



# **CLASS ANALYSIS: UNITED STATES in the 1970's**

— by Judah Hill

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CLASS ANALYSIS: UNITED STATES in the 1970's

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This is to thank the nine good comrades without whose encouragement and long hours of struggle, criticism, and production work, the paper would never have been done.

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"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution."

--Mao Tse-Tung

Analysis of Classes  
in Chinese Society  
1926

A class analysis is one of the basic tools necessary to develop a revolutionary strategy. Most people agree on this. Unfortunately the actual work of making a concrete class analysis of America in the 1970s has only just begun. In the polemics, debates, arguments, study, and discussions that are a necessary part of class struggle, the tendency has been to rely on the general class analysis of capitalist society developed by Marx and Engels or on the specific class analyses of Czarist Russia and China developed respectively by Lenin and Mao.

Up to a point this has been very useful. But without a concrete scientific Marxist analysis of the classes, words like petit-bourgeois, lumpen, proletarian- meaning different things to different people sometimes even different things to the same person can't be used scientifically. So they often end up being used as catch phrases and jargon. For example, there have been coalition-type meetings among various groups and individuals, all of whom consider themselves revolutionary Marxists, where various speakers have used the term "working class" to mean very different things, such as 1) all people who are paid a salary; 2) only blue-collar workers in large-scale industry; 3) anyone who earns between roughly \$4,000-\$10,000 per year; 4) all sexist, racist, materialist boobs; 5) all those who are inherently noble and revolutionary.

This paper is an attempt to begin developing a concrete scientific Marxist class analysis of modern America. It is the second draft of a paper that was originally written in 1972. It has been rewritten on the basis of criticisms and suggestions that grew out of the first draft (which itself grew out of group discussions and rough drafts). It has also been rewritten on the basis of statistical data from the 1970 Census that was not available when the first draft was written.

Like the first draft, this paper is not seen as a finished document. Rather it is seen as a tool for the study of class and a basis for discussion. This paper is NOT A COMPLETE CLASS ANALYSIS. First, because the development of a complete analysis will require much more theoretical study, research, political practice, discussion, and concurrent analysis. Second, this paper is not complete because it does not deal at all, or only minimally, with several vital areas necessary for a complete analysis. No revolutionary class analysis can be complete without a clear understanding of imperialism, national questions, racism, and sexism. This paper does not fully analyse these questions

The primary goal of this paper is to present a set of concrete definitions and descriptions of the different economic classes and sectors in America. This is considered primary because we must develop a common understanding of what the different classes and sectors are before we can analyze their social situations, relationships to each other, and roles in class struggle. It is hoped that people and organizations will criticize and discuss these definitions and struggle over them internally and externally until we can arrive at a common understanding of the class structure of the U.S. Please send any written suggestions, criticisms, or agreements that you have to the paper.

The secondary goal of this paper is to begin the process of analyzing the social situation and role in struggle of the different classes and sectors. This is, of course, the heart and soul of any revolutionary class analysis. In this paper the political analysis is only just begun. It is just sketched lightly and is seen as the starting point for discussion, criticism, and struggle.



## ORGANIZATION OF THIS PAPER

This paper divides America into four basic classes. They are

- I      Bourgeois Class
- II     Petit-Bourgeois Class
- III    Proletariat
- IV     Small Farmer Class

These four basic classes are defined by their relationship to the means-of-production. Each of these classes is broken down into two or more sectors on the basis of relationship to the means-of-production and other factors. The classes and sectors are

- I      Bourgeois Class
  - Monopoly Sector
  - Lieutenant Sector
- II     Petit-Bourgeois Class
  - Business Sector
  - Managerial Sector
  - Professional Sector
- III    Proletariat\*
  - Semi-Professional Sector
  - Office Sector
  - Service Sector
  - Production Sector
  - Aged Sector
  - Excluded Sector
- IV     Small Farmer Class
  - Freeholder Sector
  - Tenant Sector

\* The working class is also examined in terms of occupational groupings (clerical, crafts, operatives, farm, etc.) and by standard of living.

Most of the sections on classes and sectors contains a discussion of seven key elements: definition, composition, income, organization, mobility, social and economic situation, and role in class struggle.

Following the discussion of the four classes and their sectors is a short discussion of significant non-class social groupings; in other words, groupings of people from more than one class. Then there is a brief discussion of the relationship of class analysis to individuals. The last part of the paper consists of tables, charts, and graphs that summarize the statistical data on each class and sector. It is hoped that these graphs and tables will help make clearer the relationship between the sectors and classes. Since they will contain some information not in the text, please refer to them while reading the text.

## ABOUT THE STATISTICS

The Census, Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), Social Security and other statistical sources are designed to help businessmen and politicians manipulate people. They are not designed to aid class struggle. In fact, they are designed to obscure social reality (except where accuracy is needed by the rulers). Furthermore, those who control these bureaus are not particularly friendly or helpful to Marxists. What this means is that the statistical data that could be found had to be reworked as adequately as possible to fit into the class definitions outlined in this paper. It wasn't easy, and frankly, it's not computer accurate. All the figures that are given could be off by as much as 5% --or possibly more if there was a serious misunderstanding of one of their obscure tables. However, in general, the figures given are accurate. Some of the more glaring distortions and omissions of the government statistics will be pointed out in the text.

The most serious problem with the government statistics is the way that they handle national minorities. In the 1960 Census they distinguished between "White" and "Non-White." "Non-White" included Blacks, Native Americans, and Asians, but not Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos. The 1970 Census has "White," "Negro," and "Spanish Heritage." But not all three are in each table. Furthermore, who is considered to be of "Spanish Heritage" is very confusing and varies for different parts of the country. In most 1970 tables Asians and Native Americans do not appear at all (except as part of the total population).

When this paper refers to "Third World" or "national minorities," it includes Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, other Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and people from North Africa and the Middle East. In order to make the figures comparable to each other and to include all the different Third World peoples, it was sometimes necessary to make estimations.

Not included in any of the government statistics are the so-called "illegal immigrants," or more accurately, immigrant workers without government documents. It is estimated that there are over 6,000,000 of these undocumented workers in the U.S. Their omission from the statistics is a major distortion of the true situation of the Third World population. Since there was absolutely no data to go on, it was impossible to include them in the statistics in this paper. Thus they are included only in the text describing the sectors in which they are most numerous.



**TABLE 1** Elements of the BLS Family of Four budget for Fall 1973

	"LOWER"	"INTERMEDIATE"	"HIGHER"
Food (per person per week)	\$ 11.73	\$ 15.30	\$ 19.32
Housing (per month)	\$ 135.58	\$ 242.33	\$ 365.50
Transportation (per month)	\$ 46.91	\$ 84.50	\$ 109.58
Clothing (per person per month)	\$ 14.50	\$ 20.72	\$ 30.33
Personal Care (per person per month)	\$ 4.27	\$ 5.72	\$ 8.12
Medical Care (per family per month)	\$ 55.00	\$ 55.33	\$ 57.66
All Other* (per person per month)	\$ 8.10	\$ 15.04	\$ 24.81
Taxes (per family per year)	\$1216.00	\$2254.00	\$3727.00
<b>TOTAL (per family per year)</b>	<b>\$8181.00</b>	<b>\$12,626.00</b>	<b>\$18,201.00</b>

\*Other includes- recreation, education, travel, and other misc.

## ABOUT THE INCOME STATISTICS

Throughout the paper (except for the bourgeois class) the discussion of income, and to some extent the definition of sectors, will refer to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) "budgets at three levels." Every year the BLS publishes the amount necessary to live at three standards of living. Although they don't say so explicitly, the fact is that their "LOWER" budget represents the true definition of poverty. In other words, anyone living on or under a BLS "LOWER" budget is living in poverty. Likewise their "HIGHER" budget marks the minimum necessary for what is commonly thought of as a "Middle Class" life style. That is, if your earnings equal or exceed the BLS "HIGHER" budget, then you can afford a comfortable, secure, "American dream" life style. The BLS "INTERMEDIATE" budget represents a life style half way between poverty and security. These budget levels are updated every year on the basis of changes in prices for the goods and services necessary for these standards of living.

The most recent of these budget analyses for which there is complete data is for the fall of 1973. These budgets are calculated for individuals and different types of families. The basic budget, and the one used as a standard in this paper, is for an urban family of four. This family consists of a 38-year-old male worker, a non-working wife, a 13-year-old son and an 8-year-old daughter. The parents have been married 15 years and have an average inventory of clothes, furnishings, durable products, and other items, the average varying with the level.

The three standards of living for this type of family in the fall of 1973 were "LOWER"--\$8,181; "INTERMEDIATE"--\$12,626; "HIGHER"--\$18,201. These figures are a national average. Different urban areas varied. The most expensive urban area in the continental United States was the Boston area, and the least expensive was Austin, Texas.

For the national average the BLS budgets contained the following elements for 1973 (fall) as shown in Table 1.

Of course, these budgets reflect only what the government thinks is a just budget. There is no guarantee that a family of four was actually able to find housing for \$135.58/month in late 1973. If they had to pay more for housing, then they had less to spend on other items. Also, this budget does not take into account differences in quality for items bought or rented.

Throughout the paper questions of income are dealt with in terms of these budgets. Obviously, however, a single person or a married couple would need less money to achieve these hypothetical standards of living than would a couple with two children. On the other hand, a larger family would need more money.

The figures for the three budget levels given above are for fall of 1973. Clearly, the high inflation of 1974 drove all the budget levels much higher. The preliminary figures for fall 1974 are "LOWER"--\$9,200; "INTERMEDIATE"--\$14,300; "HIGHER"--\$20,800. Since the paper is using the 1970 Census as the basis for all statistics (and thus the budget levels of fall 1969), the number of workers reported in the paper as over or under the various budgets reflects the situation that was true in 1969. However, since inflation has risen faster than wages over the last few years, the current situation is that higher percentages of workers are in the lower brackets than reported in statistical sections of the paper.

## THE LABOR FORCE

Throughout this paper most of the classes and sectors will be discussed in terms of the Laborforce or Workforce. The laborforce refers to all people who either are working at a job, own their own business, or are temporarily unemployed.

Members of the bourgeoisie are so well hidden (statistically speaking) that they do not show up clearly in the census figures; they are hidden within the statistics for the petit-bourgeoisie. Thus they are not discussed in terms of the laborforce. The



TABLE 2 Composition of the laborforce 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	79,969,000 (100.0%)	68,225,000 (85.3%)	11,743,000 (14.7%)
Male	49,518,000 ( 61.9%)	42,756,000 (53.5%)	6,762,000 ( 8.4%)
Female	30,450,000 ( 38.1%)	25,469,000 (31.8%)	4,981,000 ( 6.2%)

Aged and Excluded sectors of the working class, composed of those excluded from the economy, are of course not part of the laborforce and their statistics are treated differently.

For the three classes described in terms of the laborforce (petit-bourgeois, working, and small farmer), the statistics given in the paper count only ACTIVE members of the class or sector. Non-working dependents (wives, husbands, children, etc.) are considered to be members of the class of the "breadwinner," but they are not shown statistically in the text of this paper. If more than one member of a family works, then each of them is counted in the statistics of the class and sector determined by their job or business.

Table 2 shows the absolute and relative composition of the laborforce. This style of table will be used throughout the paper for each class and sector. Here's how to read and interpret it. The first line of figures gives the number of people in the laborforce (or class or sector as the case may be). "ALL" means both white and Third World people. So, reading across the first line, there are 79,968,000 people in the laborforce, of whom 68,225,000 are white and 11,743,000 are Third World. The second line gives the same information for males: there are 49,518,000 males in the laborforce, of whom 42,756,000 are white and 6,762,000 are Third World. The third line gives the same data for women.

Following each figure for the number of people is a percentage in parentheses. This percentage is the percent of the total. Thus the 49,518,000 males are 61.9% of the total laborforce of 79,969,000. The 4,981,000 Third World women are 6.2% of the total laborforce.

As can be seen from the table, the laborforce in the U.S. has a majority of men over women (62% to 38%) and white over Third World (85% to 15%). This is a result of the fact that large numbers of women remain in the home to care for children (and husband), and of the fact that Third World people are simply outnumbered by whites. What will become clear in the statistics for the various classes and sectors is the widespread discrimination against Third World people and women of all nationalities

## THE BOURGEOISIE OR RULING CLASS

At the most basic level both the bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie own or control the means of production. What separates the bourgeoisie (ruling class) from the petit-bourgeoisie is economic and political power. In essence the bourgeoisie has the power to influence or control the economy of the nation as a whole. The petit-bourgeoisie has relatively little influence on the economy as a whole and is limited to the operation of only immediate businesses, which must be operated as best they can within the economic framework and flow decreed by the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie is that class of people who either own or control the major units of the economy (such as the companies listed in the Fortune 500 survey). Furthermore, the bourgeoisie includes those who control the State, which in essence is an arm of the bourgeoisie.

Some studies have shown that this class composes about 1.5% of the population. However, this figure is a little misleading because it includes the entire family (children, spouse, etc.) when, in fact, the actual exercise of the power inherent in their ownership of the means-of-production is done by only one or two members of each family. This 1.5% of the population owns outright in its own name 80% of all stocks, 100% of all public (municipal, county, state) bonds, and 85% of all corporate bonds. This is to say nothing of their vast holdings in countries other than the U.S. Further, members of this class dominate the boards, commissions and committees that control higher education, communications, "public" resources, etc.

It is very difficult to get accurate information about this class. They use all the resources at their command to keep secret the extent of their power, their decisions, who they are, etc. There are two main reasons for this. One is that they don't like to pay taxes; thus it is in their interest to keep hidden the extent of their wealth and income. More important is their desire to perpetuate the myth that America is a free, classless society. As long as the existence of a ruling class is hidden, the chances of rebellion against it



are small. The myth that America is a "pluralistic Democracy" is one of the greatest weapons in the arsenal that maintains their class rule.

This class is divided into two sectors: the monopoly sector and the lieutenant sector. The dividing line between these two sectors is not a crystal clear one and further research is needed to sharpen it.

## THE MONOPOLY SECTOR

### Definition

This is the sector that owns the major means-of-production. It has been estimated that this tiny handful (the monopoly sector) owns outright about 25% of the factories, mines, railroads, and other means-of-production in the U.S. Ownership, however, is just the tip of the iceberg, because it has been proven that control of as little as 5% of the stock of a major corporation gives control of the company (assuming there are no larger blocks of stock). Thus the ownership concentrated in the hands of the monopoly sector gives them tremendous influence over the entire economy.

Since the end of World War II, American business has been investing its money in foreign countries at a great rate. This means that the American monopoly sector has become --in effect--an international class. That is, it controls or influences the economies and governments of most of the "Free World" nations.

Some familiar examples of people who are members of this sector are the DuPonts (General Motors, chemicals, banks, etc.), the Rockefellers (Standard Oil, et. al; Chase Manhattan Bank, et. al.; real estate, etc.), the Mellons (mines, railroads, etc.), the Fords (automobiles, appliances, etc.).

The word "own" is being used loosely in this definition. For the bourgeoisie, the old style "family capitalism" is long since dead. That is, it is very rare for a large corporation to be owned lock, stock, and barrel by a single person, family, or even a partnership of two or three families. The bourgeoisie (and especially the monopoly sector) has long since diversified its holdings. Instead of Family "A" owning Company "A," while family "B," "C," and "D" own respectively companies "B," "C," and "D" (which was the old style "family capitalism"); now-a-days Family "A" owns 25% of Company "A,"

10% of Company "B," 15% of Company "C" and various percentages of twenty or thirty other corporations, banks, tracts of land, etc.

This has greatly strengthened the individual members of the bourgeoisie, because the decline of one corporation or industry would not wipe out those whose eggs were placed in many different corporate or industrial baskets. Furthermore, this pooling of class interests has greatly strengthened the bourgeois class as a whole, because it has tended to lessen the motive for competition among them and to increase both the desire and ability to protect and expand the interests of the class as a whole.

### Composition

About  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 percent (2-5 people out of 1,000) of the population are members of this class. Or about 500,000 to 1,000,000 total. But, these figures are for families, that is, they include children, spouses, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc. The actual administration of power is carried out by a small core (possibly 25,000 or so).

This sector is 100% white, overwhelmingly from North or Western European backgrounds. There are no Third World people and only a rare Catholic or Jew. There are many women who hold title to the wealth that gives this sector its power; however, only a few of them actually administer it. Most of the women's holdings are administered either by a male relative, her husband, or a hired manager.

### Income

The annual income and net worth of members of this sector are carefully guarded secrets. Clearly, however, their incomes exceed \$400,000 per year and probably run into the millions for some. Their net worth is probably in excess of \$50,000,000 per family. But income, or net worth, is not the defining characteristic of this class. A movie star may have an income of a million dollars per year, but such a person is not a member of either sector of the bourgeoisie. What defines this sector is power--power over the economy and power over the institutions that shape our lives such as government, foreign policy, education, media, etc. Power derived from their control of the major means of production.



## Mobility

This is practically a closed sector. Few (if any) new members have forced their way into it in the last twenty years. There is no upward mobility since it is already the top. Members of this class are too powerful and too closely intertwined with each other for any of them to lose so much that they would fall out of the sector.

There is, of course, a constant internal struggle for increased power, wealth, and prestige among members of the monopoly sector. There are struggles over control of resources, markets, corporations, banks, etc. There are struggles among political factions over the best method to protect and expand their wealth and power. There are also struggles among elements of the bourgeoisies of the different capitalist nations. However, in recent years, none of these struggles have resulted in anyone losing so much that they fall from their position as members of the bourgeoisie. The worst that might happen (barring a major war between industrialized nations) is that an individual member of the monopoly sector would be forced to retire from active administration of his wealth.

## Organization

This sector is extremely well organized. No other sector of any class is as well organized as this one. Since they (the ones who do the administering) are a very small group, a high percentage of them know each other personally. They and their children attended the same private schools and universities. They intermarry, travel to the same resorts, etc. Most important of all, they are all members of interlocking boards of directors of various corporations, universities, etc.

## Social Situation

The power and wealth of this class are based on exploitation. Through a web of legal and semi-religious hocus-pocus they have managed to set up a system whereby they own or control vast amounts of the natural resources of the planet. These resources are used by them for their own profit. They have set up, and violently maintain, a social system whereby the overwhelming majority of the population works for them. Under this system (capitalism) a large portion of the

wealth created by each worker is taken by the employer for his personal profit to be used to gain still more wealth.

This wealth, stolen from the workers who created it, is used in five main ways. 1) To obtain ownership or control of larger, and more, production units. 2) To increase the amount of wealth taken from the individual worker by investing in larger and more automated units of production. 3) To grab control of larger and larger shares of the earth's resources. 4) To maintain the socio-economic system that defends their power and wealth, and 5) To provide a luxurious standard of living for the bourgeoisie.

Since their power is based on exploitation, they are inevitably in conflict with those people whom they exploit. The monopoly sector (and all other exploiters) are continually threatened by revolts of the exploited. This is the major problem faced by the monopoly sector.

At this time in history the most pressing, immediate aspect of that contradiction is the current wave of revolutions and national liberation movements in the Third World countries ( Africa, Asia, Latin America). For capitalism to survive it must constantly expand. Since the closing of the American frontier and the industrialization of America, U.S. capital has had to find a way to expand into the Third World. Thus the Third World liberation struggles pose a serious threat to the monopoly sector and the bourgeois class as a whole.

In the last decade the bourgeoisie has come under attack at home. Led by Third World people living in the U.S., and joined for a time by petit-bourgeois youth, this revolt is increasingly spreading to the large masses of working people who are the base and source of the corporate sector's wealth and power.

## Role in Class Struggle

The monopoly sector is profoundly and fundamentally conservative. Its overwhelming desire is to maintain its power and wealth. All of its activities are directed toward this end. However, under the growing threat of Third World and domestic revolt, splits are occurring within the ranks of the corporate sector over how to maintain their rule. In its most simplistic form (too simplistic) one side of the split leans towards reforms, liberalization, cosmetic obscuring



of reality, buying off and dividing dissident elements. The other side leans towards increased repression, armed forces, rigid controls and increased exploitation. There has been some research into these splits, but not enough. In any case the tactical splits within the ruling class will not prevent them from fighting viciously, ruthlessly, and to the death against any challenge to their power by the oppressed classes. These people are the pure reactionaries and are the clear enemies of the majority of the people of the world.

### THE LIEUTENANT SECTOR

The lieutenant sector is the other sector of the bourgeoisie. Just as the dividing line between the petit-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie is a question of power, so, too, is the line that divides the monopoly sector from the lieutenant sector within the bourgeoisie itself. The power of members of the lieutenant sector is either 1) clearly less than that of the monopoly sector, or 2) delegated by the monopoly sector to the members of the lieutenant sector, or 3) of a temporary nature.

The source of power wielded by members of the monopoly sector lies in their ownership of the major means-of-production. But there are three sources of power for members of the lieutenant sector.

First are those who own important units of production, but who do not have large enough holdings to qualify them as the equals of the members of the monopoly sector. For example, someone who owns only 3 or 4 steel mills, or only one railroad. Of course, when we talk about "owning" in relation to the holdings of the bourgeoisie, we're talking about blocs of stock, percentages, seats on boards of directors, etc.--not owning in the same way that someone owns a car. The economic power wielded by this type member of the lieutenant sector is large but not as great as the power of the monopoly sector. For example, when the giant oil monopolies (Exxon, Gulf, etc.) moved against the smaller "independent" oil firms during the so-called "energy crisis" of 1973-74, the smaller (lieutenant sector) oil companies were unable to successfully defend themselves against the giants.

Although they may not have the power to defeat the monopoly sector, or to direct/con-

trol/influence the economy of the entire nation (or world), the lieutenant sector does have powerful control /influence over the economy and lives of those who live in their regions. This is especially true if theirs is the major (or only) industry in a given locality.

To make a simplistic analogy, you could say that the monopoly sector controls/ influences the economy and state policy on a national and international scale. The lieutenant sector controls/influences economic and state policy on a state or regional scale, and the petit-bourgeois business sector has influence only on a local or small-region scale.

Examples of different types of businesses in the different sectors are as follows: monopoly sector--U.S. Steel, G.M., Chase Manhattan Bank, Gulf & Western, etc.; lieutenant sector--a company owning 4 steel mills, a statewide bank with assets of \$2 billion, a fleet of 200 long-haul trucks, etc.; petit-bourgeois business sector--1 medium-sized factory, 50 short-haul trucks, a local community bank, a Holiday Inn franchise, a corner butcher shop.

The second source of power of the lieutenant sector is direct delegation by the monopoly sector. For example, many of the presidents, general managers, and chairmen of the boards of some of the largest corporations do not themselves own more than a tiny fraction of the corporations stock. Rather, they are hired for their administrative skills and are delegated the authority to control and direct the corporation. The sector would also include vice-presidents and other officers, depending on the amount of power wielded. In some cases the actual power wielded by these members of the lieutenant sector is as great as or greater than that of some members of the monopoly sector. Yet, because their power is not owned by them, but delegated to them (and thus can be removed from them) they do not belong in the same sector as the true owners of the power that they wield.

The third source of power of the lieutenant sector is the State. That is, those who wield state power belong in the lieutenant sector (unless of course they qualify for the monopoly sector independently of the fact that they wield state power). For example, the President of the U.S., governors, senators, cabinet officers, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other military commanders, directors of the CIA, and some powerful committee chairmen in the House of Representatives. Often the mag-



nitude of power wielded by members of this group is much greater than that wielded by individual members of the monopoly sector. However, the power of members of this group is limited in duration. For example, a President can only (legally) wield power for a maximum of 10 years. Some have to renew their power in regular elections; the rest can be removed from office by someone else. Thus their power is clearly weaker than that of the monopoly sector, whose members wield their power unceasingly from assumption to death (sometimes as long as 50 years); and the chain of power of the family can be passed from generation to generation.

In most cases the politician owes his elevation and continued occupation of office to the support he receives from a faction of the monopoly sector. Thus, in most cases his power is, in a sense, temporarily delegated to him or her by the monopoly sector.

#### Composition and Income

About 1% of the population is in this sector (10 out of every 1,000) or about 2 million people. However, this figure includes families, and the number of active members is much smaller, possibly 100,000 or so. Another reason for the seemingly large size of this and the monopoly sector is the practice of putting title to stocks, bonds, and other forms of wealth in the hands of distant relatives and employees in order to disguise who really owns what. Thus the figures for the two bourgeois sectors include people who, on paper, seem to own large chunks of the economy, but in fact, do not. This is another reason that the definition of this class is power, not money.

This sector is overwhelmingly white (the number of Third World people could probably be counted on your fingers), overwhelmingly Protestant, and the active members overwhelmingly male. The income ranges from \$50,000 to \$200,000 per year (roughly), but of course it is not income but power that defines the class. A surgeon earning \$100,000 would not be a member unless he owned a fair-sized chain of hospitals.

#### Mobility

There is little upward mobility into this sector from the petit-bourgeoisie below. The power of most of those who do en-

ter from below is either delegated from above or based on control of the State. In other words, most of the people who manage to climb into this sector either come up as professional corporate administrators or emerge from the government hierarchy. A very few manage to enlarge their businesses enough to gain entrance to this sector.

#### Organization

This sector is very well organized. However, since they are a larger and more diversified group than the monopoly sector, they are less unified. Members of this sector belong to a number of organizations and many are members of the same boards, committees, etc., that the monopoly sector sits on. Thus the two sectors of the bourgeoisie are well organized and intertwined, creating a clear ruling class.

#### Social Situation and Attitudes

The interests of the monopoly and lieutenant sectors are practically identical. Like the monopoly sector, the power of the lieutenant sector is ultimately based on the exploitation of the working class and the peoples of the Third World. Thus revolution and national liberation threaten them. They desire to maintain the status quo. However, their position is weaker than that of the monopoly sector. They aren't as economically strong. They are generally the figureheads and public spokesmen for the bourgeoisie, so they are in a more exposed position. Those whose power is delegated or temporary can be sacrificed if necessary by their monopoly masters. Thus the members of this sector are not as secure as those in the monopoly sector.

Also, from time to time, an economic contradiction arises between the interests of an element of the lieutenant sector and the monopoly sector. However, compared to the fundamental contradiction between exploiter and exploited the contradictions between monopoly and lieutenant are small.

Even more than the monopoly sector, this sector is a battleground of internal power struggles. The businessmen of this sector are not large enough to be safe from destruction--either at the hands of competition or by being swallowed up by a monopoly sector conglomerate. Those working their way up the ladder in administration or politics have to fight tooth and claw in the



TABLE 3 Composition of the Petit-Bourgeois Class 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	14,524,000 (100.0%)	13,658,000 (94.0%)	866,000 ( 6.0%)
Male	12,030,000 ( 82.8%)	11,368,000 (78.3%)	662,000 ( 4.6%)
Female	2,494,000 ( 17.2%)	2,290,000 (15.7%)	204,000 ( 1.4%)

TABLE 4 In 1969 the Petit-Bourgeoisie made up:

18.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	20.0% of the TOTAL white laborforce	7.4% of the Total TW laborforce
24.3% of all males in the laborforce	26.0% of the white males in the laborforce	9.8% of the TW males in the laborforce
8.2% of all females in the laborforce	9.0% of the white females in the laborforce	4.1% of the TW females in the laborforce

paper jungle with hordes of competitors. This internal power struggle is a weakness within the sector as a whole, because it sometimes leads to a contradiction between the needs of an individual member of the sector and the needs of the bourgeoisie as a whole; for example, a politician who wants to stay in office when it's time for him to be sacrificed to pacify the people.

#### Role in Class Struggle

The lieutenant sector, like the monopolists, has to be considered a totally reactionary and conservative group. Their opposition to any upsurge by the classes they exploit and oppress will be, and is, fierce and unrelenting. Their lifestyle of amassing great wealth and power at the expense of the toil, misery, and death of the peoples of the world puts them in a position as absolute enemies of the great majority of the earth's population. Although they try to disguise this reality from those below them, they themselves have no illusions.

As the lieutenants to the monopolist sector, this group's role in social struggle is to take the most exposed and public positions. The lieutenant sector contributes the "point men" of the counter-revolutionary forces. They are the ones who usually take on the role of public spokesmen and publicly visible leaders for the bourgeoisie. They take public credit (and blame) for the economic and political policies that defend the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. The fact that they are most visible, and consequently most vulnerable to economic, political, or violent attacks by those below them or rival factions within the bourgeoisie should not obscure the fact that hidden behind them are even more powerful forces.

#### THE PETIT-BOURGEOISIE

Like the bourgeoisie, the petit-bourgeoisie own or control their own means of production, but they don't have the power that the bourgeoisie has. Petit-bourgeois means "small bourgeoisie." However, when we apply this definition to our concrete conditions we can see that it is necessary to expand the concept of ownership of the means of production to include management of the means of production. Thus the petit-bourgeoisie includes large numbers of people who are delegated the power to manage the means of production by the owners. Further we must expand our conception of what the means of production are to include specialized knowledge, that is, professional training.

The result of this is that there are three distinct sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie: 1) Those that own their own means of production (business sector). 2) Those that manage the means of production or the state bureaucracy but don't own it (managerial sector). 3) Those whose means of production are basically intellectual (professional sector). Each of these sectors will be examined in detail below.

There are three characteristics that define this class as a whole: 1) They own, or manage, the means of production. 2) They do not have the power to control the economy of the nation as a whole. 3) Even though some of them work for salaries, they are not exploited. That is, the wealth returned to them in the form of salaries is equal to or greater than the value of the wealth or service they create (if any). There are other criteria defining the various sectors which will be discussed under those sectors.



## Composition

Table 4 shows the relative composition of the petit-bourgeoisie. That is, the proportion of the laborforce (and the different parts of the laborforce) that are members of the petit-bourgeoisie. So, 18.2% of the laborforce are members of this class. 9.8% of the Third World (TW) male members of the laborforce are in the petit-bourgeoisie.

It might help to think of these percentages as "number per thousand". Thus, the entry "26.0% of the white males in the laborforce" means that out of every 1,000 white male members of the laborforce 260 are in the petit-bourgeoisie.

Table 3 (Composition) gives the straight-out facts as to how many people are in the class: how many males, how many Third World females, etc. Table 4 (Percentage of Workforce) is important because it shows the racial and sex bias in each class and sector. Since there are more men in the laborforce than women (49,518,000 men versus 30,450,000 women), it is logical to expect that men would outnumber women in the different classes and sectors. The same holds true for whites (68,225,000) compared to Third World (11,743,000). So just looking at the straight numbers in Table 3 does not clearly reveal the race and sex discrimination.

In a truly just and democratic society, each sex and nationality would have an equal opportunity at each type of job. That is, the percentages of each sex and nationality in each class and sector would be roughly the same. However, as clearly shown by Table 4, men have 3 times the representation in the petit-bourgeoisie that women do (24.3% vs 8.2%), white women have twice the representation of Third World women, etc. etc.

Thus the conclusion can be drawn that the petit-bourgeoisie is primarily restricted to white males, that women and Third World people are more or less excluded from the class.

## THE BUSINESS SECTOR OF THE PETIT-BOURGEOISIE

### Definition

This sector is composed of those people who own their own businesses, but who are not large or powerful enough to be considered members of the bourgeoisie. This still covers a broad range and for clarity this sector has been divided into three sub-sectors, some aspects of which will be examined separately. The three sub-sectors are corporate, franchise, and small.

### Composition

It was not possible to figure the composition of the three sub-sectors, so the data below covers the business sector of the petit-bourgeoisie as a whole.

As can be seen in Tables 5 and 6, this sector, like the rest of the class is pretty much closed to all but white males. Most of the women and Third World people who are in the sector own only small businesses--corner groceries, beauty parlors, fix-it shops, carpenters, etc.

### Evolution

Over the 30-year period from 1939 to 1969, the number of people who were self-employed in their own businesses increased

TABLE 5 Composition of the Business Sector of the Petit-Bourgeoisie 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	5,077,000 (100.0%)	4,679,000 (92.2%)	398,000 ( 7.8%)
Male	3,982,000 ( 78.4%)	3,672,000 (72.3%)	310,000 ( 6.1%)
Female	1,095,000 ( 21.6%)	1,007,000 (19.9%)	88,000 ( 1.7%)

TABLE 6 In 1969 the Business Sector made up:

6.3% of the TOTAL laborforce	6.9% of the total white laborforce	3.4% of the total TW laborforce
8.0% of all males in the laborforce	8.6% of all white males in the laborforce	4.6% of all TW males in the laborforce
3.6% of all females in the laborforce	4.0% of all white females in the laborforce	1.8% of all TW females in the laborforce



by roughly 800,000. However, as a percentage of the laborforce, the percentage of people self-employed declined by roughly 2.7%, from around 9.0% of the laborforce in 1939 to about 6.3% in 1969. These figures do not include self-employed farmers.

No statistics dealing with this subject could be found that went back further than 1939. However, it seems likely that the decline in the proportion of the population that is self-employed was much steeper in the last half of the 1800's and the early 1900's. In any case, the decline over the last 30 years appears to be at a rate of about one-tenth of one percent per year.

### THE CORPORATE SUB-SECTOR

#### Definition

This contains the larger, more prosperous businesses in the business sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. The dividing line between the corporate sub-sector and the small business sub-sector is that the person who is in the corporate sub-sector is exclusively an administrator; that is, he (usually it's a "he") does no productive labor (making things, moving stock, unloading trucks, selling behind the counter, etc.). All of the productive labor is done by employees. In this instance "productive" is being used very loosely to mean any necessary form of non-administrative work from which profit is realized by the businessman. Thus, the corporate sub-sector businessman is a capitalist within the capital/labor relationship. His primary income comes from exploitation of labor.

Most of the businesses in this sector are corporations. Most employ 10 or more people. Furthermore, most of them are in some way directly tied to monopolies or corporations of the bourgeoisie. That is, they provide parts, service, or distribution for some larger corporation. For example, a foundry providing castings for Ford, a security guard company patrolling the grounds of an IBM factory, a trucking firm, etc. A few members of this sector are not tied to the larger bourgeois-owned corporations, but are completely "independent" manufacturing or retailing companies. They are independent except for the fact that they are financed through the banks owned and controlled by the bourgeoisie. Also, many companies that appear to be independent are actually owned by a giant conglomerate. Such compan-

ies would not be included in this class because the true owners are the owners of the conglomerate and they are in the bourgeoisie.

Also in this sector are small (compared to the bourgeoisie) shareholders of corporations who derive over one-half of their income from the dividends of their stocks. Again, what separates petit-bourgeois stockholders from bourgeois stockholders is the question of power.

#### Composition, Income, and Mobility

No figures were found to break down this sub-sector, but it can accurately be assumed that it is mostly white males. Their income ranges from roughly BLS "higher" to \$200,000 per year (a "few" dollars more or less in any given year.) The size of this group fluctuates slightly in response to the economy; however, over the long haul since WWII, the general trend has been for the number of people in this sub-sector to slowly shrink. This is because it is harder and harder to build up a successful medium to large business against the growing power of the monopolies and conglomerates. Hence it is very difficult for new people to break into this sub-sector. Furthermore, many of the businesses in this group are gobbled up by the growing conglomerates, and the former owner (if lucky) finds himself as a manager of the business he formerly owned. In doing so, he transfers from the business sector of the petit-bourgeoisie to the managerial sector. A very rare few manage to build their businesses up to such an extent that they are powerful enough to become one of the bourgeoisie (lieutenant sector).

#### Organization

Members of this sub-sector are well organized into trade associations, civic clubs, chambers of commerce, etc. However, these organizations are controlled by the bourgeoisie and are more or less powerless to help defend petit-bourgeois interests against the bourgeoisie itself. These organizations, however, do help the petit-bourgeois businessman exploit the working class and help him counter unions and other forms of working class resistance. In other words, the middle class businessman is well organized, but his organizations are only useful in fighting those below him--workers, the poor, national minorities, etc.



## Social Situation and Attitudes

Members of this sub-sector are under severe pressure. Firstly, they are under pressure from their competitors. Second, they are under pressure from the monopolies and conglomerates. The result of this is that some businesses are forced into bankruptcy, or more often, are taken over (captured) by a conglomerate. In order to survive in this dog-eat-dog situation, the owner tries to gain as much profit as possible. This means paying the lowest possible wages while getting the most production from each worker.

The conglomerates and monopolies of the bourgeoisie, with their highly-developed means-of-production and expensive automation can get much more production from each worker than can a petit-bourgeois business.

Thus, when forced to by strongly organized workers, the conglomerate can afford to pay somewhat higher wages than can the smaller businesses. Of course, the bourgeoisie doesn't like to pay higher wages and only does so after a fierce struggle. In recent times their highly-developed means of production, profits from the super-exploitation in Third World countries, and monopolization of markets, have allowed the giant corporations to adopt two tactics for dealing with organized workers that are not as easily open to the petit-bourgeois businessman. The first is trying to buy off the workers with higher wages (and passing the cost along to the working class as a whole in the form of higher prices). If this doesn't work, the bourgeoisie uses the second tactic which is to move the plant away from the organized and militant workers to another area where labor is cheap and unorganized, and the corporation can fight to keep it that way.

Members of this group are caught in a contradiction. They are threatened by competition from above which they are not strong enough to defeat. But they can't organize against the bourgeoisie because 1) they are dependent on the bourgeoisie for finance; 2) most of them are economically tied to the bourgeoisie; 3) they are exploiters of labor just as the bourgeoisie is, and the destruction of the capitalist system would mean their own destruction; 4) the hope is held out for them that if their company is absorbed by the conglomerate, they personally will be allowed to stay on as manager (if they haven't offended the bourgeoisie); 5) they are believers in the capitalist ideology.

On the other hand the petit-bourgeois businessman (corporate sub-sector), economically forced to squeeze every last dime of profit from his workers, is faced with constant, and increasing, resistance from his workers. As the cost of living goes up, the workers in smaller business struggle ever harder to improve their lot. Unable to buy off or run away from this pressure, the petit-bourgeois businessman must try to suppress it.

The effect of this contradiction is that most members of this group are reactionary. They would like to return to the era of free competitive capitalism--before monopolies, conglomerates, unions, government regulations, etc. They desire to return to the "good old days" of highly competitive capitalism, "free enterprise," and individualism.

Since this is not possible, things can only get worse for most of the members of this group; at a minimum, they want everything to stay as it is now. They are particularly against anything that will increase government regulation, increase taxes, increase wages, or increase costs. Members of the bourgeoisie can afford to use some of their wealth to buy off discontent. Members of the petit-bourgeois business sector can't so easily afford increased taxes, wages, ecology costs, etc.

This part of the business sector plays a very active role in the politics of local, county, and state governments. They are usually heavy contributors to the local political machine and often have a close relationship with the police, sheriffs, etc. There is a strong tendency for this sub-sector to support right-wing, semi-fascist, or fascist organizations and ideologies. Also this sub-sector is a fertile ground for ideologies espousing extreme individualism; for example, the writings of Ayn Rand or the politics of the so-called libertarians.

## Role in Class Struggle

Like their fellow exploiters in the bourgeoisie, the corporate sub-sector of the business sector for the petit-bourgeoisie plays an extremely conservative and reactionary role in social struggle. This group will fight desperately against even minimal reforms, in fact many reforms that portions of the ruling class may favor are opposed by this group. Although they themselves are threatened and under pressure by the bourgeoisie, there is little hope of any sig-



nificant numbers of this group giving assistance to a movement of the oppressed and exploited classes. There seems no conceivable hope of any sort of useful united front with this group.

## THE FRANCHISE SUB-SECTOR

### Definition

This sub-sector of the business sector of the petit-bourgeoisie is composed of those people whose business is a franchise of a larger parent company. Under the franchise system someone puts up their own money to finance a business: they buy a franchise from a larger corporation which entitles them to do business in a particular area and use the parent company name. Most franchises also require the franchise holder to follow a strict set of rules about how the business is conducted, advertising used, architecture of the building, uniforms of the employees, prices, and many other aspects of the business. The parent company sells the raw or finished products to the franchise holder, who then sells them to the public. The great majority of franchises are retail businesses. Some examples would be McDonald's, Taco Bell, Holiday Inn, and Chevron gas.

### Composition and Income

Since it takes a hefty investment to buy a franchise (often several hundred thousand dollars), and because the parent companies screen applicants carefully in order to preserve the "proper company image," few franchise holders are either Third World people or women. Most companies seem to feel that their image requires a white man at the helm. The income of a member of the franchise sub-sector generally ranges from BLS "HIGHER" to \$150,000 per year. Of course, some franchises go bankrupt and others make more than most.

### Mobility, Evolution, and Organization

This is a fast-growing sub-sector. Franchises are eagerly being sought after. This is mainly because a franchise has many of the economic strengths of a large monopoly/conglomerate such as large advertising budgets, ability to buy materials in vast bulk, ability to ship in large quantity, large factories able to build production equipment that gives each worker a high rate

of productivity, and nation- or world-wide name recognition.

Yet at the same time, through the franchise system, members of the petit-bourgeoisie can afford to get a piece of the action. They can enjoy the strengths of the conglomerate at a price they can afford. The result is that this sub-sector is growing fast. However, it is almost impossible for someone in this group to rise into the bourgeoisie. Members of this sub-sector have more financial security than any of the other sub-sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie business sector, but their place in the class system is fixed and their security is purchased by surrendering their freedom.

This sub-sector is very well organized. They belong to the usual middle class civic groups, etc. They are also tightly organized by the parent corporation, which regularly inspects them, calls them in for meetings, arranges social events, and orders them about.

### Social Situation and Attitudes

Even though the franchise operator risks his own capital, he has only a limited control over the business, since so much is regulated by the parent corporation. In a sense he is not really an independent businessman, but a vassal of the parent corporation.

In many cases the control of the corporation extends to directives as to what sort of charities and what political candidates the franchise holder should support. In all cases the franchise holder is aware of his dependence on the parent company and has to be careful not to anger it. Furthermore, the franchise holder's interests are tied to the fortunes of the parent company. If that company goes broke, so does he. If that company expands and grows, so will his business. Thus the franchise holder's attitudes tend to be determined by what is best for the parent company, which is owned or controlled by the bourgeoisie.

### Role in Class Struggle

This group is completely dependent on the parent corporation--which is owned by the bourgeoisie--and completely at its mercy. Thus it is certain to side with the bourgeoisie in any social struggle. The fall of the bourgeoisie means their fall. Any rebellion on their part can be punished by removal of their franchise (or at least severe



harassment). As a result, this group must be considered an enemy group and it is unlikely as a group to join in a united front against the ruling class.

#### THE SMALL BUSINESS SUB-SECTOR

This sub-sector contains the smaller-scale businesses. Members of this sub-sector work as well as administer. That is, while they may or may not hire employees, some of their time is spent doing the work as well as administering. Thus they are, to an extent, outside the labor/capital relationship. Examples of this kind of business would be a corner grocery, a shoe repair shop, an independent trucker with his own rig, a "mom and pop" cafe, a plumber with his own small business, an independent carpenter, etc.

Generally speaking, businesses of this sub-sector have no direct connection with the giant corporations, except loans from banks and the retail selling of conglomerate products. Most of these businesses retail to the public either goods or services.

