

## MANNING MARABLE

## FROM THE GRASSROOTS

# Roosevelt's "Second Bill of Rights" still far from fulfillment

THE CENTRAL TRAGEDY IN American life is that the promise of real human equality, as expressed partially in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Emancipation Proclamation, has never been realized. Behind the rhetoric of human freedom and outstanding scientific achievements, one is constantly struck by the continuity of economic depravity, sickness and unemployment so prevalent throughout minority communities. Almost one-quarter century ago President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized this basic failure of American democracy, and commented on even the New Deal's inability to find a solution to the ever-deepening crisis.

In his 1944 State of the Union Message, Roosevelt admitted that despite 12 years of liberal programs and remedies, the problems generated by inequality of economic opportunity had not been solved. "As our nation has grown in size and stature and as our industrial economy



expanded, he explained, America's political system has proved itself "inadequate to assure us equality." Democracy depended upon "economic security and independence" for every strata of the nation's society. Human beings must have more than equality of opportunity to compete for jobs and an education—these rights should be guaranteed by the federal government.

Roosevelt proposed in his speech a new social contract, "a Second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed."

Roosevelt pointed to eight specific economically-related rights that all Americans ought to have:

- The right to a useful and remunerative job;
- The right to earn enough to provide adequate food, clothing and recreation;
- The right of every farmer to raise and sell his own products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;
- The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;
- The right of every family to a decent home;
- The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;
- The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age;
- The right to a good education.

To Roosevelt, these eight critical objectives for development "spelled security" and "human happiness." After his administration, the Democratic Party was successful in dominating both Houses of Congress. At times the Democratic Party enjoyed a two-thirds majority; the federal bureaucracy and most state legislatures became controlled by Democrats. How far are we toward realizing the "second Bill of Rights" Roosevelt proposed as being essential for democracy to survive?

In short, pitifully few of these aims have been achieved. The "right to a useful and remunerative job," the key principle behind the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, has been lost. Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal has told me personally that he opposes an unemployment rate below 5 percent—which translates into an unemployment rate for black males at 10 percent and above. The Carter administration has no plans whatsoever toward creating public service jobs essential in generating work for minority communities.

The "right to food and clothing" has

not been realized in the ghetto or Appalachia; farmers went on strike last year because huge corporations have put them out of business. Small businessmen in the black community have little chance of surviving beyond the first two years of operation. "Redlining" and racist policies by banks limit the availability of credit essential in establishing any viable economic entity.

The vast majority of Americans cannot afford to purchase a new home, now priced on average at over \$60,000. About 70 percent of all black families either rent apartments or houses, and have little opportunity to purchase quality housing. The "right to adequate medical care," either the Kennedy-Corman or Dellums' healthcare proposals, have few supporters in Congress. The typical black man is dead by age 60; most black children never see a dentist and have no family doctor.

Black schools and universities have increased federal support, better libraries and educational facilities. Yet the recent Alan Bakke decision, the specter of Proposition 13 in California and racist political attacks against black institutions have amounted to a genuine assault against affirmative action and the future of "educational opportunity."

The challenge of America in the 1980s will be along these issues: will we achieve a greater chance for human equality and economic democracy, or will we retreat into the inequalities of the past?

Roosevelt had some of the solutions, but never quite grasped the problem: the reason for the lack of economic equality stems directly from the nature of our economic system itself. Unless a new movement, as broadly-based and as dedicated as the Civil Rights Movement, begins to challenge the corporations' control over all society, we cannot achieve lasting human equality.

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## WILLIAM GOLDSMITH

## Giant corporations breed bureaucracy and big government

THE STRONG TREND IN AMERICAN POLITICS AGAINST government spending, while highlighting an obstacle to the growth of the socialist movement, may in the end advertise a basic flaw of capitalism. The obstacle is people's legitimate fear of giant bureaucracy, particularly in government, and their association of bureaucracy with socialism. The flaw may appear as it becomes obvious that corporations support the maintenance of government bureaucracy. Popular fear of socialist development has centered on the concentration of power and influence within government, its dominance and control over important social activities, and consequent limitations on individual choice. As a foil to this fear, our myths associate the development of the private sector, guided supposedly by Adam Smith's invisible hand, with individualism, economic freedom, efficiency, creativity and growth. The ultimate effect of the current "taxpayers' revolt" may be a breakdown of this false contrast between giant, slovenly, and monolithic government and small, active and competitive private business.

