

Special Feature :

Chicago: Headquarters For Rocky's Capitalist Opposition

Oct. 11 (IPS) —The region surrounding Chicago has emerged as the center for increasingly vocal anti-Rockefeller factions, all of which have simultaneously been hit by the rude awakening that if they are to survive, they must at once pick up pieces and chunks of the pro-development program of the U.S. Labor Party.

Democratic Presidential hopeful R. Sargent Shriver told a Chicago audience this week that he is in essential agreement with the recent U.N. speech on the development of a "New World Economic Order" by Mexican President Luis Echeverria. Calling for vastly expanded trade to meet the needs of technological development for the Third World, Shriver emphasized the need for increased East-West trade. Declaring that he recognized many Third World countries will be declaring debt moratoria, Shriver added that he thought such steps were not yet needed. "We may have to go that route later, though," he said.

Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs, speaking to a student audience Oct. 6 at Chicago's Northwestern University, called for massive, long-term capital-intensive agricultural development of the famine-stricken African continent. Responding to a Labor Party organizer's questions, Diggs added that fellow Black Caucus members Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), John Conyers (D-Mich), and Parren Mitchell are debating turning the USLP's proposal for an International Development Bank (IDB) into legislative form for possible Congressional hearings.

At the same time, several representatives of leading Chicago business interests requested meetings with the USLP to discuss the IDB proposals. In a telephone discussion, the former Chairman of the Board of the First National Bank of Chicago asked a USLP spokesman for a briefing on the details of the explosive factional situation in West Germany.

A leading Republican Congressional spokesman for Midwest industrialists told an International Trade Club meeting yesterday that they must move into an alliance with the Kennedy-Stevenson wing of the Democratic party and its allies in order to defend East-West trade and defeat Henry Kissinger's attempts to establish a dictatorship over international economic policy.

Since Oct. 1, the two leading Chicago bourgeois newspapers, the Sun-Times and the Tribune—the first liberal Democratic, the other conservative Republican— have issued repeated, direct attacks on the Rockefeller-Kissinger-Levi "invisible hoodlum government." These papers have warned of a Rockefeller Presidency through the assassination danger, hit the massive flow of drugs, and fingered Kissinger's "intelligence community" for "massive lawlessness and subversion of the Constitution."

And, moving strongly behind the Labor Party campaign to wipe out drugs and methadone, the

old-line boss machine of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley and Daley's police investigators have all but declared "open season" on the massive drug-running operations conducted by federal agents.

This series of open factional maneuvers against Rockefeller's invisible government represent severe factional breaks within the ranks of the U.S. ruling class now emerging from four key sectors: the Chicago Democratic machine centering around Mayor Richard Daley; the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party machine whose Presidential stalking horse is Sargent Shriver; the Congressional Black Caucus and those liberal, Democratic layers surrounding it; and the industrialists concentrated in the Midwest industrial heartland.

Each of these layers has been forced to respond to the devastation that Rockefeller's onslaught on the international economy has wreaked upon U.S. municipalities and industry.

All of the essential elements exist now for the coalescence of these powerful forces into a cohesive faction which will be able to destroy Rockefeller— save one. What is required is a firm commitment from all layers to take a stand against Rockefeller's fascist austerity drive: the immediate moratoria on city and farm debt; a program of expanded three-way trade between Comecon nations, the Third World, and the advanced sector; and a program of productive investment.

But the motive force behind such a consolidation is a working class political machine which makes it clear that it will accept nothing less.

The Daley Machine

The last of the old-line independent big city machines is headed by Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley. The 73 year-old political boss, who delivered the 1960 Presidential election to John F. Kennedy, has been Mayor of this city continuously since 1955. While most other similar independent Democratic machines were being systematically torn up by Rockefeller's Justice Department and replaced with more streamlined, Rockefeller-designed counterinsurgency governments during the late -1960's and early 1970's, Daley's machine fought back stubbornly against the Watergating attacks and has survived more or less intact.

The brunt of the LEAA's attacks on Daley have been aimed at undermining his source of power by attempting to split the black and white working-class elements of the machine and by an attempted Watergate-style takeover and reorganization of Daley's police department. Daley had come under increasing pressure from federal agencies during the mid-1960's to institute population-control programs like methadone maintenance introduced into the city — moves which Daley consistently opposed. This

is one major reason why the most heated factional opposition to Rockefeller is coming out of Chicago.

Due to his traditionally overwhelming reliance on support from the trade unions and from the working-class—black and white generally, Daley has been forced to come out strongly in conjunction with the USLP drive to stop methadone and dope. Until recently Daley has been unwilling to direct open warfare against the FBI-LEAA on the drug issue. The electric response of the workers to the USLP campaign, tapping the intense hatred for the Rockefeller drug pushers, has forced Daley's hand. If he backed down on this crucial life-and-death issue, the working class itself would soon end the Mayor's long career.

The characteristic which Daley dangerous to Rockefeller, is precisely this tendency to propelling Shriver and others to test the waters with portions of the Labor Party's program.

Black Caucus Politicians

The third generation political groupings operative in this regard is the layer of urban-based black politicians led nationally by Congressional Black Caucus members Charles Diggs and John Conyers of Detroit, Ron Dellums of California, Charles Rangel of New York, and Parren Mitchell of Baltimore. Congressman Diggs' pro-development speech this week in Chicago is clear evidence of the potential for driving the IDB proposal into Congress.

In Chicago itself, Ralph Metcalfe and Cardiss Collins are the two Black Caucus members, representing the largely black working class and ghetto South Side and West Side respectively. While Metcalfe has never emerged as a factional spokesman per se, his recent political case history provides a useful insight into the forces at work in Chicago, and in fact nationally, shaping the new alignments.