#### Composition, Income, Mobility, and Evolution

Most of the members of this sub-sector are white men. However, this sub-sector contains most of the Third World people and women who are in the business sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. Income of this sub-sector usually ranges from BLS "LOWER" to "HIGHER". Most members of this sub-sector do not make enough to live at the level generally considered middle class. Rather, their standard of living is roughly equivalent to that of the working class.

There is a lot of mobility in and out of this sub-sector as new businesses are started and old ones collapse. Most of the mobility is between this sub-sector and one of the sectors of the working class. There is very little movement up into the higher sub-sectors of the business sector or into other sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie. This sub-sector expands and contracts with the economy. When times are good, people tend to start businesses; when times are bad, businesses tend to fail. Even in boom times of the late 1960's, however, the average "life expectancy" of a new business was only 18 months.

#### Organization

This sub-sector is not very well organized. Most members cannot afford to join the middle class civic and social organizations, nor would they be made welcome, particularly the women and Third World members of this sub-sector. Since members of this sub-sector are under heavy economic pressure from the other sub-sectors of the business sector, and from the bourgeoisie, the organizations controlled by them would do little for the members of this sub-sector even if they did join.

#### Social Situation

The social situation of the sub-sector is confused and contradictory. Most members of this sub-sector are from the working class; most at some time in their lives have worked (or will work) for wages. Their relatives and friends are overwhelmingly from the proletariat. They live in working class communities at a comparable lifestyle. Furthermore, the nature of their work is in some ways similar to that of the proletariat. Store owners lift, carry, unpack crates and stand behind the counter; cafe owners sweat over the hot grill; independent carpenters hammer, while independent welders weld, and independent truckers drive and load. The difference of course between the members of this sub-sector and the members of the working class is that members of this sub-sector are working for themselves, while the workers work for wages.

Some members of this sub-sector are Third World and suffer the same racist and national oppression as Third World workers. So too, the women members of this sub-sector suffer from male chauvinism and economic discrimination.

The businesses owned by members of the small business sub-sector are under tremendous pressure from the conglomerates and monopolies of the bourgeoisie and from the corporations and franchises of the other business sub-sectors. Thousands of small cafes and hamburger stands have been wiped out by McDonalds or Denny's. Safeway and 7-11 have forced out corner grocery stores across the nation. Higher fuel prices are driving independent truckers to the wall, and similar pressures are squeezing all small businesses. What's more, members of this sub-sector cannot expect to be given a managerial job when their business goes under, like the corporate sub-sector can. The loss of their business means being for-



ced out of the petit-bourgeoisie and back into the working class.

All of these factors lead members of the small business sub-sector towards opposition to the bourgeoisie. There are other factors, however, that lead them towards support of the bourgeoisie, or at least opposition to the oppressed classes.

Most members of this sub-sector embrace the ideology of "free enterprise." Some dream of becoming rich. Almost all prefer being "independent" to working for wages. Many tend to feel superior to workers because they are "independent." They tend to feel that a socialist revolution would deprive them of their businesses and the freedom and status that go with them.

All of these businesses are, to a greater or lesser extent, dependent on the bourgeoisie for survival: for loans and other financing, for materials and goods. An independent business that offends the bourgeoisie risks being wiped out.

Because of their weaker economic position, small businesses have to charge higher prices than the big chain stores, or sell inferior goods, or skimp on services. A few of them resort to cheating and swindling their customers, particularly white small businesses in Third World communities. This creates tensions between the working class customer and the small businessman. It leads to increased robberies, vandalism, and shoplifting which the small business is less able to survive, and is less able to protect himself from, than the big chain stores which can hire private security and depend on police protection. During an economic crisis, he is hurt more by credit default of customers than are the large stores.

The bourgeoisie is very aware of these contradictions between the small businessman and the working class, and they constantly direct propaganda at this sub-sector to inflame these contradictions. For example, robberies of small storekeepers are given big coverage in the press (particularly if the victim is white and the robber Black). Higher taxes are blamed on the demands of welfare recipients (instead of imperialist wars). Inflation is blamed on the unions, and racial tensions are increased in order to further divide the proletariat and to divide the small businessman from Third World people.

The result of all of this is pressure on the small business sub-sector to view the

working class as the real enemy instead of the bourgeoisie. There is pressure to be racist and to support reactionary causes, elements, and ideas. This false consciousness is reflected in the numbers of people from this sub-sector who join reactionary groups such as "parents and taxpayers" organizations opposed to school integration.

On the other hand latent solidarity with the proletariat sometimes rises to the surface, particularly at a time and place where class struggle is sharp. For example, the Black shopkeepers in the deep South who gave food and credit to sharecroppers evicted for trying to register to vote, or the cafes that closed down to become strike kitchens during big strikes.

### Role in Class Struggle

The contradictory pressures on the sub-sector tend to neutralize or fragment them on social issues. Some individuals move closer to the bourgeoisie, some to the oppressed classes; some are blown back and forth depending on the issue and the times. As the fundamental contradictions between the bourgeoisie and proletariat deepen and become sharper, and as the decline of imperialism leads to a decline in the economy and thus greater economic pressure against small businesses, it is possible that large segments of this sub-sector can be won to an anti-bourgeoisie position.

Because of their class position they will never as a group be able to take a leadership role in struggle to overthrow capitalism. Leadership from the small business sub-sector will tend to be wishy-washy and directed at reform rather than revolution. However, it is possible that large segments of this group would join and support a united front under the leadership of the working class. This is particularly true of Third World small businessmen because of their national oppression.

### THE MANAGERIAL SECTOR OF THE PETIT-BOURGEOISIE

#### Definition

This sector is composed of the managers and administrators of business and government, whose power or authority is delegated to them by the owners of business or control-



TABLE 7 Composition of the Managerial Sector of the Petit-Bourgeoisie 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	4,523,000 (100.0%)	4,320,000 (95.5%)	203,000 ( 4.5%)
Male	3,713,000 ( 82.1%)	3,577,000 (79.1%)	136,000 ( 3.0%)
Female	810,000 ( 17.9%)	743,000 (16.4%)	67,000 ( 1.5%)

TABLE 8 In 1969 the Managerial Sector made up:

5.7% of the TOTAL laborforce	6.8% of the total white laborforce	1.7% of the total TW laborforce
7.5% of all males in the laborforce	8.4% of all white males in the laborforce	2.0% of all TW females in the laborforce
2.7% of all females in the laborforce	2.9% of all white females in the laborforce	1.3% of all females in the laborforce

lers of government. For example, vice-presidents, department heads, officers and assistants, plant managers, supervisors, government bureaucrats, and career military officers. The line that divides the managerial sector from the lieutenant sector of the ruling class is a little fuzzy. Basically it's a question of power.

If a manager is delegated a sufficient amount of power to enable him to influence the economy of a whole region, the nation, or the world, then he is in the lieutenant sector of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, if a manager does not have such power, either because the company he works for is not big enough or he is not high enough in the company hierarchy, then he is a member of the managerial sector of the petit-bourgeoisie.

At the other end of the sector, the line between the bottom rungs of the managerial ladder and the upper parts of the working class is also a little fuzzy, because titles like "foreman" and "supervisor" mean different things in different companies, and different things depending on who the foreman or supervisor is. In principle, the working class does the productive work while the managerial sector directs, supervises, and administers. In some factories with strong unions the distinction is very clear because "management" is forbidden by contract to perform any productive work that falls within the union's jurisdiction and anyone who does do work has to belong to the union and be promoted in line with the seniority provisions of the contract. But in other places it's not so clear; for example, in some places foremen are expected to replace workers who go to the toilet or who are injured or are otherwise missing. At some factories half the foremen are workers who have been with the company for 25 years and have been promoted to foreman while the other half are young college grads (almost always white males) starting out as

foremen and expecting to swiftly climb up into executive levels. The old worker can do any job in the plant (as well as or better than anyone else) but will finish out his or her life at the level of foreman, while the college punk who doesn't know the difference between a spanner and a spindle-shaft will end his career as a Vice President.

In principle, then, if a foreman (or supervisor) is expected to do productive work as well as supervise, then he or she is considered part of the working class. If a foreman (or supervisor) does not do any productive work, then he or she is a member of the managerial sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. In the case of the long-time worker promoted to foreman or supervisor after 20 years, even though his or her class position has changed from working class to petit-bourgeois, it is possible that his or her class consciousness remains that of a worker. Of course, it is also possible that the old-time worker that the company picks to promote to foreman/supervisor is one who has shown the strongest pro-company anti-working class attitude.

Also included in the managerial sector of the petit-bourgeoisie are full-time union functionaries. That is, union officials who do not work at the same jobs as the union membership. The primary reason for this is that the union bureaucrat has a managerial relationship to the means-of-production. Their function is to manage the labor force. Furthermore, many of them have not worked as a worker for ten or twenty years; the nature of their work is that of an administrator. In addition, in almost all cases, the income and standard of living of union officials is that of the petit-bourgeoisie. Their friends, neighbors, and communities are petit-bourgeois. Even those who recently have become union functionaries, in most cases, see their election or appointment as a path toward upward mobility into the petit-



bourgeoisie. Finally, while the prime role of union bureaucrats is to manage the labor-force, they have increasingly taken on a secondary role as financial managers. Over the years the income unions have received from various business investments has greatly increased. In 1970 a significant milestone was reached. In that year 52% of all union income came from investments and only 48% from the membership.

### Composition

As can be seen in Tables 7 and 8, this sector is very heavily dominated by white males. Not only in absolute numbers (almost 80% of the whole sector) but as a proportion of the labor force as well. That is, out of every 1,000 white males in the labor force, 84 are managers. This compares with 20 per 1,000 for Third World males, 29 per 1,000 for white women, and only 13 per 1,000 for Third World women.

### Income

For full-time workers in this sector, the income range is from a little below "HIGHER" on the BLS scale to around \$80,000 per year.

### Mobility and Evolution

This is a growing sector; each year it gets larger both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total workforce. From 1939 it increased by about 3,000,000 people --from roughly 1,500,000 in 1939 to roughly 4,500,000 in 1969. This represents an increase in percentage of the labor force of about 2.4%. With the increase in conglomerates and monopolies, and the growth in government, this sector expanded and will continue to expand. Many former members of the business sector have become managers. Also, there is a flow back and forth between the managerial sector and the professional sector (mainly lawyers). Many new members enter this sector upon graduation from a four-year college or university.

### Organization

This sector is well organized in two ways, vertically and horizontally. It is organized vertically in a chain of command with the owners of the business at the top and the workers at the bottom. The various rungs of the ladder between owners and work-

ers are occupied by the managers. The sector is organized horizontally into trade, social, civic, and professional organizations. For example, the Society of Research Administrators, Plant Managers Association, and IBM Executive Club. Also, members of the sector tend to belong to the social and civic clubs that draw their membership from the petit-bourgeoisie as a whole, such as Lions, Kiwanis, and Elks.

### Social Situation

This sector is completely tied to monopoly capitalism. They see their interests as the same as the interests of the bourgeoisie. The stronger the large corporations and government become, the more power, prestige, and opportunity for promotion for the managers. Although few members of the managerial sector can climb into the lieutenant sector of the ruling class, most of them hope and fight to be among them.

The internal warfare for power, position, and status that rages within this sector is probably the most intense of all the different sectors and classes. This internal struggle is probably THE major concern for most individual members of the sector. This means that most of them are very insecure, constantly afraid of losing ground to a rival, being stabbed in the back by a subordinate, or losing the favor of a superior. In carrying out their duties, the question of how their actions will affect their position within the organization is often the determining factor in their behavior. Thus, contradictions arise between what is good for the organization and what is good for the individual manager on the spot. This is a weakness in their ability to serve the interests of the ruling class.

### Role in Class Struggle

This sector's interests are clearly aligned with those of the bourgeoisie. They perform the ruling class's dirty work. They are the bosses and supervisor who directly screw the workers, and they are well rewarded for their activity. In hope of further advancement they curry favor and kiss ass of those above them while they tromp on those below them. The cliché "lickspittle lackey running dogs" is an accurate description. They are clearly opposed to the interests of the working class and will be on the side of the bourgeoisie in any struggle. There is no likelihood of any sort of united front with them.



TABLE 9 Composition of the Professional Sector of the Petit-Bourgeoisie 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	4,924,000 (100.0%)	4,659,000 (94.6%)	265,000 ( 5.4%)
Male	4,335,000 ( 88.0%)	4,119,000 (83.7%)	216,000 ( 4.4%)
Female	589,000 ( 12.0%)	540,000 (10.9%)	49,000 ( 1.0%)

TABLE 10 In 1969 the Professional Sector made up:

6.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	6.8% of the total white laborforce	2.3% of the total TW laborforce
8.8% of all males in the laborforce	9.6% of all white males in the laborforce	3.2% of all TW males laborforce
1.9% of all females in the laborforce	2.1% of all white females in the laborforce	1.0% of all TW females in the laborforce

#### THE PROFESSIONAL SECTOR OF THE PETIT-BOURGEOISIE

This sector contains the highly trained and skilled members of the various "professions" such as doctors, lawyers, architects, accountants, scientists, college professors, clergy, writers, etc.

In order to analyze the class position of professional people, it is necessary to define what is meant by the concept "means-of-production." In the classic, and most commonly used, definition the means-of-production consist of whatever is necessary to produce material commodities. For example, mines, transportation, factories, tools, etc. In many contexts the concept of the means-of-production is limited to what is necessary to produce commodities. But in other contexts, particularly class analysis, the concept of what constitutes the means-of-production has to be expanded. The clearest example of this is the inclusion of store owners as among those who own their means-of-production, and thus are members of the petit-bourgeoisie. In determining a person's class, the equipment or facilities of any sort of profit-making business (whether it produces commodities, service, or other types of intangibles) can be considered as a type of means-of-production. And those who own their own means-of-production are certainly petit-bourgeois (or even bourgeois if what they own is extensive enough).

This paper takes the position that in classifying professional people, the concept of what constitutes the means-of-production must be expanded to include certain types of training and skills. For professionals this type of intellectual means-of-production is more important than the physical means-of-production that they may use (such as typewriters, x-ray machines, law books, calculators, etc.).

Part of the petit-bourgeois professional sector consists of those who own the important intangible means-of-production in certain specific fields--engineering, architecture, accounting, law, science, and medicine--irrespective of any other factor. The primacy of training in these fields is indicated by the fact that for most of them there are legal restriction as to who may practice these professions. The state or professional association has to certify that the prospective professional in these fields possesses a minimum level of knowledge before he or she can engage in these professions.

Many of the professionals in these fields are self-employed in their own businesses, but most are employed by someone else and are paid a salary. These salaried professionals are still part of the petit-bourgeois professional sector for three reasons: First, because they still own the important means of production (their skill) and are selling it wholesale to a single customer rather than retail to many customers; second, they are not exploited --they are paid more than whatever they do is objectively worth; third, in most cases salaried professionals also function as managers supervising members of the working class (such as nurses, secretaries, file clerks, draftsmen, etc.).

A second part of the professional sector includes those whose primary means-of-production is intellectual or artistic who who are self-employed. For example, authors independent artists, entertainers, clergymen, professional golfers, etc.

A third part of the professional sector includes those whose primary means-of-production is an intangible and who are employed by someone else, but whose salary is so high that they are clearly not exploited. For example, famous movie stars, football players, and TV personalities. Also, uni-



versity professors; high paid advertising, script, magazine, and newspaper writers; very highly-paid technicians such as computer experts, airline pilots, and mathematical specialists. Thus, following this definition, a chorus girl dancing in a night club is a member of the working class (semi-professional sector) while someone like Doris Day is clearly a member of the petit-bourgeois professional sector. A reporter on a newspaper is not petit-bourgeois; a \$100,000 per year script-writer is.

#### Composition

As can be seen in Tables 9 and 10, this sector is even more male-dominated than the other petit-bourgeois sectors: 88% male compared to 82% and 78% for managers and business. It is only 1 percentage point less dominated by whites than is the managerial sector.

#### Income

The great majority of the full-time members of this sector fall within a range from slightly below BLS "HIGHER" to \$100,000 per year.

#### Mobility and Evolution

This sector is expanding at a great rate (both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the workforce). It is impossible to accurately figure the expansion of this sector because the statistics lump professional occupations with semi-professional jobs under the general heading of "professional and technical." The detailed occupational statistics that were used to separate the professional from the semi-professional for the 1970 census are not comparable with the earlier census. But, since 1939 the census category "Professional and Technical" (which includes members of the petit-bourgeois professional sector and business sector and members of the working class semi-professional sector) has grown by roughly 8,000,000. It has increased its percentage of the laborforce by 7.5% (from 7.4% in 1939 to 14.9% in 1969).

Since the major route into this sector is through the university system (which in theory is open to all regardless of class background) there is more upward mobility into this sector than into any of the other petit-bourgeoisie sectors, at least for white males. Yet, the number of working

class youth who gain entry into the professional sector is much smaller than the ruling class's propaganda would have us believe. As it has been in the past, the great majority of university graduates with professional degrees are the children of bourgeois or petit-bourgeois parents. The majority of new people who come into the professional sector are the children of professionals, managers, and businessmen. The majority of working class youth who do manage to graduate from college end up in the semi-professional sector of the proletariat, which they are told (falsely) is part of the "Middle Class."

A small trickle of professionals (primarily lawyers) manages to climb up into the lieutenant sector of the bourgeoisie. Many professionals cross over into the managerial sector (and managers cross back into the professional sector).

#### Organization

This sector is very well organized. Many of its members belong to the general petit-bourgeois civic and social groups such as Kiwanis or Chamber of Commerce. But the most important organization to the professional is the professional association, such as AMA, Bar Association, Writers Guild, American Institute of Architects, etc. Almost all members of the sector belong to such associations. These groups act as pressure groups influencing legislation and public opinion for the benefit of its members; they set minimum fee schedules and generally operate in other ways to protect and better their members. In some key areas, such as health, law, and construction, the professional association holds the power to determine who can work as a professional in the field. Because of the great economic, political and public relations power wielded by the associations, they can be used to influence or discipline individual members who engage in practices or politics displeasing to the associations' leaders. The ruling class is well aware of this and has systematically worked to insure that the leadership of the various professional associations identifies with the bourgeoisie. Since the professional sector is not as economically tied to monopoly capitalism as are the business and managerial sectors, control over the professional organization is very important to the ruling class. The result has been that the professional associations have generally played an extremely conservative role in politics and social issues. Recently, however, younger pro-



professionals have been rebelling against the die-hard conservative leadership in some of the associations.

### Social Situation

As a sector the professionals want to maintain or improve their social status and standard of living, both of which are already quite high. Like the rest of the petit-bourgeoisie (with the exception of the lower ranks of the business sector) professionals derive their high standard of living from exploitation: Either directly through the exploitation of employees, or indirectly, in that their fees are higher than the economic contribution that they make would warrant. The wealth that is used to pay these high fees comes from the profits exploited from workers employed by others or directly from the workers and consumers themselves.

Clearly, the class interests of the professional lie with preservation of the capitalist system. However, the sector as a whole is not as economically tied to the system of imperialist/monopoly capitalism that we have today as are the managers or large petit-bourgeois businesses. Some professionals derive great benefits from their connection to monopoly capitalism, but others do not. For example, many see the trend toward consolidation of professional services into large corporations (such as giant architectural companies, the big health plans, or multi-city law firms) as an assault on their traditional freedom as independent businessmen. Many professionals thus oppose the bourgeoisie and advocate a return to small-scale business. As a result, the grip of monopoly capital is weaker on this sector as a whole than on the managerial and business sectors.

Of particular importance is that element of the professional sector whose job it is to develop and disseminate ideology for the ruling class. For example, Kenneth Galbraith, "Uncle" Walter Cronkite, and various other professors, writers, producers, social scientists, economists, and other intellectuals. As a rule this element is completely tied to the bourgeoisie (from whom they receive great wealth stolen from the world's working people). On the surface they often appear to be in great disagreement with each other, but this disagreement is only a reflection of the political struggle between various factions within the ruling class over the best method of maintaining their class rule.

### Role in Class Struggle

The two strongest ideological trends within the professional sector grow out of the two different relations to monopoly capitalism. Those intellectuals who are closely tied to monopoly capitalism (for example, corporation lawyers, "think tank" intellectuals, consultants whose clients are giant corporations, intellectual spokesmen for the bourgeoisie) tend to support bourgeois ideology--increased monopolization, closer ties between government and business, more government spending, increasing the military-industrial complex, etc. On the other hand, those professionals who are essentially small businessmen (independent lawyers, doctors, architects, and others whose clientele are primarily petit-bourgeois or working class) tend to support petit-bourgeois ideology, emphasizing a return to "free enterprise," reform of the monopolies, reduction of "big government," other other reformist measures.

In addition to these basic trends, the ideology of professionals is heavily influenced by their social role as intellectuals. More than any other sector, they come into contact with, and work with, a wide variety of ideas, theories, philosophies, etc. Because their valuable skills give them a great deal of economic security, and they know that they will be valuable and necessary in any sort of society, they tend to be more open to a wide range of political thought than are other members of the petit-bourgeoisie. This diversification of ideologies is increased by the fact that among many intellectuals the internal competition for status and prestige is based on an intellectual rather than a material basis. That is, for some intellectuals, winning prestige in the arena of abstract ideas is as important as (or even more important than) acquiring a higher level of material wealth. Just as the era of competitive capitalism led to a vast increase in new products, services, gimmicks and other forms of competition, the ideological competition of certain segments of the professional sector leads to a wide array of competing ideas. The result is that in addition to the main streams of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois thought, the professional sector contains countless additional streams of thought, arrived at in a more or less idealist manner, ranging from outright fascist to Marxist.

This ideological scattering means that this sector is unlikely to ever be unified, as a sector, on any political/social/economic



conomic issue. Even issues that affect their own lives (such as socialized medicine) will not unite them, because each profession will follow its own interests. For example, most doctors will fight national health programs to the limit, but architects and college professors won't unite as a group behind the doctors.

In any social struggle some members of this sector will support the bourgeoisie, some the petit-bourgeoisie, some will be confused, wishy-washy, and neutral, and some will be willing to support the oppressed peoples. However, in any united front between the working class and members of the professional sector, there will be a continual struggle for leadership waged by the professionals. If they succeed in gaining the leadership, they will inevitably (although maybe unconsciously) lead the struggle away from socialism and towards a non-monopoly form of capitalism. In other words, their class interests, ingrained arrogance, and petit-bourgeois training will lead them away from a socialism that works to eliminate class division.

#### Controversy regarding the Professional Sector

There are several controversies over the analysis presented in this section.

The first revolves around the concept of an intangible means-of-production. Some people take the position that means-of-production are strictly limited to the physical apparatus necessary to produce material commodities. Others take the position that, for the purpose of class analysis, means-of-production can be expanded to include the physical apparatus necessary for any profit-making business, but not anything intangible.

Growing out of this dispute are several positions as to the class status of professionals. 1) that professionals are not petit-bourgeois because they own no means-of-production (that which produces material commodities) and so professionals should be classified as either members of the working class or as a separate class called Intelligentsia. 2) that professionals who are independent businessmen own their own means-of-production (apparatus for any profit-making business) and are consequently members of the petit-bourgeoisie, while professionals who work for salaries are members of the working class. 3) all people whose work is basically intellectual, 21

including those classified in this paper as semi-professional members of the working class (school teachers, nurses, social workers, etc.), should be considered part of a separate class called the Intelligentsia.

#### Controversy regarding the Petit-Bourgeoisie as a Whole

In opposition to the concept of the petit-bourgeoisie put forward in the main body of the paper (consisting of three types of businesses: corporate, franchise, and small, plus managers and professionals) was a different concept. According to this position the petit-bourgeoisie consists only of very small businesses in which the owner is the main worker (although he or she may employ a small number of assistants). In other words the petit-bourgeoisie would consist of what the paper calls the small business sub-sector, plus those professionals who own their own business.

This position would place the corporate and franchise sub-sectors in the bourgeoisie as a third sector called the competitive capitalists or the middle bourgeoisie. Salaried managers would be divided among the proletariat and the bourgeoisie depending on how much money they make and the number of workers that they supervise. Salaried professionals would, for the most part, be part of the working class, unless they also served the function of supervisors or their income was very high.

This position (petit-bourgeoisie is only small business) is based on an understanding of how Marx and Engels formulated the composition of the petit-bourgeoisie. According to this position, what makes the petit-bourgeoisie a separate class is that its members fall outside the capital-labor relationship. Those who hold this position feel it is important to strictly adhere to this formulation because Marx predicted that the petit-bourgeoisie would steadily decline under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, and this is true if small businesses only are considered petit-bourgeois. But it is not true if managers and salaried professionals are included as petit-bourgeois. If managers and salaried professionals are included, the petit-bourgeoisie at this point in history is either stable or somewhat expanding. In the same vein, they hold that Marx took the position that the pressure on the petit-bourgeoisie from the bourgeoisie would cause the petit-bourgeoisie either to become an ally of the proletariat or to play a vacillating role in class struggle (that is, to



ally with the working class on some issues, and at other times ally with the bourgeoisie). This would clearly not be the case if the corporate, franchise, and managerial sectors and sub-sectors were considered as a part of the petit-bourgeoisie.

This position holds that while there are contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the corporate and franchise sub-sectors, in a conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the two sub-sectors would not ally with the working class, or even play a vacillating role. They would firmly ally with the bourgeoisie. Hence, they should not be placed in a class (petit-bourgeoisie) which is reserved for those sectors of the population who will either ally with the proletariat or play a vacillating role.

With regard to classifying managers, this position says that high-paid managers are members of the bourgeoisie because A) salaries are so high that they must come at least in part from exploitation of the workers, B) many top managers are also paid in the form of stock options, C) their lifestyle is that of the bourgeoisie, D) their social role is that of agents of the bourgeoisie, E) like the corporate and franchise sub-sectors, they will firmly ally with the bourgeoisie. Managers who are not highly paid enough to be considered part of the bourgeoisie must be considered workers, because they do not own the means of production.

In regard to salaried professionals, this position holds that they are predominantly members of the proletariat. However, those who either receive very large incomes (such as movie stars) or function as high-level managers or supervisors would be considered as part of the bourgeoisie.

The salaried manager and professional is likely to have a bourgeois consciousness (as opposed to a petit-bourgeois consciousness), including many of those managers and professionals classified as workers.

The position of the paper is explained in the preceding pages and won't be repeated here. There are however three points that should be considered when evaluating the two positions on the petit-bourgeoisie.

The first is, to what extent have the developments of the past 100 years, particularly the consolidation of monopoly capitalism and the creation of the United States as the strongest bastion of imperialism with a

tremendous amount of wealth ripped from the Third World, affected the analysis put forward by Marx and Engels?

The second point of study is the positions taken by other theoreticians. For example, Mao Tse-Tung, analyzing a semi-feudal underdeveloped, semi-colonized country, divides the people we are discussing here into three classes: The comprador or big bourgeoisie, which is that element that serves the interests of, and is directly tied to, the imperialists; the national bourgeoisie, which is generally smaller than the compradors and is not directly tied to the imperialists; and the petit-bourgeoisie, which includes owner-peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, lower government functionaries, office clerks, small lawyers, small traders, and other professional people. In most of Lenin's writings he referred to intellectuals, professionals, petty officials and bureaucrats in terms of their consciousness, which he described as either bourgeois or petit-bourgeois.

The third point has to do with evaluating Marx's prediction. In the 100 years or more since he predicted the decline of the petit-bourgeoisie, it has largely come to pass. I could find no statistics that accurately count those who owned their own means-of-production earlier than 1939, but it seems probable that at one time roughly 1/3 to 1/2 of the non-farm laborforce were petit-bourgeois as defined by Marx (own their own means-of-production, or self-employed). As of 1969 the percentage of those who owned their own means-of-production (including self-employed professionals but not farmers) had declined to 6.3% of the laborforce. However, almost all of that decline occurred before 1939. In the 30 years between 1939 and 1969, the decline has been less than one-tenth of one percent per year, and in fact, the actual number of people who owned their own means-of-production has been rising. The extremely slow nature of this decline can be seen if it is compared to the decline in the percentage of farmers. From 1939 to 1969 farmers fell from 11.3% of the laborforce to 1.6%.

These figures raise several questions. Has the elimination of the petit-bourgeoisie as defined and predicted by Marx basically been accomplished? Is there a minimal level of the petit-bourgeoisie beyond which it will not shrink (or will shrink very slowly) because new small businesses are created at a rate equivalent to the rate at which older



**TABLE 11** Composition of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	64,171,000 (100.0%)	53,358,000 (83.1%)	10,813,000 (16.9%)
Male	36,285,000 (56.5%)	30,242,000 (47.1%)	6,043,000 (9.4%)
Female	27,886,000 (43.5%)	23,116,000 (36.0%)	4,770,000 (7.5%)

**TABLE 12** In 1969 the Proletariat made up:

80.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	78.2% of the total white laborforce	92.1% of the total TW laborforce
73.3% of all males in the laborforce	70.7% of all white males in the laborforce	89.4% of all TW males in the laborforce
91.6% of all females in the laborforce	90.8% of all white females in the laborforce	95.8% of all TW females in the laborforce

businesses are killed off? If the answer to these two questions is "yes," is it then correct to limit our definition of the petit-bourgeoisie in such a way as to conform to Marx's prediction? Or does the fact that the decline of the petit-bourgeoisie has "hit bottom," so to speak, signal a new phase in the analysis of the petit-bourgeois class?

If the petit-bourgeoisie is defined as it is in this paper (business, management, and professionals), then the class has grown from roughly 15% of the laborforce in 1939 to 18.2% in 1969. This is an increase of about one tenth of one percent per year.

#### THE PROLETARIAT OR WORKING CLASS

The proletariat is composed of those people who do not own or control the means of production and thus have to sell their laborpower to those who do own the means of production. Furthermore, members of the working class are exploited. If they are workers involved in the production of commodities, the wealth they receive in the form of wages is less than the wealth they create by their labor. If they are engaged in providing services for a private employer, the wages that they receive are less than the amount their employer received from his customer for the workers' services.

As can be seen in Tables 11 and 12, the great majority of the laborforce in America are members of the proletariat (80.2%). Since the largest class, other than the working class, is the petit-bourgeoisie, and since white males have much greater representation there than women or Third World people, it is logical to expect that women and Third World people are more likely to end up in the working class than white men. This is the case; of the laborforce, 73.3% of the men are workers compared to 91.6% of the women. Only 70.7% of the

white men in the laborforce are workers compared to 89.4% of the Third World men and 95.8% of the Third World women. Yet because white men are such a large portion of the laborforce they make up almost half of the proletariat (47.1%)

As a whole, about 27% of the proletariat is organized into unions (38% of the men & 14% of the women).

Because there are significant differences between different sectors of the working class, income, organization and mobility will be discussed in terms of each sector.

In terms of evolution the proletariat has steadily grown both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the laborforce. It is hard to trace this growth accurately with statistics, because prior to 1939 (that is, the 1940 census) no distinction was made between wage workers and self-employed people. Prior to the 1940 census only information on occupations and industries was given. Further, the figures of the 1940, '50, and '60 censuses did not use exactly the same definitions as did the 1970 census, so it was impossible to do more than closely approximate the sectors as defined and counted with the 1970 figures. Accordingly, the figures given for relative size of the class and sectors for the year 1869 are rough approximations because the number of self-employed people in those occupations had to be guessed at. The figures for 1939 are more accurate because only wage-workers are included, but they are not exactly 100% comparable to the sectors as defined and counted with the 1970 census.

With all of that in mind then, in 1869 the proletariat comprised roughly 64% of the laborforce. In 1939 it was about 72% and in 1969 it was 80.2%. Thus it is possible to see the steady growth of the proletariat, which was primarily at the expense of the small farmers.



## Social/Economic Situation and Role of the Proletariat in Class Struggle

The analysis of the social/economic situation and political role of the working class lies at the heart of Marxism. Thousands of articles and hundreds of books have been written on these questions. This paper will not try to repeat the fundamental tenets of Marxism in regard to the role of the proletariat. The discussions on situation and role of the working class contained in this paper will focus on examining and comparing the different sectors of the working class in the U.S. within the general framework of the overall Marxist outlook on the class. Thus most of the discussion on situation and role will be contained in the sections dealing with the various sectors. However, there are a few fundamental points that should be briefly recapitulated concerning the proletariat as a whole and its situation and role.

Eighty percent of all members of the laborforce are members of the working class. Almost all of the material goods and services that maintain civilization are the product of the working class. The food we eat, the clothes we wear, shelter, heat, light, transportation, recreation, etc., almost everything that raises our standard of living above the level of primitive agriculture is primarily the product of the proletariat. In the words of the song "Solidarity Forever":

It is we who plowed the prairies;  
built the cities where they trade;  
Dug the mines and built the workshops;  
endless miles of railroad laid.  
Now we stand outcasts and starving;  
'mid the wonders we have made.

All the world that's owned by idle drones  
is ours and ours alone.  
We have laid the wide foundations;  
built it skyward stone by stone.  
It is ours not to slave in;  
but to master and to own.

--Ralph Chaplin

But the product of our labor is not owned by us. It has been ripped-off by the bourgeoisie and parts of the petit-bourgeoisie. The goods and services we produce are not produced as individuals but as a class. That is, the production of the working class is organized on a social or cooperative basis: Many workers, of all types, working together to maintain society. As a class, as a social organization, we produce the goods and services of civilization, but

they are taken from us and owned by a few individuals. These individuals who seize, for their own enrichment, the products of our labor do little or nothing to produce those products. They return to us only what they are forced to. They fight to steal from us as much as possible of the wealth that we produce. This contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation is the fundamental contradiction of capitalist society. All other contradictions in society either stem directly from it, or are heavily influenced and modified by it.

Thus the interests of the proletariat are fundamentally opposed to the interests of the capitalists (bourgeoisie). The two other classes, the petit-bourgeoisie and the small farmers, have contradictory interests. On the one hand they want to limit the power of the bourgeoisie, but on the other hand they want to maintain the private property/free enterprise system. Thus the petit-bourgeoisie and the small farmers tend to vacillate and swing from pole to pole, while the proletariat, which has no long-term interests in common with the bourgeoisie, is the only class which can provide a base and leadership for the total overthrow and elimination of the capitalist system. Furthermore, only the working class can provide the base, leadership, and social organization for the creation of a new system to replace capitalism.

The only system which can successfully replace capitalism is socialism (social ownership of the means of production). The foundation of this system has already been built in that the means of production are already largely socialized, that is, cooperative and social as opposed to individual. Thus the proletariat, whose labor is already socialized, is the only class that can provide the base and leadership for the transformation of society into a socialist society. While this does not exclude portions of other classes from allying with the working class, it must be clear that only the working class can provide the leadership in overthrowing the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and in instituting a socialist society. Within the working class, however, there are differences among the various sectors that affect their relative potential for leadership and commitment to overthrow of the bourgeoisie. These will be examined in the following pages.

The chapters on the different sectors focus on the difference between sectors in spontaneous consciousness. On how thier



conditions of work shape their consciousness. The emphasis on this aspect is not meant to imply that the spontaneous consciousness of even the most advanced sector can be a substitute for conscious Marxist-Leninists organized into a revolutionary party. Naturally, it is such a party that will be the most advanced element, the leading element, of the class. It is the conscious, organized, revolutionaries who scientifically study and systematize the experiences of the class, and particularly the class's most advanced sector--industrial production workers. It is the conscious revolutionaries who bring socialist ideology to the working class, and inject it into the spontaneous struggles of the class.

When the paper refers to different sectors developing ideology, or leading in consciousness, what is meant is the degree of spontaneous development, the potential for understanding and accepting the science of Marxism-Leninism, and the degree to which that sector's conditions provide the basis for the ideological development of the revolutionary party.

#### Analyzing the Proletariat

Since the working class is the key class in terms of size, social role, and role in revolution, the paper will examine it in greater detail than the other classes. The working class will be looked at from three different perspectives. The first is by nature of work; that is, the different types of jobs (sales, clerical, crafts, laboring, service, etc.) that people perform. The second perspective will be that of economic strata, or more accurately, standard of living. The third, and most important, will be by relationship to the means-of-production.

These three perspectives are not antagonistic to each other. Each helps to provide a picture of the proletariat. Each perspective illuminates a different side to social role, consciousness, and class struggle. In overall terms, the perspective of looking at the proletariat according to the relationship to the means-of-production is primary. However, the other two perspectives both provide important information by themselves, and help to explain the primary (means-of-production) analysis.

#### THE PROLETARIAT BY NATURE OF WORK

This perspective is primarily concerned with the different types of jobs. What are the different types of occupations, how socialized (co-operative) are they, what is their national and sexual composition, what are their relative pay scales, etc? There is some overlap between an examination of occupations and an analysis of the working class by relationship to the means-of-production. However, at bottom they are two different systems. For example, in a soap factory you would find many different types of jobs (occupations): master mixer (technician), dumper (laborer), assembly line worker (operative), tallyman (clerical), stationary engineer (craftsman), fork lift driver (transport operative), and janitor (service). Each of these occupations has its own organizational form, differing degree of socialization, and differing influence on the worker's consciousness. Yet, in the final analysis, all of the above workers are members of the production sector because of their relation to the means of production. That is, because they all are directly involved in the production of commodities, they are members of the production sector. And of course, their position as members of that sector will have an even greater influence on their consciousness than the forms of their particular occupation.

In analyzing the social/political role of different parts of the working class, there are two elements that are most important: consciousness and strategic location. In terms of different occupations there are three important ways in which consciousness is influenced: 1) the relative oppression or privilege of the job; how alienating or creative is the work, how dangerous, what are the working conditions, etc. 2) how does the nature of the work affect consciousness of class solidarity. 3) how much does the nature of the work train the person in co-operation, discipline, unity, etc. In addition to consciousness, different types of occupations can also be analyzed from the standpoint of strategic potential. For example, some jobs are more essential to the economy than others, or some are easier to organize the workers in than others.

The analysis of exactly how nature of work affects consciousness is only in its infancy. It will require much more research and study to fully understand. In this paper, only what at this time appears to be the significant elements are given. In



**TABLE 13** Proletariat by Occupational Categories

	% of whole Proletariat	% of the white members Proletariat	% of the TW members Proletariat	% of the male members Proletariat	% of the female members Proletariat
SALES	7.0%	7.8%	3.0%	6.5%	7.5%
CLERICAL	21.6%	22.9%	15.2%	9.9%	36.9%
CRAFTS	15.8%	16.8%	10.7%	26.5%	1.8%
OPERATIVES	17.2%	16.5%	20.8%	18.3%	15.7%
TRANSPORT	4.5%	4.4%	5.2%	7.7%	.5%
LABORERS	5.6%	4.8%	9.3%	9.1%	1.1%
FARM LABOR	1.6%	1.3%	3.2%	2.3%	.6%
SERVICE	13.3%	12.1%	19.1%	10.4%	17.1%
PVT. HOUSE.	1.9%	1.0%	6.5%	.1%	4.2%
OTHER*	11.5%	12.4%	7.0%	9.2%	14.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*Note- "Other" primarily includes various occupations considered part of the Semi-Professional Sector.

#Note- These figures are calculated on the basis of laborforce members only. Members of the Working Class who are not members of the laborforce are not included.

other words, the paper does not go into an exhaustive analysis of how nature of work affects consciousness. Rather, it will only skim off some of the immediate impressions.

When using this perspective (analysis by nature of occupation), the question then becomes, "What are the different categories of work that should be examined?" Or, more accurately, "How should the thousands of different jobs be categorized?" There is no clear answer to this question. This paper will use the categories established by the U.S. Census. Not because they are the best (they're not), but because they're the only ones for which statistics can be gotten. Some of the weaknesses of the census categories will be discussed as they come up. The categories that will be discussed here are Sales, Clerical, Craftsmen, Operatives, Transportation, Laborers, Farm Laborers, Service, and Private Household workers. Practically all of the proletariat falls into one of these categories. The only exceptions are some members of the semi-professional sector who are technicians, teachers, petty bureaucrats, etc.

Table 13 gives the percentages of the working class that are in the various categories. It also gives the percentage of white, Third World, male and female proletarians in the different categories.

Table 13 gives a fairly clear picture of the occupational composition of the working class. Proportionately whites are a higher percentage in "white collar" jobs and the better-paid crafts jobs, while Third World workers are (proportionately) a higher percentage of the less desirable jobs, particularly service and private household. Men tend to dominate in crafts, transportation, laboring, and farm labor, while women are largely clumped into three occupational areas: clerical, operatives, and service

#### SALES

Consisting of such jobs as sales clerks, insurance and advertising agents, cashiers, peddlers, and others. The Census

**TABLE 14** Composition of the Sales Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	4,466,000 (100.0%)	4,147,000 (92.9%)	319,000 ( 7.1%)
Male	2,385,000 ( 53.4%)	2,227,000 (49.9%)	158,000 ( 3.5%)
Female	2,081,000 ( 46.6%)	1,920,000 (43.0%)	161,000 ( 3.6%)

**TABLE 15** In 1969 the Sales Category made up:

5.6% of the TOTAL laborforce	6.1% of the total white laborforce	2.7% of the total TW laborforce
4.2% of all males in the laborforce	5.2% of all white males in the laborforce	2.3% of all TW males in the laborforce
6.8% of all females in the laborforce	7.5% of all white females in the laborforce	3.2% of all TW females in the laborforce



also includes in this category people such as stock and bond salesmen who were classified by this paper as petit-bourgeois. The statistics given in Tables 14 and 15 do not include people counted as petit-bourgeois by this paper.

The most surprising thing about the figures in Table 14 is that men outnumber women in the sales category. This seems surprising because most of the salespeople we encounter in our daily lives are women. The explanation is that women are concentrated in the occupation of sales clerk--retail trade: 78% of all women in sales are retail clerks. On the other hand, there are over 2,000,000 men in sales with whom we rarely come into contact. For example, sales representatives of manufacturing industries and the wholesale trade (987,000), insurance and real estate agents, and salesmen of expensive large items like cars and appliances. These jobs are much higher paying than the sales clerk jobs of so many women (and men). In fact some of them are so high paying and carry such prestige that they are considered in this paper as petit-bourgeois. The concentration of men in the higher-paying sales jobs also helps explain the fact that Third World women slightly outnumber Third World men (the opposite of the situation for white sales people). This is explained by the discrimination that prevents Third World men (and women) from getting many of the high-paying non-sales clerk type jobs.

There is a very wide range of income among people with sales jobs. However, almost all of those involved in sales who receive very high incomes are not proletarians; rather, they are members of the petit-bourgeoisie. If we just look at the working class sales jobs, it is clear that the bulk of those jobs are very poorly paid, as Table 16 demonstrates.

As can be seen in Table 16, the difference in income between men and women is great. There is also a difference between white and Third World. As an occupation, sales workers are poorly organized. Only about 7½% are in unions. Men are about 8% and women 7% unionized.

For the petit-bourgeois and semi-professional salesmen, working conditions are fairly good. There is usually a high degree of freedom and personal initiative allowed, usually a varied and interesting routine, often an expense account for entertaining clients, possibly a private office, and often a secretary to take care of the paperwork. Furthermore, many of the salesmen in this level of sales (that is, the petit-bourgeoisie and upper levels of the working class) are paid wholly or partially on the basis of commissions, so that in some senses they are independent businessmen. All of this tends to foster a petit-bourgeois consciousness.

Conditions are very different, however, for the majority of sales workers (primarily women). The jobs of sales clerks and cashiers are anything but pleasant. The pay is low, the hours long. There is usually no personal freedom. Often sales workers have to stand of their feet the entire day with only brief periods of rest. Sales clerks often have to take pressure from their boss and abuse from customers. Usually the boss closely regulates the personal appearance and demeanor of the sales clerks, adding another form of oppression to the lives of the workers. The work is extremely boring, alienating, repetitive, and provides little opportunity for any feelings of creativity. The trend is for these jobs to become ever more routine and oppressive as they are mechanized and routinized, forcing the sales clerk to be more of a machine operator and less of a customer-assistant. A clear example of this is the new computerized grocery check-out systems, which get twice as much volume from each checker as before.

While the oppression of the sales clerk jobs is high, the potential for developing class consciousness and embracing socialist ideology is not as high as among some of the other proletarian occupational categories. There are at least four reasons for this. The first is that the nature of sales work is basically individual as opposed to co-operative. Of course, in almost all jobs there is some level of mutual co-operation among two or more workers, but the level of

TABLE 16 Income of Sales workers according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	1%	1%	1%	2%	-
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	34%	35%	22%	57%	7%
Percent earning less than "LOWER"	65%	64%	77%	41%	93%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



TABLE 17 Composition of the Clerical Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	13,874,000 (100.0%)	12,235,000 (88.2%)	1,639,000 (11.8%)
Male	3,588,000 ( 25.9%)	3,070,000 (22.1%)	518,000 ( 3.7%)
Female	10,286,000 ( 74.1%)	9,165,000 (66.1%)	1,121,000 ( 8.1%)

TABLE 18 In 1969 the Clerical Category made up:

17.3% of the TOTAL laborforce	17.9% of the total white laborforce	14.0% of the total TW laborforce
7.2% of all males in the laborforce	7.2% of all white males in the laborforce	7.7% of all TW males in the laborforce
33.8% of all females in the laborforce	36.0% of all white females in the laborforce	22.5% of all TW females in the laborforce

co-operative work is very low among the sales occupations. Secondly, they tend to work in small-scale operations with a few fellow workers. Thirdly, they are often working in suburban areas far from concentrations of other workers. Lastly, their role in the production-distribution process makes it harder for them to see clearly the fundamental economic contradictions of capitalism between bourgeoisie and worker. All of these factors will be discussed at greater length in the section dealing with the office sector of the working class.

#### CLERICAL

Consisting of such occupations as bank tellers, bookkeepers, cashiers, all kinds of clerks, letter carriers, office machine operators, receptionists, secretaries, stenographers, teachers' aides, telephone operators, and typists.

It comes as no surprise to see (as shown in Tables 17 and 18) that women make up the majority of the clerical category. Three-quarters (74.1%) of all clerical workers are women. Of all working women, one-third (33.8%) are clerical workers.

The sales and clerical occupations have expanded over the past 30 years. In 1939, sales/clerical workers were about 16% of the laborforce. In 1969, they were 22.9%, an increase of about 7%. However, all of this increase was among women workers. In 1939, male sales/clerical workers were about

12% of the male laborforce; in 1969, male sales/clerical workers had declined to 11.4% of the male laborforce. In 1939, female sales/clerical workers were about 28% of the female laborforce; in 1969, they had risen to 40.6% of the female laborforce.

There is not as great a range of income among clerical workers as there is among sales workers. Almost all clerical workers are low paid.

As can be seen in Table 19 there is a big difference between the salaries of men and women. Yet even the higher-paid men have only a little over half their number earning more than what the BLS describes as a "LOWER" standard of living, while only 16% of the women earn enough to be above the "LOWER" level.

Only about 12% of clerical workers are in unions. However, about 24% of male clerical workers are organized compared to only about 9% of women clerical workers. In 1966 the median earnings of unionized women clerical workers was \$1,000 higher than that of non-unionized women clerical workers.

Working conditions for clerical workers covers a broad range, both because of the large number of different clerical occupations and because of the broad range of employers. In general, clerical work tends to be boring, repetitive, alienating, and uncreative. Usually it is not as physically tiring as most of the manual, or "blue collar," jobs, but its tediousness is often worse. The working environment is usually

TABLE 19 Income of Clerical workers according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	1%	1%	-	4%	-
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	26%	26%	24%	54%	16%
Percent earning less than "LOWER"	73%	73%	76%	42%	84%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



TABLE 20 Composition of the Craftsmen Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	10,134,000 (100.0%)	8,982,000 (88.6%)	1,152,000 (11.4%)
Male	9,622,000 (94.9%)	8,550,000 (84.4%)	1,072,000 (10.6%)
Female	512,000 (5.1%)	432,000 (4.2%)	80,000 (.8%)

TABLE 21 In 1969 the Crafts Category made up:

12.7% of the TOTAL laborforce	13.2% of the total white laborforce	9.8% of the total TW laborforce
19.4% of all males in the laborforce	20.0% of all white males in the laborforce	15.9% of all TW males in the laborforce
1.7% of all females in the laborforce	1.7% of all white females in the laborforce	1.6% of all TW females in the laborforce

much better than that of most manual workers in terms of heat, cold, lighting, noise, fumes, danger, and other physical criteria. However, in terms of oppression, speed-up, harassment from the boss, pressure, tension, boredom, etc., etc., etc., offices can often be as bad as any other workplace.

There is a broad range of work situations for clerical workers, ranging from being the only office worker of a small petit-bourgeois business to giant insurance offices employing thousands of office workers in a single building. Likewise, there is a broad range in the degree of socialization, or co-operation, inherent in clerical work. Although, in general, not as highly socialized as production work, many of the large office complexes organize their clerical workers in ways that are similar to that of factory workers. Furthermore, the historical trend has been, and is, clearly towards the proletarianization of office work. That is, routinizing, compartmentalizing, and reducing the work to a few simple repetitive tasks. With the introduction of computers and other office machinery, the trend is for office work to become more and more similar to factory work in terms of the physical activity as well as the way the work is organized.

#### CRAFTS

Consisting of such jobs as bakers, masons, carpenters, electricians, painters, plumbers, cranemen, linemen, foremen, jewelers,

mechanics, machinists, tool & die makers, printers, stationary engineers, telephone installers, etc.

The occupational title "craftsman" brings to mind the high-paid, creative, satisfied, relatively free, unoppressed worker. And according to the census a large portion of the workforce is in this happy group. That is very misleading. A job title like "mechanic" can mean many different things. A large portion of those considered craftsmen work under very poor and highly exploited and oppressed conditions. Furthermore, many other craftsmen (particularly in the building trades) have quite low incomes because, though their hourly wage is high, their work is seasonal and they have long periods of unemployment.

A look at the statistics for craftsmen given in Tables 20 and 21 will make clear how misleading the Census category label of "craftsmen" is.

Clearly women are heavily discriminated against in the craft occupations. 194 out of every 1,000 males in the laborforce are craftsmen, while only 17 out of every 1,000 women in the laborforce are craftswomen. However, by classifying almost 20% of all men as craftsmen, the Census implies that 20% of all working men are well paid and working in creative, satisfying jobs. This is very misleading, as Table 22 shows.

As can be seen in Table 22, even in this, the highest paid of all the working class occupational categories, only 5% of the members earn above "HIGHER." In other

TABLE 22 Income of the Crafts category according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	5%	6%	1%	5%	1%
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	61%	63%	45%	63%	23%
Percent earning less than "LOWER"	34%	31%	54%	32%	76%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note—these figures include both full and part-time workers.



words, only 5 craftworkers out of every 100 earn enough to afford the "middle class" lifestyle and the sense of security that goes with it. What's also clear is that of that 5%, almost all of them are white males. Third World and women crafts workers have only 1% of their numbers earning above "HIGHER." Fully one-third of all crafts-people earn less than "LOWER." For Third World and women, the majority of crafts workers earn less than "LOWER."

All of this is not to deny that crafts occupations are generally higher-paid than other working class occupations. What is being stressed is the misleading nature of the label "crafts." In fact, there are two distinct types of jobs covered by the label crafts. A few of the crafts jobs are what we usually associate with the label. High-paying, highly skilled, creative, non-routine, less alienating, more satisfying, etc.

But most jobs labeled "crafts" are very similar to any other production job. For example, take the occupation "machinist." Some machinists are very highly skilled, with a knowledge of metallurgy, mathematics, stress factors, and design, and are proficient on different types of lathes, grinders, milling machines, and other precision machinery. Their job is to create machine parts or other metal pieces, to do creative work with metal. On the other hand, most "machinists" know how to operate only a few types of machines, or do only a few operations on one machine. They work at that machine all day, basically doing the same thing over and over again, much like any other production workers. While their job is usually not as oppressive as, say, an assembly line job, it is still much closer to that of assembly line workers than it is to the creative-type machinist.

All of these jobs carry a certain status or prestige, and for many of them a relatively better hourly wage. Their work is usually done in small groups or alone. Even in cases where craftsmen work in large plants, they generally work with a small group of other craftsmen. For some, the work is creative and upon completion of a task they can see something concrete that they have accomplished and can take pride in. It is important to remember that even those holding high-paying and more desirable "true" crafts-type jobs are, like the rest of the working class, exploited. That is, they produce more wealth than is returned to them in the form of wages.

Most blue-collar workers would like to get these better jobs, especially the "true" craft jobs, but over the long run this is a shrinking group. The census label "craftsmen" may be expanding, but what is expanding are the lower-paying, less creative, standardized, and more oppressive production jobs that carry only the title of "craftsmen." The good jobs are being reduced by mechanization and standardization.

The census category of crafts has expanded from about 9½% of the laborforce in 1939 to 12.7% in 1969. Almost all of this expansion was among males. In those 30 years, male craftsmen went from about 12.5% to 19.4% of the male laborforce, while women went from about 1% to 1.7% of the female laborforce.

Craftsmen work for all sectors of the economy--large and small industry, construction, service, government, etc. As an occupational category, they have a high degree of organization, with around 46% of them belonging to unions. About 47% of the male craftsmen and 20% of the female craftsmen are organized. The unions they belong to are generally AFL-style "craft" unions. As a rule these unions are very conservative, racist, sexist, and they tend to fawn on the bosses like love-sick poodles. About all that they do for their members is insure a relatively high wage-rate for their membership. In 1966 the median income for unionized male craftsmen was over \$1800 higher than for non-unionized craftsmen. On issues such as job security, safety, layoffs, working conditions, etc., they do little or nothing. As a rule these unions are extremely undemocratic.

Many of these factors such as pay, creativity, and working conditions tend to create a situation where craftsmen are less dissatisfied with their jobs than other blue-collar workers, particularly those in the top or "true" crafts jobs. They have a pride in themselves and their craft. They are less oppressed. The "true" craftsmen tend to see themselves as different than less-skilled workers and, with more to lose, are reluctant to join other workers in struggle, and are often prevented from joining the other workers by the pimp unions, even when they (the rank and file) do want to join the other workers. In general, the "true" craftsmen (i.e., the highly-paid, creative, specialists) usually will play a conservative or "hang back" role in social struggle. Certainly their privilege will prevent them from assuming a leadership role in class struggle.



TABLE 23 Composition of the Transport Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	2,916,000 (100.0%)	2,351,000 (80.6%)	565,000 (19.4%)
Male	2,782,000 (95.4%)	2,233,000 (76.6%)	549,000 (18.8%)
Female	134,000 (4.6%)	118,000 (4.0%)	16,000 (.6%)

TABLE 24 In 1969 the Transport Category made up:

3.6% of the TOTAL laborforce	3.4% of the total white laborforce	4.8% of the total TW laborforce
5.6% of all males in the laborforce	5.2% of all white males in the laborforce	8.1% of all TW males in the laborforce
.4% of all females in the laborforce	.5% of all white females in the laborforce	.3% of all TW females in the laborforce

This does not necessarily apply to the production craftsmen. That is, the low-paid or irregularly employed worker with the title of mechanic, baker, craneman, or other "craftsman" job, but whose conditions of work are as oppressive as those of the operatives and laborers.

Another of the weaknesses of the census category of craftsmen is the inclusion of unemployed veterans, which seems totally absurd. Also jobs like telephone installer seem out of place in the craftsmen category. The question of foremen is a difficult one. Depending on the specific plant, some foremen would be part of the managerial sector of the petit-bourgeoisie, while in other plants they would be part of the craftsman category of the working class. As a quick rule of thumb, if a foreman does productive work, in addition to supervising, either regularly or as a replacement, he or she should be considered part of the proletariat.

#### TRANSPORTATION OPERATIVES

These include boatmen, bus and truck drivers, deliverymen, forklift drivers, parking lot attendants, railroad brakemen and switchmen (engineers and firemen are craftsmen), taxi drivers, etc. Most of them work for private companies. About 10% are employed by public transportation. Most of the Third World workers are in public transportation or working at delivery jobs.

Up to this point, all of the occupational categories examined have had a higher relative proportion of white compared to Third World people. That is, sales, clerical, and crafts all reflect the discrimination that forces Third World people into the lower-paying, lower status, dirtier, more tiring jobs. All of the occupational categories following this one (operatives, laborers, farm labor, service, and private household) have a higher relative proportion of Third World people than whites.

This is a mixed category. Overall, jobs in the transport category are better-paying and more desirable than most other categories (except of course for the crafts category). There is still a great deal of discrimination against Third World people in large segments of transportation--such as long-haul trucking. However, because at least 10% of the jobs in this category are government civil service type jobs (such as bus driver) and these civil service jobs have a relatively high percentage of Third World workers (mostly men), it results in the transportation category ending up with a higher proportion of Third World workers than white workers, as shown in Table 24.

The nature of this work is highly individual: almost all transport operators work alone or with one or two partners. Some of the jobs can provide a feeling of accomplishment but not as much as craftsmen. Most of these jobs have relatively high status among the proletariat and the working conditions are not too bad (relatively speaking).

TABLE 25 Income of Transportation workers according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	3%	3%	1%	3%	1%
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	50%	53%	37%	52%	13%
Percent earning less than "LOWER"	47%	44%	62%	45%	86%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



TABLE 26 Composition of the Operatives Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	11,021,000 (100.0%)	8,768,000 (79.5%)	2,253,000 (20.5%)
Male	6,655,000 (60.4%)	5,359,000 (48.6%)	1,296,000 (11.8%)
Female	4,366,000 (39.6%)	3,409,000 (30.9%)	957,000 (8.7%)

TABLE 27 In 1969 the Operative Category made up:

13.8% of the TOTAL laborforce	12.9% of the total white laborforce	19.2% of the total TW laborforce
13.4% of all males in the laborforce	12.5% of all white males in the labor force	19.2% of all TW males in the laborforce
14.3% of all females in the laborforce	13.4% of all white females in the laborforce	19.2% of all TW females in the laborforce

Parts of this occupational category are well organized into industrial unions of the CIO type, particularly teamsters, railroad workers, longshoremen, public transportation workers, etc. On the other hand, some parts (such as parking lot attendants, deliverymen, etc.) are poorly organized.

Transport jobs do not train workers in unity and co-operation as thoroughly as do operative and laborer jobs, but promote more unity/co-operation than most craftsmen, service, farm labor, and private household jobs. This type of work provides a good opportunity for the development of class solidarity because of the mobility of the transport workers, the fact that there are large numbers of fellow workers in the same occupation with whom they can identify, and because they are often called upon to honor and support the struggles of other workers. Transportation workers, engaged in basic transportation that directly services the means of production (such as railroad, long-haul trucking, shipping, etc.), occupy the most strategically important position of any occupational category. No other occupation has as great a potential power to affect the political/economic system as those engaged in primary transportation. Thus, as occupations, transport workers will play a vital leading role in class struggle and are a key element in socialist revolution.

## OPERATIVES

Assembly-line workers, checkers, cutters

and pressers, garage workers and gas station attendants, laundry workers, butchers, miners, packers, metal workers (punch press, welding, grinding, lathe, milling, etc.), sailors, sewers, textile workers, machine operators are examples of workers in this category.

As can be seen in Tables 26 and 27, this is a very large category, larger even than craftsmen. It is relatively evenly divided between men and women and between white and Third World people in terms of proportion in the laborforce.

It is obvious from Table 28 that this is a poorly-paid category with the majority of workers in it not even earning enough for what the government euphemistically calls a "lower" standard of living. Yet these are the workers who do a major share of producing the wealth of our civilization. It's also clear that Third World workers and women workers are even more exploited and oppressed than the whites or the males.

In earlier censuses transportation workers were lumped together with operatives. In 1939 the combined category of operatives made up about 17½% of the laborforce. In 1969 it was basically the same - 17.4%. However, male operatives had increased from about 17½% to 19.0%, while women decreased from 17½% to 14.7%.

About 43% of operatives are in unions. About 49% of the men are unionized and 35% of the women operatives. Most of them are in the CIO industrial unions, primarily in the larger scale industries. These unions vary from very conservative to adequate (as

TABLE 28 Income of Operatives according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	1%	1%	-	2%	-
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	34%	37%	25%	51%	8%
Percent earning less than "LOWER"	65%	62%	75%	47%	92%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers



**TABLE 29** Composition of the Laborer Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	3,590,000 (100.0%)	2,587,000 (72.1%)	1,003,000 (27.9%)
Male	3,295,000 (91.8%)	2,365,000 (65.9%)	930,000 (25.9%)
Female	295,000 (8.2%)	222,000 (6.2%)	73,000 (2.0%)

**TABLE 30** In 1969 the Laborer Category made up:

4.5% of the TOTAL laborforce	3.8% of the total white laborforce	8.5% of the total TW laborforce
6.7% of all males in the laborforce	5.5% of all white males in the laborforce	13.8% of all TW males in the laborforce
1.0% of all females in the laborforce	.9% of all white females in the laborforce	1.5% of all TW females in the laborforce

trade unions). The median income for unionized male operatives in 1966 was \$2300 higher than for non-unionized. For women operatives it was \$1300 higher. As a general rule union workers also have better working conditions than the non-union workers. Some of these unions provide a moderate degree of rank and file democracy and try to defend their members on a broad range of issues. On the other hand many of the unions provide no democracy, little for their membership, and in some cases are so bad that they constitute an added oppression on the workers.

For the most part these are the jobs running machines in factories and service industries. The majority of workers in the mass industries such as steel, auto, appliances, chemical, rubber, electronics, and food processing, are in this category of operatives. Assembly-line workers are in this category. Most operatives work in groups, often in large factories employing thousands. The jobs they do are usually highly socialized.

Many work at jobs which consist of doing the same physical action hour after hour. There is little sense of creativity because each worker only does a tiny part of the whole job. Much of this work, especially assembly-line jobs, is terribly exhausting. Often jobs require working in high temperatures, foul, poisonous air, painful levels of noise, etc. Many work with unsafe machines. There are a great many job-related deaths, maimings, and diseases among these workers. These jobs do not enjoy high status. There is heavy oppression, with the employers

constantly trying to force more and more production out of each worker.

More than any other occupational group, operatives are trained by their work into patterns of co-operation, unity, and interdependence. A large portion of them work in giant industrial plants employing thousands of workers. Those that are organized are usually in big mass membership unions. Thus the potential for developing class consciousness and class solidarity is high among these workers.

This occupational group is the primary producer of material wealth. More so than craftsmen, the other major production category. Operatives are the mass base of America's industrial system. As such they are in a vital strategic position for class struggle. Because of their position at the primary means of production, the nature of their work, and other factors, this occupation is more easily organized than most of the other occupational groups.

As an occupational category, operatives will play one of the most important roles in class struggle, because of their potential for accepting and developing socialist ideology, their strategic location, and their potential for providing the mass base for proletarian struggle.

#### LABORERS

Construction laborers, fishermen, freight handlers, garbage men, gardeners,

**TABLE 31** Income of Laborers according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	1%	1%	-	1%	-
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	28%	30%	23%	30%	8%
Percent earning less than "LOWER"	71%	69%	77%	69%	92%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



longshoremen, cowboys, shepherds, car washers, warehousemen, and factory laborers are examples of workers in this category.

As can be seen from Tables 29 and 30 men outnumber women by more than 10 to 1 in this occupational category. Third World workers make up almost 1/3rd of all laborers, the percentage of Third World male laborers (138 per 1,000) is twice that of white males (55 per 1,000).

While few women are laborers, the likelihood of a Third World woman becoming a laborer is almost twice that of a white woman (15 per 1,000 versus 9 per 1,000).

As can be seen in Table 31 this is a very low paid category. 71% of all laborers do not even earn enough to achieve what the government laughingly calls a "lower" standard of living. 71% of all laborers belong to the working poor. The situation is, of course, much worse for Third World and women laborers.

This category has decreased as a percentage of the laborforce since 1939. In that year about 6.5% of the workforce were laborers; in 1969 only 4.5% were laborers.

About 30% of laborers are organized into unions. Around 33% of the men and 7% of the women. Generally these unions are a mixture of the AFL and CIO types and range from adequate to awful. In 1966 the median income for unionized male laborers was, incredibly, 5 times higher than for non-union laborers (\$5,000 versus \$1,000). While this great disparity is in large part due to higher wages, it was also due to the fact that the union laborers get many more days of work than do the non-union.

These are the backbreaking, unskilled, low-paying jobs. Some are socialized, but others are not. Some laborers work in large groups, co-operatively with others; some work more or less alone. Often their jobs are very dangerous and disease-ridden. They are almost always strenuous, tiring, and are usually dirty. There is little creativity in this work. Oppression, speed-up, and abuse from the boss is high. Often the hours are long.

For most of those in this category the oppression, bad conditions and low pay create a consciousness of oppression and rebellion. To the extent that the work is socialized it creates unity and co-operation. Those who work in large plants, or belong to large fluid occupations (such as construction laborers and others who are dispatched from

job to job) have a good opportunity to develop class consciousness and solidarity.

As an important part of the primary means of production, these workers are also in an important strategic location, though not as key as operatives and transport workers. As a highly oppressed occupation, with a strong element of Third World workers, this group will play an important leading role in class struggle.

A few of these occupations, because of the nature of their working conditions, history, danger, and unusual circumstances, have developed a unique sense of identity and a unique culture. For example - Lumberjacks, cowboys, shepherds, fishermen, and to a lesser extent, longshoremen. To the extent that this spirit and consciousness contributes to their unity and sense of class oppression, it is a positive thing. But to the extent that it contributes to a sense of individualism, machismo, and isolation from the rest of the working class, as a whole, it is a negative thing.

#### FARM LABORERS

This category includes all farm wage workers, and unpaid family workers who work at farm labor. This does not include unpaid family workers related to, and supported by, the farm owner.

According to the statistics, this category has suffered a tremendous decline both in numbers and as a percentage of the laborforce. In 1939 about 7% of the laborforce were farm workers. Thirty years later, in 1969, only 1.3% of the laborforce were farm laborers.

The statistics for this category are so inaccurate as to be more or less worthless. There are several reasons for this; for example, many migrant families work in the fields - husband, wife, and children - on a piece-work basis. Since the family's production is figured as a unit and one payment is made to the family head (usually the husband), the other family members tend to disappear from the statistics.

Most of the workers in this category are seasonal workers, and a large number are migrants. While the wages of permanent farm workers are very low, the wages of seasonals are even worse. There is a semi-feudal aspect to the lives of these workers, with the land owners treating them like



**TABLE 32** Composition of the Farm Laborer Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	1,019,000 (100.0%)	670,000 (65.8%)	349,000 (34.2%)
Male	839,000 (82.3%)	562,000 (55.1%)	277,000 (27.2%)
Female	180,000 (17.7%)	108,000 (10.7%)	72,000 (7.0%)

**TABLE 33** In 1969 the Farm Laborer Category made up:

1.3% of the TOTAL laborforce	1.0% of the total white laborforce	3.0% of the total TW laborforce
1.7% of all males in the laborforce	1.3% of all white males in the laborforce	4.1% of all TW males in the laborforce
.6% of all females in the laborforce	.4% of all white females in the laborforce	1.5% of all TW females in the laborforce

serfs. Many do not enjoy even the minimal democratic rights. A large number of these workers are not counted by the census, either because they are migrants or because the land owners do not allow their workers to have any communication with the outside world that would reveal the conditions under which these people are often forced to live. Thus there are many more farm laborers than these statistics indicate.

A large number of farm laborers are not counted in these statistics because they are not U.S. citizens and do not have legal work papers. The oppression and exploitation of farm workers without immigration papers is extreme. Often an employer will have these workers labor on his farm for an entire season without paying them any wages or allowing them to leave the labor camp. When the season is over, he will call the border patrol and have the workers deported, thus avoiding paying them any wages. This same kind of oppression also falls on undocumented workers in the cities. These undocumented workers are not counted in the statistics.

At this time the great majority of farm workers are unorganized. There have been several attempts to organize farm workers, the most recent being the United Farm Workers.

So far each effort has been met with intensive repression from the state, the growers, and reactionary union sell-outs.

(A more complete discussion of farm workers is given in the section on the rural proletariat)

## SERVICE WORKERS

Janitors, cooks and waitresses, dental assistants, orderlies and LVN's, stewardesses, barbers, childcare workers, elevator operators, hairdressers, ushers, firemen and police are examples of workers in this category.

As can be seen from Tables 35 and 36, this is the fourth largest of the occupational categories (after clerical, crafts, and operatives). It is also a fast-growing one, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the laborforce. In 1939 about 6% of the workforce were in the service category. By 1969 this had risen to 10.7% of the laborforce.

Service, private household, and clerical are the only categories in which women outnumber men. In terms of percentage of male and female laborforces, the proportion of women over men is more than double (76 per 1,000 men versus 157 per 1,000 women). While Third World service workers do not outnumber whites in absolute terms, the proportion of Third World service workers is much higher than that of whites - in fact almost double. While 95 out of every 1,000 white members of the laborforce are in the service category, 176 out of every 1,000 Third World members of the laborforce are in service. Almost one out of every 4 Third World women are service workers.

**TABLE 31** Income of Farm Laborers according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	1%	1%	-	1%	-
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	8%	11%	3%	10%	3%
Percent earning less than "LOWER"	91%	88%	97%	89%	97%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



**TABLE 35** Composition of the Service Workers Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	8,541,000 (100.0%)	6,478,000 (75.8%)	2,063,000 (24.2%)
Male	3,769,000 (44.1%)	2,829,000 (33.1%)	940,000 (11.0%)
Female	4,772,000 (55.9%)	3,649,000 (42.7%)	1,123,000 (13.2%)

**TABLE 36** In 1969 the Service Worker Category made up:

10.7% of the TOTAL laborforce	9.5% of the total white laborforce	17.6% of the total TW laborforce
7.6% of all males in the laborforce	6.6% of all white males in the laborforce	13.9% of all TW males in the laborforce
15.7% of all females in the laborforce	14.3% of all white females in the laborforce	22.5% of all TW females in the laborforce

As can be seen from Table 37 this is a very poorly paid category, with Third World people and women on the bottom. In this case, most of the difference between the income of white males and the rest of the service workers is due to the fact that the census includes police as service workers. Since there were about 300,000 white male cops in 1969, most of whom are much more highly paid than other service workers, the average income of white male service workers was inflated.

In the rest of the discussion about service workers police are not included. Service occupations are usually hard, often dirty, tiring, and poorly paid. Usually they are done alone or in small groups. Their character of personal service tends to create a degrading atmosphere to these jobs. Often the hours are long or in some cases require a split shift. Most of these jobs are unorganized. The only positive aspect is that they are not as dangerous as operatives and laborers (firemen and cops are not being considered as part of service). The main exception to all of this is the stewardess, whose general income ranges from \$4,000 - \$10,000 (1969) and whose job carries a status and glamour that the other service occupations do not. This status and glamour is a false one and is based on sexism. In fact the nature of their work is little different than waitresses', cleaning workers', etc.

Since the work of the service occupations is usually done alone, or with a small group, and because most of the work is individual

as opposed to socialized, it is not as easy for these workers to develop a co-operative consciousness as it is for those working in production.

Compared to some of the other occupational categories, the service worker has less opportunity to develop a sense of class solidarity. Scattered widely throughout the city in small workplaces, often isolated from any other workers, often engaged in serving only the petit-bourgeoisie, it is harder for them to develop a sense of belonging to a powerful but oppressed class (as opposed to developing individual class consciousness of being oppressed as an individual).

(An analysis of the role in social struggle of the service workers is given under the section on the service sector).

#### PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD

Cooks, clearners, chauffers, butlers, maids, "cleaning women", etc.

As can be easily seen from Table 38 and 39 this category is almost completely composed of women (97%). What's more, this category is dominated by Third World women (56.4%). It is the only category in which Third World people, who make up only 14.7% of the total laborforce, actually outnumber whites.

**TABLE 37** Income of Service workers according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	1%	1%	-	1%	-
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	17%	19%	12%	33%	5%
Percent earning less then "LOWER"	82%	80%	88%	65%	95%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



TABLE 38 Composition of the Private Household Occupational Category 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	1,215,000 (100.0%)	510,000 (42.0%)	705,000 (58.0%)
Male	37,000 ( 3.0%)	17,000 ( 1.4%)	20,000 ( 1.6%)
Female	1,178,000 ( 97.0%)	493,000 (40.6%)	685,000 (56.4%)

TABLE 39 In 1969 the Private Household Category made up:

1.5% of the TOTAL laborforce	.7% of the total white laborforce	6.0% of the total TW laborforce
.1% of all males in the laborforce	* of all white males in the laborforce	.3% of all TW males in the laborforce
3.9% of all females in the laborforce	1.9% of all white females in the laborforce	13.8% of all TW females in the laborforce

\*less than one-tenth of one percent.

The private household category has steadily declined over the years, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the laborforce. In 1939 about 4.5% of the laborforce (16½% of the female workforce) were in this category. By 1969 this had dropped to 1.5% of the laborforce (3.9% of the female laborforce).

In terms of income (as shown in Table 40) and status, this is the bottom of the occupational ladder. The work is demeaning and often humiliating.

The hours are long and usually there are few days off. The work is completely unsocialized and done alone or with one or two other people. The work is isolated from the rest of the proletariat both in distance and in relationship to the means of production. This work is even further removed from primary production than that of the service workers. This occupation is almost completely unorganized.

There are two distinct types of private household workers. First are day-workers, primarily "cleaning women" who are employed mostly by the petit-bourgeoisie. These day-workers live in their own homes in the barrios, ghettos, and poor working class districts. Second are live-in servants, primarily employed by the bourgeoisie, and living at their employers' homes. Of the two types, day-workers are by far the most numerous.

Day-workers suffer a heavy de-humanizing oppression. Most of them are women who have no other opportunity to earn a living. Many are the sole support of their families. Cut-off from the rest of the working class, working alone at unsocialized labor; it is even more difficult for them to develop class solidarity and an understanding of co-operative struggle than it is for service workers. Yet, difficulty does not imply impossibility. The fact that day-workers' or service workers' jobs do not provide as much training in the essential elements of class struggle as do the jobs of production workers does not mean that day-workers or service workers will play no role, or merely a minor role, in class struggle. At various times and under particular conditions any sector of the working class may be called upon to rise to the needs of the hour and provide leadership or strength to the struggle. For example, Black women day-workers were the heart and soul of many of the civil rights struggles in the deep South.

Unlike day-workers, live-in servants are unlikely to join the rest of the working-class in struggle as a group, although a few individuals may do so. Live-in servants are almost completely isolated from the rest of the working class, not only during working hours, but in their private lives as well. Surrounded constantly by the bourgeoisie, they often come to identify more with their masters than with the rest of the working class.

TABLE 40 Income of Private Household workers according to the BLS income levels 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
Percent earning above "HIGHER"	-	-	-	-	-
Percent earning between "LOWER" & "HIGHER"	1%	2%	1%	8%	1%
Percent earning less then "LOWER"	99%	98%	99%	92%	99%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



**TABLE 41** Percentage of the Proletariat in the 3 strata 1969

	% of the TOTAL Proletariat	% of the white members Proletariat	% of the TW members Proletariat	% of the Male members Proletariat	% of the Female members Proletariat
L.A.	1.9%	2.2%	.5%	3.1%	.1%
Middle	36.0%	38.4%	24.2%	51.9%	15.3%
Bottom	62.1%	59.4%	75.3%	45.0%	84.4%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note- these figures are based on members of the laborforce only. Members of the Proletariat who are not part of the laborforce are not included. The figures include both full and part-time workers.

None of the private household workers are in a good strategic position from which to wage struggle. Their services are the least necessary of any category to the production system. Thus it is difficult for private household workers to generate power. They can cause discomfort and distress to the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie in their home lives, but they can not threaten the fundamental economic foundations of class rule.

(Further analysis of private household workers' role in social struggle is contained in the section on the service sector)

#### PROLETARIAT BY ECONOMIC STRATA

The previous section of the paper broke the working class down into its component parts according to the type of work performed. This part of the paper analyzes the working class according to economic strata, that is, income. As such, it cuts across occupational lines. The previous section divided the proletariat horizontally into nine categories side by side. This section divides the proletariat into three strata, one on top of the other.

In terms of consciousness and role in class struggle this is a more important method of analysis than that of occupational categories. While the type of work a person does (its organizational forms, degree of socialization, etc) has an influence on consciousness, it is not as great as the influence of standard of living. Amount of income determines (or influences) the quality of housing and type of neighborhood, social life, health, education, recreation, clothing social status, length of life, degree of political influence under bourgeois "democracy", treatment by police and courts, etc. In a worker's off-the-job life (that is, the hours spent away from work) and in the lives

of unemployed family members, standard of living is the element with the heaviest influence on consciousness. There are, of course, many other factors affecting consciousness, such as, race and sex, that are not dealt with in this part of the paper.

This paper divides the working class into three strata: 1) The labor aristocracy stratum, defined as those workers who earn above the B.L.S. "HIGHER" standard of living. 2) The middle stratum, defined as those workers who earn between the B.L.S. "HIGHER" and "LOWER" standards of living. 3) The bottom stratum, defined as those who earn less than the B.L.S. "LOWER" standard of living. Table 41 shows the relative size of each stratum.

#### LABOR ARISTOCRACY STRATUM

This stratum contains those members of the working class who earn more than the B.L.S. "HIGHER" standard of living. This "HIGHER" standard of living marks the lower end of what is generally thought of as "middle class" life in America. The labor aristocracy consists of those workers who earn enough to achieve the American dream of a "middle class" life style.

Within this small elite stratum the typical pattern of national and sexual discrimination is clearly exhibited. The proportion of whites (17 per 1,000) is over 3 times that of Third World people (5 per 1,000). The proportion of males (22 per 1,000) is more than 7 times that of women (3 per 1,000).

For men, almost half of the workers in the labor aristocracy are members of the craftsman occupational category (yet only 5% of male craftsmen earn enough to be in the labor aristocracy). The remaining half of the labor aristocracy are mainly divided among the clerical, operative, transportation, and service (mostly cops) occupational cate-



TABLE 42 Composition of the Labor Aristocracy Stratum 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	1,203,000 (100.0%)	1,150,000 (95.6%)	53,000 ( 4.4%)
Male	1,113,000 ( 92.5%)	1,067,000 (88.7%)	46,000 ( 3.8%)
Female	90,000 ( 7.5%)	83,000 ( 6.9%)	7,000 ( .6%)

TABLE 43 In 1969 the Labor Aristocracy Stratum made up:

1.5% of the TOTAL laborforce	1.7% of the total white laborforce	.5% of the total TW laborforce
2.2% of all males in the laborforce	2.5% of all white males in the laborforce	.7% of all TW males in the laborforce
.3% of all females in the laborforce	.3% of all white females in the laborforce	.1% of all TW females in the laborforce

gories, as well as some from the semi-professional (technical and social maintenance) type occupations. For women about one-third of the workers in the labor aristocracy stratum are in the clerical category, and almost as many are in the semi-professional occupations (primarily teachers, nurses social workers, etc.).

#### Mobility, Evolution, and Organization

It is hard to tell whether this stratum is growing or shrinking, because the B.L.S. has not been issuing its three budgets for long enough to compare 1970 with the 1960 census. But, clearly in times when real wages are being driven down, as they have over the past few years, this stratum will shrink (as a percentage of the workforce). Moreover, it appears that over the long run this sector will shrink because more and more of the highly skilled craftsmen-type jobs are being pushed downward by the introduction of machinery. The trend toward the elimination of skilled craftsmen jobs has been a steady one for a long time, thus there is little mobility into the sector.

This sector is well organized into unions, mostly the AFL-style craft unions, but also some of the CIO industrial unions.

#### Social Situation

While this is the highest paid and most elite stratum of the working class, these workers are still exploited in that they produce more wealth than is returned to them in the form of wages. However, their high wages are in a sense a privilege given them by the bourgeoisie at the expense of the rest of the American workers and to an even greater degree the workers of the Third World nations dominated by U.S. imperialism. This is because the rulers can only afford

to return such a high percentage of the wealth created by these workers because of the much greater exploitation of the rest of the U.S. working class, and the extreme exploitation of the colonized workers. Thus a contradiction tends to develop between the labor aristocracy and the rest of the proletariat. For example, in some of the large industrial plants, the highest-paid skilled workers have opposed new contracts that called for across-the-board salary increases because such across-the-board wage hikes would lessen the "differential" between them and the majority of workers.

These workers are very well off, both in terms of money and working conditions. They usually own their own home in a "middle class" suburb, cars, maybe a recreational vehicle or vacation cabin. They exist in the environment of the petit-bourgeoisie. Their neighbors and friends are either labor aristocrats or petit-bourgeois. Their children go to petit-bourgeois schools and grow up with "middle class" aspirations and attitudes. The result is that the labor aristocrat develops a petit-bourgeois world outlook, a tendency to identify with the petit-bourgeoisie, a tendency to look down upon the rest of the working class, and a tendency to try to divorce himself socially, economically and politically from the working class.

At the same time mechanization and standardization are shrinking the job opportunities of many members of this stratum (particularly craftsmen). This creates insecurity and fear, and a desire for things to stay as they are now. There is a similarity between the situation of high-paid craftsmen and the corporate sub-sector businessman. Both see the inexorable forces of monopoly capitalism closing in and both fear and oppose any sort of change, because they know that for them change will mean worse, not better conditions. Furthermore, the labor aristocrat, while trying to live



a "middle class" life style is at the bottom rung of the petit-bourgeois economic ladder. The result is that he inevitably goes heavily into debt to pay for home, cars, vacations, furnishing, etc. Objectively, he has less to gain from trade union struggle and a lot to lose. For example in a protracted strike, waged in conjunction with the lower strata of the working class, the labor aristocrat carries a much bigger load of time-payments than the poorer masses of workers. He also stands to gain less from a successful strike because a \$.50/hr raise for someone making \$10.00/hr is much smaller (5%) than for someone making \$3.00/hr (17%). Even if the wage demands are in terms of a percent increase, the aristocrat already has a relatively comfortable life style and only needs to keep up with inflation, while the rest of the working class is struggling to increase its standard of living to a decent level. The result of all of this is that the labor aristocrat generally plays a conservative role in economic struggle.

#### Role in Class Struggle

Similarly, in revolutionary class struggle, the labor aristocrat has much less to gain, and more to risk, than the other strata. It is unlikely that a socialist society would mean a significant increase in the standard of living for those in the labor aristocracy, at least not for quite a long period of time. It is even conceivable that a socialist revolution would result in a drop in the standard of living of these workers, at least for a short period. Of course, there would be many other types of benefits to socialism which would apply to the labor aristocracy as much as the other strata, and in the long-term sense such a revolution is clearly in their interests. Unfortunately, a large segment of the labor aristocracy will see only the short-term risks and not the long-term benefits and thus will play a vacillating, hang-back, or even reactionary role in class struggle.

The primary concern of the labor aristocrat is to keep his high-paying job. This is threatened by overall economic trends. It is also threatened by the demands of Third World people and women (who have been traditionally excluded from high pay) for a share of the jobs. Another threat comes from the fact that many of these precious jobs are related to war, so anti-war and anti-imperialist people are perceived as a threat, along with Third World people and women. Of course, all workers fear losing

their job, but labor aristocrats have much more valuable and rare jobs than the rest of the workers. Not only will losing his job threaten his higher standard of living, but the chances of a labor aristocrat finding a job that pays as well are much less than are those of workers in lower wage brackets who lose jobs. The result of all of this is that the labor aristocrat not only plays a conservative role in labor/economic struggles but also plays a reactionary role in other social struggles.

The bourgeoisie are of course quite aware of all of this and it is a clear policy of theirs to increase the tensions between the labor aristocrats and the rest of the workers. The bourgeoisie goes further and tries to portray the labor aristocrat as typical of all white workers, in the hopes of convincing as many white workers as possible to adopt the ideology of the labor aristocracy as their own.

Hence, from the bourgeoisie's point of view, the primary role of the labor aristocracy is political/ideological. They use the labor aristocracy to promote bourgeois or petit-bourgeois ideology among the working class, to mislead and confuse the class, and to split the class. In addition to their goal of winning as many white male workers to the attitudes typified by the labor aristocracy, the bourgeoisie tries to turn Third World workers, women workers, liberal and left intellectuals against all white male workers by portraying the labor aristocracy (less than 3% of the white male laborforce) as typical of all white male workers. An example of this policy was the mobilization and publicization/glorification of the "hard hats" around pro-war and racist activities.

In summary then, this stratum as a whole will play a generally conservative or even reactionary role in class struggle. Its members will tend to fight only for their own short-term narrowly conceived interests. Even around purely economic (bread and butter) issues, they will be hesitant to engage in protracted or militant struggle, and they will tend to abandon the other strata when their own demands are met. Of course, in the long run, as exploited workers, class revolution is in their interests and some individual members of the labor aristocracy will recognize this and support the demands and leadership of the lower strata.



## Controversy

There were two main controversies about this stratum. The first had to do with the position of full-time union bureaucrats. The paper takes the position that they are members of the petit-bourgeois managerial sector and the reasons for this are discussed in that sector. Some people felt that as part of the labor movement they should be considered as part of the working class and as key elements in the labor aristocracy because of their ideological/political role.

The second controversy revolved around the relationship of the labor aristocracy to exploitation and imperialism. There were five separate positions put forth. Since the majority of the members of the labor aristocracy are engaged in production, the positions are put forward in terms of production workers. Leaving aside, for the present, questions of the relationship of people such as teachers, service workers, etc., to the arguments presented below, the five positions are:

1) the position, presented briefly in the paper, that the labor aristocracy are exploited; that is, they produce more wealth than is returned to them in the form of wages. However, their employers are able to return to the labor aristocrats a relatively higher proportion of the wealth that they create because of the greater degree of exploitation practiced on the lower strata of the working class and the super-exploitation of Third World peoples and nations (both domestically and internationally). Without the heavier exploitation of the other strata and the super-profits of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie would not be able to afford to return to the labor aristocracy such a high proportion of the wealth that the aristocrats produce. Thus the labor aristocracy draws an indirect or secondary benefit from imperialism.

2) This position held that the aristocracy is not exploited. Their wages are greater than the material value they produce, and the money to pay them the extra wages comes directly from the exploitation of other workers in general and the victims of US imperialism in particular. In other words, the bourgeoisie extracts money from its victims and directly transfers a portion of it to the labor aristocracy as a bribe.