Anti-bureaucratic sentiment that recognizes the continuing concentration and consolidation of power in the major corporations is already spreading. That the corporate conglomerate movement necessarily entails centralization and expansion of government spending and control has received less recognition.

Evidence of tight concentration, growth and stability of corporate ownership is abundant. So is news of interlocking directorates, trust department control over rapidly growing institutional sharehold-

ings, and business domination of the government.

Forbes magazine, which calls itself "The Capitalist Tool," compiled data (September 1977) on the top 100 industrial corporations for each decade since 1917. The listing—a weak measure—shows an enormous concentration of great economic power, even though banks with widespread tentacles of control, such as Chase, Citibank and Morgan Guaranty, are excluded.

The Forbes list shows frightening concentration and stability at really top levels. In 1977, the ten largest corporations held more than one-third of the assets of the top 100. Corporations that have been on the list since 1917 held nearly two-thirds of these assets. Almost five-sixths—about half a trillion dollars—is held by firms that have been in the top 100 since at least World War II.

This stability holds through 60 years of war, depression and vast technologi-

cal expansion. As the diagram shows, old money is the biggest money, and it is getting bigger all the time.

How this corporate concentration leads to government bureaucracy gorging itself on our taxes is a complex story, but its outlines are simple.

First, corporations grow as part of a competitive process in which losers drop out and winners become more and more powerful. Of course there are times when former winners drop out, but at the top this is infrequent.

Take the case of ARCO. In 1917, with assets of \$61 million, it ranked 87th. By 1977, after it had absorbed at least six other giant firms, its assets were nearly \$9 billion, and it ranked 15th. By no means was all of this growth due to inflation. From 1966 to 1977, for example, when GNP inflated by 84 percent, the assets of the top 100 firms grew by 166 percent, twice as fast.

Second, as the corporations grow, their need for capital grows at least in proportion. Giant firms become top heavy, their executive salaries grow enormous, their prices are not competitive, and they require truly gigantic capital investments. Many rely heavily on the government, through military contracts, to provide them with the necessary capital.

Beyond military spending, the government is more generally tied into corporate growth and concentration. Because

of its dependence on tax revenues and therefore on the productivity of corporations (which produce taxable goods and incomes), government must support the more successful corporations. It facilitates capital accumulation in the dominant firms—by international protection, tax incentives, business contracts, outright subsidies, reduction or elimination of risk, general public investment, or business-oriented services.

Government must also grow because as corporate accumulation requires high profits at levels of performance far below full employment, current social problems are intensified. The government must not only support the accumulation process by actively supporting business, but it must also act to mitigate the impact of inequality arising from unemployment, monopoly pricing and severe payroll inequities. It must act upon side effects of corporate growth, such as pollution, and it must further act to control ensuing unrest and dissent.

Government picks up the tab for the unemployment, poverty, occupational disease, environmental decay and ill health the corporate economy produces. Under the present state of affairs, as the corporations grow, so must the government. ■

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# PERSPECTIVES

## Professional unions: Class struggle comes to higher education

LAST MARCH 18, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND PROFESSIONAL staff of colleges and universities on Long Island gathered at SUNY Farmingdale to consider "Unionization and Higher Education on Long Island." This conference, sponsored by the Collective Bargaining Coalition of Long Island Colleges and Universities, marked the completion of a three-year effort. Beginning as a regional caucus within the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT), AFT, AFL-CIO, the representatives of these unions felt that teachers in higher education had distinctive needs and problems, rooted in the specific traditions of "the Academy," that were being addressed inadequately by the state teacher-union movement.

NYSUT seemed deaf to our concerns as faculty in higher education, because its base has long resided in elementary and secondary schools, and because its strategic guidelines were drawn from the industrial trade-union movement.

The issues that specifically concerned us might be labeled "professionalism"—the traditional role of college faculty in academic governance, selection of "professional" personnel and development of academic programs.

We were unionizing, at least in part, to strengthen our hand in the struggle for our version of "worker self-management" but NYSUT leaders were advising us that we were "simply" employees, and that we should leave policy matters and personnel selection and evaluation to Management.

We were, of course, concerned about "money issues" and job security, but we had not unionized to give up our decision-making role as academic professionals. Increasingly, we were forced, by management and the unions, to struggle with this "conflict" between traditional "collegiality" and "industrial trade-unionism."

**Public and private colleges.** As we began to meet regularly to discuss our common problems it became obvious that many problems were shared by our unionized colleagues on Long Island, including those affiliated with the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). So we opened our meetings to representatives of all higher education unions.