Metcalfe's district is the most heavily black and most heavily Democratic district, traditionally, in the country. In the 1972 Presidential election, the district gave the Democrat George McGovern 90 per cent of the vote. Metcalfe was elected to Congress, with 91 per cent of the vote, in 1970, after being a loyal Daley supporter on the City Council since 1955. In the spring of 1972, however, Metcalfe fell prey to an LEAA "inside-outside" operation, part of the much larger LEAA-FBI deployment in Chicago. The trigger was highly publicized set-up involving a "racist" police attack on two South Side black citizens, a classic case of LEAA use of the "race issue" to split the black and white working class base of the Democratic party-Daley machine. According to LEAA plan, Daley and Metcalfe split.

The LEAA forces led by then-University of Chicago president Edward Levi, quickly moved in promoting fascist "local control" counter-insurgency projects, vastly expanding their murderous drug-running and methadone operations throughout the South Side. Drugged zombie terrorists such as Levi's "Beni Zakeem" roamed the neighborhoods, running a federally-spon-

sored protection racket for LEAA-FBI drug-running operations.

Metcalfe began to realize what had happened, and last year started making noises, moving toward a reconciliation with Daley. Shortly thereafter, Rockefeller's agent in the U.S. Attorney's office, Jim Thompson, now Republican candidate for Governor, moved to slap bogus federal "corruption" indictments against Metcalfe. The war continues to this day.

The Industrialists

Undoubtedly the most heteronomic and bewildered of all the operative factional groupings is that representing the large industrial and industrial respond to base pressure if simply for political expediency. Given sufficient working-class mobilization, Daley may be forced to transform his ongoing budget dispute with agent Illinois Governor Dan Walker, a Rockefeller Democrat, into a full-fledged national battle against austerity and for debt moratoria. Walker is now withholding needed school funds, backed up by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which is also withholding \$147 million in federal funds from the Chicago School Board. Indications are that Daley may be preparing such a move.

The Kennedy Wing: Shriver and Stevenson

Daley still commands overwhelming support from the Chicago and Illinois Democratic delegations, a power base he has used previously to maneuver for leverage within the party. This week Daley met for three hours privately with Sargent Shriver. Also reported to have been present were Democratic national chairman Robert Strauss and Daley's key City Council stalwart, Jane Byrne, also a member of the Democratic national committee. According to later press accounts, the group discussed the Shriver candidacy, "the general political situation", and "preparations for the upcoming Democratic national committee meeting", to be held Oct. 12-15 in Washington, D.C.

Since late summer, Daley has been pushing for a 1976 Stevenson-Kennedy ticket, but both Senators have shown their unwillingness to declare. Thus, Daley has been quietly promoting Shriver, while carefully withholding his full endorsement lest Ted Kennedy decides to change his mind.

This liberal Democratic trio, however, generally represents the same forces. Shriver is the former manager of the giant Chicago Merchandise Mart, operating headquarters for Midwest consumer goods producers and merchant-capital interests. Shriver himself is married into the Kennedy clan, and maintains his Chicago campaign staff, headed by long-time Kennedy political operative Thomas Brophy, inside the Merchandise Mart's management offices.

As the only announced candidate from the Kennedy wing, Shriver has been the most outspoken proponent of detente and East-West trade.



The King-pins of Chicago's opposition to Rockefeller: (l) Shriver, (c) Daley, (r) Metcalfe.

But without the backing of the labor movement, now led by the USLP, no Kennedy spokesman can remain viable for long despite capitalist support. As a top Shriver aide admitted to the USLP recently, Shriver is "having trouble" attracting workers' interest. Shriver aides, who receive regular briefings from the USLP have asked to send "observers" to Labor Party organizing meetings "to find out what the workers are thinking"! It is this fact of political life that is trial-finance interests and firms headquartered in Chicago. Chief among these are the McCormick family interests of International Harvester Company, who maintain close ties to the Chicago factional propaganda organ, the Chicago Tribune; the Ingersoll family interests of the Borg-Warner Corporation; the Pullman and Pullman-Standard companies; and the chief "pro-European" financial institution, First National Bank of Chicago. Scores of smaller industrial firms based in Chicago, most of which are heavily involved in international trade and specifically in East-West trade, operate within the overall political-economic hegemony of the key firms. The top international executives of these firms form the leadership of the Midwest's pro-East-West trade faction of capitalists.

While nominally Republican-affiliated, these capitalists traditionally have not lined up together behind any particular politician faction in a strict sense. To defend their present and future existence as capitalists against the onrushing collapse and the disastrous policies pushed by the moronic Rockefeller brothers, leading circles from these and other firms are being thrown

— in direct conflict with their "rugged individualist tendencies — to seek acceptable programmatic solutions to the crisis.

In the conference rooms of their two key umbrella organizations — the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry and the International Trade Club of Chicago — leading corporate executives are debating the Labor Committee's IDB proposals. Informed sources have reported that James H. Ingersoll, international Vice President of Borg-Warner, regarded as the group's key organizer, has reproduced the IDB pamphlet for circulation and discussion in these circles.

The problem that confronts these industrialists is chiefly two-fold: First, as Ingersoll himself declared in opening remarks to a conference on East-West trade in August: "Unless we move fast for vastly expanded trade with the Soviets and the Third World, the U.S. Labor Party will be in the White House in 1976."

Second, for these industrialists to muster enough muscle to take on the Rockefeller machine and win, they must ally with the only political forces among the capitalist parties moving in the same direction — namely the very Democratic party factions who are entirely dependent upon labor support. Although it is the most bitter pill they have yet to swallow, the industrialists will have to agree to eliminating the drugs in the plants that are maintained by such figures as Ingersoll.

It is, in the final analysis, the political working-class forces that will determine the outcome.