robert Cramer (commissioned and suppressed) by the Chicago Board of Education reports, "10,000 black students could easily be provided desegregated schooling in the suburbs and no one has made a very hard effort...." (Sun-Times, 11 July) It has always been our position to extend busing to the suburbs where the good schools are and to form labor/black defense guards to protect black schoolchildren from racist attack. A powerful, integrated working class has the power and the interest, to enforce real school desegregation and integrate housing (80 percent of Chicago's black population lives in neighborhoods that are 90 percent black). The Chicago Teachers Union, with its integrated membership and the history of combative, is in a position to spark a wider class battle by city workers to cut across the racial polarization in Chicago and smash the city's austerity moves by uniting black and white workers. To do this the teachers union must become the vanguard of a struggle for real school integration, to unite factory workers facing layoffs with the masses of unemployed, to demand big pay increases for all city workers and free mass transit. Victory to the teachers strike!

Black youth unemployment is economically high all over the country, with estimates ranging from 50 to 75 percent. A study by Pierre Devine for the Chicago City Club (Chicago Defender, 16 February) estimates black unemployment locally at three times the average for whites, which the Labor Department puts at an unrealistic 23 percent for teenagers nationally (nobody even counts the 17-year-old "discouraged worker"). Of course Washington isn't going to do anything about it; he's too busy wielding the budget ax for the Wall Street bankers. Beginning almost the moment he took office Washington has been on a campaign against city workers calculated to reassure Standard and Poor's. Refusing to honor union agreements reached with the Byrne administration, Washington withheld $7 million in back pay due to city craft workers. His most recent "victory" was a court ruling upholding the firing of 743 workers, bringing the total fired and laid off to 1,349. Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) head Renato Romani, a Washington appointee, has slashed 959 "maintenance workers from the CHA payroll and has suggested that public housing tenants should do the maintenance themselves. There are now only five union elevator mechanics to serve 1,100 CHA buildings, previously 25 percent of the elevators didn't work—now 75 percent don't. Chicago transit workers are next on the union-busting list, all part of the capitalists' program of letting mass transit, public housing and education—services that blacks and the working poor need—to go hell to pay for the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

The Chicago Tribune (22 July) is pleased with Washington's record in this regard, crowing that Washington "shows mettle.... It's about time someone in city government showed some muscle against the unions."

The increasingly biopartisan Chicago cops did threaten mass arrests on election day (see "Racial cops on the loose," Chicago Defender, 11 April). After his election Washington immediately made his peace with the racists in blue, pitting most of the officers as "first rate people." This fact we reported in our article. Meanwhile racist cop harassment and outright murder—from the shooting of a black jogger in Hyde Park, to the stooping to death of a Puerto Rican in Pilsen to the recent arrest of a black bus driver who defended himself against a racist gang of punks—has continued unabated since Washington took office. The racial polarizations that erupted during the mayoral election controversies in the City Council division between Washington and "Just Eddie" Vrdolyak's racist bloc of 29. The 29 have been playing with racist dynamics in Chicago, the most segregated city in the country, with ex-cop Ed Burke demagogically talking about a "general strike" of white workers, i.e., a race war.

Rome is blind to the reality of Chicago today, and to the only way out of it: integrated class struggle. Only a parliamentary extremist can fail to see the connection between the fight against unemployment and the fight against racist and fascist terror, both burning issues for the oppressed black masses. Rome disingenuously suggests that our class-struggle opposition to the Demo-

It is quite appropriate that Rome quotes Manning Marable, vice-chair and black spokesman of the Democratic Socialist of America (DSA). The DSA has long sought to be the "left wing of the possible." To reformist the "possible" now means ensuring for the capitalists what the left wing of the bourgeois Democratic Party (see "Santa Cruz DSA Sticks It to City Workers" in this issue). Like the devil quotes scripture, Marable quotes Marx—except that Marx was talking about making a revolution, not heading it off into a bourgeois party. The "circumstances...