At our monthly meetings we exchanged contracts, shared experiences, discussed negotiating strategies, and explored ways of dealing with our respective administrations. At first we were surprised by the similarity of problems we faced, and we began more clearly to see their regional, and even national, scope.

It became evident that these regional concerns were conditioned by political decisions made in Albany and Washington, as well as by investment decisions made in the so-called "private sector." We also saw that to have any significant impact on policy formation at these levels we would have to overcome such pitfalls as: the conflict between "public" and "private" colleges; the differences between two-year, four-year, and graduate institutions; and the political struggles among such national teacher organizations as the AFT, AAUP, and National Education Association.

We realized that the division between "public" and "private" institutions was largely an arbitrary "legal fiction," the main consequences of which was to pit teachers against one another in the struggle for public funds. As we noted in our

founding statement, "The older distinction between 'public' and 'private' institutions has blurred—all institutions are recipients of public monies, all are carrying out public functions, all must be answerable to public needs, albeit in diverse ways."

There is, of course, a hidden class issue here. It relates to the different constituencies served by the "public" and "private" institutions and to the quality and nature of the education they make available.

We realized that we had to have an organization that could demand that it be heard as the legitimate representative of all higher education "professionals" on Long Island. But could what unites us take precedence over what has divided us? We had to explore our differences at length.

We began to develop procedures for mutual aid during contract negotiations and strikes. During strike preparations at Nassau Community College representatives of "private" institutions, Adelphi and C.W. Post, spoke at a rally and related their strike experience. The Coalition had marshalled support for the striking faculties at Dowling and C.W. Post, each out for more than 20 days in September 1977.

These experiences deepened the commitment of the respective unions to the Coalition. With the relatively successful completion of those strikes we turned toward the Coalition. The conference at Farmingdale was the result.

### Larger meaning.

In this process we have come to see a larger political significance in our efforts. We are struggling over the role of education in our society, the place of teacher-workers in their institutions, and the general direction of the American trade union movement.

Teachers in higher education have been raised on the ethic of "professionalism." Historically, they have tended to oppose unionization as "unprofessional," as a leveling approach contrary to their commitment to self-governing meritocracy dedicated to academic quality. They have often been challenged by union people as snobbish and elitist, unable to realize that teachers are also workers, that real control has always remained in the hands of administrations and governing boards (invariably composed of members of the business establishment), and that "professionalism" has played into the hands of their employers by getting teachers to do the dirty work of evaluating and firing their colleagues.

On the campus, professionalism has divided professors among themselves, and cut them off from the staff and maintenance workers. Off campus, it has tended to isolate the "professoriate" from its potential allies in the elementary and secondary schools, as well as from the wider working-class movement.

The traditional union alternative to collegial professionalism has emphasized worker solidarity, job protection, and improved salaries and fringe benefits, based on schedules that pay little attention to merit—verbiage aside—and that treat workers alike in accordance with the time-honored principle of seniority.

The union response to academic self-governance has tended to be: the administration is management, we are employees, and we should not muddy the waters. Let the managers manage, make the decisions as to hiring, firing and promoting, as well as to "designing the product," i.e., courses and academic programs. As employees we must simply ensure that we have a strong contract with good safeguards against arbitrary action backed up with an effective grievance procedure.

### False dichotomy.

What does this dichotomy come down to in the end? Professors are given the choice between "self-governance" in an advisory role without binding legal power, or "industrial trade unionism," in which faculty give up all claim to self-management in return for the right to bargain on "wages, hours, and terms and conditions of employment."

We see the collective bargaining process as an opportunity to move toward worker self-management, thus offering to the trade union movement a vision of its own future. We do not intend to leave the initiative to management; we do not accept their claim that they are the university; we will not allow them, in the name of "management prerogatives," sole power to determine the structure of work, and the direction of expansion and contraction of the institution.

The general failure of American trade unions to challenge management in this way has allowed employers to gain a strategic public relations initiative by being able to present themselves as the providers of service, while depicting us as seeking only to work less, be paid more, and be guaranteed lifetime job security—without concern for the students.

The "corporatization of the academy," linked as it is to the slowdown of the American economy, seems to have as its aim the complete integration of higher educa-

tion into "one dimensional" American capitalism. We are increasingly having to deal with business attempts to develop a highly stratified educational system; a higher educational tracking that will prepare the work force for its role in an ever more class and job stratified social order.