3) This argument takes exactly the opposite position. It says that the labor aristocracy does not benefit at all from imperialism or the exploitation of other workers (or at least no more so than the other strata of the working class). The higher wages paid to the aristocrats are a reflection of the fact that they (due to their skills or job operating an extremely sophisticated means-of-production) produce more value than other workers. The proportion of the wealth that they produce that is returned to them as wages is not much different from the proportion returned to other workers, but since they produce more wealth, they naturally get a higher income in dollars and cents.

4) This position holds that in some cases the high wages of labor aristocrats are a result of militant union struggle, simply forcing the employer to pay higher wages. The employer then either cuts his profit and pays the workers a higher proportion of the wealth they produce, or the employer maintains the same proportion of wages and profit and passes the cost along to the consumers. But, in any case, labor aristocrats benefit little if any from imperialism or exploitation of other workers.

5) This position holds that the wealth ripped-off from Third World nations by imperialism has distorted the values of all commodities and labor in the U.S. to a greater or lesser degree. It claims that the price a businessman can get for his product is inflated in varying amounts by the wealth stolen from Third World peoples. Since commodities are then sold for more than their true value, workers (or some workers) can be paid higher wages than they otherwise would receive under non-imperialist capitalism. Thus, some or all of the proletariat benefits in some degree indirectly from imperialism. This position was the most difficult to understand and articulate and this brief synopsis may not be doing it justice.

## MIDDLE STRATUM

This stratum contains those workers who earn between a "LOWER" and a "HIGHER" standard of living as defined by the B.L.S. This range of income occupies the ground between the life of the "middle class" American dream and poverty. Middle stratum workers are not quite poor, but they are also not able to afford the life which we are told through TV ads, school, films, and



TABLE 44 Composition of the Middle Stratum of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	23,112,000 (100.0%)	20,491,000 (88.7%)	2,621,000 (11.3%)
Male	18,849,000 (81.6%)	16,736,000 (72.4%)	2,113,000 (9.1%)
Female	4,263,000 (18.6%)	3,755,000 (16.2%)	508,000 (2.2%)

TABLE 45 In 1969 the Middle Stratum made up:

28.9% of the TOTAL laborforce	30.0% of the total white laborforce	22.3% of the total TW laborforce
38.1% of all males in the laborforce	39.1% of all white males in the laborforce	31.2% of all TW males in the laborforce
14.0% of all females in the laborforce	14.8% of all white females in the laborforce	10.2% of all TW females in the laborforce

other propaganda is our heritage and our life's goal.

#### Composition

About half of those in this stratum are engaged in production of commodities, as opposed to office, service, or other types of work. Of those that work in production the majority work for the larger corporations, in other words, the companies owned by the bourgeoisie.

It can be seen from Tables 44 and 45 that, even though this is not a highly paid stratum, the discrimination against Third World people, and women, is still perfectly clear. This is a reflection of the racist and sexist hiring practices of the employers. It is also a reflection of the racism and sexism of the labor union leadership.

For men, roughly one-third of those in the middle stratum are in the craftsmen occupational category. Roughly another third is divided among operatives, laborers, and transport operatives, who, like craftsmen, are primarily engaged in production. For women, over one-third of the middle stratum are clerical workers and another one-third are semi-professionals such as teachers and nurses.

#### Mobility and Evolution

It is not possible to tell if this stratum is growing or shrinking on a long-term basis because the BLS three standards of living do not go back far enough to compare with the 1960 census. In any case, it is clear that this stratum, occupying a middle position between poverty and security, grows or shrinks in accordance with real wages. When workers' real wages (that is, their purchasing power) rise, this stratum expands; when real wages fall, as they have been doing over the last few years, this

stratum declines. One factor that is hitting at this stratum is run-away factories. Naturally it is the better-paying plants that close down and relocate where labor is cheaper.

#### Organization

A little over 50% of this stratum are in the unions: about 55% of the men and 45% of the women. Workers of this stratum (primarily craftsmen, transportation workers, operatives, and laborers) make up a large portion of the membership of the CIO unions. Most of those in unions are in the CIO industrial type, although some are in the AFL-type craft unions.

#### Social Situation

In recent years this group has been hurt badly by inflation and increased unemployment. Unlike the aristocrats, whose main problem is to preserve what they've got, middle stratum workers have been struggling to reach what they are told is life's goal -- "middle class" life. While they have been running hard trying to catch the American dream, the last few years have seen them slip even farther back as real wages skid. The struggle of this group to improve their lives has produced tremendous social conflict. This stratum is not satisfied with what they have, and do not have so much that they fear to risk it in a strike. Furthermore, they have enough income to build up a small savings that can sustain them in times of strike. As a result, this stratum has been much more willing than the aristocrats to engage in strikes and in fact is now the backbone of the US labor movement--particularly those employed in large-scale industry.

In recent years the media (both straight and "underground") has concentrated a great deal of attention on the alienation of youth, primarily petit-bourgeois youth.



There has been a tendency to overlook the fact that the jobs of middle and bottom strata workers are far more alienating and oppressive than any college. Mass production and modern office procedure have removed almost all creativity and pride from the masses of workers. The arbitrary and tyrannical powers of transfer, promotion, and dismissal wielded by the employer constantly remind the worker that he or she has no humanity that the corporation need consider, that the worker is no more than the machine (often less). The constant speed-up, standardization, and computerization has steadily made working conditions in the factories and offices more and more de-humanizing.

The whole trend of capitalism is towards greater and greater alienation of labor. It is in the capitalists' interest to divorce the worker from all aspects of creativity, to separate, and vest in management (and management only), all possible skills, craftsmanship, creativity, and knowledge from the worker. There are at least three reasons for this. 1) by concentrating in the hands of management all of the knowledge necessary for the performing of a particular job, it allows management to figure out the most "efficient" (i.e. most machine-like) manner in which to perform the task. 2) by divorcing the worker from the knowledge of what he or she is doing (and why), it reduces the ability of the workers to unite with each other in order to control the pace of work and working conditions. 3) by concentrating skill and knowledge in the hands of management, who impart only enough information to the worker to allow the worker to perform a routine operation, it allows the capitalist to eliminate the more highly paid skilled workers (craftsmen, bookkeepers, etc.) and replace them with poorly paid semi-skilled or unskilled workers. The trend is for all jobs (production, office, service, etc.) to become more routinized, monotonous, uncreative, fast-paced, exhausting, compartmentalized and de-humanized.

Students have been able to protest and draw attention to their alienation. They have had the economic privilege of escaping into idyllic life styles of their own choosing. But the workers do not have the money to "drop out," and the tight discipline and economic power wielded by the ruling class in their factory and office strongholds is far worse than that found on any college campus. Spies, firings, union blacklists, goon squads, electronic surveillance, bans

on literature and speech, private security armies, police, courts, the military, and many other tactics are used by the bourgeoisie to maintain their control over the proletariat.

Workers are no less sensitive to alienation and oppression than are the students. Contrary to what some maintain, the bulk of the working class are not bribed and contented, surfeited with material wealth, and incapable and undesirous of rebellion. Under the eye and hand of the bourgeoisie the discontent is growing swiftly, the fetters are creaking--the signs are there for those who will see them.

Absenteeism and job turnover have steadily risen, especially among young workers. In many industries this has become a major problem for management. For example, as far back as 1969 General Motors reported that on the average 5% of their workers were A.W.O.L. at any given time and that 10% were A.W.O.L. on Mondays and Fridays. In 1969 the quit ratio (the percentage of workers who quit in a year) at Ford was 25.2%. With the current high unemployment this has slacked off for a while, but the frustration that caused it has not.

Sabotage and deliberate poor workmanship are on the increase. In the auto industry workers leave nails in brake drums and weld tools to the inside of fenders (causing mysterious rattles). When the line is speeded-up, they respond by "skipping" --letting parts go by without tightening all the bolts or doing all the required operations.

As the economic situation gets worse and the repression and oppression mount, workers have fought back with greatly increased demands, backing them up with more frequent, longer and more bitter strikes. The number of wildcat strikes against the wishes of the sell-out labor bureaucrats has risen fast. Workers are taking up issues beyond simple trade union demands of wages, hours, and benefits. For example, the Shell strike over safety, and the seizure of the power controls by two Black Chrysler workers in a struggle against racism.

The negative manifestation of the growing frustration and alienation among workers has been the tremendous increase in the use of drugs. Marijuana, speed, psychedelics, cocaine, heroin and alcohol are all being used more and more. Young (and some not so young) workers in factories and of-



**TABLE 46** Composition of the Bottom Stratum of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	39,856,000 (100.0%)	31,716,000 (79.6%)	8,140,000 (20.4%)
Male	16,323,000 (41.0%)	12,438,000 (31.2%)	3,885,000 (9.8%)
Female	23,533,000 (59.0%)	19,278,000 (48.4%)	4,255,000 (10.6%)

**TABLE 47** In 1969 the Bottom Stratum made up:

49.8% of the TOTAL laborforce	46.5% of the total white laborforce	69.3% of the total TW laborforce
33.0% of all males in the laborforce	29.1% of all white males in the laborforce	57.5% of all TW males in the laborforce
77.3% of all females in the laborforce	75.7% of all white females in the laborforce	85.4% of all TW females in the laborforce

fices use these drugs to make the hours of stultifying, repetitive, alienating work more bearable. More and more are being driven by the oppression of the work place into drug addiction. The number of serious accidents caused by drugged workers is on the rise. The employers cry crocodile tears about the effect of drugs on their workers, but they prefer heroin to changing the working conditions so that workers will not be driven to drugs. The bosses moan and groan but they clearly prefer a drugged worker to a rebellious worker.

#### Role in Class Struggle

The middle stratum, along with the bottom stratum, will form the mass base of a revolutionary working class movement. These two strata contain those workers whose standard of living is kept low in order to enrich the capitalists. As such, these two strata, which compose the great majority of the working class, are the part of the class which is most fundamentally thrown into conflict with the bourgeoisie

#### BOTTOM STRATUM

This stratum contains those workers who earn less than the BLS "LOWER" standard of living. In other words, the members of this stratum are the working poor, workers who do not even earn enough to reach what the government says is necessary for a low standard of life.

In this sector, uncounted and unnumbered, are the undocumented workers, non-citizens who labor in America without the written permission of the US government. No one knows how many there are, but estimates run from 6 to 8 million.

#### Composition

The most striking thing about the statistics shown in Tables 46 and 47 is that over one-half of all Third World workers are in this stratum. In fact, 693 of every 1,000 Third World members of the laborforce are in this, the lowest paid and most oppressed stratum of the working class, as compared to 465 of every 1,000 whites. The reality is that Third World people are in a separate labor market from whites. The Third World labor market is basically limited to the bottom stratum, with a small number of Third World people in the middle stratum.

Furthermore, the kinds of jobs that Third World workers get within these strata are also limited. For example, within the blue-collar areas most Third World people are restricted to service, private household, farm labor, and laborer jobs. There are many similarities between the situation of Third World workers in the U.S. and workers in colonized countries. In both cases third world peoples are put in a separate and unequal job market, with the overwhelming bulk of them in the lowest paid, dirtiest, most menial, and oppressive jobs.

The other important thing to notice is the situation of women: 77.3% of all women members of the laborforce are in the bottom stratum (compared to 33.0% of males).

These figures speak for themselves. Most women workers are in occupations that are thought of as being "women's jobs." These jobs are generally the lowest paying work available. The bourgeoisie has given the most tedious, monotonous, boring, repetitive, nerve-racking, and mentally exhausting jobs to women, saying that they are "not skilled enough," or "not strong enough," or "too delicate" for "men's work." In the same breath, they



give men the strenuous, back-breaking and dangerous jobs, saying "this is men's work." Men are told to be proud of the fact that they risk life and health daily on the job, and women are told to be thankful that they don't have to kill themselves pulling heavy loads or doing risky jobs. This division of men and women is furthered by paying women much less than men. The result is that men and women are divided, making it more difficult to unite and force the boss to improve working conditions and wages for both sexes.

### Organization

This stratum is poorly organized. Only about 20% of its members are in unions, about 28% of the men in the stratum and 13% of the women. There are many reasons for the low level of unionization.

Most important is the racism and sexism that have prevented the unions from trying to organize this stratum, but there are other reasons as well. A large number of the jobs in this stratum involve working for small businesses. These small businesses don't have the high profit-margins of the monopolies; thus they cannot afford to pay as high wages and their resistance to unions is stronger. Because jobs in this stratum tend to be less socialized and done by smaller groups of workers, it is harder to build up unity and power. Strikes by small numbers of workers can't mount powerful picketlines and so are weaker. Many of the companies have one or two workers employed in each of hundreds of different locations (for example, gas station attendants) who are thus hard to unite. Another factor is that because of the low wages, workers in this sector are always on the bare edge of economic disaster. They cannot build up savings with which to weather a long strike. They are weak if it comes to a protracted struggle.

### Mobility and Evolution

When there is a war, or some other form of boom, workers in this stratum find better jobs and many of them rise into the middle stratum. But when the war ends and the boom slows down, these workers are the first fired or laid off. Members of this stratum are often in a cycle of work-unemployment-work-welfare-work, flowing from low-paying job to unemployment to low-paying job. The large number of unemployed, underemployed,

and poorly paid workers in this sector is used as a weapon to beat back the demands of organized workers and attempts by workers to form unions. Sometimes desperate workers of this stratum are used as strike-breakers, or employers threaten individual workers with being replaced by the unemployed. In any event this stratum certainly grows during hard times. Even in "good times" it comprises the majority of the working class. (In 1969, 62% of the working class were in the bottom stratum.)

### Social Situation

The people in this sector are poor. They work, most of them full-time, yet even after working, they are still poor. Those who are single can get along but those who are trying to raise a family undergo real sufferings.

This sector is very hard hit by inflation (and unemployment). Because it is poorly organized, its members are at the mercy of the bosses. It is very, very difficult for them to win increases of wages in times of inflation. The organized workers (most of them in the middle and aristocrat strata) can fight for higher wages and win "cost-of-living" contracts. The result is that they do not fall as far behind because of inflation. But their increased wages are passed on to the consumers in the form of price increases. Those consumers whose incomes do not rise with inflation are then forced to bear the brunt of inflation. They bear their whole share, the entire share of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie (whose control over the means-of-production allows them to maintain their standard of living during times of inflation) and part of the share of the aristocracy and middle stratum.

This stratum is also extra-exploited as consumers, particularly residents of the Third World ghettos and barrios. There are two basic forms of this extra-exploitation. The first is the credit racket. Like all Americans, bottom stratum workers are constantly barraged with all forms of propaganda advocating the "middle class" life style. In capitalist society your basic human worth, masculinity, femininity, status and pride are measured in terms of commodities that you own. The only way that most working class people can try to buy these commodities is with credit, either a cash loan or "buying on time." The banks and institutions that loan money to other strata of the working class won't do so to members



of the bottom stratum because of the low wages, high unemployment rate, and low status of these workers--to say nothing of the racism and sexism that prevent Third World people and women from obtaining a reasonably priced credit. As a result they have to get credit from rip-off credit agencies, shyster credit stores, or mobster loan sharks. The interest rates on these loans are much higher than for loans to the petit-bourgeoisie or higher strata of the working class. Because many workers in this stratum are uneducated, it is easier to cheat or swindle them in the fine print of loan contracts.

The second way in which these proletarians are extra-exploited as consumers is that the goods sold to them are of inferior quality. For example, many chain supermarkets send meat and produce that have been on the shelf unsold for several days in stores located in petit-bourgeois neighborhoods to stores in ghettos and barrios. The furniture, used cars, clothes, TV's and other items sold by the rip-off credit stores to poor workers are usually shoddy seconds, factory rejects, or used items being passed off as new.

The ideological underpinnings of the heavy exploitation and oppression of this sector are racism and sexism. Many of these jobs are thought of as "colored jobs" or "women's work." That is the moral justification for the low wages and lousy conditions.

Employers say that women don't need high pay because they are not the "breadwinner" of the family or that women aren't "capable" of hard work and thus not "worth as much as men. They say that Third World people aren't "qualified" for skilled work or are not "reliable" and "don't want responsibility." All of this crap is just the phoney rationale for oppression. This racism and sexism hurts whites and males too. Once a job is characterized as a "colored job," the boss pays low wages to whoever is occupying it, white, Black, brown, etc. If a white takes a "colored job," it's assumed that he or she does it only because he or she is not capable of doing anything else. The same thing applies to men in "women's work." This racism and sexism are used to split Third World, white, men, and women workers from each other. If the employers can convince some workers that because of race or sex an occupation deserves to be low paid, then those workers won't support a struggle by other workers for better conditions.

## Role in Class Struggle

The bottom and middle strata compose the mass base for proletarian struggle. These two strata, combined, include 98% of the working class. These broad strata are not homogeneous, however. Within them exist different elements whose roles in class struggle vary. Third World workers, primarily concentrated in the bottom stratum, form an especially oppressed and exploited element of the working class. Because of their dual oppression as highly exploited workers and as members of oppressed national minorities or nations, it is clear the Third World workers will play a leadership role in class struggle far out of proportion to their numbers in the proletariat. Likewise, women workers will also play an important leadership role throughout the class.

Beyond the role of Third World and women workers, different elements of the working class will play different roles in class struggle because of their differing relationships to the means-of-production. Thus, while the bottom and middle strata will form the mass base for class struggle, it is necessary to examine the proletariat further to determine what specific role the different elements and sectors will play. This analysis will be carried out in the section "Proletariat by Relationship to the Means-of-Production".

## FAMILIES

In breaking down the proletariat by economic strata, the income of individual workers was what was looked at. However, there are several problems with this procedure.

The first problem is that the standards for dividing workers into the three strata were designed for a hypothetical urban family of four. Obviously a single worker earning \$10,000 per year will have a much higher standard of living than another worker, also earning \$10,000 but supporting a family. On the other hand, a family with more than two children would require more money than a family with only two children.

A more serious problem is how to classify families in which more than one member works. You could simply add up the total number of dollars earned by all family members and use that as a yardstick for determining what stratum the family belongs to.



The problem with this method is that it fails to take into account the effect on standard of living of the labor in the home by non-working adult family members. For example, a family in which the husband earns \$10,000 and the wife spends all of her working hours improving the home will have a higher standard of living than a family in which both husband and wife work at jobs and bring home a combined income of \$10,000. The family with the non-working wife will have a higher standard of living because of the greater amount of labor she invests in the home. There is, of course, a separate but related question of who does the housework, and the necessity of breaking down sexist social practices that try to limit women to only the role of housewife (and housework only to women). Nevertheless, whoever does labor in the home, the labor itself is still valuable and contributes to the standard of living of the family.

It is difficult to get statistics on family income that show families by occupation, nationality, etc. However, it is clear that families tend to have a higher income than individuals because in many families more than one member works.

The table below gives the economic strata for two types of families: 1) male-headed families, of which there are three types. a) husband and wife; b) husband, wife, and children; c) father and children. 2) female-headed families, that is, mother and children. These definitions are from the Census (and not this paper).

Working Class Families by Economic Strata		
	Male-headed	Female-headed
Aristocracy	16%	6%
Middle	63%	38%
Bottom	21%	56%

The families in the table above include families in which more than one member works and also families in which only one member works. Obviously, only a very few of the female-headed families would include more than one working member because most families don't have children old enough to work, and all families in which there is both a husband and a wife are considered by the census to be male-headed.

Of the three methods of analyzing the working class, this is the most important in terms of class struggle. There are two reasons for this. The first concerns consciousness. Economic situation has an important bearing on willingness to engage in class struggle. The type of work that a person does has an effect on the individual's consciousness, particularly around the degree of training in cooperative labor. Relationship to the means-of-production influences the consciousness of groups of workers (as opposed to individual workers). The workplace environment, the size of the workforce, general overall degree of socialization of labor, degree of mechanization, relationship to the economy (production, service, etc.), all have an important influence on the consciousness of workers as individuals, but more importantly on the collective consciousness of workers in groups.

The second reason that relation to the means-of-production is more important than strata or type of work is that it divides the working class into sectors which have different strategic importance and different potentials for organization.

This section of the paper will divide the proletariat into 6 sectors. These are semi-professional, office, service, production (subdivided into 3 sub-sectors), aged, and excluded. The last two sectors (aged and excluded) contain people who are not working. Thus they are not members of the laborforce and have not shown up in the statistics given in the paper so far. If just the four sectors that are part of the laborforce are looked at, they form the following percentages of the working class as shown in Table 48:

#### THE SEMI-PROFESSIONAL SECTOR

##### Definition

Of all the sectors, this is the one that is most difficult to define. It consists of several types of workers. First are those engaged in maintenance of the social system-- school teachers, probation officers, social workers, some poverty agency workers, police, religious workers, etc. These jobs usually require college degrees (but not professional degrees) and have clearly higher status and pay than the jobs of members of the office



TABLE 48 Proletariat by Sectors 1969

	% of whole Proletariat	% of the white members Proletariat	% of the TW members Proletariat	% of the male members Proletariat	% of the female members Proletariat
Semi-Professional	13.3%	14.5%	7.6%	11.9%	15.1%
Office	27.6%	29.6%	17.9%	14.7%	44.3%
Service	21.9%	19.5%	33.7%	21.0%	23.1%
Production	37.2%	36.5%	40.7%	52.3%	17.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note-These figures are calculated on the basis of laborforce members only. Members of the Working Class who are not members of the laborforce are not included.

sector of the working class, yet clearly lower status and pay than the jobs of members of the professional sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. Many of these jobs represent occupations that in the past would have been considered petit-bourgeois, but the march of monopoly capitalism has forced these occupations downward in a trend of proletarianization.

The second type are technicians--electronic, dental, health, tool programmers, radio operators, draftsmen, nurses, etc. Like the first category, these occupations lie between the office or production sectors below and the petit-bourgeois professional sector above in status and wages. They generally represent new occupations, created by increased technology, that have emerged out of the other sectors of the working class or the professional sector.

Third are those writers, entertainers, athletes, artists, musicians, dancers, etc., whose conditions of work, status, and wages place them in the ranks of the working class. For example, most newspaper reporters, chorus girls, commercial artists, and others in a similar situation. It is hard to pin down a precise line dividing the semi-professional (exploited) artist from the petit-bourgeois professional (non-exploited) artist. For example, Elizabeth Taylor, Joe Namath, Leon Uris, Walter Cronkite and others are clearly not exploited and are members of the professional sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. Just as clearly, the young reporter working for \$600/month, the artist in a giant architectural design company grinding out pictures of homes for \$700/month, the dancer in the chorus line of the local nightspot, and hundreds of thousands of other low-paid entertainers, writers, etc., are exploited and thus are members of the working class semi-professional sector.

Exactly where to draw the line is not clear. For the purpose of this paper, all those who earned over BLS "HIGHER" were considered petit-bourgeois professionals. All

those who earned less than BLS "HIGHER" were considered semi-professionals. Eighty-one percent of all male writers, artists, and entertainers and 96% of all females in the same occupations earned less than "HIGHER" and were thus counted as semi-professionals.

The fourth type of semi-professional worker is in the sales field. The label "sales" covers a broad range of income/status/working conditions. At the bottom of the sales range are jobs like counter clerk in Macy's, grocery checker, door-to-door peddling, and telephone soliciting. These jobs are part of the office sector of the working class. At the top range of sales are the big shot salesmen who wine and dine the bourgeoisie, selling billions of dollars of wheat, whole factories, copper futures, etc. These corporate salesmen are in the petit-bourgeois professional or business sector. Between the petit-bourgeoisie and the office sector lies a mid-range of sales work: real estate agents, manufacturers' representatives, insurance salesmen, and others. This middle range is in the semi-professional sector. It is difficult to draw a sharp line separating the three sales sectors, but clearly there are three such groups.

The fifth type of semi-professional are low-level bureaucrats in big companies. Some of them supervise assistants, secretaries, and clerks, but they are not primarily supervisors. Examples of some of these occupations would be credit men, buyers, and purchasing agents.

In essence, then, the definition of this sector is that it is composed of workers who are exploited, but because of their extensive training, high salary, conditions of work, authority, social role, or other factors are clearly not in the same sector as workers below them. In other words, this is a sort of catch-all sector for those who are not petit-bourgeois but are definitely "above" the average office or blue collar worker.



**TABLE 49** Composition of the Semi-Professional Sector of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	8,547,000 (100.0%)	7,723,000 (90.4%)	824,000 (9.6%)
Male	4,336,000 (50.7%)	4,001,000 (46.8%)	335,000 (3.9%)
Female	4,211,000 (49.3%)	3,722,000 (43.5%)	489,000 (5.7%)

**TABLE 50** In 1969 the Semi-Professional Sector made up:

10.7% of the TOTAL laborforce	11.3% of the total white laborforce	7.0% of the total TW laborforce
8.8% of all males in the laborforce	9.4% of all white males in the laborforce	5.0% of all TW males in the laborforce
13.8% of all females in the laborforce	14.6% of all females in the laborforce	9.8% of all TW females in the laborforce

## Composition

As can be seen in Tables 49 and 50, the representation of Third World people is significantly lower than that of whites (70 per 1,000 versus 113 per 1,000). This is the result of the all-pervasive discrimination against non-white peoples. Women have a higher representation than men in this sector (138 per 1,000 versus 88 per 1,000). This too is a result of discrimination. This sexism takes two main forms. The first is that a number of occupations in this sector (teacher or nurse for example) are sex-typed as women's jobs and represent the highest goal available for the majority of women from working class backgrounds. The second form is that, while women and men attend college in roughly equal numbers, very few women are able to enter the professional schools or win careers in the professional field. Thus a much greater percentage of women college graduates (Bachelor's or AA degrees) end up in the semi-professional sector than do male college graduates. Many women college graduates are unable to find work even as semi-professionals and become office workers.

A large number of semi-professional jobs are clearly sex-typed. Women make up the majority of occupations such as teacher, librarian, health technician, and nurse. Men tend to dominate in such jobs as semi-professional sales, electronics technicians, computers and drafting. The table below gives the male/female/total breakdown as to

the five types of occupations in the sector.

As can be seen from Table 51, the two largest groups are 1) social maintenance workers (teachers, police, social workers, etc.) who make up 43% of all semi-professionals, and 2) technicians (nurses, dental, electronic, etc.), who make up 30% of the sector. Women in social maintenance outnumber men almost two to one (most of them are teachers). Although men and women technicians are equal in numbers, almost all the women are in health fields, while almost all the men are in electronics or other mechanical fields. The dominance of men in the arts, sales, and management speaks for itself.

## Income

It was difficult to calculate exact income figures for the different sectors of the working class. However, Table 52 gives a rough estimation of the semi-professional sector by economic strata.

## Mobility and Evolution

This sector is a growing sector, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the workforce, particularly occupations having to do with social maintenance and the technical jobs. Expansion of this sector is often at the expense of other working class sectors. For example, a couple of computer

**TABLE 51** Occupational Types in the Semi-Professional Sector 1969

	TOTAL	Male	Female
Social Maintenance	3,649,000 (43%)	1,403,000 (32%)	2,246,000 (53%)
Technical	2,535,000 (30%)	1,204,000 (28%)	1,331,000 (32%)
Arts	564,000 (7%)	367,000 (8%)	197,000 (5%)
Sales	569,000 (7%)	548,000 (13%)	21,000 (*)
Bureaucrats	779,000 (9%)	599,000 (14%)	180,000 (4%)
Other	451,000 (5%)	215,000 (5%)	236,000 (6%)
	8,547,000 (100%)	4,336,000 (100%)	4,211,000 (100%)



TABLE 52 Income of the Semi-Professional Sector by economic strata 1969 (estimated)

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	2%	2%	1%	4%	1%
Middle	58%	59%	51%	73%	43%
Bottom	40%	39%	48%	23%	56%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-these figures include both full and part-time workers.

programmers (plus a few key punch operators) might do the same work that used to require a roomful of clerks and adding machine operators. On the other hand, many of the jobs in this sector are new jobs performing new services; for example, pollution-control workers or radiology technicians.

Since this a growing sector, there is a lot of mobility into it. For the most part, the people coming into the semi-professional sector are young. They enter after completing school (usually 2- or 4-year college or trade school). Few people enter by working their way up from a lower sector of the working class. The majority of these young people are probably the children of workers in lower sectors, and in that sense they represent an upward mobility from one generation to the next. Thus, for the majority, entering this sector represents a form of upward achievement.

For a minority, however, it does not. A number of children (particularly women) of petit-bourgeois parents enter this sector after college. For them, this is a drop in class status. A portion of these women, are only temporarily in the class and will leave it after their husband is established in his petit-bourgeois career. But for many (particularly in jobs such as teaching or social work) the drop in status is permanent.

#### Organization

Generally speaking this sector is poorly organized. In recent years a few of the occupations, primarily those in the government sector of the economy, have begun to form unions: teachers, social workers, nurses, etc. By and large, this sector remains unorganized and with a low consciousness of their identity either as workers or as members of a common sector. There are several reasons for this: 1)the relatively high wages and good working conditions compared to other sectors of the working class; 2)the false consciousness that they are "professionals" and thus are above the need for unions; 3)the unsocialized and fragmentary nature of the work (that is, most members of this sector work in small units or alone).

Although many of these workers are in key positions in terms of their importance to the means of production, or the system as a whole, they face a difficult task in organizing. With a few exceptions (teachers, hospital workers, social workers, and a few other occupations) most members of the semi-professional sector do not work with large numbers of other semi-professionals. Generally they either work in company with a small group of others, or they work in a situation where there are a few semi-professionals in company with a large number of workers from other sectors. It is difficult for the semi-professional to unite with workers from other (lower) sectors because of 1)their false consciousness, 2) their higher income and better working conditions, and 3)the fact that in many cases the semi-professional plays a supervisory role over the other workers with whom they need to unite; for example, an electronics plant employing 100 assembly line women and 10 male technicians who, among other things, check the work of the assemblers. In cases like this example, the technicians usually do not identify with the assembly line workers and don't support their struggles. Yet they (the semi-professionals) are not strong enough alone to organize and fight for their rights.

#### Social Situation

It is very difficult to analyze the social situation of the semi-professional sector: First, because this is a fast-growing sector and a relatively new one. Second, many of the occupations in it are going through swift changes in the nature of their work, their relative wage scale, and their social status. For example, many of the jobs in this sector are occupations that have been pushed downward from the petit-bourgeoisie. One hundred years ago school teachers' social status, relative pay scales, and relative working conditions were clearly much higher than they are now. At that time teachers were petit-bourgeois. Since then, the relative pay scale and social status of teachers have been forced downward.

Equally important, where once the teach-



er controlled the classroom in terms of what and how to teach, discipline, working conditions, etc, now the teacher has lost practically all control over her working conditions, subject matter, and discipline. Thus teachers have undergone a process of proletarianization of their work. Of course, this does not mean that teachers have become carriers of proletarian ideology, which is a different matter.

For other occupations the more onerous, repetitious, unpleasant, less skilled aspects of the work have been split off from the profession and assigned to a semi-professional worker. An example of this would be the dental technician, oral hygienist, denture maker, and X-ray technician who now do much of the work that once was part of the occupation of the dentist.

Since the social situation of the five types of occupations in this sector is different they will be looked at separately.

Social maintenance workers are primarily employed by government (or private charity). Their conditions of work have been steadily deteriorating as money for social services becomes scarcer at the very time that social problems and social unrest is growing. Thus conditions for these workers have been going downhill and probably will continue to do so. This has sparked a growing movement among these workers, particularly in the three major areas of health, education and social work. The big exception to this, of course, is the police.

At this time things are not too bad (relatively speaking) for the technicians. Because they possess vital skills needed by their employers, and the need for their services is on a long-term rise, they are in a (relatively) good position. Like the craftsmen and artisans in the early days of the industrial revolution, their skills allow them to force a degree of control over their working conditions. In general, this group, being relatively better off than the rest of the working class, is not likely to join the struggles of the other workers.

A main exception to this are the women technicians in the health field who have to work under a very chauvinistic relationship with the doctors and dentists, a relationship in which the technician (nurse, dental assistant, hygienist, x-ray technician, etc.) is expected to play worshipper to the doctor's role of god.

The situation among the writers, artists, entertainers, and athletes, is very contradictory. Almost all of them harbor dreams of making the big time, but few ever do so. Yet this dream tends to keep them from challenging the system. On the other hand, the nature of their work often leads them into creative channels of thought, and intellectual rebellion.

Semi-professionals who are engaged in sales work tend to identify with the company and petit-bourgeois ideology. This is reinforced by the fact that sales work often allows a semi-professional to rise into the petit-bourgeoisie if he is able to sell enough.

Those semi-professionals who work as low-level bureaucrats are also closely tied to the company. The young ones see a chance to rise into the petit-bourgeois management sector, and the older ones were promoted into their jobs after faithfully proving their company loyalty.

A big contradiction within this sector is between objective reality and the false consciousness that has been instilled in the semi-professional workers. Objectively speaking, it is clear that the working conditions of this sector are better than those of other sectors of the working class, except possibly for the labor aristocracy. Wages are higher than in the office sector, and higher or about equal to those of most production workers. Semi-professionals, however, are--like the rest of the working class--exploited. That is, they produce surplus value for their employer if they work in the private sector of the economy.

Objectively, it is clear that semi-professionals are part of the working class, yet a false consciousness has been instilled that says they are part of the "middle class" and "better" than the workers. For the jobs forced down from the petit-bourgeoisie, the only thing that they have retained (while losing wages, status, and working conditions) is the petit-bourgeois ideology. The myth has been perpetuated that white collar work (paperwork) is somehow nobler or better than manual work, but it can be just as tedious, boring, nerve-racking, and unpleasant. Technicians' working conditions are better than those of production or service workers and this has been used to convince them that they are petit-bourgeois and "better" than assembly-line workers, ditch diggers, waitresses, and orderlies. All of this false consciousness works, in the long run, against the



interests of the semi-professional and the working class as a whole.

The relatively higher wages and the campaign to instill petit-bourgeois ideology within this sector is not an accident. It constitutes an attempt to bribe this elite sector into loyalty to the ruling class. The rulers do this because members of this sector are in very key locations in the economy and if they were to rebel they could create much damage. For example, technicians often are entrusted with the care and operation of equipment costing millions of dollars. In general, technicians occupy critical jobs that are key to the productive process; if they were to strike, they would have a powerful effect.

Those engaged in social maintenance are also in a critical key spot, and if their loyalties were to shift from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, they could wreak havoc on the system of social control and repression that maintains the capitalist system. Thus the bourgeoisie is willing to pay them higher wages in order to insure their loyalty. Of course, the rulers don't go so far as to lose any money in this process. Those semi-professionals who work for private enterprise still produce more in wealth than is returned to them in their relatively higher salaries and those who work in the government sector are paid by taxes on the working class.

#### Role in Class Struggle

The class interests of the semi-professional sector clearly lie with the rest of the proletariat. As exploited labor the only long-term solution to the problems they face, in common with all workers, is to seize the means of production and reorganize the social/economic system under the control and for the benefit of the entire working class. Furthermore, any class struggle in the United States will strongly need the technical, cultural, and intellectual skills possessed by parts of this sector (the high-powered salesmen we can do without). Particularly important are technical skills in health, communications, computers, electronics, and other fields. Equally important are the cultural skills of writers, singers, actors, etc.

Unfortunately the false, petit-bourgeois consciousness that has been ingrained in this sector is very strong. The bourgeoisie has done its best to condition all sectors of society with their conscious-

ness, and to some extent they have succeeded. Petit-bourgeois consciousness has taken root much more strongly (and is much harder to combat) in sectors where there is a material base to support it. This is the case with the semi-professional sector, which is an elite part of the working class. In a certain sense, the ruling class has bribed this sector with money, social status, and better working conditions. Although they are still exploited, their conditions are a far cry from those suffered by the great majority of the working population. Of course, the petit-bourgeois consciousness that exists within this sector is nowhere near so strong as it is within the petit-bourgeoisie itself. The petit-bourgeoisie and their ideology defend their class interests. Petit-bourgeois consciousness among the semi-professionals (or other workers) is a false consciousness and there is a constant struggle between petit-bourgeois consciousness and objectively correct proletarian consciousness.

As a whole, this sector is a potential ally of the rest of the proletariat. As part of the working class they can play an important role in socialist revolution. However, because of the mixture of false and true consciousness, it is probable that this sector will be disunited and fundamentally split into pro-bourgeoisie, neutral or confused, and pro-working class segments. It is important that the pro-working class segment be as large as possible. Intense ideological struggle will rage in this sector and it is important that the proletarian class forces fight hard and that they are strongly supported by all progressive forces.

It must be clear, though, that while this sector is part of the proletariat, it is not a leading element; in fact, it is one of the most backward elements. As an elite sector of the working class, with strong elements of privilege and petit-bourgeois consciousness, they cannot play a leading role. This sector's conditions are very different from those of the less privileged workers, and the semi-professional sector should not be in a position where they are the spokespeople or leaders of the proletariat as a whole.

#### Controversy

Some of the questions and disagreements raised about this sector are as follows:

Many people felt that this sector



**TABLE 53** Composition of the Office Sector of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	17,690,000 (100.0%)	15,750,000 (89.0%)	1,940,000 (11.0%)
Male	5,349,000 (30.2%)	4,691,000 (26.5%)	658,000 (3.7%)
Female	12,341,000 (69.8%)	11,059,000 (62.5%)	1,282,000 (7.2%)

**TABLE 54** In 1969 the Office Sector made up:

22.1% of the TOTAL laborforce	23.1% of the total white laborforce	16.5% of the total TW laborforce
10.8% of all males in the laborforce	11.0% of all white males in the laborforce	9.7% of all TW males in the laborforce
40.6% of all females in the laborforce	43.4% of all white females in the laborforce	25.7% of all TW females in the laborforce

should be considered (either wholly or in part) as part of the petit-bourgeoisie, particularly sales, managerial, and arts. Many also felt that since there was no direct relationship to the means-of-production (that is, means of commodity production) for those engaged in social maintenance, they should be considered under the general term "intellegentsia." Some people felt that technicians should be considered as professionals. The correct classifying of nurses was raised several times, with some people who had worked as orderlies or LVN's taking the position that the nurses' supervisory duties over them meant that nurses should be considered part of the petit-bourgeoisie; other hospital workers disagreed.

Some people proposed that this sector occupy a place as a separate class between the working class and the petit-bourgeoisie, sort of an in-between class. Others felt that while the people in this sector were clearly working class, they should not form a separate sector. Rather, those technicians engaged in production should be part of the production sector and the rest be divided among the office and service sectors.

It was proposed that what should divide this sector from the office sector was solely the question of income: those above a certain line to be placed in the semi-professional sector, those below in the office sector of the working class.

Some people expressed the idea that this sector should be defined by education. That is, all people working at a job that requires a certain level of degree (AA or BA) would be in this sector regardless of income or nature of work.

Almost everyone agreed that in some way the people in what this paper has defined as the semi-professional sector were in some

ways in a different situation than the people included in the petit-bourgeoisie and the people included in the other sectors of the working class. The disagreements arose over what those differences were, and what general principles applied to them. The best conclusion to be drawn from all this is that this sector needs a lot more study and analysis.

#### OFFICE SECTOR

This sector contains those members of the proletariat who are engaged in sales, communications, or information handling, but excluding those in the semi-professional sector or the petit-bourgeoisie. For example, bookkeepers, typists, stenographers, telephone operators, mail carriers, file clerks, receptionists, secretaries, bill collectors, cashiers, sales clerks, etc.

#### Composition

In terms of occupational categories, this sector is made up of the sales and clerical categories.

Almost one-half of all working women are in this sector, as shown in Table 54. Furthermore, most of the occupations in this sector are sex-typed. Few women are in occupations such as letter carrier, shipping clerk, meter reader, and non-retail sale. Women make up almost all the workers in such occupations as file clerk, receptionist, typist, secretary, general merchandise retail sale, bank teller, bookkeeper, cashier, keypunch operators, and telephone operator. In the last couple of years, under pressure from women's organizations, some of these sex-typed jobs are lowering their sex barriers, particularly in civil service. But so far these changes have been minimal and achieved only after struggle.



TABLE 55 Office Sector by economic strata 1969 (estimated)

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	1%	2%	-	5%	-
Middle	24%	24%	24%	50%	10%
Bottom	75%	74%	76%	45%	90%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Note-these figures include both full and part-time workers.

Third World people are under-represented in this sector. This is a reflection once again of the racist hiring patterns in America, particularly the racist ideology that bars Third World people from "brainwork" type jobs. Furthermore, most of the Third World people in this sector are either in civil service or in jobs where they are not seen by the public (stock work, filing, office machine operator, keypunch, phone operators, etc.). Third World women make up about 10% of the total number of women in the office sector, but only 6% of the secretaries, 7% of the receptionists and sales clerks.

#### Income

As can be seen from Table 55, the most obvious difference is between men and women, with only 10% of office sector women earning above "LOWER," compared to 55% of office men. In absolute numbers, the difference is even greater because women outnumber men more than two to one in the office sector. Thus 11 million office women earn less than "LOWER," as compared to 2½ million men.

#### Mobility, Evolution, and Organization

This is an expanding sector, both as a percentage of the labor force and in absolute numbers. In 1869 office workers (clerical and sales) were roughly 2% of the laborforce (mostly in sales). In 1969 the office sector comprised 22.1% of the laborforce (the majority as clericals).

Most of its new members enter it young and are the children of working class or small farmer class families. There is little cross-over to or from this sector and the other sectors of the working class. There is little upward mobility into the semi-professional sector or the petit-bourgeoisie.

Roughly 11% of this sector is organized into unions, about 16% of the men and 9% of the women. To prevent organization, the supervisors use the mythology that office workers are "above" the blue-collar workers and thus do not need such things as unions. Women office workers are kept unorganized by

chauvinism and intimidation, by propaganda that unions are "unfeminine" and the claim that since women are not the "breadwinner" of the family they do not need high-paying jobs as much as men do. These propaganda devices fool some women, but more important they undermine support for women office workers among other sectors of society, especially husbands. This bolsters the positions and rationalizations of management. Male office workers are kept in line by threats to give their jobs to women at lower pay, and the that if men and women unite it would mean that the salaries of men would be reduced to the level of women.

In addition to the subjective factors of sexism, propaganda, etc., there are other reasons for the difficulty of organizing office workers. First is that most office work is less socialized than production work, thus giving less training in unity and co-operation. Second, a majority of office workers are in small (2-20 worker) offices. Third, a large portion of office workers are located in widely scattered offices far from concentrations of other office workers.

#### Social Situation

This sector has been hard hit by inflation and rising taxes. They have been hurt relatively more than the better organized production sector of the working class because they don't have even the minimal protection of unions, contracts, and "cost of living" clauses.

The tremendous expansion of the office sector has been an inevitable result of monopoly capitalism's drive to maximize profits. First, as management forcibly divorced the individual production worker from the skill, knowledge, experience, and creativity necessary to plan and carry out the work, it caused a corresponding increase in the number of clerical employees. Secondly, the economic advantage gained by long-range and widespread planning of production also requires ever-increasing office staffs. Thirdly, the vast expansion of markets (both in terms of new territory and in terms of creating new commercial markets for goods and services once done on a non-commercial



basis by individuals for themselves) and the concurrent expansion of credit and billing systems has also called into being new armies of clerical workers.

At the same time as production workers were being stripped of their humanity and broken down to the status of machines, the same process was taking place among office workers. Historically, there was a time (pre-industrial capital) when clerks were essentially petit-bourgeois. They functioned, actually, as part of management. They assisted the owner, helped in planning, supervised workers, created new ideas and processes, had a reasonable hope of rising up in the business into partnership or even ownership, and they were paid much better than production workers. These clerks have, today, evolved into the petit-bourgeois managerial sector. With the rise of industrial and then monopoly capital, a new type of office force was brought into being: a low-paid mass of workers whose jobs are routinized and uncreative; in fact, jobs quite similar to production work, except that what they produce is marks on pieces of paper, rather than physical commodities.

With the advent of office machinery (typewriters, keypunch, calculators, etc.), some office jobs became even more similar to production work. For all office workers, the degree of standardization, socialization, compartmentalization, and speed-up is steadily increasing, while wages are (relatively) falling, working conditions are declining, and oppression worsening.

However, the subjective consciousness of office workers has not kept pace with their fast-changing objective conditions. The tradition of the office as a place of "brainwork" (as opposed to animal-like "musclework") still has an effect on office workers. There is still the holdover of petit-bourgeois consciousness long after the objective, material conditions to sustain such consciousness have gone. This lagging of consciousness is, of course, no accident. The bourgeoisie carefully nurtures and fosters it.

Fortunately, their ability to promote a false consciousness is limited. It is clear that the petit-bourgeois hold-over consciousness is disappearing at an ever-faster rate. What is on the upsurge is a more and more class-conscious office worker sector. Although this is just beginning, and is only on a small scale at the present time, it is clearly the wave of the future.

The importance of this sector to the smooth functioning of the capitalist system should not be downplayed. As monopoly capitalism is forced to become more and more complex and integrated, the importance of information-handling jobs becomes greater. In addition to office work directly related to production, a large part of the work done by the office sector is concerned with the vital encumbrances of capitalism (advertising, profit accounting, credit, insurance, etc.). The fact that this work (advertising, etc.) produces no socially useful value doesn't mean that it isn't necessary to capitalism. Disruption or deterioration of information- and money- handling functions can have a serious and damaging effect on the capitalist system as a whole.

While much of the work now done by this sector will not be necessary under a socialist economy, office workers have an important role to play in a socialist society. For example, instituting and efficiently running a planned economy will require a skilled office workforce.

#### Role in Class Struggle

As a large, and heavily oppressed, sector of the proletariat, office workers are an important segment of the class struggle. Although they are not in a position to seize the means of production, they are in a position to strike heavy blows against the bourgeoisie. With over 40% of all women workers, and a large number of men as well, the office sector is a great potential reservoir of strength and determination to destroy the oppressive capitalist system. This sector will be a staunch ally of the production sector. However, this sector will play somewhat less of a leadership role than that of production workers. There are four reasons for this. First, the conditions of work of this sector do not provide as much socialization and training in co-operation as the conditions in large-scale production do. In other words, the conditions of office workers do not as clearly lead workers towards socialism as do the conditions of some other parts of the proletariat. Second, there is still a remnant of petit-bourgeois ideology among "white collar" workers that confuses them as to their true positions as oppressed members of the working class, and hinders the development of class solidarity with the rest of the proletariat. Of course, this petit-bourgeois ideology is nowhere near so strong among this sector as it is among the semi-professional sector. Third, because of the first two points, and the



fact that a large portion of this sector is scattered among thousands of small (2-20 person) offices, this sector is difficult to organize. Fourth, office and sales work is not as central to the economy as is production/transportation/energy. Thus the office sector is not as strategically located as the production sector.

This sector will be a vital part of the class struggle, but secondary to the production sector. However, in comparison with other classes and the semi-professional sector, the office workers will play a leadership role.

While the above holds true for office workers in general, special attention should be paid to the situation of the workers in large-scale office operations such as insurance headquarters. Somewhere around 2,000,000 office workers (overwhelmingly women) work in highly-concentrated large-scale offices. Often several hundred women work in a single room, with thousands in a single building and tens or even hundreds of thousands in a downtown area. This type of office work is much more socialized than the rest of office work, and the potential of these office workers for a leading role in class struggle is much higher than that of other office workers. Certainly, the leading force among office workers will be those employed in the highly concentrated and socialized large-scale offices.

## SERVICE SECTOR

### Definition

This sector is composed of those workers who provide non-office type services to the production system or to individuals. Some provide services to individuals; for example, restaurant, hospital, and private household workers. Some provide services to both individuals and to the general productive system; for example, gas station attendants, road repair crews, firemen, and sewer workers. Others provide services to the production system; for example, janitorial services, security guards, and grounds-keeping companies.

A distinction must be made between workers who service the production system in general (service sector), and those who work at a service-type occupation at a particular place of production (production sector). An

example will make this clear. Take the occupation mechanic, which can either be in the service or production sectors. An automobile mechanic who repairs cars owned by individuals is in the service sector, while a mechanic who repairs production machinery at a particular factory (and who is employed by that factory) is, like other workers of the factory, part of the production sector. A janitor employed by a hospital, public building, apartment house, hotel, business office, etc., is part of the service sector. A janitor employed by a factory is part of the production sector, but a janitor employed by a cleaning service company that services a route of several factories is part of the service sector even though she or he is engaged in cleaning means of production.

Transportation workers are divided among the production and service sectors. Those workers engaged (wholly or in large part) in the transportation of raw materials, partly finished products, or finished goods from factory to distribution center are considered to be part of the productive process; for example, railroad workers, longshoremen, long-haul truckers, etc. Those transportation workers engaged primarily in moving people, distribution of products from distribution center to retail store, or the delivery of purchased goods to the customer are considered to be part of the service sector because their function is not a direct part of production. Examples of these occupations would be bus driver, cab driver, deliveryman, etc.

In addition to the types of workers mentioned above, the sector also includes such people as theatre workers, stewardesses, barbers, laundry workers, repairmen, sign painters, phone installers, chainmen, ironers, wrappers (retail), parking attendants, garbage men, car washers, and others.

### Composition

As can be seen from Table 57, the proportion of Third World workers to white workers is more than double (153 per 1,000 white versus 310 per 1,000 Third World). Almost 40% of all Third World women are in this low-paid, low-status sector. Furthermore, Third World workers are not distributed evenly throughout the sector. Rather they are concentrated in the worst paid, most oppressive, most dehumanizing jobs and occupations, particularly those of a personal service nature. For example, there are practically no Third World firemen or steward-



TABLE 56 Composition of the Service Sector or the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	14,050,000 (100.0%)	10,405,000 (74.0%)	3,645,000 (25.9%)
Male	7,620,000 (54.2%)	5,949,000 (42.3%)	1,671,000 (11.9%)
Female	6,430,000 (45.8%)	4,456,000 (31.7%)	1,974,000 (14.0%)

TABLE 57 In 1969 the Service Sector made up:

17.5% of the TOTAL laborforce	15.3% of the total white laborforce	31.0% of the total TW laborforce
15.4% of all males in the laborforce	13.9% of all white males in the laborforce	24.7% of all TW males in the laborforce
21.1% of all females in the laborforce	17.5% of all white females in the laborforce	39.6% of all TW females in the laborforce

esses, but 58% of all private household workers are Third World. This a clear example of the racism and national chauvinism of the bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeoisie, and their labor union lackeys.

This sector also presents strong evidence of the discrimination against women workers. Not only are a higher proportion of women workers in this sector than the proportion of men workers, but the occupations are heavily sex-typed, with the women's jobs at the bottom. For example, few women are in the better-paying (and higher status) occupations of mechanic, fireman, bus driver, and garbage collector. Most women are concentrated in the fields of cleaning, cooking, serving food, health care, etc.

In terms of occupational categories, most members of the service sector are in either the service or private household categories. There are a few craftsmen (mostly the different types of mechanics and repairmen), a few operatives (gas station attendants), a few laborers (garbagemen), some transportation workers (bus drivers, parking attendants, conductors, etc.), and no farm laborers.

#### Income

Table 58 clearly shows that this is a very low-paid sector, roughly the equivalent of the office sector. If it were not for the inclusion of around 2 million mechanics, firemen, and a few other relatively high-paid occupations, this sector would clearly be below the office sector in income.

#### Mobility and Evolution

This is a growing sector, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the laborforce. In 1869 roughly 8% of the laborforce were service workers. By 1969 the service sector was 17.5% of the workforce. However, none of this increase was in the private household category. Servants, both live-in and live-out (for example cleaning women), have steadily declined. In 1869 about 8% of the laborforce were servants of one sort or another. In 1969 they had declined to 1.5% of the laborforce.

Many production workers thrown out of work by increased mechanization and run-away industries find jobs in the service sector. So do large numbers of farm laborers and former members of the small farmer class--both of these groups being on the decline because of the monopolization/mechanization of agriculture. Furthermore, a larger and larger proportion of young workers entering the job market are unable to find production work and thus become service workers.

#### Organization

Roughly 9% of service workers are organized into unions, about 19% of the men and around 5% of the women. There are a number of reasons for the low level of unionization. The racism and sexism of both unions and employers which has been used to keep Third World people and women unorganized is a major factor. There are also other reasons.

TABLE 58 Service Sector by economic strata 1969 (estimate)

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	1%	2%	-	2%	-
Middle	26%	29%	13%	41%	4%
Bottom	73%	69%	87%	57%	96%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-these figures include both full and part-time workers.



Service work is most often done by small groups of workers, and in many cases the employees of a company are spread out over many locations. Thus it is difficult to organize any large segment of this sector. Because this sector performs a secondary (service) role in the economy, the unions that have been organized are not able to apply the economic pressure that unions composed of production workers can. Thus organizations of service workers tend to be much weaker than organizations of production workers. There are some exceptions to this general situation, such as the recent organizing drives among hospital workers, but in general the service sector has been largely unsuccessful in organizing itself.

### Social Situation

Most of the members of this sector work for companies owned by the petit-bourgeoisie. Their capitalization is low. Their profits arise from the difference between the wages they pay the service workers and the fees for that service paid by the customer. Usually these are highly competitive businesses with price the most important factor. The result is that the petit-bourgeois owners keep wages as low as possible. Thus the service proletariat is very poorly paid and is oppressed. Each owner tries to force the most work possible from his employees. Often the workers are required to work 9, 10, or even 11 hour shifts. Some have to work split shifts. Little attention is paid by the owner to safety. Service work in general is not as dangerous as production work, yet there are some safety problems; for example, burns in restaurant cooking or disease among hospital workers.

For the most part the service workers are employed singly or in small groups, the main exception being large hospitals. The nature of their work tends to be less socialized, compartmentalized, and co-operative--and more individual--than that of production workers. However, it is no less boring, repetitive, and alienating. Although service workers don't have to suffer the tyranny of the assembly line, many do have to take personal abuse from their boss.

Generally, most service workers labor in close contact with the owner of the business. It is usually the owner who supervises and oppresses the worker, without the buffer roles of foreman and supervisor found in production. Racial and sexual chauvinism is very strong in this situation. The res-

ult is that on the whole, service workers have a lot of antagonism towards their boss. Sometimes, however, the very closeness of that contact causes the hatred to be on a personal instead of a class basis. Sometimes the closeness of contact between boss and worker causes the worker to develop a sense of identification with the employer and a petit-bourgeois class outlook. An example of this would be a worker who desires to become a partner in the business he or she is employed by, or to save enough money to start his own business.

In general, the low pay, poor working conditions, and general oppression of the service sector generates anger, bitterness, and hostility towards the owners. But because of the lower level of socialization and mutual cooperation among these workers, and because of their indirect relationship to the means of production which makes the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor more difficult to see, service workers have less potential for development of their hatred into socialist consciousness than do production workers.

### Role in Class Struggle

Like the office sector, this is a heavily oppressed and exploited sector of the working class, and as such it will play an important role in revolutionary class struggle. This sector will be a staunch and vitally ally of the production sector. Yet it will not play as leading a role as the production sector for 3 basic reasons: First, its lower degree of socialization of labor gives it a lower potential for the understanding/acceptance/development of socialist consciousness than the production sector. Second, its small scale and scattered nature make it more difficult to organize. Third, service work is not as central to the economy as is production. Thus the service sector is not as strategically located as the production sector.

However, the role played by the service sector will probably be more advanced than that of the office sector, for two reasons. First, because the office sector is somewhat hampered by remnants of petit-bourgeois ideology, while the service sector has much less of such consciousness. Second, because of the very high percentage of Third World workers in this sector compared to the office sector (the percentage of Third World workers in the office sector is 11%, in the service sector, 26%). On the other hand,



TABLE 59 Composition of the Production Sector of the Proletariat 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	23,884,000 (100.0%)	19,482,000 (81.6%)	4,402,000 (18.4%)
Male	18,980,000 (79.4%)	15,603,000 (65.3%)	3,377,000 (14.1%)
Female	4,904,000 (20.5%)	3,879,000 (16.2%)	1,025,000 (4.2%)

TABLE 60 In 1969 the Production Sector made up;

29.9% of the TOTAL laborforce	28.6% of the total white laborforce	37.5% of the total TW laborforce
38.3% of all males in the laborforce	36.5% of all white males in the laborforce	49.9% of all TW males in the laborforce
16.1% of all females in the laborforce	15.2% of all white females in the laborforce	20.6% of all TW females in the laborforce

office work is, in general, more socialized, and becoming socialized faster, than service work.

In discussing the degree of leadership among the different sectors of the working class, it must be remembered that what is being analyzed are relatively small differences between sectors of a basic class, that the basic and most fundamental divisions are class divisions, that the fundamental struggle is a struggle between classes, and in that struggle the working class as a whole is in historic combat with the bourgeois class.

In that struggle the different sectors of the working class, particularly the three key sectors (office, service, and production), stand shoulder to shoulder, and the differences among the sectors as to degree of consciousness and leadership are slight when compared to the fundamental divisions between the classes. Furthermore, the concept of leadership is being used in a long-term overall sense. It does not mean that individual workers from any sector may not emerge in leading roles. Nor does it mean that in all times, places, and circumstances only the production workers will lead. Not at all. At certain times and places, other sectors or portions of sectors will be playing the leading role. For example, during much of the civil rights movement of the early 1960's, Black service workers (particularly women) were a leading group

#### Controversy

Some comrades felt that the service sector should include sales workers whom the paper counts as members of the office sector. They felt that the nature of sales work was much closer to that of typical service work than to clerical work, particularly in that most service work and sales work deals directly with the public, while most clerical

work does not. Also, the level of socialization among typical sales and service jobs is lower than among typical clerical jobs.

#### THE PRODUCTION SECTOR

##### Definition

The production sector is composed of those wage workers who are engaged in the production of commodities, the extraction of natural resources, production of food, operation of the transportation network that services production, construction industry, and the maintenance of the energy and communications networks. As can be seen, production workers provide most of the essential goods and services of civilization. Furthermore, within this sector are all of the workers who produce the wealth that can be used to increase the means of production. Not included in this sector are those workers who produce immediately consumed commodities, such as a cook in a restaurant.

##### Composition

As can be seen from Tables 59 and 60, this is the largest sector of the working class. Like the service sector, the proportion of Third World workers in the production sector is higher than that of white workers (375 per 1,000 versus 286 per 1,000). One-half of all Third World men are production workers (499 per 1,000).

Unlike the service and office sectors, the production sector has a much higher proportion of men and women, more than double (383 per 1,000 versus 161 per 1,000). Most of the male production workers are in the occupational categories of craftsmen and operatives, with lesser numbers in the categories of transportation operative, laborer, and farm laborer. Practically all of the



**TABLE 61** Production Sector by economic strata 1969 (estimate)

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	2%	3%	-	3%	-
Middle	44%	47%	29%	53%	10%
Bottom	54%	50%	71%	44%	90%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.

women are in the operative category, with only a handful in the others.

#### Income

Table 61 shows that although this sector is somewhat better off than the office and service sectors, it is still, basically, a low-paid sector. Only 2% of the production sector is paid enough to achieve the so-called "middle class" life style. Furthermore, this 2% is almost entirely composed of white males. Women and Third World production workers are, as in all other sectors, much lower-paid--once again a reflection of the racism, national chauvinism, and sexism of the bourgeoisie and the labor union leadership.

#### Mobility and Evolution

As a percentage of the laborforce, the production sector is steadily declining. In 1869 this sector was roughly 50% of the laborforce; by 1969 it had declined to 27.7%. Most of this shrinkage has been among the rural sub-sector, that is, among farm laborers. In 1869 roughly 29% of the workforce were farm laborers; in 1969 only 2.2% were. The situation among urban production workers is less simple. In 1869, non-farm production workers were somewhere around 22% of the laborforce. This percentage rose over the years, reaching a high of about 36% around 1950. Since that time, non-farm production workers have begun to decline as a percentage of the laborforce. As of 1969 urban production workers have declined to 25.5% of the laborforce.

This has not, obviously, meant a decline in the number, variety, or amount of material commodities produced. Far from it. As we can see, the shrinking production sector has been steadily increasing its production. In fact, the great increases in productivity are the prime causes of the steady decline in the relative size of the sector. Since fewer workers can produce more goods due to increased mechanization, socialization, speed-up, rationalization, etc., the profit-minded capitalists are constantly trimming back the number of production workers.

There is also another important reason for the relative decline in the production sector: run-away industry. As a response to the struggle by production workers for better working conditions, higher pay, etc., many industries are closing down their plants in the U.S. and moving them to countries where labor is cheaper. Primarily these are Third World nations, ruled by corrupt dictatorships propped up by U.S. imperialism; for example, South Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, Chile, Brazil, South Africa, Saudi Arabia, etc. Under the benevolent eye of the local puppet regime, the capitalists are able to exploit and oppress their new workers without mercy, and with the confidence that any attempt of the workers to organize and resist will be suppressed by the local government. Further, they can count on the U.S. government to come to the aid of any corporation or client state threatened by revolutionary or nationalist movements.

For example, while many of the textile plants of New England have been abandoned by their owners, large plants have been built in Thailand. Although Thailand does not have (at the moment) as fascist a government as many of the "free world" neo-colonies, a recent survey found the following conditions among Thai textile workers: Factories were unventilated and uncooled; workers had to breathe in lint, dust, and steam; they worked 8-10 hours per day in heat often over 120°; there are no safety precautions--one factory of over 200 workers has only two exit doors. That factory is made of wood and the weaving machines are so close together only one person can pass between them at a time. Most of the buildings are semi-dark, with only dim lights. The textile workers are paid an average of 8 Baht per day (40 cents). In a ten-hour day they earn the equivalent of \$.50 US. The workers have to live crammed into small dirty rooms in company dormitories. An average of 24 to 39 workers (spread over three shifts on the "hot bed" system) share each room of 6 by 8 meters (20' by 26'). One bathroom is shared by an average of 34 workers. Most workers are young women who are burned-out, diseased, or crippled by the time they are 30. There is no pension, workmen's compensation, or any other provision for the cast-off, used-up



workers.

Thus because of U.S. imperialism, the part of the world's production workers living within the borders of the U.S. is shrinking, while the oppression of Third World producers increases. Table 62 shows the shrinkage of the U.S. production sector.

Since the workforce increased from 59,229,000 in the 1950 Census to 80,071,000 in the 1970 Census (an increase of 35%), any occupation that increased less than 35% suffered a relative decline. The table above shows absolute increases or decreases. Thus occupations that show a decline on the table above suffered a much more severe relative decline.

As can be seen in Table 62, the production sector shows a mixture of increasing and decreasing occupations. In comparison, the other sectors all show increases. As a proportion of the laborforce, the other sectors are increasing, while the production sector

is shrinking.

There are three important shifts in the composition of the production sector. The first has already been discussed, namely the overall decline in relative size. The second important shift is a relative decline in the number of highly-skilled jobs and an increase in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. As a result of automation and mechanization caused by the drive for profit, the number of skilled, and thus higher-paid, jobs has shrunk very fast. Skilled craftsmen are replaced with a machine operated by an unskilled or semi-skilled worker. The first result, obviously, is a decline in wages for production workers. The second result is an increase in the oppressiveness of the jobs, because capitalism's goal is to divorce the worker from any creative input to his or her work, to reduce the job to a few simple repetitive motions, and to regiment the worker to perform the work as swiftly and unvaryingly as the machine he or she tends.

TABLE 62 Increase or decrease of sample occupations 1949-1969

	Men		Women
<b>Production Sector</b>			
Misc. Operatives, Manf.	-42%	.....	-46%
Assemblers	117%	.....	232%
Bakers	-29%	Packers & Wrappers	59%
Machinists	-28%	Sewers	92%
Miners	-73%	Knitters	-56%
Primary Metal Operatives	-30%	Spinners	68%
Farm Laborers	-52%	Electronics Operatives	8%
Longshoremen	-31%	Food Products Operatives	-38%
Warehousemen	44%	Shoe Manf. Operatives	-82%
<b>Service Sector</b>			
Cooks (Excpt Pvt House)	53%	.....	117%
Bartenders	-20%	Waitresses	50%
Janitors	155%	Chambermaids	80%
Firemen	59%	Attendants (Health)	378%
Pvt. Watchmen	25%	Practical Nurses	63%
<b>Office Sector</b>			
Sales Clerks	72%	.....	34%
Bank Tellers	-1%	.....	658%
Bookkeepers	34%	.....	130%
Shipping Clerks	32%	File Clerks	234%
Stock Clerks	72%	Receptionists	412%
Cashiers	90%	Secretaries	247%
Mail Carriers	45%	Typists	183%
<b>Semi-Professional Sector</b>			
Teachers	182%	.....	133%
Social Workers	375%	.....	205%
Police	100%	Nurses	130%
Electronics Tech.	1192%	Health Tech.	320%
Draftsmen	117%	Librarians	104%



The third shift in the composition of the production sector grows from the second. As the work is reorganized to become more oppressive, boring, regimented, and lower-paid, an increasing number of Third World workers and women are hired. There are several reasons for this. First, it helps split the sector by fostering racism and sexism in the older workers; second, by bringing in new people to fill "new" jobs, it makes it easier to lower wages; third, since the work represents a slight increase in pay and status from service work (which is the only other work open to most Third World workers and "blue collar" women), they are less likely to become troublemakers than the older workers whose jobs have been degraded.

### Organization

As a sector, this is the best organized part of the working class. However, this does not mean that all production workers are members of unions. In fact, only about 40% of production workers are organized, about 44% of the men and about 28% of the women production workers. Of those who are organized, most are in unions over which they have no control and small influence. For some, the union is an added arm of management, concerned with controlling instead of defending the worker and making the member pay for this "service" out of wages. Large segments of the sector are not organized at all. There will be more discussion of organization in the analysis of the production sub-sectors below.

### Social Situation

Like the rest of the working class, production workers suffer from inflation, which in a sense is a disguised form of cutting wages. However, those segments organized into unions are less injured by inflation than the unorganized workers, because of the weak protection that the unions are able to provide. Thus, as a whole, the production sector is less affected by inflation than are the office and service sectors (taken as a whole). Still, the majority of the sector is not organized, and even those that are in unions are being pushed downward by inflation.

The stagnation of growth in the production sector due to mechanization and run-away industry has already been described. The effect of this stagnation is that it is harder and harder for workers to find jobs

in production occupations. Former production workers fired or laid off from their old jobs find themselves forced to take jobs in the service sector at lower pay and under worse conditions. Young workers entering the labor force are more and more finding it impossible to get the better-paying production jobs.

In a general sense, inflation is a method of cutting the wages of the working class. The diversion of masses of workers into the low-paid office and service sectors is another method of driving the wages and working conditions of the working class downward. With the upsurge of the CIO movement in the 1930's, the general conditions of American workers rose. The momentum of that movement, coupled with the economic effects of World War II and then the expansion of U.S. imperialism, carried the American working class upward through the 50's and into the 60's. Now, the trend appears to have reversed, and the bourgeoisie is pushing the proletariat backward. At present, the main forms of this attack on the working class are indirect (inflation, unemployment, and run-away industry). However, as the crisis of imperialism deepens with the growing strength of the Third World liberation movements, and as the fundamental contradictions of capitalism become more and more evident, the attacks on the proletariat will become more severe and more direct (union-busting, violent repression of strikes, wage cuts, etc.).

### Role in Class Struggle

Revolution will only come about through class struggle. In capitalist society, particularly monopoly capitalist society, the fundamental conflict is between the working class and the bourgeois class. Within that class struggle, the working class can win the support of elements of other classes. Within the working class, the base, core, center, and leadership of the struggle will be a firm alliance of three sectors: production, office, and service. Within this basic unity of the three sectors, the production sector will be the leading element. There are a number of reasons for the production sector to be the most advanced element. While some of these reasons apply to other sectors as well, taken as a whole they point to the leading role of production workers.

- 1) The production sector is in the most strategic position to overthrow the bour-



geoisie. The fundamental foundation of capitalism is the network of industries that extract the natural resources, manufacture and distribute commodities. It is the production sector that operates this network. Thus production workers have the potential to disrupt, paralyze, and seize the heart of the bourgeoisie's power. The office, sales, state and service sectors of the economy are, of course, very important to the capitalists, but they are not the center.

2) A revolution is more than overthrowing the bourgeoisie. A revolution requires replacing a system, not just replacing individual people. The only system that, at this stage of historical development, can replace capitalism is socialism. The essence of socialism is the social ownership and operation of the means of production. Thus for the task of seizing, reorganizing, and operating in a socialist manner the means of production, this sector is key. Of course, the other sectors of the economy will have to be reorganized and operated on a socialist basis also, but the production/transportation system is key. Furthermore, large portions of the office, state, and service sectors of the economy will not be necessary or desirable under socialism. The labor freed from these jobs will be needed for the expansion of production.

3) Of the three core sectors, the production sector is the one with the most highly socialized working conditions. It is the sector with the largest concentrations of workers. Its general level of cooperative labor is the highest. It has a low level of petit-bourgeois consciousness. It represents that most advanced element of the economy, that is, the historical vanguard of the productive process. It can best understand the inherent inefficiency of the capitalist mode of production and the vast potential of socialist production for supplying the world's needs. The forms of productive work develop in the proletariat a sense of discipline and organization. Thus its potential for the acceptance/development of socialist and revolutionary class consciousness is the highest. The phrase "proletarian ideology," meaning the ideology of the most advanced element of the laboring population, refers to the workers in large-scale production. Thus the production workers will play an important leading role in the development of the class consciousness of the class as a whole.

4) The production sector has a very high proportion of Third World workers. Third World workers, of every sector, will

play a leading role, because of the dual nature (class and national) of their oppression.

5) The production sector is the easiest to organize of the various sectors.

6) The production sector is the largest of the various sectors. The four labor-force sectors of the working class are the following percentages of the class:

<u>Sector</u>	<u>% of working class</u>
Production	37%
Office	28%
Service	22%
Semi-prof	13%
Total	100%

The non-laborforce sectors of the working class (aged and excluded) are difficult to compare in size to the four sectors above. Their size will be discussed later in the paper.

While production workers have a leading role within the class, this does not in any way downplay the important role of office and service sectors. The description of the production workers as being in the advance of the other sectors is a general principle. However, at particular times and places, and in particular circumstances, the other sectors will play a leadership role. It must also be kept in mind that the office and service sectors are growing while the production sector is not. Also, that the office sector, composed overwhelmingly of women, and the service sector, composed of a high proportion of women and Third World workers, have important roles to play in the struggle against racism and sexism and the struggle for national liberation.

### THREE SUB-SECTORS OF THE PRODUCTION SECTOR

This analysis has broken the sector down into three sub-sectors--industrial, small scale, and rural--which will be examined in more detail.

### INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT (SUB-SECTOR)

#### Definition

This sub-sector contains those who work in the large-scale, important, industrial plants. For the sake of an arbitrary figure, "large" is defined as more than 250



TABLE 63 Composition of the Industrial Proletariat Sub-Sector 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	10,767,000 (100.0%)	8,853,000 (82.2%)	1,914,000 (17.8%)
Male	8,524,000 (79.1)	7,064,000 (65.6%)	1,460,000 (13.6%)
Female	2,243,000 (20.9%)	1,789,000 (16.6%)	454,000 (4.2%)

TABLE 64 In 1969 the Industrial Proletariat made up:

13.5% of the TOTAL laborforce	13.0% of the total white laborforce	16.3% of the total TW laborforce
17.2% of all males in the laborforce	16.5% of all white males in the laborforce	21.6% of all TW males in the laborforce
7.4% of all females in the laborforce	7.0% of all white females in the laborforce	9.1% of all TW females in the laborforce

blue-collar employees. "Important" is defined in respect to the economy. These definitions are in terms of plants, mines, mills, etc., not in terms of companies. For example, a G.E. factory with only 100 workers would not be in this sub-sector, but a GE plant with 400 would be. The figure 250 is just a rough guideline. Size and importance must be taken together. For example, a small plant of 50 workers producing all of the world's supply of left-handed blivets (key to the entire framistan industry) would be included as basic industry, while a plant of 350 making hula hoops would not be. Generally, importance and size run hand in hand, particularly in the most important areas of production--steel, auto, electric, rubber, petroleum, aero-space, machinery, instruments, shipyards, appliances, etc.

Also in the basic industry sector are those companies whose operations provide direct support to the means of production as a whole. These are the large and important transportation, communications, and energy networks. Although the workers in these industries do not themselves produce material wealth, they provide absolutely essential services to those that do. Again, the emphasis is on large and important operations.

It should be noted here that the statistics in Tables 63 to 66 dividing urban production workers into industrial and small-scale sub-sectors are not as accurate as the statistics presented for other classes, sectors, and sub-sectors. This is because the only statistics discovered that broke down the laborforce by size of plant were not very detailed, and they only covered the total number of workers with no breakdown as to sex or nationality. Thus the statistics for the national and sexual composition of the two urban sub-sectors given in this paper are figured on the assumption that Third World, white, male and female workers are distributed evenly between the two sub-sectors.

This sub-sector is mainly composed of craftsmen (machinists, mechanics, linemen, cranemen, railroad engineers, die makers, pipefitters, etc.), transport operatives (railroad workers, truck drivers, bus drivers, forklift operators, etc.), operatives (assemblers, checkers, cutters, punch press, sailors, welders, polishers, miners, mixers, packers, machine operators, etc.), and laborers (longshoremen, lumpers, warehousemen, haulers, wipers, etc.).

Most of the full-time basic industrial workers have a standard of living in the middle stratum. It was not possible to find statistics that broke the income figures of the production sector as a whole into the urban sub-sectors. However, in general it can be said that the majority of the full-time workers in this sub-sector have incomes between the BLS "LOWER" and "HIGHER" levels. In other words, the middle stratum.

It would be safe to say that the majority of the companies whose plants and operations are in the industrial sub-sector are owned by members of the bourgeoisie. Of course, not all plants owned by giant companies are in this sector, just those that are large and important. Generally speaking, the wages of this sector are higher than the other sub-sectors. This is not due to the benevolence of the bourgeoisie, but to two main factors. The first, and most important, is that the workers of basic industry have been able to form unions and wage fierce, bitter struggles for improved wages and conditions. The second is that the bourgeoisie is able to afford a high degree of mechanization and automation. This means that, through the use of machinery, workers in these large plants can produce much more than workers whose employers have less-developed or sophisticated means of production.

Although their wages are relatively high, workers in basic industry are the



most exploited of all sectors. exploitation is the difference between the amount of wealth produced by a worker and the amount of wealth returned to him or her as wages. As an abstract theoretical example, a worker who produces \$30 worth of goods or services per hour and is paid \$7 per hour is more exploited than a worker who produces \$10 worth of goods or services per hour and is paid \$3.50 per hour. However, while the workers of basic industry are the most exploited, they are not the most oppressed.

Oppression relates to the wages paid, the difficulty of the work, and the conditions under which the work is done. To go back to the previous example, the worker producing \$10 worth of goods per hour is probably physically working harder and faster, in more dangerous or unpleasant conditions, with more harassment from the boss, longer hours, and with greater job insecurity--all for half the wages and fewer benefits (if any).

Even though most of the members of this sub-sector are in the middle stratum, this does not mean that they are well-paid. The middle stratum is still below the amount necessary for a secure and comfortable standard of living.

### Organization

This is the best organized part of the working class. Most of the members of the industrial proletariat sub-sector belong to unions. This does not, of course, mean that they are able to successfully defend their rights. Often the unions are an added oppression on the back of the workers. In many cases the union is a great hindrance to the organization of the workers into groups that will fight for their interests. Thus the key question is not whether the workers are organized into a union, but whether they are organized into a union that will fight for them rather than against them. On this basis, it must be said that the industrial proletariat (and for that matter the entire working class) is very poorly organized.

### Social Situation

Basic industry workplaces are large: large in space--often several square miles--and large in numbers of workers--some employing thousands in a single factory complex. Generally, most of the work is highly socialized, with each worker doing a few specialized tasks over and over again in

close cooperation with other workers. For most of the workers the job is boring and repetitive. In assembly-line situations the worker is forced to function like a machine, at high speed, which causes great tension and strain. Often the plant is dirty, noisy, dangerous, poorly ventilated, cold or very hot, filled with disease-causing agents, and inadequately lighted. Work in the massive factories is extremely alienating and divorced from any sense of creativity.

Even more oppressive than the nature of the work is the constant speed-up. The corporate bosses strive every minute to squeeze more and more work from each employee. New machines are introduced to cut the number of workers but increase production. Machines are run faster and faster, compelling the workers to keep up and increase the pace. Furthermore, the worker himself is forced to function as a machine. Each motion of the worker's fingers, hands, body, feet, head is carefully calculated and measured by the time-motion study experts. Every move of the worker is as regulated and regimented as the motions of the machines.

Because the work is highly socialized and integrated, it trains the industrial proletariat into patterns of discipline, cooperation, and mutual dependence: First, because the job is designed to be accomplished by many workers operating together; second, because the industrial proletariat must depend on each other for things like safety, relief, and training.

The industrial proletariat are the most important producers of material wealth. Yet little wealth is returned to them. The contradiction between those who own the means of production (capitalists) and those who operate those means (labor) is clear to see within this sector. The result of the high degree of socialization and this direct relationship to the means of production is that this sub-sector is the most likely to develop and accept the principles of socialism. It is easiest for the industrial blue-collar workers to understand the interdependence of all aspects of the economy, the value of cooperative labor, and the necessity of seizing and running the means of production on a socialist basis.

The owners of the large industrial plants are never seen or talked to by the workers in this sector. Even the hired plant managers and other upper-echelon supervisors are remote and distant from the workers. It is practically impossible for a blue-collar worker to be promoted up into



TABLE 65 Composition of the Small Scale Production Sub-Sector 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	11,388,000 (100.0%)	9,363,000 (82.2%)	2,025,000 (17.8%)
Male	9,016,000 (79.1%)	7,471,000 (65.6%)	1,545,000 (13.6%)
Female	2,372,000 (20.8%)	1,892,000 (16.6%)	480,000 (4.2%)

TABLE 66 In 1969 the Small Scale Production Sub-Sector made up:

14.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	13.7% of the total white laborforce	17.2% of the total TW laborforce
18.2% of all males in the laborforce	17.5% of all white males in the laborforce	22.8% of all TW males in the laborforce
7.8% of all females in the laborforce	7.4% of all white females in the laborforce	9.6% of all TW females in the laborforce

the management. Thus the industrial proletariat is not likely to identify with the management or to aspire to or think of promotion beyond foreman. Since it costs millions or billions of dollars to set up these factories, industrial blue-collar workers are not likely to dream of using their skills to set up their own business. As a result, the industrial proletariat is less influenced by petit-bourgeois ideology, particularly the "Horatio Alger" myths, than are other sectors.

Because of the large numbers of workers together, a feeling of solidarity, power, and pride may be generated --a feeling of being part of a great endeavor. For example, at shift change when the thousands of fellow proletarians are together and visible. Of course the bourgeoisie are aware of this and do their best to destroy feelings of unity by creating race, sex, status and income divisions which they then inflame into antagonisms.

#### Role in Class Struggle

Because there are many workers concentrated in a single location, suffering from the same oppression, used to mutual cooperation, and with a sense of unity stemming from their participation in daily activity together, the industrial proletariat has been the easiest to organize. Even so, the struggle to organize this sub-sector was long, hard, bloody, and bitter.

Furthermore, their position in the basic industrial plants of the economy gives them powerful strategic leverage. First, because they have the power to affect the economy as a whole. For example, if there is a strike in steel, or coal, or rubber, it affects hundreds of other industries. A strike in transportation, communications, or energy can affect the entire nation.

Second, the industrial proletariat is experienced in operating the most important units of the economy. In a socialist revolution, the industrial proletariat's ability to seize, and operate, basic industry is of decisive importance. In any socialist revolution the industrial proletariat, because of its strategic location, ideological development, and mass character will play the leading role.

#### SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION (SUB-SECTOR)

This sub-sector contains blue collar workers employed in the small-scale and less important places of production or transportation. This includes the small plants of big companies. The size of these firms would run roughly from 1 to 300 production workers. Also in this sub-sector are construction workers (even if they are working on a big project) because they do not have a permanent relationship to any particular job, but rather do their task and then move on to another site. Other factors, such as socialization of work, also make them closer to the small-scale sub-sector than to the industrial proletariat sub-sector.

As was explained in the section dealing with the industrial proletariat, the national and sexual figures given in Tables 65 and 66 are calculated on the assumption that the different types of workers are distributed evenly between the two sub-sectors. This assumption is probably not correct, however. It is probable that due to the lower wages, poorer working conditions, racist union practices, and racist policies of the bourgeoisie that Third World and women production workers have a higher proportion of their numbers in the small-scale sub-sector. And, of course, if that's true, then white male urban production workers have a higher



proportion of their numbers in the industrial sub-sector.

This sub-sector is composed of craftsmen (bakers, cabinetmakers, construction craftsmen, mechanics, printers, tool and die makers, etc.), transport operatives (truck drivers, etc.), operatives (assemblers, checkers, cutters, machine workers, packers, textile workers, etc.), laborers (construction laborer, freight handlers, warehousemen, lumpers, etc.).

#### Income

While accurate statistics were not found that broke down the urban workers' income by sub-sectors, it is almost certain that the income of the small-scale sub-sector is lower than that of the industrial sub-sector. Probably most of the members of this sub-sector are in the bottom stratum.

#### Social Situation and Organization

The companies whose plants comprise this sub-sector are owned by a mixture of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, most of them the latter. The petit-bourgeoisie is not able to compete with the bourgeoisie in developing their means of production, so their factories are not as highly developed or sophisticated as those of the ruling class. The result is that workers employed by the petit-bourgeoisie do not have as high a level of production as those employed by the bourgeoisie. Yet the petit-bourgeois owner has to compete in the market place with other petit-bourgeois businessmen and the bourgeoisie. Since they cannot obtain as high a productivity from their workers, the petit-bourgeois businessmen have to cut costs by paying lower wages, forcing the workers to labor as hard as possible, spending a minimum of money for safety, ventilation, lights, etc. The result is that workers in the small-scale sub-sector are, on the whole, more oppressed than workers in the industrial proletariat. The major exceptions to this are those who work in small plants owned by the large monopolies, whose working conditions are affected by the organized strength of the industrial proletariat in the firm's larger plants. Also, construction workers are not, in general, as oppressed as most other small-scale sub-sector production workers.

Like the industrial proletariat, this sub-sector's relation to the means of production and the socialized nature of its

work creates fertile ground for socialist consciousness. But there are some factors that make this sub-sector's potential for organization, action, and consciousness weaker than that of the industrial proletariat.

Because these workplaces are small, it is harder to develop a sense of power and solidarity. Strikes are harder to win because picket lines are weaker, the workers have less savings to fall back on, and their strikes do not have as much impact on the whole economy. As a result, this sub-sector is not as well organized as the industrial proletariat sub-sector. On the other hand, they are in general better organized than the office and service sectors or the rural proletariat sub-sector.

Most of the owners and managers of companies in this sub-sector are much closer to the workers in terms of visibility, communication, and class status (petit-bourgeois instead of bourgeois). The opportunity for promotion or advancement through pleasing the boss is greater in this sub-sector than in the industrial sub-sector, where promotion to better blue-collar jobs is usually on the basis of seniority, and supervisory jobs are given to college graduates, management trainees, or other people who are not from the shop floor. Since workers in this sub-sector are less protected by unions, the workers have a greater fear of being fired if they displease the boss. Thus through fear or desire for advancement, there is a somewhat greater tendency for these workers to try to please (or give the appearance of pleasing) the boss. Of course, the higher oppression, closer contact with the owner, and lower wages move some members of this group toward a deeper and more bitter hatred of the boss than is usual with the industrial proletariat. In other words, there is a greater range of attitudes towards the owners than is found within the industrial proletariat.

On the other hand, the smaller nature of these businesses makes it easier to understand and perceive exploitation. This is because, with fewer workers involved in production, it is easier for them to get together, calculate how much labor they contributed to the product, how much they are paid, cost of materials and equipment, and then compare that total with the price of the commodity.

In some cases the capitalization of the businesses in this sector is small enough that an aggressive, upwardly mobile, blue-collar worker (particularly a skilled crafts-



man) can dream of forming a partnership, floating a loan, and going into business for himself using the skills learned, and contacts made, on the job. The fact that only a tiny handful ever actually accomplish this does not deter the dreamers from dreaming. This is another factor that tends to increase petit-bourgeois influence among this sector, as compared to the industrial sub-sector. Of course, this only means that there is more likelihood of opportunist elements within this sub-sector, for the great majority of small scale sub-sector proletarians have no illusions about becoming businessmen, do not toady to the boss, do not identify with the owner, and have a deep hatred of their oppressors.

This sub-sector, and the service sector, contain a large number of undocumented immigrant workers, the so-called "illegal aliens". These workers are uncounted and do not show up in statistics, but their numbers run into the millions. While some of them labor in agriculture, most are employed in urban areas. In small scale production and service, and to a lesser extent in large-scale production. These workers suffer all of the oppression that other Third World workers suffer as national minorities and as workers. In addition they suffer special oppression from the government, the media, and the bosses.

When the economy is "up" they are recruited by the capitalists to come to the U.S. and work in the lowest paying, most oppressive jobs. When the economy turns "down" the bourgeoisie, and their state, launch a campaign to round-up and deport these workers. Capitalists like to employ undocumented workers because their position outside the law prevents them from exercising any of the democratic rights that have been won by other parts of the working class in bitter struggle. Keeping these workers in an "illegal" status prevents them from resisting the vicious exploitation of the employers and is a not-so-subtle form of undercutting the gains won by the proletariat in the past. Further it is one more opportunity for the bourgeoisie to divide the working class and trick different parts of the proletariat into fighting each other, instead of the real enemy. The result of this situation is that the undocumented worker is forced to work at wages far below those paid to the rest of the proletariat, to work longer hours, under worse conditions, and is often the victim of special atrocities from the boss.

The marking of some members of the proletariat as "illegals" is an artificial and false concept promoted by the bourgeoisie for

their foul purposes. Undocumented workers are part of the working class like all the rest of us. They sweat to create wealth, they are exploited, and they work side-by-side with us. In the final analysis, all of the American proletariat, with the exception of Native Americans, are immigrant workers. The singling out of a few of our number as "illegal" is a cruel hoax used by the bourgeoisie to split and oppress all workers.

### Role in Class Struggle

Compared to the industrial sub-sector, the small-scale sub-sector is not as strategically located. It will play a less important role in taking over the economy and building socialism. Once again, this is a relative comparison between the industrial and small-scale sub-sectors. Overall, the small-scale sub-sector will play a vital and leading role. In addition, because of the higher level of oppression, higher level of economic suffering, and greater percentage of Third World workers and women workers, this sub-sector will in some periods and locations surpass even the industrial sub-sector in development of consciousness, militancy, fierceness in struggle, and development of leadership.

### RURAL PROLETARIAT (SUB-SECTOR)

#### Definition

This sub-sector contains those who work for wages in farming, stock-raising, dairy, fishing, and logging.

The statistics in Tables 67 to 69 should be taken with a large grain of salt. Although they are the best that could be found, they are not too accurate. First of all, the Census tends to undercount working class people as a whole. Second, working class women are undercounted to an even greater degree. Third, farm workers are undercounted to a greater degree than any other sector of the class. Fourth, Third World workers (and especially Third World farm laborers) are consistently undercounted to a greater degree than white workers. And last, there are large numbers of undocumented farm workers who are not counted at all.

Thus it is probable that the total number of farm workers is greater than the statistics above would indicate. This is par-



TABLE 67 Composition of the Rural Proletariat Sub-Sector 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	1,729,000 (100.0%)	1,266,000 (73.2%)	463,000 (26.8%)
Male	1,440,000 (83.3%)	1,068,000 (61.8%)	372,000 (21.5%)
Female	289,000 (16.7%)	198,000 (11.6%)	91,000 (5.3%)

TABLE 68 In 1969 the Rural Proletariat Sub-Sector made up:

2.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	1.9% of the total white laborforce	4.0% of the total TW laborforce
2.9% of all males in the laborforce	2.5% of all white males in the laborforce	5.5% of all TW males in the laborforce
.9% of all females in the laborforce	.8% of all white females in the laborforce	1.8% of all TW females in the laborforce

ticularly true for women because farm workers often work as a family unit with only the family head showing up in statistics.

As can be easily seen in Table 69, this is the lowest-paid part of the working class, except for the private household occupational category.

### Organization

This has been a difficult group to organize. As will be discussed later, the level of socialization is low. The very low wages of rural proletarians do not allow them to build up the financial reserves necessary to carry on protracted struggles on their own resources. Because rural areas are far from the centers of the working class population, farm workers have to face bourgeois anti-organization repression without the working class support that can be generated in urban areas. This is particularly important because strikes in the fields have to be won in short periods of time (harvest season). Thus, the difficulty of mobilizing large numbers of class-conscious workers to defend a picket line from scab or police attack weakens rural proletarians' ability to win strikes.

The result is that farm workers have to depend on indirect working class support in the form of donations, boycotts, political pressure, and occasional mobilizations. While this indirect support is, of course, helpful and important, it is not as powerful as the broad class support that the industrial proletariat could call upon in the

bitter organizing battles of the 1930's, such as the San Francisco General Strike in support of the longshoremen and seamen, and other less dramatic instances of broad class support for particular strikes.

In addition to the general problems that face all farm workers, large sections of the rural proletariat face special problems in organizing. Migrant workers, roaming from field to field, crop to crop, state to state, have great difficulty in forming an organization with a solid base and continuity. Furthermore, having only a temporary relationship to each different workplace makes it difficult to organize and wage a long-term struggle.

A large section of the rural proletariat is forced to live and work in semi-feudal conditions. The Black farm laborers of the South and the Chicano farm workers of the Southwest often live as semi-serfs, under the despotic control of the plantation owner. This is true for both wage workers (rural proletarians) and sharecroppers (small farmer class). The tremendous power that the landlord holds over the workers, based on economic control, racism, historical custom, laws, and naked force, is used to rule both their working and non-working lives.

There is another large section of the rural proletariat that, because of the particular nature of their work, has built up strong traditions peculiar to their industry. This is true for occupations such as lumberman, fisherman, cowboy, shepherd, etc. These traditions are progressive in the sense that

TABLE 69 Rural Proletariat by economic strata 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Aristocracy	1%	1%	-	1%	-
Middle	12%	15%	4%	13%	4%
Bottom	87%	84%	96%	86%	96%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note-These figures include both full and part-time workers.



they develop a strong sense of solidarity and group cohesion. But they are reactionary in the sense that they have tended (under the careful encouragement of the bourgeoisie) to emphasize individualism, competition, and chauvinism.

In spite of all the difficulties the last decade has seen the most successful and sustained union organizing drive in US agricultural history. Basing itself in the oppressed Chicano/Mexicano and Philippine national minorities, and including workers of all nationalities, the UFW has scored significant gains in organizing a portion of this sub-sector. However, the problems they face are serious and difficult. After 10 years of bitter struggle, the union is still fighting for its life and its survival is seriously threatened: first by the intrinsic difficulties of organizing the rural proletariat and second (and more importantly) by the massive resistance being put up by agribusiness and the tremendous repression from the state and reactionary trade union misleaders.

#### Evolution

This is a shrinking sector. Every year there are fewer jobs available. The farms, ranches, and dairies are mechanizing, replacing many workers with each machine. The timber industry in many parts of the country is dying out. The fishing industry is both mechanizing and running away to Third World countries with anti-union dictators. The result is that there are always a large number of unemployed rural proletarians drifting around looking for jobs. This competition for jobs and insecurity is another difficulty in the way of organizing this sub-sector. Unemployed rural proletarians are forced into the urban areas to find jobs, usually in the lowest-paying levels of the production or service sector. The entire historical trend, since the onslaught of monopoly capitalism, is for this group to be forced off the land and into the factories. It is possible to foresee a not too distant future in which this sector will be all but eliminated, with only a tiny remnant working as machine operators on mechanized farms.

#### Social Situation

The farms, fleets, ranches, and logging camps where this sector works are owned by a mixture of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, with a small number of workers employed by the small farmer class. The

trend has been for these businesses to be consolidated and taken over by the bourgeoisie. Within a short time, all significant means of agricultural production will be owned by the bourgeoisie.

The exploitation and oppression of the rural proletariat is very high. Agricultural products are America's biggest export, bringing in billions of dollars to the bourgeoisie. But agricultural workers are one of the lowest-paid groups in the country. As agri-business (in this paper the term "agri-business" will also include the fishing, timber, dairy, and stock-raising industries) takes over smaller operations, it usually introduces advanced and sophisticated means of production, such as harvesting machinery, planters, automatic milkers, seagoing fish processing factories, and helicopters to herd animals. The fast pace of mechanization in agriculture has resulted in a steady decline in the number of rural proletarians; at the same time, the nature of the work has become more like that of the urban proletariat. Still, at this time, agricultural work is not as highly socialized as other production work. In fact, much agricultural work is still done by hand, and agricultural workers have to be skilled at all phases of food production. In other words, the division of labor has not progressed nearly as far in agriculture as it has in other areas of production.

The rural proletariat is terribly oppressed, particularly migratory workers and Black farm hands in the South whose conditions are semi-feudal: starvation wages, unheated waterless shacks, often wages paid in credit at the boss's store, children having to work instead of going to school, endangered by pesticides, no health care, and no protection of their legal rights. Conditions are almost as bad for the non-migratory and non-Black agricultural workers. Almost all rural proletarians have to work 10-12 hour days for lousy pay, and in poor conditions.

The size of the workplace and the nature of the work varies widely. Some farms employ only 1 or 2 workers, others hundreds or even thousands at harvest or planting season. Some of the work is highly mechanized, some is almost completely unmechanized. On the whole, agricultural work tends to be less socialized than industrial work. The majority of rural proletarians' labor is more or less on an individual basis, with little compartmentalization of tasks. In harvesting crops, where the pay is based on a piece rate, the rural proletarians are



TABLE 70 Total number of Government workers 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	10,615,000 (100.0%)	8,802,000 (82.9%)	1,813,000 (17.1%)
Male	5,379,000 (50.7%)	4,460,000 (42.0%)	919,000 (8.7%)
Female	5,236,000 (49.3%)	4,342,000 (40.9%)	894,000 (8.4%)

Note- These figures only include members of the Working Class who are employed by the government. Government employees who are Petit-Bourgeois are not included.

TABLE 71 In 1969 Government workers made up:

13.3% of the TOTAL laborforce	12.9% of the total white laborforce	15.4% of the total TW laborforce
10.9% of all males in the laborforce	10.3% of all white males in the laborforce	13.4% of all TW males in the laborforce
17.2% of all females in the laborforce	17.0% of all white females in the laborforce	17.9% of all TW females in the laborforce

often in competition with each other. The result is that the nature of the work does not build as strong a sense of cooperation and unity as does the work of the industrial proletariat.

#### Role in Class Struggle

Agriculture in the U.S. is a vital and key area of the economy. But because of its spread-out nature, covering millions of square miles, and the inherent difficulties of organizing the rural proletariat, it is unlikely that workers of this sub-sector will play as leading a role in socialist revolution as the urban proletariat. However, the struggles of the rural proletariat have already played a vital role in awakening the consciousness of the national minority peoples and the class as a whole. The civil rights struggles of the Black rural population in the 1960's were the cry that awoke the Black workers of the cities and shook the entire nation. The current leading role played by Black workers is directly traceable to the movement in the Black rural South. The same holds true for the Chicano/Mexicano national minority. The farmworkers' fight is still the leading struggle of the Chicano/Mexicano people, and its influence is being felt among the large Chicano/Mexican-urban proletariat. While the leadership and example of the rural proletariat will continue to be felt, in the final analysis the center of class struggle in the U.S. will be in the urban areas.

#### GOVERNMENT WORKERS

In all of the sectors of the working class the majority of people are employed by

private enterprise. However, in each sector there are some people who are government workers. By government workers the paper means employees of all types of government (federal, state, etc.) who by the nature of their work are members of the working class. (Petit-bourgeois government employees are not included.) To a degree government workers have in common some social/political/economic aspects regardless of which sector they are part of. The question is, should government workers constitute a separate sector of the working class. This paper takes the position that they should not, that a government office worker has more in common with an office worker in private enterprise than with a government production worker. Nevertheless, there are some things which government workers hold in common and these should be analyzed.

Members of all four working class sectors are employed by government. Table 72 below gives the number of workers in each sector employed by government. Table 73 gives the percentage of each sector in government service.

Government workers are not exploited in the same sense as workers for private enterprise. No single individual or group of stockholders make direct profit from the labor of government workers. Those in positions of power over the government workers do not derive material benefit from the labor of those under them; thus they do not have the same kind of material incentive for speed-up, increased production, short-changing on safety equipment, or other practices, as does private business. The result is that the fundamental contradiction between labor and capital is less apparent for the government workers than for the rest of the working class.



TABLE 72 Government workers by sector.

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Semi-Professional	3,830,000	3,420,000	410,000	1,731,000	2,099,000
Office	3,030,000	2,523,000	507,000	971,000	2,059,000
Service	2,416,000	1,819,000	597,000	1,463,000	953,000
Production	1,339,000	1,040,000	299,000	1,214,000	125,000

Note-These figures do not include employees of private companies who are working on government contracts.

TABLE 73 Percentage of each sector that is employed by the government 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	Male	Female
Semi-Professional	44%	44%	50%	40%	50%
Office	17%	16%	26%	18%	17%
Service	17%	17%	16%	19%	15%
Production	6%	5%	7%	6%	3%

How to interpret this table: 44% of all Semi-Professionals are employed by the government, 44% of all white Semi-Professionals are employed by the government, etc.

On the other hand, the wages of government workers are generally set to match the prevailing wages among private-enterprise workers doing similar jobs. The result is that government employees' incomes are no higher than those of workers who are directly exploited.

Government workers service the production system as a whole. For example, maintaining the road network, ports, airfields, etc., providing basic education to future workers, conducting research that will be used by industry, collecting taxes, etc. Hence, since the government proletariat is paid the same as directly exploited workers in private enterprise, and since the labor they perform is used by business to make profits, publicly employed workers are, in a sense, indirectly exploited.

Because they are not employed directly by the capitalists and some of their services are needed by both business AND the public, their role in social struggle becomes less clear than that of employees of private enterprise. For example, a strike by municipal bus drivers or snow-removal workers makes it more difficult for stores to get customers and factories to get their full workforce. This hurts business. But the strike also hurts workers, who lose pay or even their jobs. It also hurts people who depend on public transportation or clear streets to take care of necessary activities. The result of this duality is that there is greater opposition among the people to public employees' strikes. Laws have been passed restricting the rights of public employees to organize or strike. Government workers realize that the people at large in some cases depend on them and so are caught in a bind when conditions warrant strike ac-

tion. These factors hinder the organization and struggle of government workers.

Two contradictory factors influence consciousness of public employees. The indirect relationship to the means-of-production weakens class consciousness (the concept of belonging to a working class engaged in historical and inevitable struggle with the owners of the means-of-production) and may lead some to see their enemy as the "public" (either taxpayers in general, or those whom the government worker directly serves, such as customers at post office windows). It may lead some to see their enemy as limited only to the politicians in office. It may cause some to see their oppression in strictly racial or sexual terms.

On the other hand the fact that government jobs are less discriminatory towards national minority people and women has meant that the government workforce has over the past forty years grown to include a high percentage of those workers. Furthermore, the limited protection of civil service has allowed government workers and particularly Third World and women workers to develop a consciousness of resistance and rebellion with less fear of being fired than those in private enterprise. Thus the potential for leadership from Third World and women workers is very high among the government segment.

While their position as public employees makes the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor somewhat less clear for government workers, their position allows them to understand the role of the state much more clearly. Since any struggle, even for minimal economic demands, throws these workers into conflict with the state,



they tend to develop a very clear consciousness of the role of the state as an agency of the rulers and an enemy of the workers.

### The Non-Laborforce Sectors of the Working Class

The last two sectors of the proletariat contain people who are no longer members of the laborforce. In other words, people who no longer work, and receive less than half of their income from ownership of stocks, bonds, shares of a business, and rents. A non-working person who receives more than half of his or her income from these sources is considered to be part of the petit-bourgeoisie.

It proved practically impossible to obtain good statistical data for these two sectors. Accordingly, the figures presented are rough estimates. There was not enough data to even make an estimate on the national composition of the two sectors. Since the members of these sectors are not part of the laborforce, there is no percentage comparison between these two sectors and other sectors and classes.

### THE AGED SECTOR

#### Definition

This sector contains those people who are unable to be part of the laborforce because of a physical reason. For most members this physical reason is age; for others it is injury, disease, blindness, mental illness, or low intelligence. It is important to note that who falls under this definition is a very relative question. In this case we are talking about the situation in 1970 America. The great majority of the members of this sector could perform useful productive work if given the opportunity. Because, under capitalism in 1970, these workers are not as profitable as younger or healthier workers, they are denied the opportunity to lead (or continue to lead) productive lives. However, if there arose a shortage of labor, such as that of World War II, many of these workers would not be considered too old or disabled to find employment. Under a social/economic system designed along socialist lines for the benefit of the people instead of just the capitalists, most of these people would have the opportunity to lead productive lives if they desired to do so.

Almost all of the members of this sector obtain the majority of their income from one or more of the following sources: retirement or pensions from private enterprise, social security, welfare, contributions from relatives, insurance, and savings. Not included in this sector are those aged or disabled people who get over half their income from stocks, bonds, rents, annuities, royalties, or profits from business. They would be members of the petit-bourgeoisie. Not in this sector or class are those who are living with and primarily supported by members of other classes. That is, if a retired or disabled person is living with family and more than half of his or her real income (cash plus free services such as food, clothing, housing, etc.) is supplied by those he or she is living with, then such a person is a direct dependent and considered a member of the class his or her provider belongs to.

#### Composition

Rough estimate of composition of Aged Sector 1969

TOTAL	18,000,000
Male	6,500,000
Female	11,500,000

The majority of the members of this sector are in it because of age (about 16 million). The proportion of Third World people in this sector (compared to their numbers in the population as a whole) is probably a little higher than the proportion of whites.

#### Income

Practically all of those in this sector are poor. With few exceptions all of them are either below the BLS "LOWER" standard of living, or just barely above it. In 1971 the "LOWER" budget for a retired couple was \$3,176 and for a single retired person \$1,747.

#### Evolution

This sector is growing steadily, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the population. This is primarily a result of the policies of the bourgeoisie, who steadily eliminate older workers and replace them with machines and younger workers.



## Organization

There is practically no organization among this sector. Since the ruling classes can no longer exploit any profit from these ex-workers, they have no further use for them and no desire to continue contributing to their survival through taxes and retirement. Thus the bourgeoisie opposes any sort of organization among the members of the aged sector to prevent struggle for better living conditions, higher pensions, higher social security and welfare, or anything else that would better or prolong their lives. Without any relation to the means-of-production they can generate little economic power. Injured, ill, disabled, and worn out, the members of this sector have not been able to successfully overcome the rulers' opposition to organization in the way that some areas of the laborforce have been able to. The most significant organizations affecting the aged are labor unions who include demands for increased pensions in their struggles. However, such unions cover only a fraction of the sector, and only indirectly involve or work for the aged.

## Social Situation

The economic position of this sector is very bad. Never very high, the fixed income of the aged sector is being beaten down rapidly by the forces of inflation. It is very difficult for this sector to get any increase in the amount of their income. Their former employers, of course, have no desire to raise pensions and the retired workers are not able to affect production by striking. The government is actually trying to reduce the amount spent on caring for the members of this sector (and the excluded sector) and the lack of organization among the aged prevents them from developing enough power to win significant increases. In this way inflation has had, and continues to have, a devastating effect on the members of this sector. One of the most obvious symptoms of this is the sharp increase in the number of elderly shoplifters being caught by supermarket store detectives.

There are three types of living situations for members of this sector: living with relatives (usually children), living alone (or with husband or wife if still alive), or living in institutions. Each of these situations has special problems.

Under the influence of the bourgeoisie, our culture has emphasized the nuclear fam-

ily (husband, wife, and children)--as opposed to the multi-generation or extended family--as the proper and desired way of life. A nuclear family culture requires the purchase of more homes, refrigerators, TV's, cars, food, and other consumer goods than does a culture of larger family groupings sharing a house, refrigerators, etc. A nuclear family is less stable, economically weaker, and consequently is less able to engage in social struggle, than a multi-generation, extended family. These are two of the reasons the ruling class has shaped our culture toward nuclear families, through economic pressure, humor, advertising, media, literature, and other techniques. The result is that the only cultural role for an old person living with their children's family is a negative or undesirable one. Instead of being the honored head of the family with a useful and fulfilling role to play within the family, they are usually considered hangers-on, fifth wheels, and meddlers. Since the bourgeoisie does its best to shift the economic load of caring for the old onto the shoulders of the children, the aged are seen and felt as a burden. Thus the lives of the aged living with relatives are full of tension, boredom, frustration, and bitterness.

The situation is no better for those who live alone. On their small fixed income, the aged and disabled are only able to afford small run-down apartments. Because of ill health and lack of money, they are forced to spend most of their time in these dismal apartments. They become cut off from human contact; loneliness and boredom sap their strength. As they become older and weaker, they are less able to care for themselves and keep their apartment clean. All of this emphasizes their rejection by bourgeois society. They begin to live lives of waiting to die. And under these circumstances, cut off from the support of other people, with nothing to look forward to, they fade away. If they are too strong to die, but too weak physically to give society the illusion of being able to take care of themselves, they are sent to institutions.

Like everything else in society, institutions for the care of the old and disabled are reflections of class rule. Some institutions serve only the bourgeoisie or upper-echelon of the petit-bourgeoisie. Most institutions serve a mixture of petit-bourgeois "private patients" and members of the aged sector. However, the treatment for the aged sector is much poorer than that of the private patients, in terms of



living conditions, types of medical care given, food, personal care, and other factors.

For the aged sector these institutions are in effect concentration points where they are gathered to await death. Because most of them are run by petit-bourgeois businessmen or professionals, their function is to produce profit, not to provide care. The result is that the owners charge as high as possible and provide as little as possible. They hire as few workers as they can (at as low wages as they can get away with). These workers, with far too many patients to care for, are hurried and harried and unable to provide adequate care. The owners, of course, also spend as little as possible on food, clothing, furnishings, recreation, and everything else. The result is that most of these "homes" are hell holes, more conducive to death than to life, which is as the bourgeoisie desires. They shape the culture that forces the aged into these homes where they are out of sight and out of mind. There, the sooner they die, the sooner the ruling class can stop paying pensions and taxes for their care.

A large number of the members of this sector are forced out of the productive process against their will. Many workers over the age of 65 are still healthy enough to lead useful productive lives. They do not want to be thrown out. There are two basic reasons for this. The first is that they know the problems faced by the aged sector and they want to avoid, or at least postpone, joining their suffering.

The second reason is that most human beings have a desire to be useful and productive. The problem of capitalism is not that people have to work, but that they are exploited, oppressed, and alienated from their work. The desire for a life of idleness and play is a product of bourgeois thought. Most workers have no dream of living a life of total ease. Most workers take pride in the fact that they are useful and productive and they look with contempt at those (such as the petit-bourgeois hippies) who do not do their share of the work necessary to maintain society. Of course, they do want more time for themselves and their families, longer vacations, shorter hours, and better working conditions. In any case most workers do not like the idea of being treated like a worn-out pencil and tossed into the trash as soon as they can't make enough profit for the boss.

## Role in Class Struggle

The aged sector is an oppressed and unhappy group. Yet, they will not, as a group, play much of a role in social struggle. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that, for most, age, ill-health, and economic weakness prevents them from taking an active role in class struggle. Second, it's generally true that the older a person becomes the more ingrained are the old ideas. It is difficult for older people to accept new ideas. While both these reasons are true for the aged sector as a group, it should be noted that there are many individual members of this sector who can and will play important and valuable roles in class struggle. Some old or disabled people retain their ability to accept new ideas and have not had their courage beaten down by long years under capitalism. These old workers can bring to class struggle a vast wealth of experience, courage, wisdom, and proletarian consciousness gained from half a century of work and struggle. Their wisdom should be studied and learned from and their courage taken as an example. Those members of the aged sector who are able to be politically active can perform an important leadership role. Further, portions of this sector will be able to organize and engage in struggle, as a group.

## THE EXCLUDED SECTOR

### Definition

This sector contains those who are prevented from becoming part of the labor force because of social, political or economic reasons. It would include those who can find no jobs because of their race, sex, or residence in an economically depressed area. Also, those who cannot seek work because they have no way to take care of their children. And finally, those who are unable to find work because of their past--for example, ex-prisoners. All of the members of this sector are physically able to work. This sector includes only those whose exclusion from the laborforce is extended over a period of years. People temporarily out of work are members of the sector of their last job.

The precise definition of this sector is the same as that of the aged sector (except that the reason for being out of the laborforce is social, not physical). That is, less than one-half of their income is from stocks, bonds, dividends, profits, rent, royalties, family (husbands, wives, parents,



children), alimony, wages, or another source directly stemming from the means-of-production. If over one-half of their income is from retirement, social security old-age benefits, or some form of disability, then they would be in the aged sector.

### Income and Composition

#### Rough Estimate of the Composition of the Excluded Sector 1969

TOTAL	5,000,000
Male	500,000
Female	4,500,000

These figures are for adults only. Dependent children are not included.

As you can see, the great majority of the sector are women. This reflects the fact that when couples break up, it is almost always the women who are left with the children. Also it reflects various other sexist social roles forced on men and women by bourgeois society. The percentage of Third World people in this sector is very much higher than their representation in the general population.

### Income

The income of this sector is extremely low. Practically all of its members live below, or just above, the BLS "LOWER" standard of living.

### Mobility and Evolution

This sector is not nearly as stable as most sectors. Depending on circumstances, there is a lot of mobility in and out of it. For example, once-prosperous areas slide into economic stagnation or depression, while other areas sometimes climb out of long-term slumps. The nation as a whole also follows a cycle of boom and depression. A woman with children, living on welfare, may marry or find a job if child care becomes available. Thus frequent changes in individual circumstances and the local or national economy cause a great deal of mobility into and out of this sector. Of course, while many members remain in the excluded sector for only a few years, many others are never able to leave, particularly Third World women with several children. Eventually, of course, old age will bring all excluded sector members into

the aged sector.

Under the inevitable trends of monopoly/imperialist capitalism this sector will grow larger and larger. This is because modern production methods (e.g. automation) require a smaller and smaller percentage of the population to be engaged in production of useful goods and services. As the number of necessary worker-hours needed to produce the goods and service required by society drops, the unneeded workers must be accounted for. Some are shifted to the production of useless goods or services (war materiel, electric toothbrushes, advertising, etc.). However, the increase in worker-hours devoted to socially useless activity is not enough to absorb all of the surplus worker-hours. Hence, the excluded sector grows. This situation is worsened by the rapid increase in "runaway" shops. That is, the transfer of production jobs to Third World countries where wages are kept low through the power of US imperialism.

### Organization

This sector is poorly organized. In the last decade there have been many attempts to organize this sector, most notably the Welfare Rights Organization. These efforts have had some success at certain times and locations, but no long-term large-scale organization has been built. Organizing this sector is difficult. Most excluded workers have so little money that all of their energy is spent on the struggle to survive; they have neither the time nor the resources to sustain long-term social struggle. Because they are removed from the means-of-production, the power that they are able to apply, even if they are organized, is small. The result is that, when organizations are formed, they have not been able to do as much for their members as it was hoped they would. This has resulted in people falling away from them. As inflation and increased state spending on military and police reduce still further the standard of living of this sector, there will be more attempts to organize in defense of their rights and lives. These attempts will succeed, for short times in certain places, in uniting and mobilizing the members of the sector and dramatizing their desperate situation. However, it is unlikely that these organizations will be able to survive and grow over a sustained period of time unless they are linked to, and supported by, working-class organizations with the power to affect the means-of-production.



## Social Situation

There has been a great deal written about the people in this sector, about their oppression, their poverty, and their struggles. This paper won't try to duplicate this body of material. However, some points should be emphasized.

The bourgeoisie needs to maintain a large pool of unemployed potential workers. This reserve laborforce can be used in the case of a sudden labor shortage due to war or other factors. It also is used to keep the wages of the workers low, by threatening to replace them with those currently excluded from the laborforce. This sector is one of the three major pools of reserve potential labor that the bourgeoisie has at various times drawn upon: the excluded sector, non-working married women, and foreign workers. Also the bourgeoisie needs people who can be the source of sales without having to be paid wages. Thus this sector is very useful to the ruling class and it is in their interest to maintain it, expand it, and deepen its oppression.

It is becoming more and more difficult for people to leave this sector. For example, the children of welfare mothers find it much harder to locate a job than the children of other sectors and classes do. People who have been out of work for several years find it more and more difficult to land a job in competition with younger or more experienced workers.

A large portion (though not a majority) of this sector is composed of Third World people. They suffer racial and national oppression in addition to the economic oppression suffered by the entire sector. As part of its efforts to split the working class along color lines, the bourgeoisie has emphasized and distorted the Third World make-up of this sector. First, they force a disproportionate number of Third World people into the sector by racist hiring and educational practices, and then they claim that Third World people are lazy and do not want to work. The bourgeoisie has given the impression that the great majority of the excluded sector are Third World and that the high taxes paid by the rest of the population are in order to support Third World people in idleness and luxury. This line accomplishes many things. It causes white people to view Third World people as parasites (instead of the bourgeoisie); it hides the fact that most Third World people are members of the laborforce; it blames high taxes on the excluded sector in gener-

al (and Third World people in particular) instead of on the bourgeoisie, military spending, corporate rip-offs, imperialism, etc.

This whole sector suffers humiliation and oppression above and beyond economic oppression. It is a natural human desire to be useful, productive, active, and needed. Those who are prevented by the bourgeoisie from leading productive lives suffer from frustration, guilt, and humiliation. The bourgeoisie adds to this by laying the blame for idleness on the individual rather than the economic system and those who rule it. The bourgeoisie goes even further. In order to insure that the excluded sector will be willing, eager, even desperate, to take any job opportunity offered if the ruling class finds it necessary to call up some of their labor reserves, and in order to maximize the workers' fear of being forced into the excluded sector by loss of job, it is the rulers' policy that members of the sector suffer every possible humiliation and oppression that the bureaucracy can devise. This ranges from the treatment in long waiting lines to midnight Gestapo-like home searches to pry into women's personal lives.

## Role in Class Struggle

This sector will play an important role in class struggle. Their high level of oppression gives them a strong motive for revolutionary struggle, much stronger than that of the semi-professional sector or the labor aristocracy stratum. The large number of Third World people (particularly women) in the sector, who suffer intensified oppression as national minorities (and as women), forms a militant and highly conscious core for the sector. Although the members of this sector are not working, they have close ties to the rest of the working class. Many of them are former members of the laborforce, and many will be returning to the laborforce. Thus they are not completely isolated from the historical lessons and influences of the socialized productive process.

However, this sector will not play the same leadership role that the office, service, and production sectors will play. First, because the conditions of their lives do not provide the training in unity and cooperation that socialized labor does. Second, because their exclusion from the means-of-production makes them harder to organize than those members of the class who are at a workplace. Third, because the fundamental contradiction between producers and exploit-



ers, and the consequent historical 'role of productive labor, is less clear to those not involved in the labor process. Fourth, because their separation from the means-of-production puts them in a much weaker strategic location than that of the laborforce (particularly the production sector and its most advanced sub-sector, the industrial proletariat).

Thus the excluded sector will play an important role as a key ally of the production, office, and service sectors.

#### Controversy Over the Proletariat

There were two inter-related struggles around the proletariat. First, whether the proletariat is synonymous with the working class, and second, over which part of the class is the leading element.

First was a long struggle over whether the word "proletariat" should mean the whole working class or only production workers. All of the major Marxist theoreticians have consistently used the word "proletariat" to mean the entire working class. However, a number of comrades felt that the composition of the working class has changed significantly since the classics were written. With the emergence of monopoly capitalism/imperialism, large numbers of service & office workers have been added to the class. It is only under monopoly capitalism/imperialism that sections of the old petit-bourgeoisie (such as public school teachers) have been forced down into the working class, combining with new jobs in technical and social maintenance fields to form a semi-professional sector. At the times and places that the classics were written, this process had not begun, or was in its infancy. Thus, when the classics were written, the great majority of wage workers were producers of commodities and thus "producers" and "proletarians" were practically synonymous.

All Marxists have pointed to the leading role of production workers, and particularly workers in large scale industry. There are many reasons for this. Like all workers, they own no means-of-production and have only their labor power to sell in order to survive; thus they are oppressed and exploited. Like all workers, they have no stake in the maintenance of capitalism and the capitalist class. Production workers are associated with the most advanced form, or element, of the economy (modern production). Modern production methods organize workers

into large units and trains them in discipline, unity, & co-operation. Modern production concentrates large numbers of workers at a single location giving them the best opportunity for political organization and for engaging in economic struggle to develop consciousness and train and temper leadership. It is the workers of production/transportation/communications/energy (basically the production sector as defined by this paper) who have the power to paralyze the economy, and thus the bourgeoisie's foundation of power, through general strikes and seizure of the means-of-production. It is these workers who will have the key role in building a socialist economy and society.

Thus, since production workers are the leading element of the working class, many comrades felt that they, and they alone, should be called the "proletariat" in order to indicate their leading role.

While agreeing wholeheartedly that production workers are the leading sector of the class, the paper takes the position that the word "proletariat" must apply to the whole working class. There is no question that the working class has gone through significant changes in the past 100 years, but the changes have not been so great as to alter the meaning of "proletariat". While production workers may have formed the majority of the working class a hundred years ago, this does not mean that the analysis of the social/political role of the proletariat as outlined by Marx and developed by later theoreticians applied only to production workers. In fact, at that time there were large portions of the working class who were not production workers and the word "proletariat" was meant to include them.

Hence, for us now, to define "proletariat" as consisting only of those placed by this paper in the production sector would be to give a completely new definition to the word. It would make the reading of all past Marxist-Leninist literature extremely confusing and difficult to understand. For example, it would change the meaning of the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" from dictatorship of the working class as a whole over the bourgeoisie to dictatorship of one part of the working class over everyone else.

There were a few people who advanced a different argument against defining the proletariat as only those in the production sector. Their argument challenged the basic premise that production workers are the leading element of the class. They pointed



out: 1) that production workers are generally higher paid than are service and office workers; 2) that the production sector of the economy is stagnating in terms of growth (numbers of workers), while the semi-professional office, & service sectors are mushrooming; 3) that Third World workers are a higher proportion of the service sector (25.9%) than they are of the production sector (18.4%); 4) that most women workers are in the office and service sectors, not in the production sector.

They argued that service and office workers, particularly because of their large proportion of Third World and women workers, more oppressed than are production workers. They felt that under monopoly capitalism/imperialism the working conditions of large numbers of office and service workers are as highly socialized as those of most production workers and that the degree of socialization among office workers is growing very fast. Thus office and service workers have as much potential to develop a proletarian consciousness as do production workers.

They held that the leading element of the working class will be the most oppressed elements: Third World and women workers. That Third World and women workers will play the leading role irrespective of what sector they are in. Thus, it would be incorrect to identify production workers as the leading element by labeling them, and them alone, as the proletariat.

In regards to this argument, the paper takes the position that Third World and women workers are clearly more oppressed than white and male workers, and that within each, sector, work place, union, etc; they will play a leading role. But this does not alter

the relationships between the sectors. For all of the reasons discussed in the previous pages, the leading role among the sectors will be played by the production sector.

#### THE SMALL FARMER CLASS

This paper divides farm operators into five groups. Two are sectors of the bourgeoisie: the monopoly sector, such as Bank of America, Tenneco, Transamerica, and others; and the lieutenant sector, such as Gallo, Giuamara, and others. Third is the business sector of the petit-bourgeoisie. The last two are sectors of the small farmer class: the freeholder sector and the tenant sector. Because of the great similarity of these last two sectors, and because of their small size, they will be discussed together.

The basic dividing line between the small farmer class and the petit-bourgeois class of farmer is that the small farmer spends over half of his time doing manual labor on the farm. He or she may or may not hire additional labor, but the small farmer is primarily a manual production worker. The petit-bourgeois farmer, on the other hand, is primarily a businessman, spending the majority of his time supervising the work of others, buying, selling, and doing other administrative tasks, and his income derives primarily from exploitation of hired labor.

The dividing line between the freeholder sector and the tenant sector is that the freeholder owns the land (although it's usually mortgaged to the rooftop) and the tenant does not own the land, he either rents it or works it as a sharecropper.

TABLE 74 Composition of the Small Farmer Class 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	1,273,000 (100.0%)	1,209,000 (95.0%)	64,000 ( 5.0%)
Male	1,203,000 ( 94.5%)	1,146,000 (90.0%)	57,000 ( 4.4%)
Female	70,000 ( 5.4%)	63,000 ( 5.0%)	7,000 ( .5%)

TABLE 75 In 1969 the Small Farmer Class made up:

1.6% of the TOTAL laborforce	1.8% of the total white laborforce	.5% of the total TW laborforce
2.4% of all males in the laborforce	2.7% of all white males in the laborforce	.8% of all TW males in the laborforce
.2% of all females in the laborforce	.2% of all white females in the laborforce	.1% of all TW females in the laborforce

Note-the census figures for this sector count only owners or operators, if a husband and wife were joint owner/operator, only the husband was counted.



TABLE 76 Composition of the Freeholder Sector, Small Farmer Class 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	1,094,000 (100.0%)	1,042,000 (95.2%)	52,000 ( 4.8%)
Male	1,033,000 ( 94.4%)	987,000 (90.2%)	46,000 ( 4.2%)
Female	61,000 ( 5.6%)	55,000 ( 5.0%)	6,000 ( .5%)

TABLE 77 In 1969 the Freeholder Sector made up:

1.4% of the TOTAL laborforce	1.5% of the total white laborforce	.4% of the total TW laborforce
2.1% of all males in the laborforce	2.3% of all white males in the laborforce	.7% of all TW males in the laborforce
.2% of all females in the laborforce	.2% of all white females in the laborforce	.1% of all TW females in the laborforce

This is a fundamental distinction between those who own their means-of-production and those who do not. If sharecroppers were a larger group, or one that was at least stable and not disappearing, it would probably be correct to make them a distinct class.

These figures shown in Tables 74 to 79 are inaccurate for several reasons. First, they don't count family members who work on the farm but are not paid formal wages. Second, the census fails to count a large number of Third World people, particularly members of the rural proletariat and tenant farmers. Third, since small farmers have a hard time surviving economically, many have to work at wage-paying jobs in addition to operating their farm. The Census takes the position that if a person worked more hours at a wage job than he or she did on the farm, then he or she is classified as a wage worker and not a farmer. This is a good procedure, since a large number of small-scale operators have in reality become members of the working class who do farming on the side.

According to the Census of agriculture there were 2,730,000 farm operators in 1969, of whom 104,000 were Third World. Of that number, 353,000 were tenant farmers (21,000 Third World tenants). Of course the Census

of agriculture figures include farmers of all classes and also farmers who are primarily workers.

In any case, the number of small farmers is declining rapidly. According to the Census of agriculture, the number of farm operators over the past few years is as shown in Table 80.

There has been a drop in total number of operators (owner and tenants) of 3,336,000 since 1940, or a loss of 55%. The total number of Third World operators (owners and tenants) has dropped from 724,000 in 1940 to 104,000 in 1969, a drop of 85%.

The greatest drop in numbers has been among tenant farmers. Within a few years, tenant farming will be, for all practical purposes, extinct. Small farming in general is being squeezed out by large-scale mechanized farms, because a small farm just cannot compete economically. The situation is much worse for a tenant who faces the same problems as the small freeholder, but with the additional burden of paying for the use of the land. Furthermore, the freeholder can get credit more easily than the tenant because he has property to mortgage. From the large landowner's point of view, parceling his land out to tenants is no longer economically sound. Much more profit can be

TABLE 78 Composition of the Tenant Sector, Small Farmer Class 1969

	ALL	white	Third World
TOTAL	179,000 (100.0%)	167,000 (93.2%)	12,000 ( 6.7%)
Male	170,000 ( 95.0%)	159,000 (88.8%)	11,000 ( 6.1%)
Female	9,000 ( 5.0%)	8,000 ( 4.4%)	1,000 ( .5%)

TABLE 79 In 1969 the Tenant Sector made up:

.2% of the TOTAL laborforce	.3% of the total white laborforce	.1% of the total TW laborforce
.3% of all males in the laborforce	.4% of all white males in the laborforce	.1% of all TW males in the laborforce
* of all females in the laborforce	* of all white females in the laborforce	* of all TW females in the laborforce

\*Note- this means less than one tenth of one percent.



TABLE 80 Number of farmers 1880-1969

	No. of Farmers	No. of Owners	Tenants
1880	4,009,000	2,984,000	1,025,000 (26%)
1890	4,565,000	3,270,000	1,295,000 (28%)
1900	5,680,000	3,654,000	2,026,000 (36%)
1910	6,304,000	3,949,000	2,355,000 (37%)
1920	6,386,000	3,927,000	2,459,000 (39%)
1930	6,239,000	3,570,000	2,669,000 (43%)
1940	6,066,000	3,701,000	2,365,000 (39%)
1950	5,364,000	3,917,000	1,447,000 (30%)
1959	3,690,000	2,930,000	760,000 (21%)
1969	2,730,000	2,377,000	353,000 (13%)

Note- the percentage figure following tenants is the percentage of all farmers who were tenants. Thus, in 1880 26% of all farmers were tenant farmers.

obtained by the consolidation and mechanization of his land. To these economic forces are added politics. The heart of tenant farming has always been the 15 southern states. In Black Belt areas of the South, the majority of tenant farmers were Black. With the coming of the current struggle for Black liberation, the land owners adopted a conscious policy of driving the Black population from the area. This has sped the process of ending tenant farming.

#### Income

The income of this class is small. It varies widely depending on the weather and the state of the market. For the freeholder sector, it may get up to the BLS "HIGHER" category, or may fall to a net loss if the crop fails or the market does not cover costs. On the whole, however, the average effective income of the freeholder is probably between "LOWER" and "INTERMEDIATE." For the tenant, average effective income is probably between "LOWER" and nothing. Since the small farmer class grows or produces agricultural goods, some of which are consumed by themselves, their effective income is somewhat higher than their cash income. Some members of this class (particularly tenants) receive so small a cash income that they are, essentially, outside of the money economy. They live on what they raise, and barter for the rest.

#### Mobility

There is little movement into this class. Most people who purchase small farms today do not do so with the intention of farming as their prime source of income. Even the petit-bourgeois youth who set up country communes usually are not able to establish farming as their prime income. As

for tenant farming, new tenant farms are not being set up. The whole trend of mobility is for small farmers, and particularly tenant farmers, to leave the countryside and migrate to the cities where they become members of the working class, or remain in the countryside as part of the rural proletariat.

#### Organization

This class is unorganized. At one time the freeholder sector had organizations that fought for its interest, for example, the Grange. However, these organizations are now pretty much controlled by the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois farmers, and speak for their interests. As the number of small farmers shrinks and they produce ever-smaller percentages of the nation's agricultural products, their power base dwindles and they become weaker and weaker. Except for brief periods, the tenant farmers have never had an effective organization. The use of race hatred was particularly effective (except for brief periods) in preventing Black and white sharecroppers from uniting. Now, with the practical disappearance of tenants there is no likelihood of their organizing as a group. Of course, individual tenant farmers or ex-tenant farmers can be organized into groups having a different class/sector base than tenant farmers.

The federal farm programs play an important role in keeping this class unorganized. Many of the most important programs, such as the subsidies paid to growers (non-growers, that is) of certain crops (cotton, corn, etc.) are ostensibly designed to insure "democratic" participation of all farmers. The program that allocates the subsidy money requires that the money be divided up among all farmers by various levels of committees (ward, county, state, etc.). These committees are composed of farmers "freely



elected" by all farmers. In fact, however, the laws are subtly drawn and enforced, to insure that only those who represent the interests of the big powerful farmers are elected to the important committees. Because these committees are an important source of income to all, and provide both a method and a reason for small farmers to organize, they are carefully controlled by the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie and their lackeys in the Agriculture Department. For example, there are practically no Blacks on the important committees in the deep South, where Black farmers are numerous. It has sometimes proved easier to elect Blacks to political posts (mayor, councilman, etc.) than to the agriculture committees that control the subsidies.

### Social Situation

The most important aspect of the situation of tenant farmers has already been alluded to, namely their swift disappearance. As for their conditions of life, much could be written. Since the inception of large-scale tenant farming following the Civil War, tenant farmers have constituted one of the most bitterly oppressed and exploited sectors of society. For many of them, particularly Black sharecroppers, their conditions of life were semi-feudal, with the landowner holding the power of life or death over them. Their social and political oppression went hand in hand with ruthless exploitation by the landlord. Black sharecroppers had to bear the additional burden of the most virulent forms of racism.

The small farmer freeholders are being squeezed out by the large-scale mechanized farms. The larger and more mechanized a farm is, the cheaper it is able to produce crops. The cheaper the crops, the more profit; the more profit, the more money available for expansion and mechanization. This process has been accelerated by the investment of giant industrial conglomerates in large-scale farming. Furthermore, the federal farm programs, particularly farm subsidies, are designed to assist the bourgeois-owned agribusiness farms, and in fact penalize the small farmer. The political power of the bourgeoisie is used in other ways to drive out the small farmer; for example, in California the publicly-funded irrigation projects are--by law--supposed to supply water only to small farms. However, almost all the water is illegally taken by the giant corporate farms.

It is often assumed that the consolidation of small farms into large mechanized farms is a good thing for the public at large--although unfortunate for the small farmer--because the big farms produce more, better quality food. This is true under socialism where the purpose of a farm is to feed people, but it is not true under capitalism where the purpose of a farm is to make a profit. Corporate farming has produced a decline in the nutrition of the people, along with a great increase in dangerous and harmful pesticides and additives.

### Role in Class Struggle

Traditionally the freeholder sector of the small farmer class generally plays a conservative role in electoral politics and social struggle. Except for short periods of rebellion against big business, this sector has been a staunch supporter of the Republican Party (or the conservative Democrats in the South). There are two main reasons for this. The first is that private farming develops a small-producer mentality. That is, the desire to increase the value of the individual's holding in competition with others. The nature of small farming emphasizes competition, individualism, and the goal of increasing personal wealth.

Secondly, like the petit-bourgeoisie, the small farmer tends to oppose the struggles of the proletariat for increased wages and better conditions because the result of such struggles means increased cost for the manufactured goods the farmer (or petit-bourgeoisie) buys. This contradiction is worse for the farmer than for the petit-bourgeoisie. The petit-bourgeois manufacturer or merchant knows that increased wages will mean increased costs for consumer goods, but increased wages will also mean increased demands for the goods sold or produced by the petit-bourgeoisie. Increasing wages for the proletariat does not usually mean increased demand for agricultural products (or at least not as much as increased demand for manufactured items). Another factor is that the farmer derives little benefit from social programs (welfare, urban renewal, unemployment compensation, mass transit, public health, universities, etc.) that benefit primarily urban dwellers. Thus farmers tend to oppose raising tax revenues to support such programs, and to support those political forces that take an anti-labor and anti-social spending position.



There are two main factors at work, however, combating the small farmer's conservative tendencies. The first is that more and more small farmers are being forced to become wage earners (members of the working class), either abandoning their farms altogether, or splitting their time between factory and farm. Thus working class consciousness is working against small-producer consciousness. This is also true for families or friendship groups, where some members have stayed on the farm and others have gone into the factories in the cities. The struggles of these relatives or friends in the cities have an effect on those still in the countryside.

The second factor is the economic pressure of the bourgeoisie against small farmers. Although the ruling class tries to hide it, what is forcing the small farmer off his land is the economic ruthlessness of the bourgeoisie. Of course, they try to disguise this by blaming unions and social spending for the plight of the small farmer. Yet, there have been periods of history when the small farmer was able to clearly identify the capitalists as the real enemy, and in some cases forge an alliance between the small farmers and the proletariat. These periods, however, have been few and brief. This confusion as to who is the real enemy is apparent today. Farmers have been waging fierce struggles to raise the price of their goods (in some cases going as far as armed struggle). Yet these campaigns are directed as much against the consumer (80% of whom are workers) as against the business middlemen. Furthermore, these struggles are not in opposition to the bourgeoisie's agribusiness; in fact, they are often in alliance with the elements of the bourgeoisie in these struggles. There have been no important recent struggles by small farmers directly against their basic enemy; for example, a struggle to regain the water being stolen from them in California. However, the potential exists for this class to become an ally of the working class.

### Controversy

There was some controversy over the proper classification of small farmers. The paper divides farm owners into three classes and five sectors (bourgeoisie--monopoly and lieutenant sectors; petit-bourgeoisie--business sector; small farmer class--freeholder and tenant sectors). Some people felt that the freeholder sector should be considered part of the petit-bourgeois business sector; that those farmers the paper already

includes in the petit-bourgeoisie correspond to the corporate sub-sector; that the freeholder sector corresponds to the small business sub-sector. Those who take these positions feel that the similarities between small urban businesses and small farms are much greater than the differences; that their world outlook and economic way of life are very similar; and, therefore, that the freeholder sector of the small farmer class should be counted as part of the petit-bourgeoisie, business sector, small business sub-sector.

Taking the opposite approach, some people said that Marx divided the sources of wealth into three fundamental categories: Land, Labor, and Capital; that these categories should be kept distinct and form the basis of class definitions. Following this line of reasoning, they took the position that the small farmer class should be expanded to include a third sector of medium farmers. In other words, the farmers that the paper places in the petit-bourgeois business sector, corporate sub-sector, should be considered a third sector of the small farmer class. Thus there would be a farmer class composed of three sectors: medium, small, and tenant.

Another controversy grew up around the correct label for this group. Some people felt that they should be called the peasantry; that this is the correct term and that it is important to use it in order to call attention to their poverty and their class contradiction with the bourgeoisie. Some of those who held this position went further and said that the tenant farmers should be called serfs or neo-serfs, in order to call attention to the semi-feudal conditions of life of this group, particularly among Black sharecroppers in the Black Belt areas of the South.

Those who argued against using the term "peasant" took the position that a peasant is a farmer who primarily produces crops for his own use and is not involved in marketing; that the American small farmer primarily produces crops for cash sale, and this is true even for the sharecropper who produces a cash (as opposed to a home use) type crop. Thus it is incorrect in most cases to use the term peasant, although undoubtedly there are some true peasants in the U.S. As to the use of the term "serf," it was argued that it tended to overstate the case and overdramatize the semi-feudal conditions.



## IMPORTANT SOCIAL GROUPINGS

This section contains a brief discussion of some of the important social groupings that are not classes. All of them contain individuals from more than one class.

### NATIONAL MINORITIES AND OPPRESSED NATIONS

Clearly the most important multi-class social grouping, in terms of revolutionary struggle is those who are oppressed national minorities and/or oppressed nations within the borders of the United States or under the control of American military/economic power. The struggle to establish national self-determination and/or full rights as a national minority of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian-American peoples, in conjunction with the struggle for national liberation of America's colonies, such as Puerto Rico, Pacific Islands, and neo-colonies such as the Philippines, South Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, etc., has played, and will continue to play, a vital and leading role in revolutionary struggle against the U.S. ruling class.

These nations and communities contain within themselves different classes and class struggle. No class analysis of America can be complete without a concrete understanding of the relationship between the different classes within the oppressed nations/communities; between the oppressed nations/communities and the oppressor nation; and between the classes of the oppressor nation and the classes, nations, and communities of the oppressed Third World peoples. Unfortunately this paper is unqualified to analyze these inter-relationships, do to lack of sufficient theoretical clarity on the national question. It is recognized that this is a fundamental weakness of the paper, as no class analysis can be considered complete until it includes an analysis of the relationships of the oppressed nations and national minorities.

However, one obvious thing should be stressed, once again, and that is the leading role of the national minorities in class struggle. Suffering both national and class oppression, national minorities

have been, and will continue to be, the leading elements of all sectors of the proletariat and other classes.

## CRIMINALS AND LUMPEN

All strata of the criminal segment of society contribute to the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat. In the final analysis the wealth that these strata seize and live on comes from the working class. Most of the victims of the criminal businesses, the swindlers, robbers, drug pushers, gamblers, etc., are workers and their families.

At one time it was correct to identify the criminal element with the lowest strata, the dregs, of the working class and to use the term "lumpen-proletariat" as a general label for the whole criminal/parasitic segment of society. However, the last fifty years have seen fundamental changes in the criminal element and its relationship to society. The criminal element now shows distinct strata that in many ways correspond to the distinct classes of society. Thus an analysis of the criminal element in some ways recapitulates the class analysis of society. Accordingly, the label "lumpen-proletariat" cannot be used to cover the whole criminal segment.

At the top of the criminal segment is the bourgeoisie of crime, the controllers of the large criminal gangs and syndicates. Originally growing out of the oppression of the Italian, Jewish, and Irish ethnic minorities, these criminal syndicates have long since turned into vicious exploiters and oppressors of the working class. Initially building their financial empires with the profits of bootlegging, prostitution, gambling and robbery, they have expanded into narcotics, loan sharking, labor racketeering, and other illegal or semi-legal activities. As they have grown richer and more powerful, they have gradually merged with "legitimate" businessmen by investing their profits in so-called "legitimate" businesses.

At this level of society the terms "legal" and "illegal," "criminal" and "legitimate" are basically useless. While the syndicate leaders have invested their money in corporations, small businesses, land, stocks, bonds, etc., the corporate bourgeoisie and the state have turned to the syndicates for help in controlling labor unions, in domestic repression, and for operations in foreign countries, etc. Thus



there has been a gradual merger between the "criminals" and the "non-criminals." Furthermore, the distinction between what is "legal" and what is "illegal" is often based more on self-serving expediency of the bourgeoisie than on principle. For example, gambling is "illegal" except at race tracks, church bingo, and in the state of Nevada. Peddling deadly narcotics is "illegal"--but killing workers with poisonous fumes and unsafe equipment is not. Those who rob banks are "criminals," but banks which rob and exploit not only the working class of the U.S. but entire nations are not. It's "illegal" to kidnap for ransom but quite "legal" to force ghetto families to live in dangerous slum apartments and extort high rents from them. The point here is not that what the syndicate does is o.k. or harmless (it isn't), but that much of what they do is no worse than what the "legitimate" bourgeoisie does. Of course, some of what they do is worse.

Below the bourgeoisie of crime is the petit-bourgeoisie of crime. In general this group can be divided into two tendencies --those who are a part of the syndicates and those who are independent. For those who are part of the syndicate their criminal activities are tied to the bourgeoisie of crime in one of two ways. First are those operations that they carry out under the direction of the criminal bosses, and for which they are paid a fee or a share of the profits. Second are those activities which they plan, finance and operate themselves, but for which they pay the syndicate a share or fee for permission to operate, for protection, technical assistance, etc. While members of this stratum might engage in crimes of violence from time to time, (murder, robbery, kidnapping, etc.), most of them are primarily engaged in a criminal business such as narcotics, gambling, prostitution, labor rackets, protection/extortion, loan sharking, etc. A large number of them are also owners of "legitimate" businesses which may or may not be connected to their criminal activities. Thus, like the merger between the bourgeoisie of crime and the bourgeoisie, the lives of this stratum of criminals are a mixture of petit-bourgeois and criminal aspects.

The bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie of crime are influenced by the same economic/political/social factors that influence the "legitimate" bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie. Those factors won't be repeated here. However, there are some aspects of their social role that are different or more exaggerated among the crim-

inal bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie and those should be mentioned.

In terms of organization, those that are part of the syndicates are highly organized and disciplined. However, this organization is weakened by the individualism and competition that the criminal mode of life invariably fosters. Those not in the syndicates are not organized among themselves at all.

Whether or not they are part of the syndicate or independent, almost all of the members of these two strata have a close relationship with the state. They have a very close relationship with the police, whom they pay off regularly and from whom they receive services and favors. Many also have close relationships with judges, district attorneys, local, state, and national political figures, and "legitimate" business.

The life style of this element creates an intense form of individualism. In an economic mode of cheating, stealing, extorting, exploiting, drugging, gambling, and lying, survival and success go to the most ruthless and clever. Trust is a dangerous hang-up. Each individual is constantly at war with everyone else. It's each man for himself. The concept of "honor among thieves" is a myth perpetuated by Hollywood and idealistic petit-bourgeois writers.

In this environment each individual must think only of his own needs and desires. No sympathy can be extended to the welfare mothers whose checks are stolen to pay for heroin, the women whose lives are ruined by prostitution; to the agonies of the addicts, to the families of those ensnared by the loan sharks, or to the suffering of any of their other victims. Thus the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois criminals are driven inevitably towards a ruthless egotism and individualism.

This ruthless individualism is combined with a close economic relationship to the capitalist system and the repressive forces of the state. The syndicates have billions of dollars invested in "legitimate" businesses. They draw millions from their corruption and subversion of the labor unions. They have a working relationship with security agencies such as the CIA. In other words, they are close allies of the ruling class. A working class upsurge is as direct a threat to the syndicate as it is to the corporate capitalists. As a result the criminal bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie



are strong, ruthless, wholehearted, and vicious supporters of the capitalist system.

In a very different position from that of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie of crime is the lumpen. In essence the lumpen consists of those people who primarily exist in a criminal-parasitical manner, but who do not own or control any significant established criminal businesses. In other words, burglars, muggers, hustlers, small-time pimps, drug addicts, beggars, alcoholics, tramps, hippies, small-time dope dealers, etc. This group is much closer to the traditional lumpen proletariat as described by Marx than are the two upper layers.

Most of the lumpen represent an oppressed segment which is not, basically, true of the higher criminal elements. People become members of the lumpen for a number of reasons: 1) Inability to find adequate work due to high unemployment and thus being forced into crime in order to survive. 2) Racism, creating a situation where it is impossible to find a job, and/or creating a bitterness and hatred against society. 3) Becoming addicted to narcotics and thus forced into theft, dealing, or prostitution in order to obtain drugs. 4) Desire for wealth, power, status, machismo, etc., and turning to crime as a means of fulfilling these desires. 5) Psychological factors of depression, alienation, inadequacy, etc.

Obviously there is an overlap between the lumpen and the excluded sector of the working class. Many unemployed workers must turn to petty crime in order to survive. However, there is a distinction between the unemployed worker who is forced into crime in order to survive, and the person who, having been forced into a criminal-parasitical mode of existence, adopts that mode of life as a permanent one. In other words, for the purposes of this discussion of the lumpen, a distinction is being made between those who are temporarily forced into crime and those who find the criminal-parasitical life style desirable and would not take a job if one were available. The following discussion of the lumpen generally refers to the second type, the permanent or semi-permanent lumpen.

Unlike the upper levels of the criminal world, the lumpen are victims of severe capitalist oppression. Capitalism, having destroyed the means of livelihood of vast numbers of small farmers, independent craftsmen, production workers, small producers, etc., creates a pool of permanently unemployed people. To a large degree, racism and

national chauvinism are used by the bourgeoisie to maintain the oppression and exclusion from the laborforce of a sector of the population. Out of this oppression comes the lumpen.

While the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie of crime have a cozy, cooperative, and mutually supportive relationship with the ruling class and the state, the lumpen have a basically antagonistic relationship. In general, the police and the state as a whole are in a constant state of warfare with the lumpen. Practically all of the police activity against crime is aimed at the lumpen. This is the main aspect. But there is a secondary and counter aspect which should not be lost sight of. That is, that in many cases elements of the lumpen pay off the police on a low level, operate as informers, and try to maintain a friendly relation with the police. Further, the lumpen are particularly vulnerable to blackmail by the police and are often forced into becoming tools of the police.

The life style of the lumpen creates the same form of individualism, egotism, and ruthlessness that was described for the upper criminal levels. But the lumpen does not have the close friendly relationship with the bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeoisie, state, and capitalist system that the upper levels do. The result is a contradictory consciousness and a contradictory role in class struggle.

On the one hand, the oppression of the lumpen as lumpen, and the general class and national oppression of workers and Third World people out of which they come, moves the lumpen towards opposition to the capitalist system, the ruling class, and the state. Their position in the social/economic life of the community reveals to them with great clarity the hypocrisy, manipulation, oppression, deceit, corruption, degradation, and exploitation that permeate the capitalist system and that are the foundations on which it rests.

On the other hand, their life style promotes the strongest consciousness of individualism, etc. Furthermore, since the great majority of their victims are members of the working class, they tend to develop an antagonistic and contemptuous attitude toward the proletariat.

Thus, their role in class struggle is an unstable one. They can be courageous fighters against the bourgeoisie and the state, but their tendency is to reject the



leadership of the proletariat, to reject the discipline and study necessary for a long protracted struggle to overthrow capitalism and institute socialism, to fail to see the necessity of winning over the masses, to fail to clearly distinguish friends from enemies, to advocate adventurous tactics, to adopt destructive and "roving rebel" tactics, and to seek personal glory and power. While there are many negative tendencies among the lumpen, their hatred of the system and courage in fighting it should not be ignored. If led by a strong and disciplined proletarian revolutionary movement, elements of the lumpen can become courageous allies of the working class.

A minority of lumpen members have in the past developed, and will continue to develop, revolutionary consciousness and abandon their parasitic life style. These people can become some of the most courageous and heroic fighters for the oppressed. A clear example is Malcolm X. But, as long as a person is deriving a part of their living from being a parasite on others, the internal struggle between revolutionary consciousness and reactionary individualism is still undecided, with the reactionary element in the ascendant.

It should be noted, that not all elements of the lumpen will be allies of the working class. Many will oppose a working class socialist revolution because it means the destruction of their parasitical way of life. Many more will be bought off by the bourgeoisie, or blackmailed by the state, and used as informers, provocateurs, spies, assassins, perjurers, goons, auxiliary police, strikebreakers, and storm troopers. Historically, the lumpen has always supplied a large portion of the human tools used by the bourgeoisie to disrupt and attack the working class.

#### Prisoners

In any discussion of the criminal and lumpen element, it is necessary to look at the situation of prisoners. The fundamental basis of class analysis is the relationship to the means-of-production. Almost all prisoners are forced to work at productive labor while they are in prison. Thus they are highly exploited members of the working class (however, the 1 million plus prisoners in the U.S. were not included in any of the statistics given in this paper). Those few prisoners who refuse to work in prison industries, offices, kitchens, etc., have no economically determined re-

lationship to the means-of-production and thus are essentially classless. However, this does not mean that they have no consciousness. On the contrary, they often are the most highly conscious members of the prison population. A few prisoners gain a higher standard of living by exploiting other prisoners through extortion, gambling, pilferage, etc. These prisoners represent a lumpen life style within the prison. Also representing a lumpen element are those prisoners who gain special privileges by acting as flunkies, snitches, and perjurers for the state. Thus the great majority of prisoners should not be considered part of the lumpen, although they may have a lumpen consciousness.

#### Prostitutes

Prostitutes also have to be discussed. There are two basic strata among prostitutes. Prostitutes who work for a pimp or brothel are essentially highly exploited and oppressed workers. Prostitutes who work independently, especially high status call girls, are similar to the petit-bourgeoisie. For the most part, prostitutes are not part of the lumpen. Some of them may be considered part of the criminal petit-bourgeoisie or as part of the regular petit-bourgeoisie.

#### Controversy.

There is a basic unresolved confusion in the treatment of this social group. In some ways it is treated as a class or a sector of a class. In other ways it is treated as a non-class social group. This confusion arises from several unresolved questions: 1) should all the strata of criminals be in the same group/class/sector? 2) should the criminal bourgeoisie and criminal petit-bourgeoisie be considered members of the regular bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, or as a separate sector of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, or as a separate class altogether, or as a non-class (that is, multi-class) social group? 3) should the lumpen be considered a sector of the working class, or a separate class, or as a non-class social group? 4) should tramps, hippies, winos, addicts, etc. be grouped with those whose primary occupation is crime?



## WOMEN

"Women hold up half the sky."

The struggle for the liberation of women from their special oppression, in all forms, is an important and vital part of a revolutionary movement. Women play a major leadership role in any truly revolutionary struggle; not only around "women's issues," but in all arenas of struggle.

All women suffer some forms of sexual oppression in common. However, women do not themselves form a class. The deep class divisions that divide our society apply to women as well as men. While the thread of common oppression provides an opportunity to unite women of many classes, this common experience is secondary to the class divisions among women.

Many factors influence consciousness --economic, historical, psychological, cultural, etc. Of all these factors, the most important are economic, particularly the relationship to the means-of-production, the basic manner in which material wealth is accumulated. Bourgeois and petit-bourgeois women derive concrete material benefit from the exploitation and oppression of working and small farmer class women and men. For the majority of women, the consciousness of common sexual oppression will not become strong enough to transcend the class divisions that separate women, particularly the division between the exploiting classes and the exploited classes. To give the most extreme example, both Abby Rockefeller and a woman in the Chase Manhattan typing pool suffer from some similar forms of oppression, but the woman in the typing pool has far more in common with a man laboring in a Standard Oil refinery than she does with the Rockefeller women.

The argument that women form a class relies on the assumption that the forms of oppression suffered by all women, irrespective of class, are a stronger determiner of consciousness than the forms of class oppression rooted in the economic system. In other words, the subjective, psychological-cultural factors are given more weight than objective, material-economic-class factors. This paper strongly opposes that position. All ideologies reflect a class position. An ideology that places class exploitation, material deprivation, and the particular oppression of working and small farmer class women as secondary to the forms of oppression suffered by all women is a reflection of the experiences and attitudes of the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois classes.

There are two reasons for this. First, elements of the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois classes who are sincerely concerned with the oppression of women generally have had no direct experience with class oppression, are not themselves suffering from material deprivation or other concrete forms of oppression suffered by working class women. Thus they naturally tend to emphasize those forms of oppression with which they are personally familiar and from which they themselves suffer. For example, discrimination in employment, education, clubs, associations, etc.; male chauvinist and supremacist attitudes, sexual objectification, oppressive family roles, etc. Of course, working class women also suffer from these forms of oppression.

Secondly, members of the top two classes derive concrete material and social benefits from the class system as presently constituted. The special oppression of working and small farmer class women is inextricably bound up with the class oppression of all members of those classes, and can only be dealt with by destroying the capitalist class system, thus threatening the class privilege of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois women and men.

This does not mean that there is no role in a class revolution for women of all classes, multi-class women's organizations, and struggle against the forms of oppression common to all women. The battle for liberation from the special oppression of women is an absolutely integral part of the general fight against all forms of class, national, racial, and sexual oppression, and in the long run will only be successful as part of the liberation of all people. Within this struggle, women, women's organizations, and issues pertaining to the special oppression of women, play a vital and leading role when their ideology is based in and serves the working class and when the particular oppression of working and small farmer class women is given primary emphasis.

Within each sector of the proletariat and within the progressive segments of other classes, women will be a leading element. In the class struggle as a whole, women will play an important leading role. The Farah and Oneida strikes are both examples of the leading roles played by women and Third World workers.



## Wives

According to the census there are roughly 22 million women who are not in the laborforce because of home responsibilities and whose husbands are working. Almost all of these women are married, separated, or divorced. All of them are primarily dependent on their husband's (or ex-husband's) income. In this instance "working" includes those who are self-employed in addition to those working for others. There are roughly 15 million working women married to working men. Thus of the women married to men in the laborforce, roughly 59% are housewives and 41% are working wives. There has been a steady increase in the percentage of working wives.

Housewives have an indirect relationship to the means-of-production. Their role is to care for, and reproduce, the laborforce. Although they have in common an indirect relationship to the means-of-production, they do not form a class. While housewives are not paid a set wage for the socially necessary work that they do to maintain and reproduce the laborforce, they share their husband's income. The amount that they receive depends primarily on the income of the husband and secondarily on the internal relationship between husband and wife. The owners of the means-of-production try to pay the worker the barest minimum that will allow the work force to survive and reproduce, keeping as much money as possible for his own (and his wife's) use. Thus the fundamental class conflict between the owners of the means-of-production and the proletariat divides wives as well. That is, the wives of the workers suffer from exploitation and the wives of the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie benefit from that exploitation.

This can be seen clearly when comparing the life style of different class members. The conditions of life of petit-bourgeois wives are obviously different from those of proletarian wives. This is reflected in material standard of living, education, recreation, social groupings, health, etc. Even in housework, which has much in common among all classes, there are clear class differences. The higher the class in terms of income, the more labor-saving devices such as dishwashers, washing machines, garbage disposals, and vacuum cleaners are used by the housewife. In fact, many petit-bourgeois and almost all bourgeois wives hire other women to perform housework for them.

Of course, the oppression of proletarian housewives goes far beyond the material differences between wives of different classes. Any attack on the working class (inflation, unemployment, lay-offs, etc.) falls first and heaviest on the housewife. It is she who takes the brunt of the economic pinch. As real income dwindles, the amount of labor put into maintaining the home by the working class wife goes steadily upward. Working class housewives have to deal with all of the social manifestations of capitalism that oppress residential areas. This is particularly heavy for national minority housewives. Just as the worker has no control over the workplace, the housewife has no control over the institutions that affect her, and the children's, lives. For example, schools, where working class children are indoctrinated and tracked in such a way as to condition them to the needs of the capitalists. In addition to all of the oppression stemming directly from capitalism, the wife is often oppressed by her husband who tries (unsuccessfully) to relieve the frustrations built up by working under capitalism by taking them out on his wife.

The objective class differences among wives are clearly revealed in social struggle. For example, it is an extremely rare occurrence for the wife of a boss to side with the workers in a strike. In other words, the common bonds of housework between the wife of the boss and the wives of the workers are not nearly as strong as the class ties between boss and wife. Housewives then are considered part of the same class as their husbands.

The fact that class is primary, however, should not blind us to the fact that the social roles forced upon women in general and wives in particular by our society are oppressive, especially for working and small farmer class wives. Nor should we overlook the fact that the social role of wife has elements of oppression common to all classes and that this common oppression provides a basis for reaching women of all classes. The fact that class is primary does not mean that cross-class questions and oppression do not exist or should be ignored.

Working wives suffer double oppression. First, as women workers, which has been discussed throughout the paper, and then as wives and homemakers, as discussed above. Since these aspects have already been covered, they won't be repeated here.



Throughout the paper working wives have been placed in classes and sectors according to their occupations, irrespective of the occupations of their husbands. Thus, the wife of a doctor who is working as an office worker was considered a member of the working class. The reason for this is that relationship to the means-of-production was considered to be primary. However, in cases where the husband (or wife) is in a higher class, there is a strong tendency for the wife (or husband) to adopt the class consciousness or attitudes of the higher class. To go back to the example, the office worker who is married to the doctor lives a petit-bourgeois life style even though her job is working class. Her consciousness is thus affected by her off-the-job petit-bourgeois environment, and she has a material base for upholding petit-bourgeois ideology because she materially benefits from class society in the same way as her husband. The result is that in "mixed" marriages there is a conflict between the working class consciousness fostered by the job and the petit-bourgeois consciousness engendered by the life style.

#### STUDENT & YOUTH

While in school, non-working students have no direct relationship to the means-of-production. Of course, students who also hold down a job, do have a relationship to the means-of-production and are in a class determined by that relationship. For the rest of this section, "students" will refer to non-working students.

Students who are wholly supported by, and living with, their parents share their parents' class position. Students living separate from their parents have no class position as determined by a relationship to the means-of-production. But they do have class background. For a large portion of university and college students this class background is petit-bourgeois or bourgeois. Furthermore, colleges and universities function as the training ground for the two upper classes, teaching their students both the skills and ideology of the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois classes. The majority of college students are destined for the bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeoisie, or semi-professional sector of the working class. Thus, for most practical purposes, they can be considered members of the bourgeoisie or petit-bourgeoisie, depending on background, type of university, and type of study.

Students in trade schools and junior colleges, like the university students, have no precise class position. They are primarily from proletarian backgrounds and are being trained to take their place in the working class--trained not only in the working skills, but also in the ideology and self-concepts the bourgeoisie wants to foster among the working class. Thus these students, while not technically members of any class, can be considered proletarians for most purposes.

Students, and youth in general, have always played an important role in social struggle. Students are in an intellectual atmosphere where abstract ideas are debated, studied, and developed (usually outside the class rooms). In this atmosphere traditional habits of thought are challenged and argued. Students have the opportunity and free time to follow up and study new ideas. This opportunity for intellectual activity leads many students into social struggle, where they can play an important role in helping to analyze the situation and develop the movement's ideology. Of course, to do this successfully, they must first reject their petit-bourgeois position and ideology and adopt the viewpoint of the working class.

Youth in general have always played a vital role in social struggle. First, because they tend to be more open to new ideas (having had less time to allow old thinking habits to become ingrained). Second, they have less responsibility for family, and have suffered fewer of life's oppressions and hard knocks. Thus they have less to fear and fewer of the experiences that produce fear. Thirdly, youth tends to be more hopeful and less cynical and defeatist than those who have suffered many defeats. Fourth youth are physically healthier and stronger and better able to stand the rigors of social struggle. On the other hand, they have had much less experience, particularly work experience, on which to base analysis, strategy, tactics, revolutionary style of work, etc. This lack of experience often leads serious mistakes, problems, errors, etc.

But youth is not a class. There may be some forms of oppression and alienation common to all youth; the class divisions of society that divide youth into separate classes are the prime determiners of consciousness, however. Youthful social activists come from all classes and support many sorts of ideologies. While it is easier for a young person to voluntarily change his or her class position and outlook than for an older person, very few youth are able or



willing to do so. Most of the "alienated youth" of the late 1960's were petit-bourgeois. Most of them have adopted ideologies and life styles that, while different from those of their parents, do not challenge the fundamental class structure of society. In fact, most of these "new" lifestyles are dependent on the class privilege of the petit-bourgeois and bourgeois classes and thus serve to perpetuate and reinforce the exploitation of the oppressed classes. For example, "hip capitalists," Jesus freaks, country "communes," gestalt institutes, etc.

### ARMED FORCES

In 1970 there were 2,874,000 men and women in the armed services. None of these people have been included in any of the statistics describing classes and sectors. The armed forces, for the most part, have no direct productive relationship to the means-of-production. Exceptions to this are units like the Corps of Engineers and SeaBees. In theory the armed services' role is to protect the means-of-production and the population from destruction by rival nations. In reality, their true role at this stage of history is to protect the capitalist economic system from foreign and domestic opponents, and to impose the rule of American capital on people and nations who try to resist it.

Although they all have in common an indirect relationship to the means-of-production as a whole, the armed services do not form a class. This is because there are different relationships to the means-of-production (or more accurately destruction) within the armed services, and the resultant class divisions within the military are clear counterparts of the classes in civilian society. Further, the members of the different sectors and classes in the military almost always join the corresponding class/sector in civilian life when they leave the service, and while in the service almost always adopt the culture/ideology of their corresponding civilian class/sector.

At the top of the military are the highest generals and admirals, chiefs of staff, commanders-in-chief, etc. These men set out overall military policy and make the broad strategic decisions. They are representatives of the bourgeoisie (lieutenant sector).

The rest of the officer corps forms the petit-bourgeoisie of the military. Most

of them join the civilian petit-bourgeoisie when they leave the service, usually the managerial or business sectors. Military doctors, lawyers, researchers, etc., join the professional sector. Some officers, non-career oriented college graduates serving because of the draft or because the military provided college scholarships, may become members of the semi-professional sector of the working class when they are discharged.

The enlisted people form the working class of the military, with the higher-ranking, career, Non-Commissioned Officers serving the role of labor aristocracy. Most enlisted people are from working class backgrounds and most will return to the working class after leaving the service. A very high percentage (relative to the population) of enlisted people are Third World.

The Armed Services are the ultimate line of defense of the ruling class. In the final extremity they are used to defend the capitalist system with massive terror and violence. The military is very strong in terms of destructive and killing power, but at this time it is internally weak politically. It is internally weak because its strength depends on the enlisted people who are themselves oppressed by the officer corps (bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie). Furthermore, they come from the working class and a large number of them are from the Third World nations and national minorities. Thus, the enlisted person's sympathy can be won over to the side of the oppressed nations and classes. The refusal of Black GI's to do riot duty in Chicago in 1968 and the massive resistance of GI's in general to the Vietnam war are examples of this internal weakness. The military and the bourgeoisie are aware of this and are trying to create a professional career military with a minimum of economic, social, and emotional ties to the working class and Third World peoples.

### CLASS AND IDEOLOGY

The motive force of revolution is class struggle. Revolutions take many forms and speak to many issues, but the roots of all revolutions lay in the contradiction between classes of people whose relationships to the means-of-production throw them into inevitable conflict. However, some revolutionary activists have lost sight of this fundamental basis of revolution, and have put forward theories of revolution that see the motive forces as non class groupings of oppressed peoples.



An example of one of these erroneous theories is put forward by the Weather Underground Organization in their political statement Prairie Fire. They see the motive force of revolution as oppressed peoples, consisting primarily of Third World people, women, and youth. They see the primary focus of the revolution as against U.S. imperialism (domination of Third World nations), racism, sexism, and the problems of youth. While Prairie Fire uses the terminology of class struggle, the three groupings that they put forward as the motive force of the revolution are not classes. There is practically no mention made by Prairie Fire of the proletariat and much of what is said about the proletariat is hostile, for example, they fall for the bourgeois trick of identifying most of the white male proletariat with the labor aristocracy stratum. Prairie Fire makes no mention of recent heroic struggles waged by the working class; even of ones led by Third World and women workers such as the Farah and Oneida strikes. This compares to the strong emphasis they place on various manifestations of feminism and "youth culture".

Similarly the historic mission of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and institute socialism is mentioned and dismissed (as merely a supportive role) in two and a half sentences, while great emphasis is placed on the role and activities of the non-class groupings. There is no mention at all of organizing the proletariat at the workplace, of building class consciousness, of preparing the working class to see itself and fight for itself as a class.

Ideologies are systems of social/economic/political thought in the service of a particular class. Thus all ideologies reflect a particular class outlook. The dominant ideology of any given period is the ideology of the ruling class (in our case the bourgeoisie), and it serves to reinforce that class's rule. Because the dominant ideology is constantly forced upon us, as well as surrounding us in a million subtle forms, it is necessary to consciously struggle against it. Since all ideologies are reflections of a particular class stand, the only way that bourgeois ideology can be successfully combated is by adopting, and fighting for, the ideology of a class that stands in historical opposition to the bourgeoisie, the proletariat.

The ideology expressed in Prairie Fire fails to do this. Rather it tries to root itself in a collection of multi-class social groupings (Third World people, women, youth). Prairie Fire's ideology tries to combat some

manifestations of bourgeois ideology--national chauvinism, racism, sexism, etc--but it fails to confront the heart of bourgeois ideology which is centered on the contradiction between social production and private appropriation. In other words the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie.

The fact that the majority of Third World people, women, and youth are members of the working class does not mean that Prairie Fire's ideology reflects a proletarian class stand. First, because those social groupings are a mixture of people from many classes; second, because in the absence of a conscious adoption of a particular class outlook and stand, the ideology that arises spontaneously is inevitably permeated by the dominant ideology in the environment (bourgeois ideology); third, because Prairie Fire ignores, or is hostile to, large segments of the proletariat as a whole; fourth, and most importantly, because it fails to deal adequately with the central contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--exploitation.

By failing to adopt a proletarian class stand, by failing to root their ideology in the consciousness/outlook/needs/and historical direction of the only part of the population that can successfully overthrow the bourgeoisie--the proletariat, the Weather Underground Organization leaves itself open to bourgeois ideology. Thus they will be unable to successfully combat those manifestations of bourgeois rule that they see as central to the revolutionary struggle--national chauvinism, racism, sexism, etc.

National Chauvinism, racism, sexism, exploitation, and all other manifestations of bourgeois rule can only be eradicated by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and instituting socialism under the rule of the proletariat. In order to achieve this all manifestations of bourgeois ideology must be confronted, smashed, and replaced with a new ideology. Since all ideology reflects the outlook and needs of a particular class, the only ideology that can successfully challenge and supplant the hegemony of bourgeois ideology is an ideology that explicitly roots itself the proletariat.

#### CLASS AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The function of a class analysis is to enable a revolutionary to examine large segments of society and draw generalizations



about those segments' reaction to historical, economic, and social trends, and those segments' role in social struggle. Another function of class analysis is to provide a tool for analyzing ideology, from the standpoint of what class of society that ideology represents and serves. There are difficulties, however, in applying class analysis to individuals.

The first difficulty is in placing an individual in a class. For some, of course, it's easy--all you have to do is look at their class position. The Rockefellers are clearly ruling class (monopoly sector); the son of a doctor who becomes a lawyer is clearly petit-bourgeois (professional sector); the daughter of a longshoreman who marries an auto worker is clearly working class (in the production sector). But the consciousness of one class/sector lingers on for an indefinite time after a change in class/sector position is made. In other words, class background also influences consciousness. For example, what of the son of an architect (class background) who three months ago dropped out of college and got a job as a laborer (class position), the welfare mother who gets a job in a garment factory, the tenant farmer forced off his land and into the city as a garbage man, or the typist who married a middle class businessman?

Another problem is that some people's lives are a mixture of different relationships to the means-of-production or different economic lifestyles. For example, a truck driver who owns an apartment building, the wife of a lawyer who works as a file clerk, a middle stratum proletarian and his wife who is a semi-professional worker with a combined income of \$30,000 per year, the daughter of a small farmer married to a college professor working as a waitress while studying to be a dental technician, or a bus driver who owns and runs a bar at night.

Even if class position and class background are clear and similar, it only indicates the probability of attitudes. The general thrust of a class/sector's attitudes is the composite of the attitudes of millions of individuals, but each given individual may vary widely from the statistical center. That is, most members of a particular class/sector will be influenced in somewhat similar ways by their class situation. But some individuals will have completely different attitudes from the rest of their fellow class/sector members, and all class/sector members will be influen-

ced by their class position to different degrees and in different ways. For example, most members of the bourgeoisie will strongly oppose an anti-capitalist pro-socialist movement, but they will oppose it to different degrees and in different ways, and a few may even support it.

Thus the prime function of a class analysis is to generalize about large groups of people and to analyze ideology. It is difficult to make clear-cut, absolute, predictions about in individual's attitudes or actions based on class. It would be wrong to classify individuals as friend or enemy solely on their class position or background. However, this does not mean that ideas, ideologies and actions of individuals cannot be analyzed on a class basis. All ideas and social actions are rooted in class (although influenced by other factors) and in the final analysis are in the service of a particular class. Class analysis is an extremely helpful tool in understanding and criticizing an individual's ideas and social practice. Often a person is unaware of the class basis of what he or she thinks and does, but by analyzing the class basis of actions and ideas their roots can be exposed and understood.

Thus a person is a member of a class, but also is an individual. As a member of a class, his or her ideas and actions will be heavily influenced by class background and position, and these influences are deep, subtle, and in part uncounscious. As an individual, a person is also influenced by many other factors--intellectual, emotional, historical, cultural, and political--conscious and unconscious. It would be incorrect to relate to a person solely on the basis of class. It would be even more incorrect to ignore class factors in the social, political, and cultural actions and ideas of a person.

Lastly, it must be remembered that neither the consciousness of classes nor the consciousness of individuals is a static thing. Both change. In particular the consciousness of both classes and individuals is affected by class struggle.



TABLE A Numerical composition of classes and sectors, by laborforce members 1969.

All figures in thousands (000)

	TOTAL	male	female	white	TW	white male	white female	TW male	TW female
<u>PETIT-BOURGOIS</u>	<u>14,524</u>	<u>12,030</u>	<u>2,494</u>	<u>13,658</u>	<u>866</u>	<u>11,368</u>	<u>2,290</u>	<u>662</u>	<u>204</u>
Business	5,077	3,982	1,095	4,679	398	3,672	1,007	310	88
Managerial	4,523	3,713	810	4,320	203	3,577	743	136	67
Professional	4,924	4,335	589	4,659	265	4,119	540	216	49
<u>PROLETARIAT</u>	<u>64,171</u>	<u>36,285</u>	<u>27,886</u>	<u>53,358</u>	<u>10,813</u>	<u>30,242</u>	<u>23,116</u>	<u>6,043</u>	<u>4,770</u>
Sales	4,466	2,385	2,081	4,147	319	2,227	1,920	158	161
Clerical	13,874	3,588	10,286	12,235	1,639	3,070	9,165	518	1,121
Crafts	10,134	9,622	512	8,982	1,152	8,550	432	1,072	80
Operative	11,021	6,655	4,366	8,768	2,253	5,359	3,409	1,296	957
Transport	2,916	2,782	134	2,351	565	2,233	118	549	16
Laborer	3,590	3,295	295	2,587	1,003	2,365	222	930	73
Farm Laborer	1,019	839	180	670	349	562	108	277	72
Service	8,541	3,769	4,772	6,478	2,063	2,829	3,649	940	1,123
Pvt. Household	1,215	37	1,178	510	705	17	493	20	685
Aristocracy	1,203	1,113	90	1,150	53	1,067	83	46	7
Middle	23,112	18,849	4,262	20,491	2,621	16,736	3,755	2,113	508
Bottom	39,856	16,323	23,533	31,716	8,140	12,438	19,278	3,885	4,255
Semi-Prof.	8,547	4,336	4,211	7,723	824	4,001	3,722	335	489
Office	17,690	5,349	12,341	15,750	1,940	4,691	11,059	658	1,282
Service	14,050	7,620	6,430	10,405	3,645	5,949	4,456	1,671	1,974
Production	23,884	18,980	4,904	19,482	4,402	15,603	3,879	3,377	1,025
(Aged)*	(18,000)	(6,500)	(11,500)						
(Excluded)*	(5,000)	(500)	(4,500)						
<u>SMALL FARMER</u>	<u>1,273</u>	<u>1,203</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>1,209</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>1,146</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>7</u>
Freeholder	1,094	1,033	61	1,042	52	987	55	46	6
Tenant	179	170	9	167	12	159	8	11	1
<u>TOTAL LABORFORCE</u>	<u>79,968</u>	<u>49,518</u>	<u>30,450</u>	<u>68,225</u>	<u>11,743</u>	<u>42,756</u>	<u>25,469</u>	<u>6,762</u>	<u>4,981</u>

\*Note- All of the above figures, except for the Aged and Excluded Sectors, were for laborforce members only. Since the members of the Aged and Excluded Sectors are not members of the laborforce they were shown in parenthesis. The total shown for the Proletariat does not include the members of the Aged and Excluded Sectors. The totals shown for all the classes do not include non-working members (housewives, children etc).



TABLE B Percentage composition of Classes &amp; Sectors

	TOTAL	male	female	white	TW	white male	white female	TW male	TW female
<u>PETIT-BOURG.</u>	100.0%	82.8%	17.2%	94.0%	6.0%	78.3%	15.7%	4.6%	1.4%
Business	100.0%	78.4%	21.6%	92.2%	7.8%	72.3%	19.9%	6.1	1.7%
Managerial	100.0%	82.1%	17.9%	95.5%	4.5%	79.1%	16.4%	3.0%	1.5%
Profession	100.0%	88.0%	12.0%	94.6%	5.4%	83.7%	10.9%	4.4%	1.0%
<u>PROLETARIAT</u>	100.0%	56.5%	43.5%	83.1%	16.9%	47.1%	36.0%	9.4%	7.5%
Sales	100.0%	53.4%	46.6%	92.9%	7.1%	49.9%	43.0%	3.5%	3.6%
Clerical	100.0%	25.9%	74.1%	88.2%	11.8%	22.1%	66.1%	3.7%	8.1%
Crafts	100.0%	94.9%	5.1%	88.6%	11.4%	84.4%	4.2%	10.6%	.8
Operatives	100.0%	60.4%	39.6%	79.5%	20.5%	48.6%	30.9%	11.8%	8.7%
Transport	100.0%	95.4%	4.6%	80.6%	19.4%	76.6%	4.0%	18.8%	.6%
Laborers	100.0%	91.8%	8.2%	72.1%	27.9%	65.9%	6.2%	25.9%	2.0%
Farm Labor	100.0%	82.3%	17.7%	65.8%	34.2%	55.1%	10.7%	27.2%	7.0%
Service	100.0%	44.1%	55.9%	75.8%	24.2%	33.1%	42.7%	11.0%	13.2%
Pvt. House	100.0%	3.0%	97.0%	42.0%	58.0%	1.4%	40.6%	1.6%	56.4%
Aristocracy	100.0%	92.5%	7.5%	95.6%	4.4%	88.7%	6.9%	3.8%	.6%
Middle	100.0%	81.6%	18.4%	88.7%	11.3%	72.4%	16.2%	9.1%	2.2%
Bottom	100.0%	41.0%	59.0%	79.6%	20.4%	31.2%	48.4%	9.8%	10.6%
Semi-Prof.	100.0%	50.7%	49.3%	90.4%	9.6%	46.8%	43.5%	3.9%	5.7%
Office	100.0%	30.2%	69.8%	89.0%	11.0%	26.5%	62.5%	3.7%	7.2%
Service	100.0%	54.2%	45.8%	74.0%	25.9%	42.3%	31.7%	11.9%	14.0%
Production	100.0%	79.4%	20.5%	81.6%	18.4%	65.3%	16.2%	14.1%	4.2%
<u>SMALL FARMER</u>	100.0%	94.5%	5.4%	95.0%	5.0%	90.0%	5.0%	4.4%	.5%
Freeholder	100.0%	94.4%	5.6%	95.2%	4.8%	90.2%	5.0%	4.2%	.5%
Tenant	100.0%	95.0%	5.0%	93.2%	6.7%	88.8%	4.4%	6.1%	.5%



COMPOSITION OF CLASSES & SECTORS 1969 corresponds to Table B

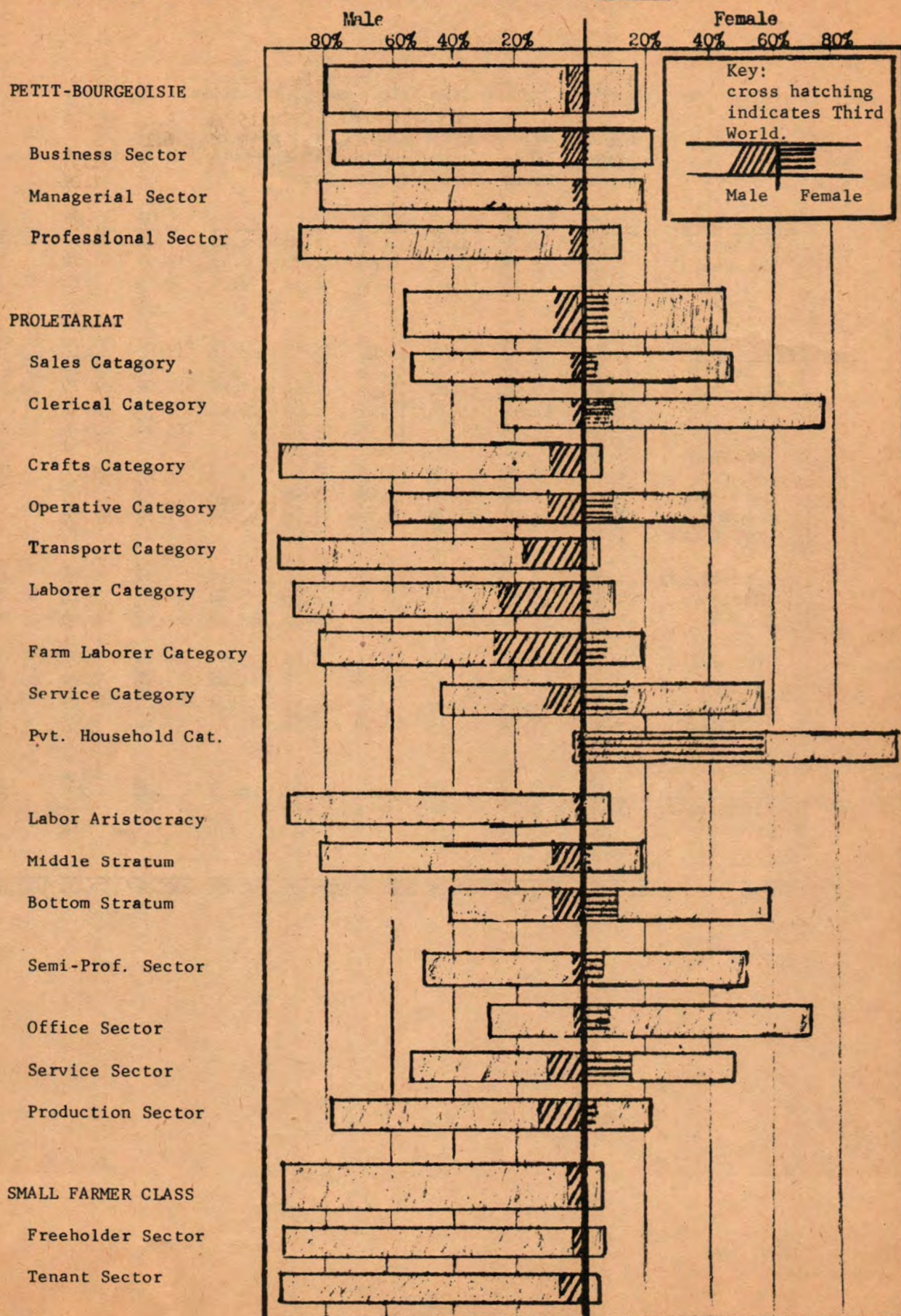




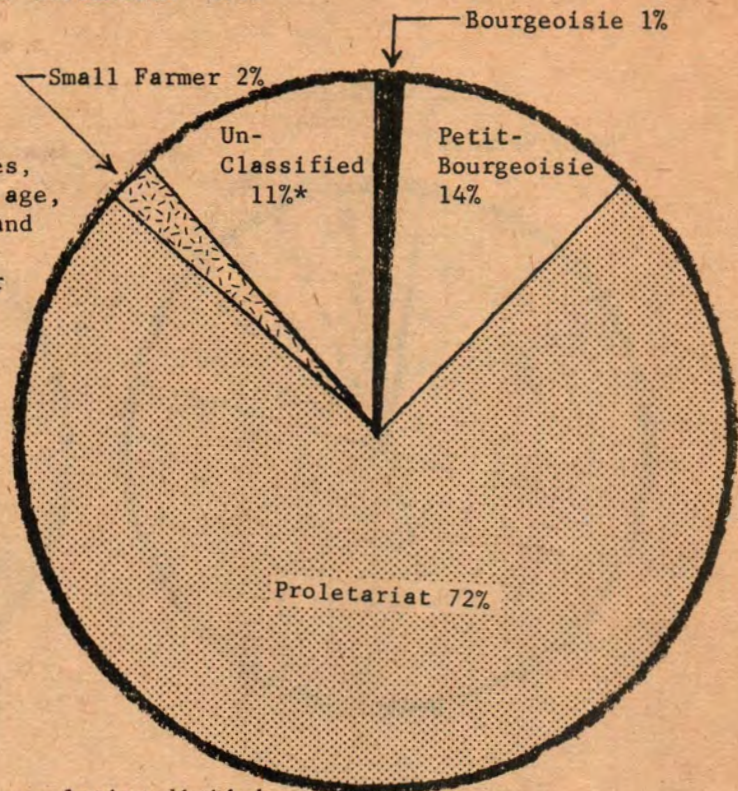
TABLE C The Laborforce broken down into Classes & Sectors 1969

	TOTAL labor force	male labor force	female labor force	white labor force	TW labor force	white males	white females	TW males	TW females
<u>PETIT-BOURG.</u>	<u>18.2%</u>	<u>24.3%</u>	<u>8.2%</u>	<u>20.0%</u>	<u>7.4%</u>	<u>26.0%</u>	<u>9.0%</u>	<u>9.8%</u>	<u>4.1%</u>
Business	6.3%	8.0%	3.6%	6.9%	3.4%	8.8%	4.0%	4.6%	1.8%
Managerial	5.7%	7.5%	2.7%	6.8%	1.7%	8.4%	2.9%	2.0%	1.3%
Professional	6.2%	8.8%	1.9%	6.8%	2.3%	9.6%	2.1%	3.2%	1.0%
<u>PROLETARIAT</u>	<u>80.2%</u>	<u>73.3%</u>	<u>91.6%</u>	<u>78.2%</u>	<u>92.1%</u>	<u>70.7%</u>	<u>90.8%</u>	<u>89.4%</u>	<u>95.8%</u>
Sales	5.6%	4.2%	6.8%	6.1%	2.7%	5.2%	7.5%	2.3%	3.2%
Clerical	17.3%	7.2%	33.8%	17.9%	14.0%	7.2%	36.0%	7.7%	22.5%
Crafts	12.7%	19.4%	1.7%	13.2%	9.8%	20.0%	1.7%	15.9%	1.6%
Operative	13.8%	13.4%	14.3%	12.9%	19.2%	12.5%	13.4%	19.2%	19.2%
Transport	3.6%	5.6%	.4%	3.4%	4.8%	5.2%	.5%	8.1%	.3%
Laborer	4.5%	6.7%	1.0%	3.8%	8.5%	5.5%	.9%	13.8%	1.5%
Farm Labor	1.3%	1.7%	.6%	1.0%	3.0%	1.3%	.4%	4.1%	1.5%
Service	10.7%	7.6%	15.7%	9.5%	17.6%	6.6%	14.3%	13.9%	22.5%
Pvt. House	1.5%	.1%	3.9%	.7%	6.0%	-	1.9%	.3%	13.8%
Aristocracy	1.5%	2.2%	.3%	1.7%	.5%	2.5%	.3%	.7%	.1%
Middle	28.9%	38.1%	14.0%	30.0%	22.3%	39.1%	14.8%	31.2%	10.2%
Bottom	49.8%	33.0%	77.3%	46.5%	69.3%	29.1%	75.7%	57.5%	85.4%
Semi-Prof.	10.7%	8.8%	13.8%	11.3%	7.0%	9.4%	14.6%	5.0%	9.8%
Office	22.1%	10.8%	40.6%	23.1%	16.5%	11.0%	43.4%	9.7%	25.7%
Service	17.5%	15.4%	21.1%	15.3%	31.0%	13.9%	17.5%	24.7%	39.6%
Production	29.9%	38.3%	16.1%	28.6%	37.5%	36.5%	15.2%	49.9%	20.6%
<u>SMALL FARMER</u>	<u>1.6%</u>	<u>2.4%</u>	<u>-.2%</u>	<u>1.8%</u>	<u>.5%</u>	<u>2.7%</u>	<u>-.2%</u>	<u>.8%</u>	<u>.1%</u>
Freeholder	1.4%	2.1%	-.2%	1.5%	.4%	2.3%	-.2%	.7%	.1%
Tenant	.2%	.3%	-	.3%	.1%	.4%	-	.1%	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>



# THE ADULT POPULATION 1969

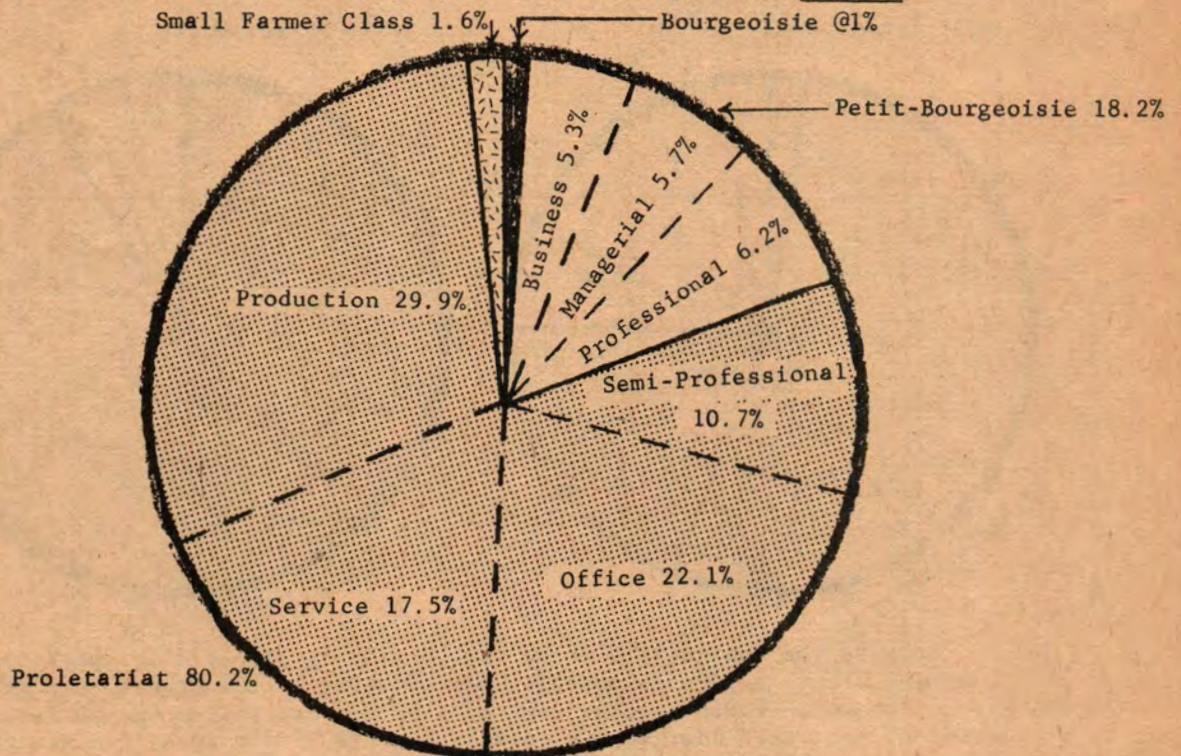
\*Un-classified includes members of the Armed Forces, students over 16 years of age, inmates of institutions, and those who could not be accounted for in any other statistical category.



This graph show the adult population divided into classes. The figures are estimates and they include non-working adults.

THE LABORFORCE -CLASSES & SECTORS 1969 corresponds to Table C

Small Farmer Class 1.6%

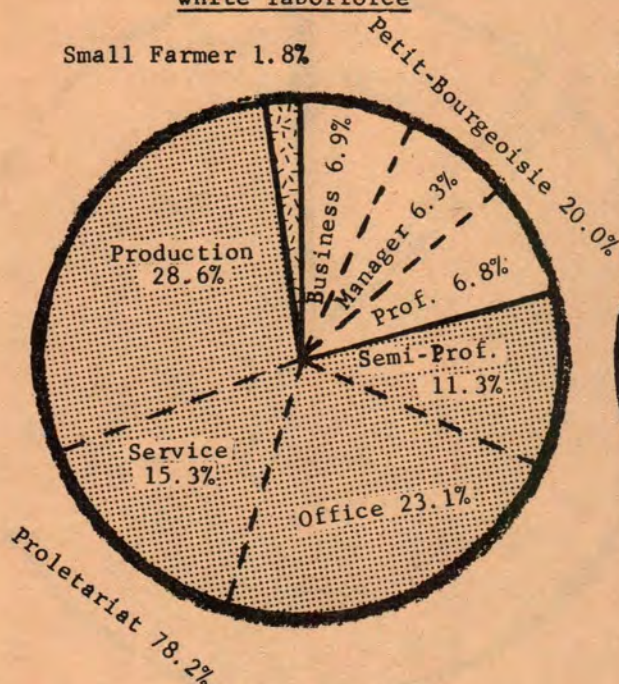


The above graph show how the laborforce is divided into classes and sectors. People who are not in the laborforce, such as non-working family members, and the Aged & Excluded Sectors of the Working Class are not shown.

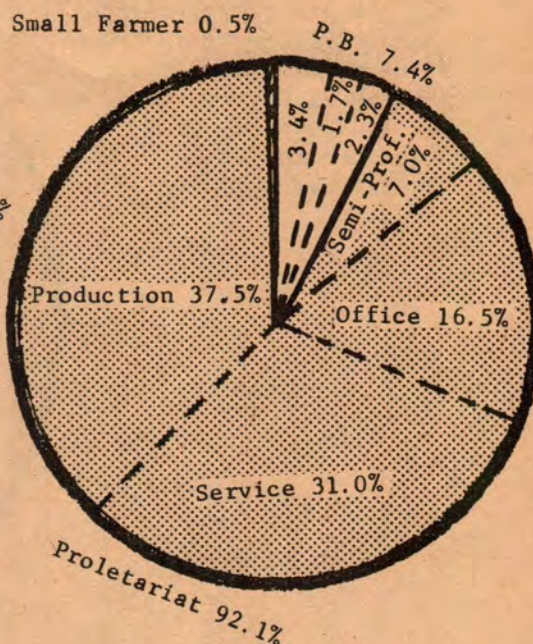


THE DIFFERENT LABORFORCE BY CLASSES & SECTORS 1969 Corresponds to Table C

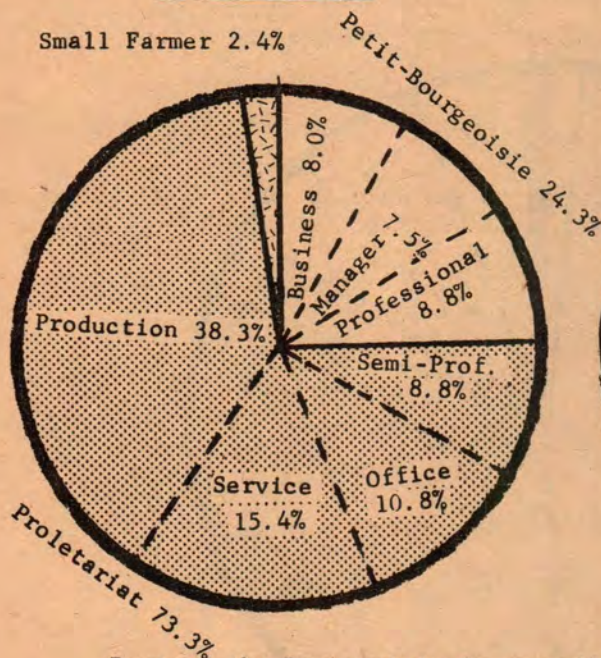
white laborforce



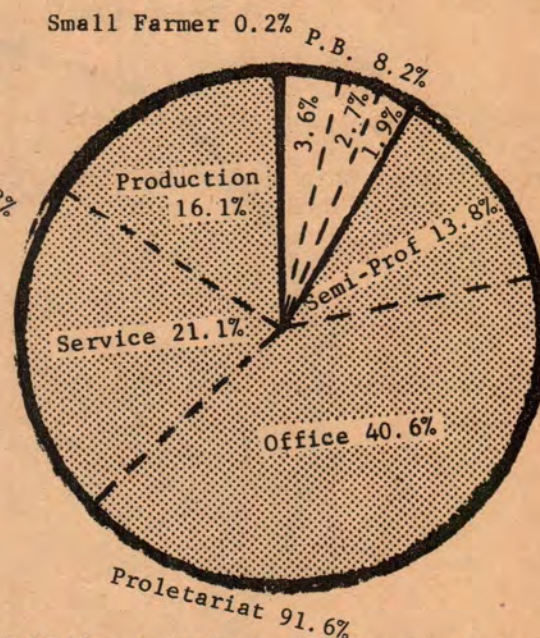
Third World laborforce



male laborforce



female laborforce



Because the Bourgeoisie is so well hidden (statistically speaking) it is impossible to accurately measure them in terms of the laborforce. Thus they are not shown on these graphs. Some of them are counted among the Business Sector of the Petit-Bourgeoisie, and others are hidden among the Managerial Sector.



TABLE D Sectors as a percentage of their Classes

	TOTAL	Male	Female	white	TW	white Male	white Female	TW Male	TW Female
PETIT-BOURG.	100.0%	82.5%	17.2%	94.0%	6.0%	78.3%	15.8%	4.6%	1.4%
Business	35.0%	27.4%	7.5%	32.2%	2.7%	25.3%	6.9%	2.1%	.6%
Managerial	31.1%	25.6%	5.6%	29.7%	1.4%	24.6%	5.1%	.9%	.5%
Professional	33.9%	29.8%	4.1%	32.1%	1.8%	28.4%	3.7%	1.5%	.3%
PROLETARIAT	100.0%	56.5%	43.5%	83.1%	16.9%	47.1%	36.0%	9.4%	7.4%
Sales	7.0%	3.7%	3.2%	6.5%	.5%	3.5%	3.0%	.2%	.3%
Clerical	21.6%	5.6%	16.0%	19.1%	2.6%	4.8%	14.3%	.8%	1.7%
Crafts	15.8%	15.0%	.8%	14.0%	1.8%	13.3%	.7%	1.7%	.1%
Operatives	17.2%	10.4%	6.8%	13.7%	3.5%	8.4%	5.3%	2.0%	1.5%
Transport	4.5%	4.3%	.2%	3.7%	.9%	3.5%	.2%	.9%	-
Laborer	5.6%	5.1%	.5%	4.0%	1.6%	3.7%	.3%	1.4%	.1%
Farm Labor	1.6%	1.3%	.3%	1.0%	.5%	.9%	.2%	.4%	.1%
Service	13.3%	5.9%	7.4%	10.1%	3.2%	4.4%	5.7%	1.5%	1.8%
Pvt. House	1.9%	.1%	1.8%	.8%	1.1%	-	.8%	-	1.1%
Aristocracy	1.9%	1.7%	.1%	1.8%	.1%	1.7%	.1%	.1%	-
Middle	36.0%	29.4%	6.6%	31.9%	4.1%	26.1%	5.9%	3.3%	.8%
Bottom	62.1%	25.4%	36.7%	49.4%	12.7%	19.4%	30.0%	6.1%	6.6%
Semi-Prof	13.3%	6.8%	6.6%	12.0%	1.3%	6.2%	5.8%	.5%	.8%
Office	27.6%	8.3%	19.2%	24.5%	3.0%	7.3%	17.2%	1.0%	2.0%
Service	21.9%	11.9%	10.0%	16.2%	5.7%	9.3%	6.9%	2.6%	3.1%
Production	37.2%	29.6%	7.6%	30.4%	6.9%	24.3%	6.0%	5.3%	1.6%
SMALL FARMER	100.0%	94.5%	5.5%	95.0%	5.0%	90.0%	4.9%	4.5%	.5%
Freeholder	85.9%	81.1%	4.8%	81.9%	4.1%	77.5%	4.3%	3.6%	.5%
Tenant	14.1%	13.4%	.7%	13.1%	.9%	12.5%	.6%	.9%	.1%

Note--This includes laborforce members only.

How to interpret this table- The first line gives the make up of the Petit-Bourgeois class as a whole. Thus males make up 82.5% of the Petit-bourgeoisie, females make up 17.2%, etc. The second line show what percentage of the petit-bourgeoisie is made up by the business sector. Thus, the business sector as a whole is 35.0% of the petit-bourgeoisie, businessmen 27.4% of the petit-bourgeoisie, businesswomen 7.5%, white members of the business sector 32.2% of class as a whole, Third World members of the business sector 2.7% of the class as a whole, etc.



TABLE E Petit-Bourgeoisie broken down into sectors 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female
	Petit	member	member	member	member
	Bourg.	P-B	P-B	P-B	P-B
Business	35.0%	34.3%	46.0%	33.1%	43.9%
Managerial	31.1%	31.6%	23.4%	30.9%	32.5%
Profession	33.9%	43.1%	30.6%	36.0%	23.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

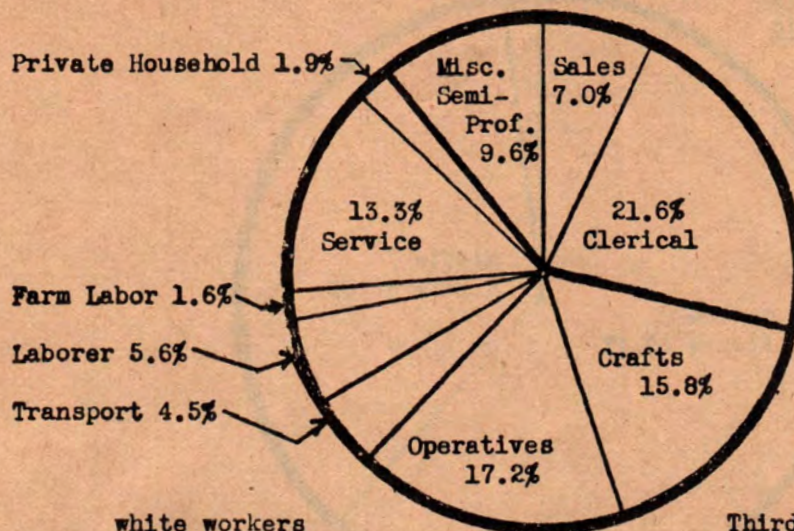
TABLE F Working Class broken down into sectors, strata, categories 1969

	TOTAL	white	TW	male	female	white	white	TW	TW
	Work	member	member	member	member	male	female	male	female
	Class	W.C.	W.C.	W.C.	W.C.	W.C.	W.C.	W.C.	W.C.
Sales	7.0%	7.8%	3.0%	6.5%	7.5%	7.4%	8.3%	2.6%	3.4%
Clerical	21.6%	22.9%	15.2%	9.9%	36.9%	10.2%	39.6%	8.6%	23.5%
Crafts	15.8%	16.8%	10.7%	26.5%	1.8%	28.3%	1.9%	17.7%	1.7%
Operatives	17.2%	16.5%	20.8%	18.3%	15.7%	17.7%	14.7%	21.4%	20.1%
Transport	4.5%	4.4%	5.2%	7.7%	.5%	7.4%	.5%	9.1%	.3%
Laborers	5.6%	4.8%	9.3%	9.1%	1.1%	7.8%	1.0%	15.4%	1.5%
Farm Labor	1.6%	1.3%	3.2%	2.3%	.6%	1.2%	.5%	4.6%	1.5%
Service	13.3%	12.1%	19.1%	10.4%	17.1%	9.4%	15.8%	15.6%	23.5%
Pvt. House	1.9%	1.0%	6.5%	.1%	4.2%	.1%	2.1%	.3%	14.4%
Misc. S-P*	9.6%	12.4%	7.0%	9.2%	14.6%	10.5%	15.6%	4.7%	10.1%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Aristoc.	1.9%	2.2%	.5%	3.1%	.3%	3.5%	.4%	.8%	.1%
Middle	36.0%	38.4%	24.2%	51.9%	15.3%	55.3%	16.2%	35.0%	10.6%
Bottom	62.1%	59.4%	75.3%	45.0%	84.4%	41.3%	83.4%	64.3%	89.2%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Semi-Prof	13.3%	14.5%	7.6%	11.9%	15.1%	13.2%	16.1%	5.5%	10.3%
Office	27.6%	29.6%	17.9%	14.7%	44.3%	15.5%	47.8%	10.9%	26.9%
Service	21.9%	19.5%	33.7%	21.0%	23.1%	19.7%	19.3%	27.7%	41.4%
Production	37.2%	36.5%	40.7%	52.3%	17.6%	51.6%	16.8%	55.9%	21.5%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

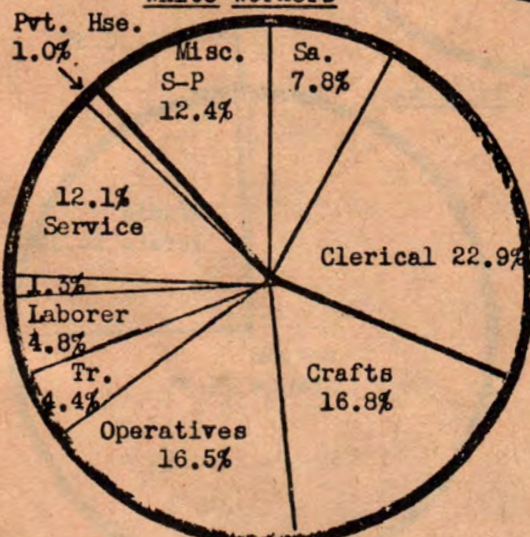


WORKING CLASS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES 1969  
corresponds to Table F

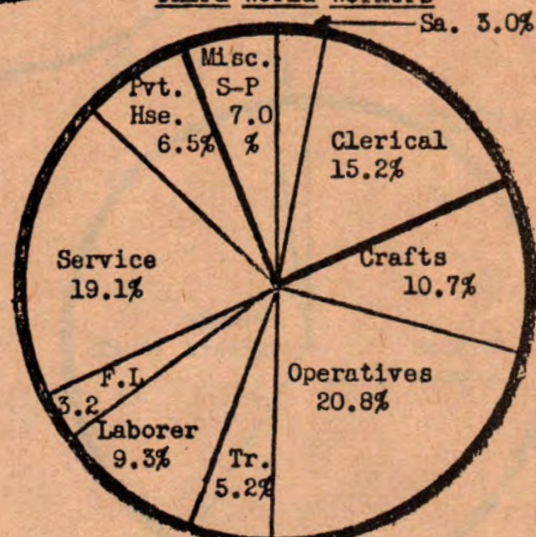
Total Working Class



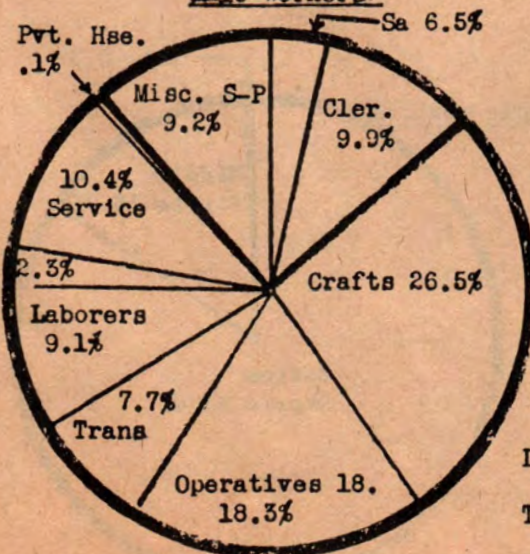
white workers



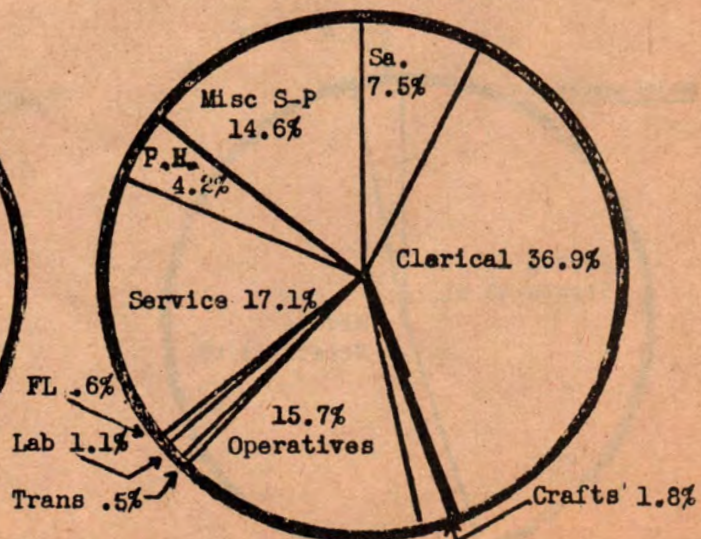
Third World Workers



Male Workers



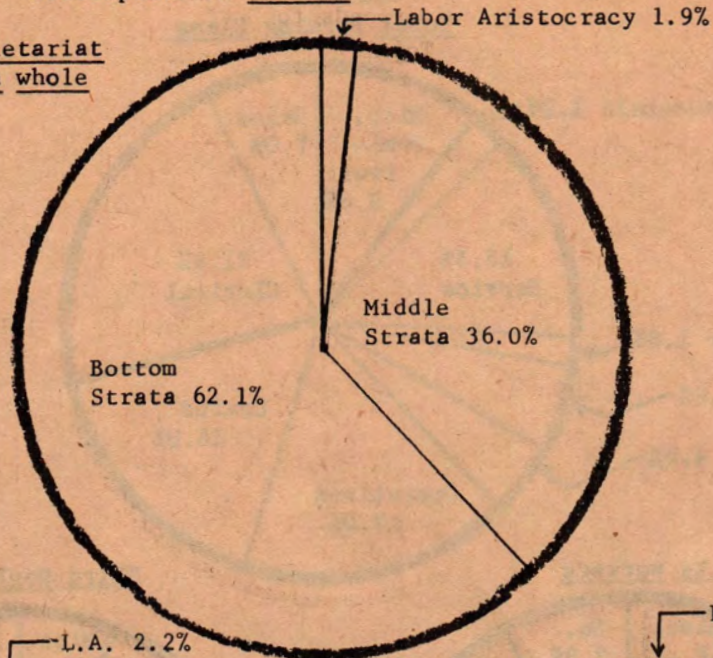
Female Workers



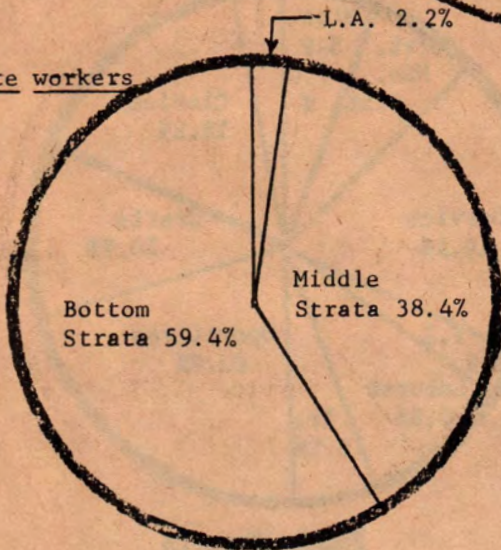


THE PROLETARIAT BY INCOME STRATA 1969  
corresponds to Table F

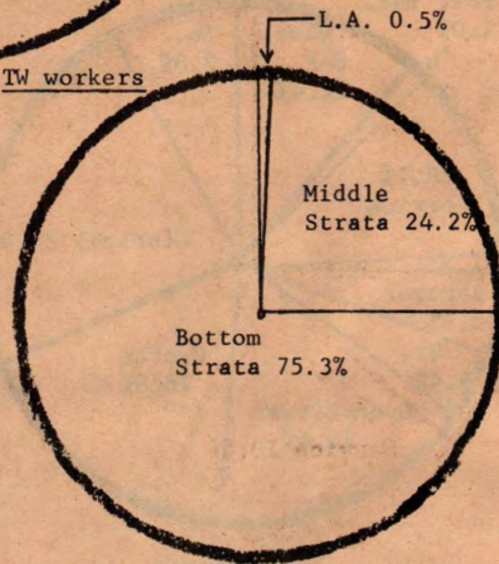
Proletariat  
as a whole



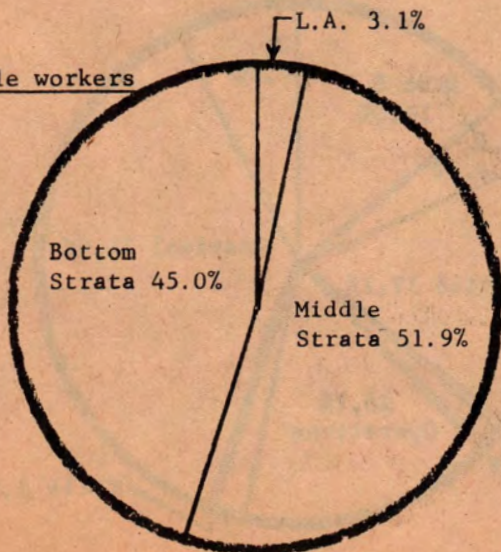
white workers



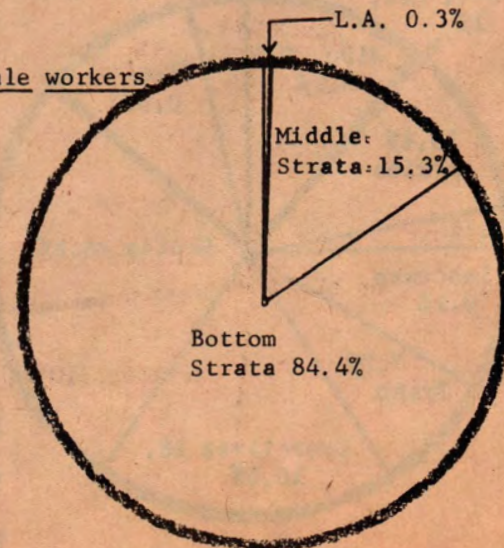
TW workers



male workers



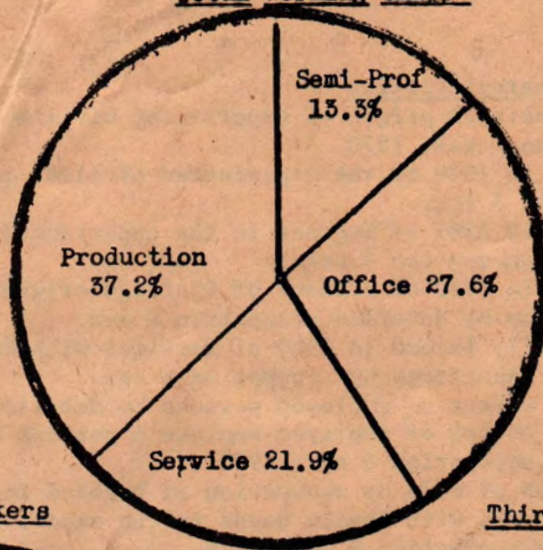
female workers



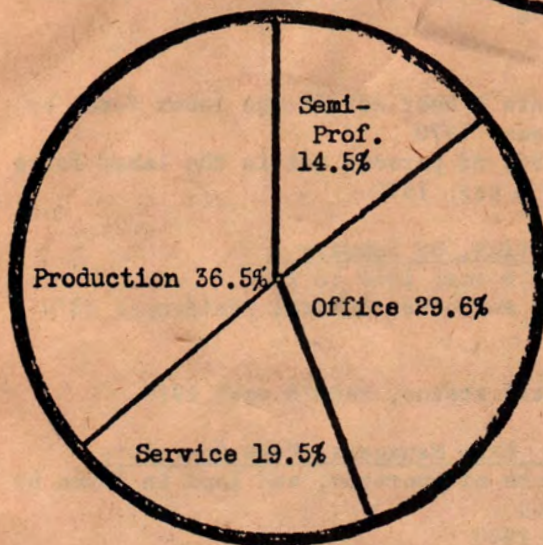


WORKING CLASS BY ECONOMIC SECTOR 1969  
corresponds to Table F

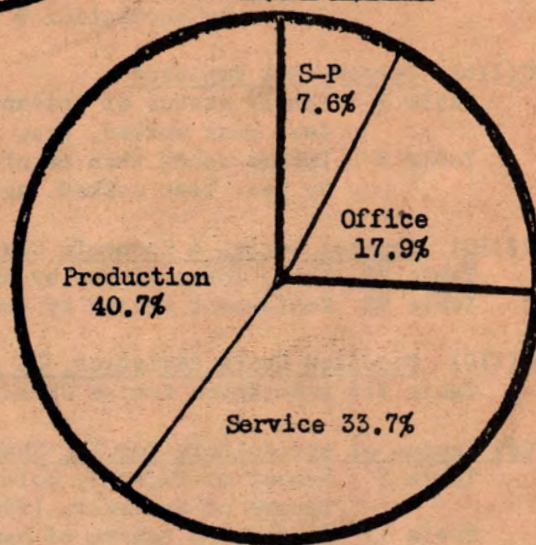
Total Working Class



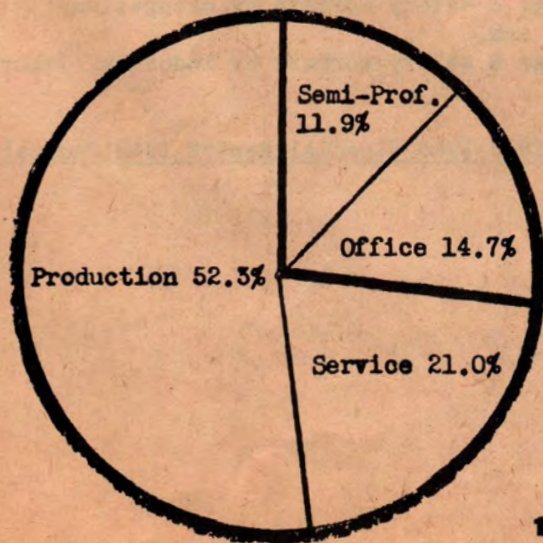
white workers



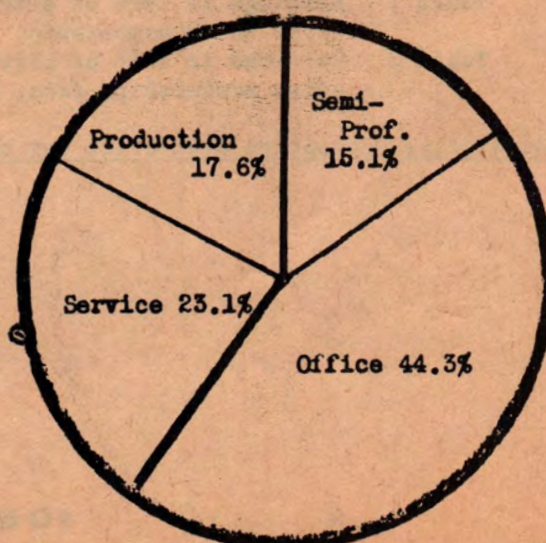
Third World workers



Male workers



Female workers





## Census Sources

Almost all of the statistics given in the paper were based on data from the 1970 US Census. The most important of the tables used as a data base for calculations are listed below.

### PC(2)7A Occupational Characteristics

- Table 2 Race & Spanish origin of experienced civilian labor force by detailed occupation & sex: 1970
- Table 16 Earnings in 1969 of the experienced civilian labor force by detailed occupation & sex.
- Table 17 Earnings in 1969 of Negroes in the experienced civilian labor force by detailed occupation & sex.
- Table 18 Earnings in 1969 of persons of Spanish origin in the experienced civilian labor force by detailed occupation & sex.
- Table 26 Total family income in 1969 of families with heads in the experienced civilian laborforce by occupation & sex.
- Table 43 Class of worker of employed persons by detailed occupation & sex: 1970
- Table 44 Class of worker of employed Negroes & persons of Spanish origin by detailed occupation & sex: 1970
- Table 48 Occupation of wife by occupation of husband for married couples 16 years & over, with family heads in the experienced civilian labor force, by occupation & sex: 1970

### PC(2)6B Persons Not Employed

- Table 2 Family status of persons 16 years & over not in the labor force by last year worked, age, race & sex: 1970
- Table 8 Income other than earning in 1969 of persons not in the labor force by year last worked. age, race & sex: 1970

### PC(1)C1 General Social & Economic Characteristics, US Summary

- Table 78 Labor force status by age, race, & sex: 1940 to 1970
- Table 90 Employment status by race, sex, and urban & rural residence: 1970

### PC(1)D1 Detailed Characteristics, US Summary

- Table 216 Laborforce status by sex, marital status, race & age: 1970

### 1969 Census of Agriculture Vol II, Chapter 3; Farm Managers, Farm Operators

- Table 5 Number of farms by color & tenure of operator, and land in farms by tenure of operator, 1880 to 1969
- Table 12 Summary by tenure of operator: 1970

### Current Population Reports P-20 #216 Labor Union Membership 1966

- Table 1 Earnings in 1966 of private wage & salary workers by occupation, labor union membership, race, & sex.
- Table 2 Earnings in 1966 of private wage & salary workers by industry, labor union membership, race, & sex.

### Comparitive Occupation Statistics for the US 1870-1940 (Special Report 1940 Census).



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