### Battle for control.

The growing thrust of managers, corporate spokespeople, and public officials is thus to push for "job development." Vocational courses of study are always presented as if they were in the students' interest, intended to give them the skills they need to prepare for the future. Hence the pressure grows to turn many "lower level" colleges into publicly-supported work training schools for the corporations, while seeking, at the same time, greatly to limit overall access to higher education.

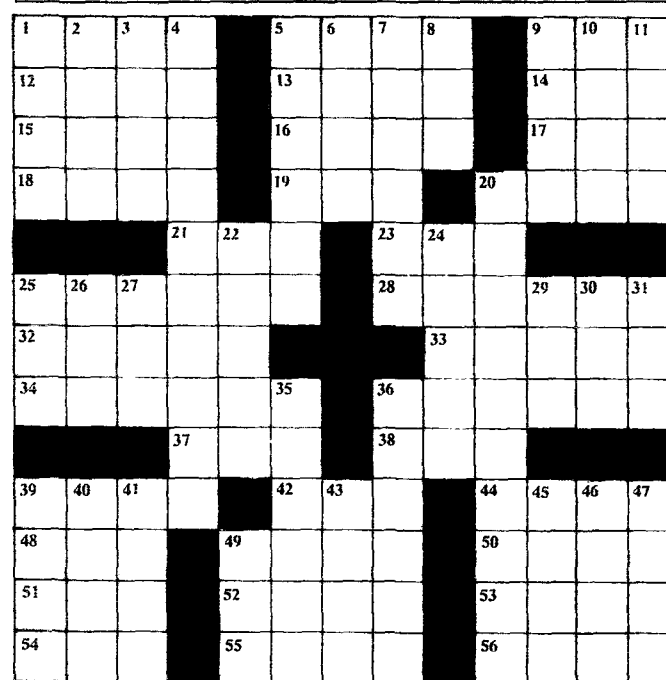
The point here concerns the growing fear on the part of corporate interests that there are insufficient jobs, and that, given the general process of "deskilling" that Harry Braverman described in *Labor and Monopoly Capitalism*, the "establishment" is concerned that workers are becoming overeducated. And overeducated workers are more easily dissatisfied and prone to rebellion.

We have responded to these developments by insisting that "faculties have the primary responsibility for the development and implementation of educational policy," and that "efforts to remove control over matters like curriculum and the hiring of faculty from those who teach and study is destructive to the necessary process of self-governance." "Representatives of faculty, students, and staff," we argue, "must come together with community representatives to discuss and develop plans for regional development. The Master Plans now mandated by the State Department of Education (where long-term policy is developed), must have the full advice and consent of the concerned faculty as well as of the other concerned constituencies."

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## Seat of Power

By Jay Shepherd



- 6 Melville novel
- 7 Instant
- 8 Chinese pagoda
- 9 Silent film star: Theda \_\_\_\_\_
- 10 Seaweed
- 11 Jerk
- 20 Doctrinaire
- 22 Edison museum: \_\_\_\_\_ Park
- 24 Gallery need
- 25 Kind of nose (abbr.)
- 26 Commotion
- 27 Kennedy (fam.)
- 29 \_\_\_\_\_ Harry: Satan
- 30 Crony (old Eng.)
- 31 Gielgud or Eden
- 35 Presbyters
- 36 Fight
- 39 At a \_\_\_\_\_: perplexed
- 40 Part of the eye
- 41 Nat \_\_\_\_\_ Cole
- 43 Algerian seaport
- 45 Dry (comb. form)
- 46 Dorsal bones
- 47 Actor Alda
- 49 Author of "The Raven"

### ACROSS

- 1 Rowing team
- 5 Greatest degree
- 9 Baffin or Hudson
- 12 Author Philip \_\_\_\_\_
- 13 Swedish city
- 14 Turkish title
- 15 Word with bus and graph
- 16 Portuguese cape
- 17 Scurried
- 18 Organic soil
- 19 To low
- 20 Central or Hyde
- 21 Relative of rhea
- 23 Born
- 25 In a measure
- 28 Ornamental borders
- 32 "\_\_\_\_\_ a Grecian Urn"
- 33 Pheasant ragout
- 34 Standard of measure
- 36 Drinking spree
- 37 Word with ace or vent
- 38 River island
- 39 New Testament book
- 42 Speck
- 44 Mistletoe genus
- 48 Egg (comb. form)
- 49 Saucy
- 50 Prison room
- 51 Oriental coin
- 52 The O of Tulsa's ORU
- 53 Melody
- 54 Hang loosely
- 55 Hireling
- 56 Lend

### DOWN

- 1 Harvest
- 2 Eternal City

### Answer to last week's puzzle:

