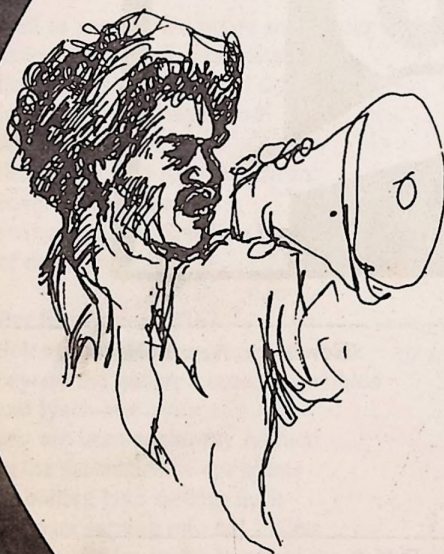


BLACK LIBERATION JOURNAL



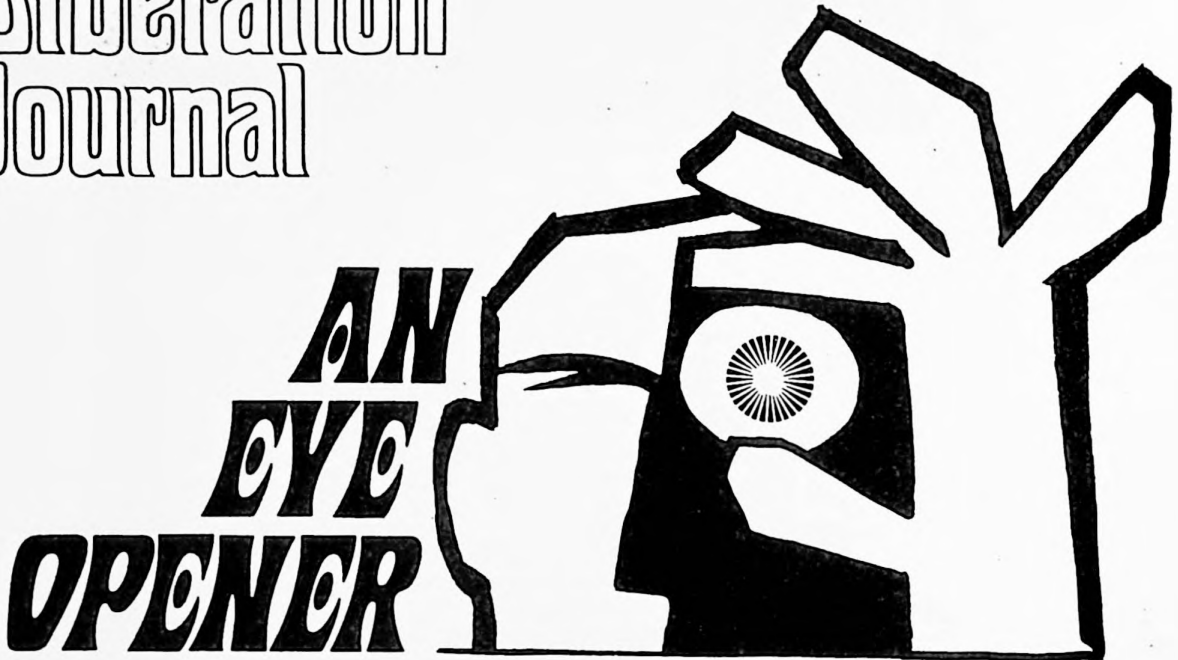
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**The Lynching of Solomon Mahlangu
(South Africa)**

In South Africa

The white hands of apartheid
are the hands of killers
endorsed by the White House
happy only when covered with blood
with a lynch rope of apartheid

This morning they are coming to murder
Solomon Mahlangu, freedom fighter

And as soon as the noose snaps your neck
deep in my blood, my voice
Emmett Till screams and drops
into the river of my blood
and my voice burns
like a thousand Afro-Americans
covered with flames
swinging in the Southern breeze
of democracy

But like Emmett Till
Solomon Mahlangu, you come back
beyond the hungry noose of apartheid
and lynch-law terror
you are born again, my brother
in the mountains of our hearts
as boiling lava spilling forth
as anger turning into hot bullets
as guns firing, in the hands of the A.N.C.
seeking the white hearts of your killers.

They can never kill a freedom fighter
Solomon Mahlangu.

Solomon brother and comrade
in Angola we chopped off the hands
of the apartheid butchers
and left them rotting in the fields
So the South African fascists
took your life to convince themselves
that defeat is not the sun rising
through the bars of your cell
escaping the lynchers noose.



Still I hear your footsteps on the earth
freedom fighter
still I see your infectious smile and eyes
freedom fighter
rising over the world at dawn
still I listen to your voice talking to the people
freedom fighter
coming from the fountain of revolution
in South Africa

All over the world faces look toward the dawn
to see your face rising in triumph
this morning fired with hope
love and the fight for peace and freedom
has the flash of your eyes
and the fire of your words
I have your face, Solomon Mahlangu
and the little child I see coming
running with the red flag of victory in his hands
has your face.
The earth pregnant with spring, storm and new buds
has your face, Solomon Mahlangu
freedom fighter.

And in the earth, you are
the summer getting ready to blaze
on the new horizon
like a jubilee of freedom
won with your hands
laughing with your face
Solomon Mahlangu
freedom fighter they can never kill.

Antar S.K. Mberi

Peace Needs SALT II

As of June 17, 1979 the ABC Poll reported that "7 out of 10 Americans approve of the SALT II Treaty." Yet, a hard-core of Senators to accompaniment of media background vocalizing of the wildest sort of jingoist demagoguery are threatening to nullify this popular mandate . . . to PASS SALT II Now!

As is known by all, SALT II is a treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union which puts brakes on the nuclear arms race and commits the powers to continue their efforts to reduce further the lethal arsenals, to pass on to the negotiation of SALT III, and advance with deliberate speed toward major general and universal arms reductions.

"Ratification of SALT II is in the national interest," declared the *Amsterdam News* editorial of July 6, 1979. Directing its special appeal to the Black community, it stated that—

"No Black American should foolishly believe that the Senate debate and vote on the SALT II treaty is something that doesn't concern us.

"The treaty vote will determine the priorities for the nation for years to come. . . . All of us in the Black community who are committed to social action on the part of our national government to insure a life of dignity free from want for our children, for the disabled, for the aged, and for those who need help are required to support this treaty."

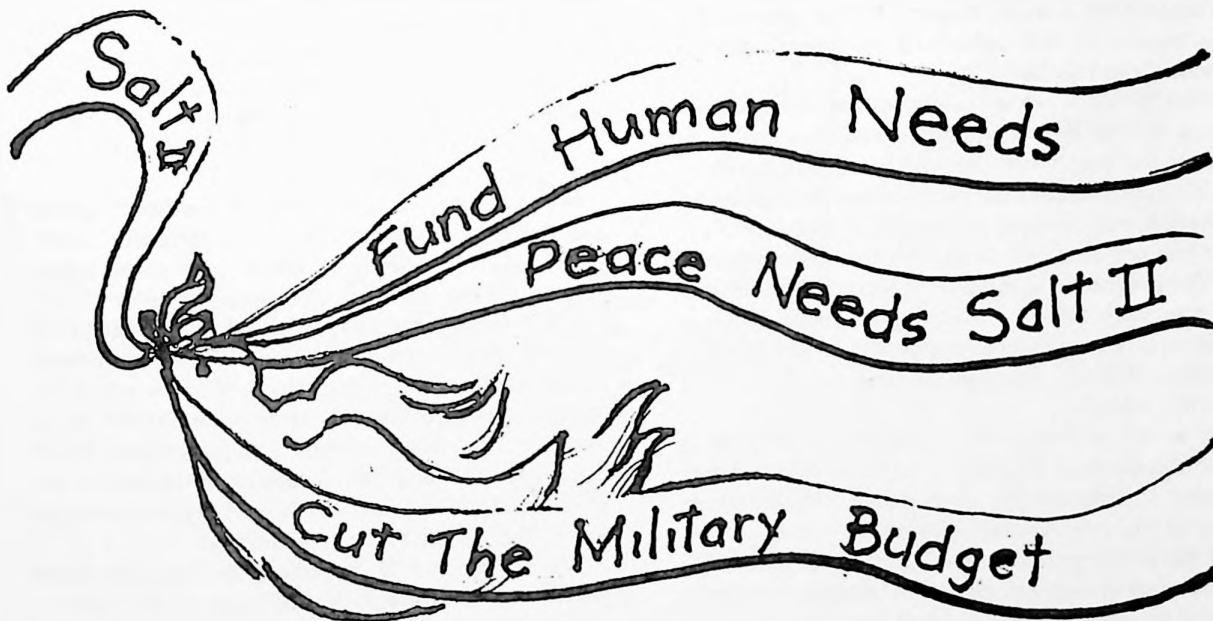
As the lead editorial in Number II of Volume 19 of FREEDOMWAYS Magazine put it: "The SALT II Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union is a major step in the right direction, towards bringing the arms race to a halt. No person who

cherishes human life, including his or her own life, can afford to be unconcerned or aloof regarding this important development. The huge military budget the taxpayers are now supporting that is eating away at the social fabric of this society, like a terminal cancer, is reason enough for every adult in America to be concerned. The human race and the nuclear arms race cannot long co-exist." The editors of FREEDOMWAYS appealed for addressing letters, telegrams and petitions to the respective Senators, insisting "that the U.S. Senate ratify the SALT II Agreement without delay or crippling amendments."

The Afro-American community has already displayed widespread unanimity of support for the SALT II agreement. It is obvious to all that a shift in government spending policies from the military demands of the arms race to expenditures for social needs is mandatory for measurable progress toward closing the discrimination gap. As the *Amsterdam News* editorial stated it:

"When the choice is between guns and butter, butter is always sacrificed. It is past time that we acted to prevent the Army from being the only place in American life where a young Black man will find an 'equal' opportunity." That this is a reflection of the broadest range of Afro-American sentiment is attested to by the listing among the sponsors of a Pass-the-SALT ad that appeared full page in the *New York Times* of July 9th. Counted among the sponsors of the ad were: Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, Benjamin L. Hooks of the NAACP, Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, and Coretta Scott King of Atlanta, Ga.

Every person with a vision of freedom, of equality, of social progress, must enlist now in the crusade to compel every Senator, no matter how reluctant, to vote "YES!" to pass the SALT II Agreement; the peace of the world and the prospect for progress for every people depend upon it.



Editorial

“A link in the chain of affirmative action made possible by the peoples’ demand.”

THE WEBER DECISION

by James Johnson

The recent decision of the Supreme Court to turn back the challenge of Brian Weber to affirmative action represented a major victory for Black people, the labor movement and indeed all progressive-minded individuals in this land.

Brian Weber, a white factory worker, contended in his suit that the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and the United Steelworkers of America illegally discriminated against whites when they set up an on-the-job craft-training program at a Gramercy, La., plant that reversed half of its slots for minority workers. The program was initiated to correct an imbalance that saw only 1.8% of skilled jobs going to Afro-Americans in a city whose population is 40% Black.

Justice William Brennan, writing for the 5 to 2 majority, stated:

“It would be ironic indeed if a law triggered by a nation’s concern over centuries of racial injustice and intended to improve the lot of those who had been excluded from the American dream for so long constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private, race-conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy.”

The court’s decision dealt a major blow to racism, those who profit from it, and the main ideological weapon used against affirmative action programs, the myth of reverse discrimination.

The ruling provided clear affirmation of the immense power of public opinion, for the decision was not arrived at in the court’s chambers alone. The court was forced to rule against Weber because hundreds of thousands of Americans, recognizing Weber’s challenge as a threat to the working class as a whole, marched, rallied, lobbied and wrote thousands of letters in support of affirmative action.

Weber’s racist challenge evoked a united response and fightback from the Black community, which spearheaded the struggle. There were other forces though which helped to make victory possible. Trade unionists throughout the land forced their leadership to take a forthright position against the Weber challenge. Consequently, the mighty power of labor which includes a disproportionately large percentage of Black workers in the basic industries, united with the Black liberation movement into a coalition which recalled the glorious days of the CIO and the civil rights movement when other major victories were won.

The women’s role, especially in the trade union movement, contributed significantly to the victory. This unity of forces foreshadows the type of coalition that must be built if affirmative action and other people’s victories are to be extended.

The victory, however, is not complete. The decision should be viewed as a door opener for more

vigorous action. The court's decision leaves open the possibility that other affirmative action plans may be impermissible. It also failed to define what constitutes "traditional patterns of segregation."

The victory will not be complete until affirmative action moves from the voluntary to compulsory stage. Compulsory affirmative action must begin with all public sector jobs. Nor should the federal government be permitted to provide contracts to any employer who

does not have an enforceable affirmative action program.

In 1952, Charles E. Wilson, the president of General Motors, expressed the sentiments of all monopolists and other reactionaries when he stated, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." We must untiringly explain the relation of Black freedom to progress and democracy by proclaiming loud and clear, "What's good for Black folks is good for all the exploited and oppressed in this country!"



from TUAD Conference

The Afro-American Struggle

Draft Resolution for Pre-Convention Discussion

Issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party, USA

INTRODUCTION

Comrade Henry Winston set forth the task and initiated the review of our Party's policy in this field. He asked that we take a fresh look at the new developments of the situation in respect to the life and struggles of the Black American community and of our operating policy and our main theoretical premises in regard to the task of Black liberation.

So, for about a year, there have been several meetings devoted to an examination of the status, the trends and the tendencies within the life of the Afro-American community, in relation to the developments in the country as a whole, with special emphasis on the class relationships as well as with due regard to events and developments both locally and globally.

On this question we find brilliant insight, inspiration and a special theoretical guidance in the teachings of Lenin. The national question, the cause of national liberation, is a major aspect, a strategic component of the world revolutionary process. In his article "The Working Class and the National Question," published in Pravda on May 10, 1913 (Collected Works, Vol. XIX, p. 92) Lenin placed this question high upon the roster of strategic relationships for continuing attention. This passage is a fitting text, a theoretical premise for our approach to the Resolution of the Afro-American question. Lenin wrote:

"The national question must be clearly considered and solved by all class conscious workers. . . . Today the bourgeoisie fears the workers . . . and is betraying democracy, advocating oppression or unequal rights among nations, and corrupting the workers with nationalist slogans. For different nations and nationalities to live together in peace and freedom . . . a full democracy, upheld by the working class, is essential. No privilege for any nation or any one language! Not even the slightest degree of oppression, or the slightest injustice in respect of a national minority—such are the principles of working class democracy. The capitalists and landowners want at all costs to keep the workers of different nations apart, while the powers

that be, live splendidly together as shareholders in profitable concerns involving millions. Class conscious workers stand for full unity among workers of all nations in every educational, trade union, political and such workers' organizations."

Lenin's insight and injunction has lost none of its relevance. Socialism/Communism is the historically determined destiny of the working class and its allies, associates of all those oppressed by monopoly.

In Lenin's words: "The workers of the whole world are building up their internationalist culture which the champions of freedom and the enemies of oppression have long been preparing. To the old world, the world of national oppression, national bickering, and national isolation, the workers counterpose a new world, a world of the unity of the working people of all nations, a world in which there is no place for any privileges, or for the slightest degree of oppression of man by man."

The function of this Resolution, first of all, is to place our policy on solid rails of sound Leninist theoretical grounds that reflect accurately the reality of today, while taking into account that we are dealing, not with static phenomena, but "moving papers," and then to popularize as best we can without abusing this primary purpose.

The primary purpose is our own clarification, and confident assurance that we are on a Leninist track in addressing this most complicated of questions. There is sometimes an impatience to sloganize everything, to be contemptuous of the theoretical representation of things. But if we are confident of the soundness of the theoretical level of what we are about, then we can "wing it," have a popular loose and free-wheeling style. As when the roots of a tree are deep in our science and in reality, then the boughs and the branches can sway with the wind, and take tactical advantage wherever the winds of chance and opportunity blow. But without sound theoretical premises, without certainties that we are on proper scientific rails, popularization would only be spreading confusion.

We have confidence that the Draft of our Resolution rides on sound, fundamental rails with which to develop popular presentation, and addresses with confidence many new questions that will develop in the nebulae of our politics.

We urge the fullest use of this Draft Resolution as the basis for discussions, educational, added studies

and articles for publication in the Daily World, Political Affairs and Party Organizer during the 22nd pre-convention discussion and beyond.

James E. Jackson
National Education Director
April 7, 1979

THE AFRO/AMERICAN STRUGGLE

—Against racism and discrimination

—For economic, political and social equality

As capitalism sinks deeper into its general crisis, as unemployment lines lengthen and living costs soar, the binders of discrimination and racist oppression against Black Americans become more unbearable. Marooned on islands of poverty and misery, taunted by the luxurious living style, the flaunted affluence of a ruling class rolling in unearned riches, millions of Black Americans face an increasingly desperate crisis of survival.

No progress is possible without confronting the current myth of Black economic progress, the illusion of achieved equality. The relative economic position of the Black population has, in fact, declined in recent years. The income gap between Black families and the national average continues to widen. In such things as housing, health care and education, the gains of previous years are being eroded. Black unemployment remains at a depression level.

Further, as the crisis of the state monopoly economic system worsens, sustained and deliberate efforts are being made to erase gains already made. The meager resources previously available for economic and social programs which aid the Black community are being reduced or eliminated.

Steps are being taken now as governmental policy to slow down the economy, create additional unemployment and reduce economic resources available for social services, particularly those which impact most on Black communities. All this will have an even more devastating effect on the Afro-American population.

Pressed into the blighted areas of the cities and poorest rural slums, where one of four heads of families is unemployed and half of their youth have neither jobs now or future prospects, the diseases of poverty are raising the death rate of Black Americans to a level unprecedented. Such is the situation confronting the least advantaged stratas of the nation's

Black citizens. What is their way out? Where does the freedom route of the Black people's movement lead?

The freedom struggle has taken several forms and projected many slogans. The variety of the demands which Black people fight for under their banner of real equality, genuine democracy, true freedom, and the extension of the skirmish lines—from South to North, from coast to coast—reveals how widespread is its absence. Some of the specific immediate demands of the Black people encompassed by the freedom slogan can be stated programatically as follows:

- Freedom is the right to have a full voice in deciding the affairs which govern the fate of the nation. It means Black citizens exercising the political power where they are "the many" and a just share of it where they are "the few."

- Freedom is a job at one's highest skill and the right to continue training and for promotion in accordance with one's ability.

- Freedom is a good-sized home furnished as you need it to live as a family in a comfortable way.

- Freedom is an open door for one's children to get a first-class education in a top-rate, non-segregated school system

- Freedom is all those other things which make a person's neighborhood a fit place to live in: where the streets are kept clean, the community hospital good, where there are playgrounds and parks and centers for young people's recreation.

- Freedom is the right to a community of one's own choice. It is the absence of segregation, of racially restricted and exclusive housing, jobs, clubs or what-not. Equally, it demands big-scale investments in the general rebuilding of the Black communities. It is a program of displacing slum housing and reconstructing the material foundation of the poor communities of



“Not even the slightest degree of oppression, or the slightest injustice in respect of a national minority — such are the principles of working class democracy.”



large Black populations.

- Freedom is security of one's person. It is the right to live free from arbitrary arrest, free from police terror and violence.

- Freedom is the right to self-respect, to be treated like a human being; the right to dignity and respect shown towards one's color, and race, and people; the right to be one's self and still be treated as the equal of any other American. It is the absence of *racism*.

Such concrete aspects of a program for equality and democratic rights are encompassed in the concept of freedom and appear to one degree or another in the programs of most of the organizations which together constitute the movement of the Black masses for freedom and equality.

In addition to such particular urgent needs which the movement of the Black people put forward, it also joins the struggle in support of such general causes as that of ending the arms race, reducing the arms budget and solidarity manifestations with South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), with South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, and all other victims of imperialism in battle for freedom.

The anti-humanist nature of the historically out-moded system of capitalism is manifested in its racist treatment of the Afro-American people. The values which the toil and creativity of this people have contributed to the formation, developments and wealth of the nation establishes the objective and historical fact of the 30 million Black Americans being a component part of the U.S. nation.

U.S. racism in doctrine and practice is a capitalist concoction compounded of prejudice and ignorance and was first administered on a mass scale to overcome resistance to the introduction and maintenance of slavery.

Slavery in the U.S. was a labor system based upon the capture and bondage of human beings from Africa, their shipment, sale and subsequent employment in the economy as human machines, work animals; sold and resold as chattel-commodities on the capitalist market. The apologists of the slave merchants and cotton capitalists shamelessly developed the doctrine of the inherent supremacy of peoples white skin and the inherited inferiority of people of black skin.

Despite the terrible torture that the horrible hypnotic of racism has caused the nation—including the four years of Civil War—the monopolists still use this ideological rot to promote race conflict between the exploited and convert it into profit.

Divisiveness and Diversion

Racism, prejudice and hatred against Black people are still counted upon by the capitalist rulers to "blow the mind" of the white workers, to divert the anger of the white and Black exploited masses away from the state monopoly class of exploiters and on to one another.

Racism is the ideological alley where the greed of Big Business and all profiteers join in assaulting and robbing the Black communities.

Racism is the blinders on the eyes of the white working people which prevent them from seeing the threat to, and violation of, their own true class interest when discrimination is tolerated against Black citizens.

But racism is not merely an offense to human dignity. In its modern usage, it is a sophisticated ideological and psychological instrument and mechanism used by the monopolies for generating extra-surplus value from the exploitation of all working people through the super-exploitation and oppression of Black people. Furthermore, racism is a special capitalist tool for dismembering the unity of the working class, for severing the class ties which objectively bind the workers of all nationalities, races and cultures into one brotherhood of struggle against their monopoly capitalist exploiters.

Black people were involved from earliest times in the rise and development of this American nation, and represent a historically determined component part of it. Nevertheless, because of the special forms of oppression and racial discrimination to which this people has been subjected, it has also been segregated from the nation, forcibly kept from partaking fully of its rightful status as an equal member of the national family.

Notwithstanding the fact that Blacks communicate in the language common to the rest of the nation and have made major contributions to the economy and to the culture of the nation, the severe patterns of anti-Black discrimination and white racial exclusiveness have compelled them to be a people apart. They are set apart by identifiable features of their African origin, by barricades of physical segregation—especially in housing and job classifications—as well as invisible walls of social ostracism and psychological rejection.

While fighting to secure their full status as equal citizens of the American nation, Black people assert their identity as a distinctive people.

The singular experience of, and epic struggle against

the cauldron of slavery's horror and segregation's aftermath, were unique factors which fused a national consciousness that continues to be tempered in the fires of the ongoing struggle for freedom. It is such singular historical and contemporary experiences which contribute to and account for the special national features of the culture of Black people.

The particular national aspect of the Afro-American people has its distinctive cultural expression in a rich and growing body of literature and artistic creation. It is manifested also in the prideful reclamation of their history and in the popularization of esthetic taste and styles of American and African origin. This fight for self-determined esthetic standards and art forms appropriate to the tasks of giving cultural expression to the Black's own historical and contemporary experience and creativity, is an important part of the general struggle for dignity and freedom. At the same time, it enriches the culture of the nation as a whole, *influencing and being influenced by the whole of U.S. culture.*

Class Stratification

As the U.S. nation as a whole is class stratified, just so the Black component has an internal class structure. But the most important thing about the class stratification of the American Black people is its overwhelming working class composition. Some 90 percent of the total population are of the working class. Another 3 percent are poor farmers and toilers in agriculture. There is an urban lower middle class stratum of professionals, teachers and shopkeepers who represent 5 percent of the total. Less than 1 percent have a command of finances sufficient to qualify for the category of capitalist.

The principal class content of the Black people, therefore, is that reflecting its dominant class component—the working class. In the long run, it will be the requirements, needs, aspirations and ultimately the leadership of personalities from the working class stratum of this people that will become reflected in the program, goals, strategy and tactics of its freedom movement.

Black workers know from their place in the production relations that it is not the white man in general who profits from the racist degradation and added economic exploitation to which the Black worker is subjected; it is the *white capitalist* who is the common exploiter of both Black and white workers.

The conflicting tendencies and policies within the freedom movement are a reflection, to one degree or another, of the contradictory interests of the two basic

class forces in the total society—the working class influence versus the capitalist influence.

The working class influence will express itself in emphasis on building the movement on the basis of broad popular unity to maximum strength, in gaining working class allies from among the white majority; in giving a democratic structure to its concert of leadership; in elaborating a strategy—a longer-range plan, and associated tactics which further the realization of the basic goal and objectives. The influence of the working class upon policy and leadership makes for planned struggles carried out in a well organized and militant manner. Under its influence the movement reacts to spontaneous developments but it does not base its course upon them.

The capitalist class influence within and upon the Black people's movement reflects itself as policy that avoids struggle and appeal to the masses; invites compromise without struggle and accommodation to the conditions that obtain. It often projects the prejudices and hatred of the big capitalists into the movement, especially in opposition to alliance with white workers, as well as in "Soviet-phobia" and anti-communism.

Tendencies to excessive individualism, arbitrary and anarchistic decisions, underestimation of questions of organization, of tactics and alliances, of choice of forms of action appropriate to the circumstance are some of the negative inclinations of leaders who represent and reflect non-working class influences and accommodationist tendencies.

The influence of the non-working class forces on the direction of the movement may cause sections of it to raise slogans for separation and national exclusiveness. These would have the effect of isolating the Black people's freedom cause and divorcing it from its natural allies in associated anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist struggle.

The dynamic of the freedom struggle discloses more and more the fundamental unwillingness and incapacity of the monopolists to affect the kind of radical reforms which are required to secure a fair and equal level of civil and social equality, political democracy, material well-being and economic and cultural opportunity for the Black masses. State monopoly capitalism has no will to solve the problems of Black oppression; indeed it is the capitalist class which is the cause and source of the problem. Increasingly the experience of the most conscious and thoughtful participants in the struggles of the movements will suggest the validity of the judgment of the Communist Party: that the road to Afro-American Liberation, to genuine equality and

self-fulfillment of Black Americans as a people, lies in the constant waging of the battles for the just economic, social, political and democratic reforms urgently demanded this present day. In so doing to prepare the forces and establish alliances *within the framework of a great, popular anti-monopoly strategy*, reflecting the needs of all working people. That will open the way for development of the struggle to its logical revolutionary conclusion—to the displacement of the racist exploitative system of state-monopoly capitalism by a new and just society—Socialism.

Even before the birth of the nation, Afro-American people—who had come mainly as chattel in chains—had mounted the struggle to be free. The epic freedom struggle of Black Americans has remained a continuing theme in the historical saga of the rise and development of this American nation. Their thunderous path of struggle is ineradicably a major force in the unfolding of the country's history.

The nation which has developed in the United States is a complex community of peoples drawn from a wide range of ethnic and racial types from many countries and all continents. This U.S. American nation can be likened to a national family of distinctive peoples who

are more or less identified by the dominant traits of their respective earlier national origins. Identity with the nation is decisively determined by the economic values added to the wealth of its natural resources in the furtherance of its development. By this test no component element of the population has more claim on membership in the U.S. nation than Black Americans who have contributed their brawn and brains for the development of the economy of the nation, as slaves and as free persons. No people have added a greater dimension to the culture of the nation of the U.S. than that which constitutes the specific national contribution of the Afro-American people.

The U.S. nation was reared in the cradle of the marketplace under the iron-fisted dictatorship of the class which has grown powerful from exploiting the value-creating labor of the working masses. The *capitalist class* always gave precedence to its own interest over that of the nation as a whole. It sacrificed the even and rounded development of the nation to its special class interests. Whereas the true interests of the nation call for securing equality of status for every people, for each of its nationality components.

RALLY WITH THE PEOPLE

**Sunday
August 26
Cobo Hall
Detroit
2 p.m.**

Stop The Monopoly Ripoffs

Put People Before Profits

Racism, National Oppression and Super Exploitation

Under the hegemony of the capitalist class, the nationality composition of the nation was shaped on the basis of the racist concepts of superior and inferior peoples, on the foundation of white supremacy, on the imposition of discriminatory barriers against the Black people as well as the Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian and Asian minority peoples.

Progressive development of the nation requires that each of its component peoples enjoy full equality of rights and genuine democratic opportunity for participation with all others in determining the affairs of the nation. The rise of the American nation of the U.S. was marked by the near genocide of the Native American Indian and the brutally enforced exclusion of other peoples, most particularly of Black people, but also of the Chicanos, Puerto Rican, and Asian minorities.

The interests of the monopolist ruling class clash with the needs of the nation. The security and future development of this nation require the leadership of another class; that class which is not parasitic, but the most productive class of the nation—the working class. All future progress of the nation is related to the outcome of the struggle of the working class to bring about a timely replacement of the monopolists' class from the leadership of the nation. The cause of the nation, all the unrealized democratic and progressive needs and expectations which the respective peoples of the nation sought and fought for, become now the duty and responsibility of the working class to champion and to lead the nation in all and each of its component parts to victorious fulfillment.

Victory in the national struggle can be gained in our day only as a *function* of the international struggle of the working class against monopoly and imperialism. Its *national cause* has the distinction and integrity of its own national banner; this struggle unfolds on a particular sector of the common global front of the unitary world revolutionary process. In an article on "The Working Class and the National Question" (Vol. 19, p. 91-92) Lenin already noted that:

"... the bourgeoisie fears the workers . . . and is betraying democracy, advocating oppression or unequal rights among nations and corrupting the workers with nationalist slogans.

"In our times the proletariat alone upholds the real freedom of nations and the unity of workers of all nations."

The nation's progress, as well as that of each of its nationality components—particularly so for the at-

tainment of the freedom and equality liberation goals of the 30 million nationally and racially oppressed Black Americans—depends upon relating the struggle for true national interests to the working class-led struggle against the monopolists.

A historically necessary and just cause in itself, U.S. Black liberation is a vital link in a common chain. The liberation cause of Black Americans is inherent in, and crucial to the struggle for the democratic realization of the U.S. nation, to peace and social progress, to the democratic, national liberation and socialist goals of the world revolutionary process.

The Black American question in the U.S. is a national question of a special kind, of a specific type.

Black Americans are a component people of the U.S. suffering the oppression of a national minority. Black people are integral to the U.S. nation, but are deprived of their rightful full and equal status in the family of the U.S. nation.

A complex pattern of racist prejudices and practice operates in the nation to deprive Black people of economic, political and social equality with their white fellow citizens.

Blacks are deprived of their just and equal share of things on the racist grounds that the white "race" is superior and inherently privileged and that all others are consequently inferior and therefore unequal. This is the basic assumption of all racism, which has no scientific basis whatsoever.

The national aspect of the oppression of Black people manifests itself in the fact that racism subjects all social strata of Black people to racist humiliation and violation of their dignity as human beings.

This exploitation has a threefold effect on Black women. To the effects of class and national oppression, must be added the impact of the ideology and practice of male supremacy. Thus, millions of Black women are forced to work under below standard conditions and for wage rates that extract an added measure of surplus value from their labor.

In the present economic crisis situation, Black women, especially working class women, the poor and seniors, are being compelled to bear a disproportionate share of the burden being foisted upon the people of the country by the monopolies and the government.

In addition to the above, Black women are subjected to constant attack from a capitalist class culture which conspires to deny presentation of the heroic, life sustaining, intellectual, moral and political contribution Black women have made and continue to make to the struggles of their people and the nation as a whole.

Racism is the most damaging ideological device for shortcircuiting class consciousness and fostering divisions and splits in the working class and anti-monopoly masses of the nation.

As a consequence of racist oppression, deprivation and extra-exploitation, the masses of Black people have been forcibly held in a condition of underdevelopment. For the realization of equal opportunity, a wide-ranging program of affirmative action measures must be put into force to compensate partially for the long years of deprivation of equal rights.

All social strata of Black people aspire to be free from the oppression, special exploitation, racial indignities and humiliation to which Blacks are subjected; yet not all social strata are equally burdened, nor equally determined in their resistance.

A mark of, and major consequences of the special oppression levied against Black Americans is the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the Black population are of the working class. The high proportion of workers to the total Black population points to the basic class source of Black oppression and indicates the monopolists' super-profit-making object of that oppression. The wealth of the capitalist ruling class has its origins in the seizure of the unpaid-for values created by the labor of the workers; i.e. in the exploitation of the working class.

Racism is used to pay Black workers less, to deny them access to training, to bar them from upgrading and promotion, to consign them to the least desirable and lowest paid jobs. All this increases the amount of profits taken by capitalists and adds destructive competitive pressures between workers.

The dominance of the working class within the social stratifications of the Black American people gives this particular national question a vital working class character. It is the decisive factor in determining the content and form, the goals and objectives, the strategy and tactics of the struggle for equality and freedom for Black people.

Basic Workers and Other Class Strata

While still handled as a nationality reserve labor force in large areas of the economy, Black workers have won an inseverable status in the proletarian core of the U.S. working class. In basic industry production they are an integral presence in a one to three ratio. Black workers are an ever-strengthening force in the ranks and a steadily increasing factor in the leadership of the decisive sectors of the U.S. trade union move-

ment. Playing a leading role in the class struggle and national liberation, Black workers bind the national liberation cause of Black people to the anti-monopoly-class emancipation objectives of the working class as a whole.

The decisive social force objectively allied to the cause of Black liberation is the working class. It is bound by historical necessity to struggle ceaselessly for its own class emancipation from exploitation and ruination, to fight the ruling class of monopoly capitalism, the system that is the common foe, the system responsible for the racist oppression of Black Americans, as well as of Chicano, the Native American Indian, the Puerto Rican, Asian, and other oppressed national minorities in the United States.

Unity and alliance with the working class—which is multi-racial and multi-national—is the vital link that must be welded by each people in struggle for freedom. Additionally, each of the oppressed nationalities should strive to strengthen fraternal ties with one another in the course of struggle against the common monopolist foe and overcome the design of the oppressor to foster competitive, antagonistic relations among minority peoples.

The national liberation struggle of Black Americans remains an integral and allied cause of prime strategic importance for realizing social progress and attaining anti-monopoly goals. Without gains here there can be no vista of anti-monopoly victory in general.

The fact that the Black American people are so largely working class in their social composition makes linkage, and to a certain extent convergence, of the national struggle for Black liberation with the anti-monopoly and working class struggle, into being two aspects of a single anti-monopoly, democratic and revolutionary movement, against racist oppression and exploitation by the monopolists.

The working class strata of the Black population is nine tenths of the total but the other stratas, though numerically small layers, have their important significance.

There is an impoverished rural segment—about 3 percent of the total population—who are farm laborers, renters, tenants and small farmers, who retain a precarious grip on land parcels in the traditional areas of the southern countryside where the predominant majority of Blacks lived through the first third of this century.

Following in the path of the great W.E.B. DuBois, the best of the intellectuals of the Black community, influenced by their social and class reality, adopt the

working class standpoint and find their best aid to creative fulfillment in the Marxist-Leninist perspective.

The urban middle class are primarily engaged in providing cultural, educational, professional and social services to Black consumers. They are very poorly represented in that sector of the middle class which services the management and front offices of the corporate structures of the monopoly class.

It is especially upon this strata that the state monopoly bourgeoisie trains its ideological barrage with bribe offers and seductive blandishments. It strives to cultivate among Black people a leadership trend that will act counter to the working class policies and influence. It is necessary and possible to win over the major portion of the Black middle strata to play an active role as allies of the workers in the anti-monopoly struggle. The Black middle class suffers special discrimination in addition to experiencing all the insecurities of the small proprietors, tax-burdened home owners and the other hazards to the well being of the lower middle class in general.

A fraction of one percent of the Black population are capitalists in that their wealth is based on hiring and exploiting labor, etc. In the main, this thin strata can be slotted in the general category of small businessmen, small capitalist. They experience no inconsiderable amount of racial discrimination in seeking to function with their white capitalist peers. They experience the heavy weight of the ruthlessness of monopoly, the banks and insurance companies as does small business in general. This small but influential stratum can be won to play a positive role on a number of anti-imperialist issues: in support of peace, detente, trade with African and socialist countries, and, against all kinds of racist indignities, as well as around certain tax, health and urban renewal questions.

The monopoly ruling class makes use of the dependence of certain elements of the Black businessmen types, as well as of certain opportunist elements of the middle class, to maneuver with token signs of progress against discrimination. As tokens of success, a few Blacks are appointed to prestigious or high salaried positions in expectation that they will serve as decoys to divert the wrath of the masses resulting from the agony of their desperate circumstances. They are given such positions to promote illusions in the viability of capitalism, and to come out as apologists for one or another policy of imperialism at home or abroad.

While other class strata have not exhausted their capacity for making a positive contribution on the

broad front of activity against racist proscriptions, given the nature of the monopoly class enemy to be addressed, the fact of the working class preponderance in the Black population, with its strategic location being in the very vitals of the production base of the system, make the working class strata objectively situated to play the leading role in the struggle for Black liberation.

Under pressure of the movement of Blacks and their allies, changes occur in the forms of oppression. Brute force and terror are supplemented by tokenism and yielding of certain concessions. This is the equivalent of the neo-colonialist maneuvering which imperialism undertakes to influence politically and to gain or retain economic control of the former colonial countries.

Under the impact of the rising militant struggle of the national liberation and working class forces, reforms and concessions are forced from the state monopoly ruling class. Such concessions are testimonials to the power of struggle and unity. Such concessions are never designed by the exploiter class as down payments on real freedom; they are reluctantly yielded under pressure and with hopes of using them for disassembling the liberation movement.

Power: the Political Essence of the Struggle

In its political essence the struggle of Black Americans "to be free" is a struggle to gain for Black people adequate political power to secure and safeguard their rights as individual citizens and as a component nationality, *a national minority of the United States*. It is a political struggle consonant with the effort of the working class and the totality of anti-monopoly progressive forces for *genuine representative government, for real democracy*. Black people fight to eliminate all disfranchisement laws and ruses such as gerrymandering. Black Americans demand real political power in the areas of their majority, and counter-gerrymander reapportionment measures to provide for maximum representation everywhere and at all levels of government.

In addition to perceiving properly the special relationship which the Black American people have to the U.S. nation, and understanding correctly the class interrelation and strategic alliance between the entire working class and the Black American people as a whole, it is necessary to consider the way world developments impact upon the struggle for Afro-American liberation.

The struggle for Black liberation takes place in a period of a sharply deepening crisis of U.S. capitalism in the advanced state of the general crisis of world capitalism.

The times feature the steady march to victory of peoples who have achieved their national liberation. This is a time when real socialism advances the frontiers of social progress and the banner of Marxism-Leninism leads along all roads which the peoples of the world revolutionary process are taking.

Black Americans take pride in and experience deep inspiration from the historic achievements of working peoples the world around. The dictum of Frederick Douglass that "a blow struck for freedom anywhere, is a blow against tyranny everywhere" is a part of their national traditional mindset.

Great is the attractive power, the impact of the example of the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union. There poverty and racism have long been banished, and its hundred distinctive nationalities are flourishing and partaking as equal partners in the building of a Communist society, without class exploitation or national oppression. The impact and influence of the example of the community of socialist states, powerfully aids the cause of Afro-Americans. The revolutionary achievements of Cuba, of Ethiopia, of Angola, make their weighty imprint upon the consciousness of masses of Afro-Americans in struggle for equality, justice and freedom.

More and more the program and ideology of the cause of Black liberation will reflect the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science and orient on the universal working peoples' goal of socialism/Communism.

One manifestation of the deepening of U.S. capitalism's general crisis is seen in the fact that the monopolist class has to resort more frequently to making its unconscionable drive for maximum profit and political domination under a camouflage canopy of social demagoguery and carefully constructed deceptions.

While not for a moment renouncing its reliance upon the law of violence, repressive legislation, police terror and prisons, while continuing its patronage of ultra-right racist, political and organizational adventurers, the ruling class is compelled to maneuver with yielding certain concessions to the masses as an endeavor to divert them from their course, to detour and diminish the rising tide of working class and anti-monopoly struggle.

As this is so in general, it is no less so with respect to the special oppression of Black Americans. The

monopolists hope to dull the determination to do battle and dissemble the forces of Black liberation, through greater recourse to the tactic of *reformism* taken from the ideological grab bag of *social democracy*.

The policy of neo-colonialism abroad has its home equivalent in neo-segregationism. The grotesque face of racism is fitted out with new cosmetic mask of deception and misrepresentation.

The very concept of "equality" is abused and misused to continue racist practices of robbing Black people of their just economic and civil equal rights, as revealed in the Bakke and Weber cases.

Racist Exploitation

The violated civil rights of the victims of racism cannot be simply equated to the common class exploitation and impoverishment of all workers. Racist oppression is an additional dimension of extra-exploitation and double-deprivation which state monopoly capitalism imposes upon Black people as a special mechanism in the total exploitative system.

All the means which have been and are used to bribe, entice and convert talents from the ranks of labor into its misleaders and into apologists for the monopolist's class system are resorted to with a new stress in respect to the cause of Black liberation.

The ideological struggle against social democracy, reformism, and its most virulent stock-in-trade—anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism—is a high priority task of Communists within the Black freedom movement.

The anti-Communism/anti-Sovietism essence of reformism is designed to sever the cause of Black liberation from the working class struggle against the monopolists at home, and isolate and alienate Black Americans from the global front of anti-imperialist struggles for social progress, democracy and socialism; and, for national liberation in Africa, Asia, Latin America. Here the *historic connection* of international proletarian solidarity is made between the socialist world of working class power and the cause of national liberation.

World Context

The struggle of Black Americans for equality and freedom from racist oppression is objectively a part of the world revolutionary process on three counts:

First, the Black population being predominantly working class, comes under the impact of the universally valid laws governing the origin of class struggle

and development of class consciousness; its basic class composition binds it in international ties to workers in struggle against imperialism the world over.

Second, as an oppressed people in struggle for equality and freedom, it is objectively aligned with the world anti-imperialist cause of nations and nationalities fighting to be free.

Third, it is a vital component of the coalition of working class and popular anti-monopoly forces whose struggles for economic progress, democracy and peace, against racism and reaction, are destined to prepare the way for displacing the government of state monopoly capitalism by one of popular power.

The struggle for equality and real democracy is at basis a struggle for the transfer of power from the hands of the state monopoly ruling class to the control of the people.

The struggle for democratic rights in general, as for equality for Black Americans in particular, cannot be received as a gift from the hands of the very monopolists who fashioned the undemocratic system in the first place, and concessions which can be wrested from them through struggle, while important, will never measure up to either need or justice.

The struggle for democratic rights and equality must be logically extended to that of a conscious anti-monopoly struggle for a government of people's power and working class leadership.

Such a government would proceed to transfer the ownership and management of the corporate private control of the national wealth, of the natural resources, the banks and the basic industries, the 'agromonopolies, and the transportation trusts, to peoples' democratically administered government ownership.

Such an anti-monopoly government would drastically reduce military appropriations and the armed forces. It would affect radical democratic reforms in the three branches of government on each level. Racism in all respects would be outlawed. It would put into force a real affirmative action program for true equality. Such a government would open the way to socialist reorganization of society, headed by the working class, under the ideological guidance of the historically confirmed political science of human liberation/Marxism-Leninism.

The cause of Afro-American equality embodies the essence of the internationalism of working people and the true class interests of the multiracial, multinational working class of the U.S.A. In the spirit of John Brown, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, William Sylvis, Harriet Tubman,

Sojourner Truth, W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robeson and other heroes and heroines of the past, we are certain that the historically established bonds of struggle against oppression and exploitation which unite working people of all races and nationalities should always be cherished, nourished and strengthened.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary year of its founding, the Communist Party, USA has every reason to look back in pride to its contributions to the cause of Black Americans' liberation, to the combatting of racism and to the development of relations of Black and white unity on the solid basis of equality and justice. The outstanding service of the Communists and the light which the science of Marxism-Leninism casts upon the pathway of struggle, gives assurance of new victories, of confidence in the future.

Throughout its 60 years our Party has always given special attention and emphasis to those activities and struggles which advance the cause of Afro-American equality as vital to upholding the interests of the working class and the nation as a whole. At this stage of the struggle for equality we are determinedly pursuing this line in all major areas of life. The multiple crises inflicted on our country by the greed and piracy at home and abroad of the state monopoly establishment, have made urgent an intensification of our activities and even deeper involvement in the struggles of the masses.

In the area of the crisis of everyday living, the area of the economic front, present-day problems require increased efforts on our part to help the working people as a whole resist the offensive of the monopolies. In each area, special account must be taken of the specific relationship to Afro-Americans' need and struggle for equality.

In their classic teaching, the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels wrote that Communists are distinguished from all other political parties because they alone "point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality," and because they "always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." Observance of these principles in practice enabled Lenin to project that immortal call to battle that has already changed the world and is still changing it: "Workers and oppressed peoples of all lands, Unite!"

URGENT ISSUES FOR ACTION, FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR FULL EQUALITY

Economic Equality

- Real affirmative action programs with quotas, time limits, goals and penalties for failure to fully comply, in all private and public employment. To secure the judicial reversal and legislative nullification of Bakke; to defeat the arrant racist challenge to economic equality represented by the Weber case and the Sears-Roebuck assault on Affirmative Action.

- Large government financed and operated public works programs to provide jobs at highest skills for the jobless at union wages. Expand the housing program and wipe out all urban blight. Job training programs for guaranteed jobs on the basis of Affirmative Action.

- Cut military budget by at least 50 percent and use funds for social services. Cut military production and convert plants to peacetime production. All hiring through government hiring offices, employing Black supervisory staff in equal numbers.

- Organize the unorganized, especially in the South and especially the electrical-electronics, textile, chemical & fertilizer, service and other industries with high employment of Afro-American and minority workers. Organize service trades and domestic workers.

- Eliminate all North/South wage differentials and fix them at the higher level. Eliminate all Black/white wage differentials and nationally standardize job classifications and occupational categories.

- Across the board wage increases to be the policy of the trade union movement to eliminate percentage wage increases. Increase minimum wage to \$5 per hour.

- Unemployment compensation, at a living wage to all jobless, including first time job seekers. Uniform federal standards tied to the cost of living for full duration of unemployment.

- End all cutbacks in social services and increase the same. Place all social services and education under federal funding and control. Raise Social Security payments for all to federal standard for decent living regardless of past earnings. Cover all people of retirement age.

- Workers on all hazardous jobs be given premium pay, safer and healthier working conditions, shorter work weeks, early retirement at full pay, full free medical care, semi-annual medical checkups, etc. In short, make all these jobs premium jobs with union inspectors and on-site federal safety control.

- Plants be built in urban areas with large Afro-American and minority populations. Adequate mass transportation to provide ready access to the plants. Government financed housing near the plants at rents and prices workers can afford and with no discrimination. For a federal law to make it illegal for runaway shops and plants to abandon urban areas with a provision for government takeover and operation with the workers' control.

- Passing of a Youth Full Employment Act with strong affirmative action sections and severe penalties to guarantee compliance, especially by large employers and governments to reduce youth unemployment rate at least to the national average.

For Special Measures for the Relief of Farmers and the Rural Poor

With their numbers depleted, even the remaining Black farmers—under the combined assault of the state tax assessors, the marketing producers and farm implement monopolists, the big landlords and agribusinesses—are suffering ruin and being driven from the land. The working and living conditions to which the migratory workers are subjected surpass description. The plight of tenant farmers is that of desperation.

We call for the enactment of a full program of reform measures to meet the urgent needs of the farmers and rural folk that they may have a decent living standard and retain their land as individual owners and/or as members of cooperatives. Such a program must include a debt moratorium on all bank loans and canceling of taxes. It must provide for Government subsidies and long-term interest-free loans for housing construction, modern farm implements, seed and fertilizer grants, free transportation, storage and marketing services, and, for the extension of all social services, health, education and other benefits to rural people.

Political Equality

- The political and electoral struggle is one of the major fronts of the struggle for political power to help secure and safeguard the freedom of Afro-American people.

- End all racist barriers to Black Americans contending for, and occupying any public post—elective or appointive—without regard to the ratio of Afro-Americans in the total population. Secure majority rule for Afro-American peoples in all localities where they are the majority of the population, especially in the counties and towns of the South, and proportionate representation for expanded minority representation in others, including elective, appointive, administrative, judicial, school boards and administration, police and fire departments, etc.

- Initiate massive voter registration and voting drives to help elect anti-monopoly candidates, to elect Afro-American progressive candidates to office, especially Black trade unionists and labor leaders, for maximum representation in all legislative bodies.

- Build electoral apparatus in every Afro-American community to help guarantee people's anti-monopoly candidates and voter turnout.

- Establish effective procedures to secure and safeguard the Afro-American vote against gerrymandering, voter intimidation, inaccurate and short count census, and "metropolitanization" schemes. Secure genuine democratic reapportionment with redrawn electoral district lines to overcome gerrymandering, especially in the South and the urban areas, and on the basis of the 1980 census to maximize Afro-American representation on the federal, state and local level.

- End masked racist attacks on Afro-American and other minority public officials.

- Secure the election and appointment of Afro-American representation in all leadership levels of the trade union movement.

Social Equality

- Massive program for building public housing for low income and working people with safeguards against segregation schemes, but located where the need is the greatest—to the Afro-American and minority communities, both rural and urban.

- National Health Care program to make high quality health care available and free to all, with priorities in the Afro-American and oppressed minority communities.

- End the dual public educational system based on segregated housing patterns and districts and replace with one high quality integrated system with first priority to those schools in the ghettos and barrios. Build new schools in areas for immediate integration. Affirmative Action in hiring and promotion of teachers,

professors and administrators at all levels. Eliminate all teachers who exhibit blatant racist ideas, concepts and/or acts.

- Open admissions and free tuition in all federally supported schools. Special government grants for Afro-American students in major professions critically needed in the Afro-American rural and urban communities.

- Mandatory inclusion in all curricula, kindergarten through college, of the true Afro-American history and appreciation and instruction in the art, music, dance and culture of Afro-American people.

- End police brutality and police occupation of predominantly Afro-American high schools. Wipe out drug traffic in neighborhood and schools with a humane and socially responsible rehabilitation program for its victims.

- Provide adequate supervised recreation facilities in Afro-American and oppressed minority communities.

- Ban all racist organizations and racist activities. Outlaw the Klan and nazi activities.

Cultural Equality

- Direct federal, state and local funding for: Afro-American musical, theatre and dance groups; writers; the building and operation of performance centers in every major city; the setting up of community centers and high schools for the performing arts; and other facilities and aids for developing and displaying Afro-American cultural achievements.

- Establish real Affirmative Action guidelines in all aspects of the arts, music, theatre, literature; in the hiring, funding, exposure, access for Afro-American cultural workers.

- Non-compliance with real Affirmative Action guidelines by any group or organization to be the basis for cancellation of all government funding.

- Launch a broad sustained campaign to put an end to the denigration and racist portrayal of Afro-American images, life and history in the mass public and private media.

Urgent Ideological Questions

- *Against racism and neo-racism.* For the nullification and reversal of the Supreme Court's racist decision in the Bakke case. This case and the court action taken by Weber and the ruling sought by Sears Roebuck, are racist assaults on the rights of Black Americans to equality. These actions cynically endeavor to use legal

instruments won by Black Americans through long years of struggle to secure added support for white privileges.

- *Against recycling, Black displacement and red-lining practices to deny Black Americans access to decent housing.*

- *Against neo-segregationism and re-segregationism.*

- *Against opportunism and survivalism.*

- *Against gradualism and tokenism.*

- *Against neo-accomodationism and neo-colonialism.*

- *Against deracialization and Black nationalism.*

- *Against Maoism, Trotskyism, anti-Sovietism.*

- *For World Peace, National Liberation, Socialism.*

- *For internationalism and active solidarity support to anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist struggles on the world front of revolutionary progress.*



ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON AFRO-AMERICAN LIBERATION

A Preparatory Discussion
By Ted Bassett
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The Black liberation movement in the U.S. assumes new importance to the world revolutionary process in the present historical moment. It is the Achilles Heel of U.S. imperialism, which is now the mainstay of world capitalism at a moment when the world balance of forces has tipped the scale in favor of the socialist community, the national liberation struggle and the revolutionary working class movement in the capitalist countries.

The only force capable of beating back and dislodging U.S. state monopoly capitalism from its seat of power is the U.S. multinational working class.

But straddling the path of the class to its strategic goal of an anti-monopoly government, and forward to achievement of political power, is the centuries old system of Black oppression and superexploitation.

Now more than ever is the unity of the working class—based on a policy of class struggle—imperative to defeat the sinister aims of U.S. imperialism. At stake is the people's well being, democratic advance and social progress. At stake is peaceful coexistence and sheer human survival.

This also means a struggle against NATO as the major arms supplier for imperialism's neo-colonial thrust on the continent of Africa and throughout the Third World.

The struggle for ratification of SALT II, for detente and peaceful coexistence—a struggle for human survival—is also a struggle to slash the swollen military budget to provide funds for urgent social need.

It is the sacred task of Communists to provide effective assistance to the class to overcome the poisonous alien capitalist ideology of racism and weld the solid unity of the class.

Having suffered ignoble defeat in Vietnam, and setbacks in its neo-colonial maneuvers on the African continent, and at home facing the incurable problems of the ever-deepening general crisis of capitalism—

recurrent, deformed cyclical crises, slow growth, mounting chronic unemployment and stagflation—the white monopoly ruling class has unleashed an increasingly intensified offensive against the working class and the democratic forces, spearheaded by the ultra-right, the brunt of which is directed against the Afro-American people.

Genocidal Thrust

The deteriorating conditions of Black Americans, which is constantly worsening, represents a heightening of the genocidal thrust of U.S. state monopoly capital. This thrust is evidenced in the widening gap between the annual incomes of Black and white families, in the mounting, chronic unemployment of Blacks—double the rate for whites—which, according to the National Urban League, had for two decades never fallen below 6%. It is evidenced in the triple oppression of Black women, who more and more are forced into the position of heads of family households.

The dilapidated, substandard housing of the Black ghetto, accelerated by bank redlining, rent gouging, the unloading of inferior food and other consumer goods at higher prices, and the saturation of the ghetto with hard drugs—all take their toll in the higher death rate of Blacks, at certain ages twice that of whites.

The genocidal thrust is also seen in the rampant police brutality against Blacks, particularly against Black youth. As an example, in New York City within a span of a few months several Black youths have been murdered by police; in North Carolina the criminal "misjustice" frameup system continues to hold as hostages Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10; and in New Jersey, George Merritt and Gail Madden of the Plainfield 12 and lastly although Blacks are only about 12% of the population they constitute a majority in the nation's prisons and on death rows.

Begun under the Nixon Administration, and continued under Ford, there has been no letup in the drive against the Afro-American people, aimed at reversing the gains they made during the massive civil rights struggles of the late fifties and sixties.

This drive, by the most reactionary and most racist elements of U.S. state monopoly capital, continues because President Carter, who occupies the White House thanks to Black Americans who accorded him 91% of their vote (national survey of the Joint Center for Political Studies) refuses to take any meaningful action to relieve the distressful grievances of Blacks—even those of Black youth, 40% of whom are unemployed (twice the number of unemployed white youth). At the same time, the labor and democratic forces have as yet failed to mount a struggle strong enough to wrest meaningful concessions from the President and Congress.

Anti-Monopoly Coalition

What is required to defeat this ruthless offensive of monopoly against the working class and the democratic masses is the building of a broad, anti-monopoly coalition, encompassing the Black people's component—the prelude to an anti-monopoly government, powerful enough to impose drastic curbs on the giant multi-national corporation and banks, including nationalization under democratic control with worker participation, in order to provide for the most urgent needs of the masses.

The social base for a broad, anti-monopoly movement springs from big advances in technology and the consequent tremendous growth of the productive forces, which has drawn new millions of the American people into direct confrontation with monopoly. The Afro-American people and the other non-white oppressed minorities—the Chicano, the Puerto Rican, the Native American and Asian masses are outside of monopoly capital and consequently in the anti-monopoly camp.

Fight Back

The continuing upsurge of the Black people and the growing militancy of the working class, and the stubborn character of the strike movement demonstrate that the forces are taking shape that can halt and defeat the offensive of monopoly.

The massive civil rights struggles of the late fifties and sixties, which began with the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott of 1955, wrested the Civil Rights

Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 from the Congress. This invalidated the Jim Crow statutes in the states of the Old Confederacy, and ushered in a new phase of the Black freedom struggle—the fight on the economic front, signalled by the Watts rebellion of 1965, and the ensuing ghetto outbreaks in Detroit, Newark and other cities.

The continuing Black liberation upsurge was manifested in the recent strike of Black sanitation workers in Memphis and in the outstanding role of the Black workers in the steel, coal miners, postal workers, transportation and teachers' strikes. This upsurge was reflected in the April 8th Youth March for Jobs demonstration in Washington, D.C., in the Raleigh demonstrations demanding freedom for Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Ten, sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) and in the numerous anti-Bakke and anti-Weber demonstrations and solidarity actions in support of the freedom fighters in southern Africa and solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution.

The upsurge was reflected in the 1978 annual conventions of Black mass organizations: the NAACP, the Urban League and the SCLC—all of which adopted programs embodying most, if not all, the immediate demands of Black people. It is incumbent upon the Party to render full assistance to the struggle to win these demands. Standing as a barrier to the unfolding of a vigorous united struggle around these demands is anti-communism, overt and covert, which exists interlocked with racism.

The National Question

The Black question in our country remains basically a national question. The Black people still constitute a severely oppressed national minority, groaning under the lash of slave remnants in their day-to-day lives. The national, class and racial oppression of Black people is rooted in chattel slavery. Neither the growth of the working class component of the Black people, nor the quantitative and qualitative growth of the Black workers within the class, eliminates the national character of the question. What the greater weight of the Black workers does is to add tremendous strength to the class, thus facilitating the achievement of its immediate objective, as well as the long-range objective of attainment of political power.

The capability of the Black workers to play a sparkplug role, as evidenced in the great civil rights struggles of the 60's and the recent strike struggles, is

greatly enhanced. Likewise strengthened is their potential for exercising leadership of the Black liberation struggle. Black workers have a double historical role to play; namely, to exercise leadership over the Black liberation movement, and to play their just part in the general working class and democratic movement at all levels, including leadership.

Contrary to the deracialists, no Black, whether a worker, member of the middle strata or the small Black bourgeoisie, can for a moment in any part of the U.S. escape the racist practices meted out to the Afro-American people. Hence, all-class unity is still on the order of the day, indeed it is even more urgent because of the gravity of the present moment.

The left danger is expressed in an underestimation of the need for all-class unity; the right in an underestimation of the urgent need particularly at this moment to convert our Party into a mass party and build the mass circulation of our paper during the course of the struggle.

While the intensified racist thrust of monopoly capital is placing new obstacles in the path of the unity of our multi-national multi-racial working class in achieving unity based on a class struggle policy and is unquestionably the main danger, nonetheless it is necessary within the Black liberation movement to be on the alert against petty bourgeois nationalism although separatism—the-go-it-alone-policy—is on the decline. Historical experience demonstrates that it ebbs and flows in accordance with the degree of support from white democratic forces and progressives.

Right-wing social democracy is playing a key role in sustaining racism in the labor movement. Its chief practitioners are Al Shanker, George Meany and Bayard Rustin.

A key factor in the struggle for Black liberation is the historic alliance of the labor and the Black people's movements. During the early days of the CIO, a strong labor-Black people's alliance was built which made rich contributions to the Black liberation struggle. The post-war anti-Communist offensive of the ruling class split the CIO, and robbed it of its militant and capable forces at the very moment when the CIO and its Black allies were moving to carry out the historic tasks of organizing the South—a task yet to be fulfilled. The anti-Communist drive, interlocked with its natural complement, racism, split the Black liberation movement all down the line, severely weakening the movement—a blow from which it has not recovered during these past forty years.

In the struggle to overcome the class collaborationist policies in the trade unions, the coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) rank and file movements and the Black integrated caucuses in the trade unions have a key role to play. In this regard, the CBTU has an especially important role to play.

The fight for a six-hour-day, with no cut in pay, and the fight for affirmative action are not contradictory; they are complementary. They represent two distinctive aspects of the fight for jobs.

Of importance is the unity of the 3 million organized Black workers with the 1,500,000 Black unemployed for joint struggle.

The present situation demands more than seniority, which was an advance, although it had a built-in inequality. The fight for real equality is today's agenda for struggle and this calls for affirmative action. Real equality demands more than a pronouncement. Real equality will be achieved only when Black Americans are on the same economic, political, social and cultural level as white Americans.

The Ideological Offensive of Monopoly Capital

On the ideological front Jensen, Shockley and other ideologues of monopoly capital are spreading a crude, refurbished version of the old, worn out theory of white superiority. This is buttressed by period reruns on Main Street and in the small neighborhood moviehouses of such proven fomenters of racism as "Birth of a Nation," and "Gone With the Wind."

At the same time, the mills of the capitalist gods continue to grind out and popularize such racist code words as "reverse discrimination," "neighborhood schools," "merit" and "law and order."

A particularly sinister aspect of the offensive is the campaign against Black leadership, including outright murder, image blotting and harassment. Murdered were: Martin Luther King, Jr., Medgar Evers and Rev. Harry Moore, NAACP leaders and James Chaney, a Black youth lynched along with two white companions. Harlem's militant Congressman, the late Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. and Congressman Diggs of Michigan, both victims of a concerted drive to oust them from their positions at the height of their power and influence—both charged with alleged offenses for the most part overlooked in their white counterparts.

A play has appeared which distorts the life, activities and contributions of Paul Robeson, and a film which distorts Martin Luther King, Jr.

Earlier, books appeared presenting a distorted version of the Nat Turner slave revolt, as well as the epic struggle to free the Scottsboro youths, in which the role of Communists was blotted out.

What is urgently needed at this juncture by our class and people is a mass Communist Party commensurate

with the continuing upsurge. Indeed, only such a revolutionary mass party as ours guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism can render the assistance to the working class necessary to enable it to carry out its leading role in building a powerful anti-monopoly coalition capable of halting and defeating this stepped up economic and racist offensive.



Youth Job Crisis

By James Steele

Behind the shield of pretended concern for the worsening economic and social condition of Black youth, the *New York Times* recently launched an attack on them. The attack, which was part of the general offensive of state monopoly capitalism, came in a four-article series entitled "Young, Black and Unemployed." While the immediate aim of the series was to defuse the nationwide April 4 demonstrations for jobs and affirmative action, the long-range aim was to project an ideological drive consistent with the main line of the ruling class and its offensive against the living standards and democratic rights of the people.

Thousands of youth on April 4, representing hundreds of thousands of others, under the sponsorship of the nationwide "Youth March for Jobs," a broad coalition of labor, civil rights and church groups, marked

the 11th anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., by demonstrating in 19 cities across the nation. In Washington, D.C., a delegation of marchers met with the Carter administration and Congressional leaders, including the Congressional Black Caucus, in a demand for:

- 1) No cuts in CETA or other jobs programs;
- 2) Massive Federal job and job training programs for youth at decent wages and conditions;
- 3) Strong affirmative action — greatest efforts where unemployment is the highest, in the Black and other oppressed national minority communities.

Under the cloak of so-called objectivity, the *Times* series concluded by presenting a fatalistic picture of the situation confronting Black youth. They imply the uselessness of mass action by saying that the programs



(and implicitly the methods and forms of struggle) of the sixties have not worked. They assert that "All one can do is improve the escape routes," or that the country "will greatly ease the problem in another generation or so."

Although the paper's articles, particularly the second one, reveal the devastating impact of prolonged unemployment on the youth, at the same time they project a number of dangerous and divisive concepts and formulations that are designed to divert attention from the root cause of the problems, confuse the issue and thus defuse the mobilization of the decisive forces of struggle: the Black liberation and youth movements, labor, and other important social forces. These divisive concepts and formulations taken as a whole are put forward precisely at this historical moment because the socially explosive potential accumulating among Black youth in particular due to the brutal, extreme racism to which they are increasingly subjected, can no longer be ignored.

It needs to be emphasized that the *New York Times* under the misleading slogan "all the news that's fit to print" is very adept at using the technique of quoting others at length or printing letters to the editors as a way of presenting its own position but avoiding the heat.

For these reasons it is necessary to approach with the same caution as one would a rattlesnake, such concepts as Black youth constituting a "permanent underclass" subsisting on "an underground economy of illegal activities at which youths can find they can make more money with less effort."

Or the notion that the high rate of unemployment among Black youth is attributable to "the influx of illegal aliens" and "the entry of white women into the labor market." The writers bandied about terms like "fractured society" (presumably a new version of the "two societies" approach of the Kerner Commission) in which "a new political climate" is being created "that makes assimilation of blacks and other poor minorities more difficult."

There are the popular racist code words for Black youth: "unemployable," "unskilled," "uneducated." But even these venomous concepts are taken further. General Motors and Chrysler say, in essence, that the problem is neither the result of their lay-off/speed-up policy nor racist hiring practices, but that "unemployable" Black youth need "motivational development."

In the series, the *Times*, without committing itself, casually puts forward "solutions" of others like General Motors, Bethlehem Steel, the big-business Com-

mittee for Economic Development, National Alliance of Business, and of course the Carter Administration, that include: sub-minimum wage for teenagers, tax credit to corporations hiring "unemployable" youth, federal subsidies to corporations for training and developing the "motivation" of "uneducated" youth, and a national service which would be a non-military draft to put youth to work "servicing" the country's economy (more on this idea later). Temple University economist Walter E. Williams put forward the hard core corporate position succinctly in urging a "revision of the institutional structure of the labor market" to lower what he considers barriers to Black youth employment. In particular, he calls for abolishing minimum wage laws, or at least for youth, reducing the age at which one can legally leave school, easing restrictions of child labor, and on licensing and certification.

As we read the series, we are treated to a mixture of blatant as well as sophisticated racist concepts. Sar Levitan, head of the National Commission of Employment Statistics is quoted as saying that "racial bias in the job sphere is fading," and that "menial jobs are no longer dead ends for Black youth." But they spurn such jobs allegedly because Black leadership has created "unrealizable expectations" for Black youth.

"To be a busboy," Levitan says, "is an unacceptable job for a Black." As if this were not enough, he is also quoted as saying "Black leadership is looking for a quick fix. To blame it (high unemployment—J.S.) on Whitey (sic) is not very productive."

For example, one could read the series and conclude that racism, the lack of capital investment in industrial expansion and modernization—especially in the general areas in which there are large concentrations of Black people—the intensification of the rate of exploitation of the working class through speed-up, layoffs and the use of automation, runaway plants, the Nixon-Ford-Carter policy of austerity and cutbacks in social programs, herculean monopoly profiteering and the colossal diversion and waste of funds and resources into military spending were not factors of even the slightest significance in the astronomically high rates of joblessness endured by Black youth.

Yet against the backdrop of the deepening crisis of capitalism these are precisely the key factors that have and continue to create a situation in which nearly two out of three Black teenagers and nearly one out of four young Blacks, 20-24, are without jobs and without hope of getting one. The racist cutting edge of monopoly domination and militarism has resulted in an

historical pattern in which for the last two and one-half decades Black youth unemployment rates have been equal, double, and in some periods and areas triple that of the Great Depression.

Before going further, perhaps it would be helpful to more fully outline the socio-economic conditions of Black youth. However, as a point of departure, it is essential to restate some basic concepts.

In dealing with Black youth, especially that half of whom are jobless, such terms as "permanent underclass" are not only descriptively misleading but theoretically and politically unsound as well as politically divisive. The notion of a permanent underclass counterposes the interests and struggle of Black youth against Black workers, the working class and youth as a whole.

Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize that we are talking in the main about a section of the young generation of the multiracial, multinational working class— and a decisive section at that.

In their overwhelming majority, Black youth are young workers who are being locked out and thrown out of industry. But while this article focuses on Black youth, it does so bearing in mind the rising curve of unemployment and socio-economic crisis plaguing other racial and national components of the youth, as well as the young generation as a whole. Today's conditions of Black young workers could well mirror tomorrow's reality for growing masses of white young people.

The crisis conditions of Black youth reflect the growing impoverishment of the working class as well as the rapid sharply deteriorating conditions of Black people and the young generation. Thus, mass joblessness is one of the most critical issues before the working class, the trade union movement in the first place, just as it is for the Black community and the youth movement. It is a national disaster requiring massive emergency short term and fundamental long term measures.

The massive joblessness among Black youth is also an expression of the racist manner in which the development of state monopoly capitalism continues to build up a "surplus population" and a larger and larger "reserve army of the unemployed," to use Marx's terms. But this development and policy is now reaching a "critical mass," and new qualitative turning point. What is the ruling class going to do with approximately 6-7 million unemployed young workers, half of whom are Black? All evidence, including the policy approaches outlined by the *New York Times*, suggests

that with the assistance of the Carter Administration big business is preparing to "call up the reserves."

The cycle of poor education and high unemployment that tows Black youth under a swirling eddy of poverty and ignorance, allows business, government and the educational establishment to trade placing the blame on each other. But it is well known that the monopoly ruling circles through its think-tanks institutes, special commissions and studies, in general sets educational policy, practice, and approaches. For instance, in 1974 the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education proposed that the secondary educational policy be directed away from placing a premium on college training. This approach is applied with a vengeance in predominantly Black schools. The point is that monopoly capital is responsible for creating a "locked out, thrown out" generation of Black youth which is also with out decent education, work experience or vocational skills.

The result of the combination of objective development in the capitalist system and conscious ruling class policy is what monopoly now regards as a potential vast pool of cheap labor outside the protection of unions, of wage, health and occupational safety laws—millions of Black, Latino and white more or less permanently unemployed youth.

Much of the maneuvering within monopoly circles and within the Administration as well as manipulation of public opinion of the question of solutions of youth unemployment go in this general direction. Both the Administration and lately the mass media portray long-term unemployment as an exclusively Black problem but not one attributable to racism. Linked with this deception is the fraud that the problem can only be solved in the private sector. This represents an intense campaign to turn over this potential new source of domestic cheap labor to big business.

Thomas Murphy, chairman of the board of General Motors Corporation, for example, has said that he would like to hire the "unemployable youth" if he could "afford it." (Can you imagine such a statement from the head of a corporation that makes over \$25,000 a minute and nearly \$5 billion in the first three months of this year!)

At any rate, the Carter Administration proposal for a 50 percent tax credit on the first \$6,000 a corporation pays in wages in hiring "hardcore" unemployed youth, would enable GM to "afford it." But what becomes of the job of the UAW member who makes three times as much? Andy why should General Motors pay an "unemployable," "unskilled" Black youth a dime more than \$6,000 (really \$3,000 because

the taxpayer will pick up the other half in tax credits)? And how will such a wage help close the ever-widening racist wage-income gap? And how will these low paid young workers be able to afford the commodities they produce? They won't. In the long run the crisis of overproduction with its attendant lay-offs, especially the firing of the last hired, will increase, not decrease youth unemployment. But, of course, it is questions like these that the *Times* fails to pose or answer.

Proposals for a sub-minimum wage for youth or for a national service also represent various forms of incentives to big business directly or indirectly through increased state intervention. Basically, the corporations want to be unfettered in their ability to use economic and extra-economic coercion in their scheme to superexploit the youth and also in using competition for jobs—the pressure of job insecurity in their drive against organized labor.

Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA, has insightfully spoken of the “strategic plans” US state monopoly capitalism has in store for Black youth in which the mass of unemployed Black youth, through a combination of a military and non-military drafts are to be used as a union and strike breaking force domestically, and a new-colonial mercenaries in US imperialism's struggle against the national liberation movement, particularly in Africa.

The long-term permanent character of Black youth joblessness and its implications has not been adequately understood by the U.S. public. The 40-50 per cent of Black youth who were unemployed at the time of the 1976 presidential elections will soon be 20-24. While the rate of unemployment of these youth who are now in their early twenties is generally lower than for Black teenagers, it is still more than double that of their white counterparts. Nevertheless a recent poll showed that most whites believed that unemployment was a greater problem for white youth than for Black.

If the poll is accurate it is an indictment of the media conspiracy to hide the real conditions of Black people from white working masses and points to the need for a sustained mass educational campaign as part of the struggle against racism.

The extent and depth of the economic crisis facing Black youth is revealed in the following figures:

When the 1973-75 economic crisis hit, overall youth unemployment jumped from 10.8 per cent in November, 1973 to 16.8 per cent two years later. It stayed roughly at that level throughout the Bicenten-

nial, dropping to 13.8 per cent by November 1977, and one percentage point lower a year later. The official youth jobless rate now stands at 13.7 per cent or about 3-3½ million youth—half of whom are Black, Chicano or Puerto Rican.

During the same period unemployment among Black youth leaped from 29.1 per cent in November 1973 to 36.9 a year later. It reached 42 per cent in May of 1975, “dipped” to 35.5 per cent by the time of the Presidential elections, but rose to almost 40 percent on the first anniversary of the election of a President who promised “a job for every American.” When the *Times* published its series, 35.5 per cent of young Black Americans were unemployed.

It should be noted that even though official figures are bad enough, they nevertheless grossly understated the extent of Black youth joblessness. For instance, the National Urban League in its annual report, *The State of Black America—1979*, contends that the actual rate of unemployment of Black youth 16-19, is 57 per cent.

Based on the NUL's Hidden Unemployment Index which, unlike the government's methodology, takes into account first job seekers as well as so-called “discouraged workers,” the total unemployment figure is somewhere in the area of 10-12 million people. AFL-CIO researchers also puts the actual number of unemployed in this range.

Nearly sixty per cent of these workers are youth. And at least half of these youth are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican or other oppressed national minority youth. In other words, contrary to the Administration's statistics which show about 700,000 Black youth looking for work, in reality, there may be as many as two and one-half to three million Black youth who are unemployed.

To be young and Black means to be 2.6 times more likely to be unemployed. Those phenomenon correspond to the widening wage and income gap' between Blacks and whites. And it is historical not temporary—during periods of economic crisis. The truth is that not once in the twenty-five years since the Brown decision has Black youth unemployment dropped to the 1954 level of 16.5 per cent. Moreover, *only twice* (17.9 per cent in 1975 and 16.9 per cent in 1976) *during the same period has the rate of unemployment of white youth risen above all this all-time low for Black youth.* Thus, for the nation's Black youth the notion of a boom-bust economic cycle is meaningless. They have experienced only bust. In fact, this is the status of Black youth in respect to employment and therefore economically in general, worsened even dur-

ing periods of so-called prosperity.

In addition to high unemployment, racism also forces Black young workers to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of underemployment and low wages, shouldered by young workers and Black workers as a whole. For example, last year of the 11 million people working part-time, 55 per cent were under 25. But Black young workers were twice as likely as their white brothers and sisters to be involuntary part-timers; that is, wanting full-time work but unable to find it.

The low-wage/underemployment problem Black youth face is particularly acute in a situation in which the income of Blacks amounts to only 57 per cent of that of whites. It is in this context that one must view the significance of the fact that on the average (1977 figures) part-time workers earned \$2.87 an hour compared with \$5.04 an hour for full-time workers. Half of these part-time workers had a median income of \$56 per week as against \$212 a week for full-time workers. It is also against this backdrop that one must also view the meaning of proposals and programs that tie wages to the minimum or a sub-minimum wage. It is to chain youth, especially Black youth to the status quo of poverty and cheap labor.

Many try to dismiss the importance of jobs and decent wages for teen-age young workers by saying they only work to pick up some spare change. Even if that were so why should that be a reason for the principle of equal pay for equal work not to apply? However, the facts also prove why the concept "menial jobs are no longer dead ends for Black youth" is an utter absurdity from every standpoint. In regard to the importance of the wages earned by Black teenagers, as far back as 1970 a study showed that 14 per cent of Black teenagers working below the then minimum wage were the primary wage-earners in their families. Today, with the relative economic position of Black people sharply deteriorating, the wages earned by Black teenagers are even more decisive. One-third of all Black teens live in families with incomes below the official government poverty line. One-half live in families whose income is less than 50 per cent of the projected median income for a family of four to live "moderately." Thus, the wages of Black young workers in their teens is often decisive, if not as the main source of income then as a necessary factor in helping make ends meet.

Menial jobs mean menial pay. It is impossible to close the racist wage-income gap conspicuously created by the corporations on the basis of forcing those of the rising generation of Black workers who are able to find work to spend a half decade of underem-

ployment at low pay. Especially in the context of an accelerating scientific and technological revolution "menial jobs" as an option for Black youth under the notion that anything is better than nothing is to condemn them to forever be "drawers of water and hewers of wood"—unskilled, untrained, unprepared to function competently and creatively in modern day life. The only way they would be able to compete is as cheap labor.

The facts ridicule the *Times*-Levitan position that "racial bias in the job sphere is fading." The depression level conditions Black youth have progressively endured through the '60s and especially the '70s sharply reflect the racist cutting edge of monopoly capitalist exploitation. The problem is not that Black youth need "motivational development." The problem is the racist, profit-price gouging motivation of state monopoly capitalism which has shut off the avenues for the masses of Black youth to acquire quality education, meaningful vocational training, and productive employment with a future, leaving only a narrow alley for the "advancement" of an ever diminishing token few.

The facts also help underline why it is necessary to repudiate the line of the *New York Times* articles because its basic policy concepts help sentence Black youth to serve a life in the Carter-corporate prison of poverty ignorance, despair and oppression. The *Times* series meshes with and reinforces the position of the Carter Administration, major sections of big business and, of course, the ultra-Right, that either there aren't any solutions for Black youth and they should be left to make it on the basis of "survival of the fittest"; or that even those "acceptable" solutions must be subordinated to the general state monopoly policy of austerity, "balancing the budget," and "cutting government waste," etc. Therefore, the *Times* also reinforces the attack on the trade-union movement and on affirmative action.

There are fundamental ways of beginning to resolve the burden of permanent mass unemployment shouldered by Black youth. But they are and can only be based upon putting people before profits. There are real solutions but to be meaningful they must be advanced within the overall framework of the struggle for youth rights, Black liberation and the economic security of the working class as a whole. In fact, the demands of Black youth are part and parcel of the anti-monopoly movement.

While refuting the *Times*' concept, it is necessary to advance a few of our own. In the first place, it is not possible to solve the problem except through a massive

jobs creation effort. Such an effort can not be left up to the private sector because capitalists will produce only on the basis of maximum profits. And the big business profit drive is based on increasing the rate of exploitation through a historic policy of less workers producing more (lay-offs and speed-ups). Therefore, jobs can be created in the private sector only to the extent that there is a combination of shortening the workweek, conversion from military to peace production and a massive federal program of public works and public service jobs and job-training with affirmative action. Job creation can not be achieved except at the expense of corporate profits, that is, making monopoly pay.

Secondly, it is not possible to solve the problem of Black youth unemployment without instituting a comprehensive program of genuine affirmative action measures, including quotas, numerical guidelines, percentages and timetables. And this must be done at all levels and in all areas—education, public and private employment. In this context, government programs can compel private industry to comply with affirmative action measures. To create meaningful jobs for Black youth it is especially necessary to break down the racist, exclusionary character of most job classification systems, job training and apprenticeship programs as well as make adjustment in seniority systems to take into account historic patterns and practices of racial, national and sex discrimination.

This is a tremendously important task in combatting the idea that Black youth are “unemployable” because they lack training, skill and discipline, and that they lack these because they lack “motivation.” Basically, such notions not only attempt to deny the need for affirmative action but also go beyond the “merit only” argument of born-again racists. Concepts of “unemployable youth” living on a “non-work culture” in need of “motivational development,” suggest that Black youth do not merit decent jobs or pay.

Accordingly, not only is the blame placed on the worst victim but a cover-up of the shameful status of public education is carried out. Practically no school system in the country is able to graduate working class youth—Black, Latino or white—who can read at their grade level. Yet, every socialist revolution to date has had to tackle infinitely greater problems of mass illiteracy, insufficient scientific and technical cadre, etc. The experience of the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Vietnam, Cuba, and today of Angola, Ethiopia and several other countries taking the non-capitalist, socialist oriented path of development, shows that the problem of illiteracy, ignorance, “lack of skills” can be wiped

out in short periods of time. But then again, all this proves is that “the system works.”

Thirdly, it is not possible to alleviate the problem of unemployment in general, youth unemployment (Black youth especially) in particular, without drastically cutting the military budget. Using the funds saved, for example, on a massive program to rebuild the cities could open up mass prospects for Black youth to be trained and employed as bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters electricians, ironworkers, etc.

Such a program would need steel, coal, rubber, lumber, concrete, means of transport, heavy machinery. Much of basic industry as well as the building and construction trades could be revitalized with millions of new jobs, not to mention the youth who would be needed as architects, designers, draftsmen, etc. Equally important, the struggle of Black youth for jobs and equality would then be linked to a fight for their right to a trade and to be unionists. Thus the fight for ratification of SALT II looms as a decisive task for all who seek real, fundamental solutions to the problem of mass unemployment, especially among Black youth.

In the face of the many proposals for a sub-minimum wage, tax credits for the corporations to hire youth, and a national service—which I consider to boil down to a call for cheap labor dressed in moralistic and false-patriotic garb, there is another very basic concept. It revolves around the question: what kind of jobs, at what pay, under what conditions, doing what and for whom? The concept of youth jobs that should be fought for should be based on firm class struggle and anti-monopoly principles: 1) equal pay for equal work; 2) trade union wages and conditions; 3) meaningful job training based on the demands of modern industry, science and technology; 4) genuine affirmative action; 5) socially useful jobs; and 5) democratic administration and control to guarantee the decisive input of youth, community and labor.

The increasing attention now being given to the problem of Black youth unemployment shows that state monopoly capital is vulnerable on this issue. There is great concern in the ranks of the ruling class about the explosive potential of the struggle for Black youth for economic security. What is feared is not only the possible return of “long, hot summers” but even more that the fightback of Black youth play the role in this period as the sit-in movement did in the early 1960s, that Black youth will ignite a new level of united mass action of the youth, Black liberation, labor and people’s anti-monopoly movement as a whole.

To help release the full potential of Black youth in

creating mass struggle constitutes one of the most important tasks in this period for all Left, progressive and democratic forces in and outside the youth movement. Achieving this requires organizing and building support for Black youth on the basis of anti-monopoly concepts. It requires a greater fight for program, political direction and ideological clarity.

What young people themselves are won to fight for is one of the key links in the struggle. Multiracial, multinational youth unity and building an alliance between the trade union movement and the movement for jobs for youth is also of decisive importance. A vital task of unity is preventing the influence of concepts that place the blame on the victim or that pit one sector of the unemployed against another. In this context, the notion that jobs Black youth could get are being taken by white women, undocumented foreign-born workers or Latino youth are especially decisive and dangerous. So is the attempt of the media and the Administration to portray unemployment only as a problem of Black youth.

The facts again show that joblessness and job insecurity is a devastating problem for all national and racial components of the young generation as well as for older workers. Multiracial, multinational unity: the unity of all victims of racism and discrimination; of young and older workers, of the employed and the unemployed, men and women—taking into account special impact of racism on Black youth—is the only basis for a winning struggle.

A mass educational campaign for jobs and affirmative action that gives public opinion a full characterization of the conditions of Black youth and Black people generally would be an important aid to the struggle Black youth are waging for economic security. But it must be combined with a total rejection of the “youth crimes” and “disruptive students” hysteria of the politicians and media.

The onerous conditions imposed on Black youth has not succeeded in demoralizing, demobilizing or diverting the great masses of them from the path of struggle. In fact, they not only show a tremendous will to struggle for their rights, but also are the most active, most militant, most consistent mass force in the fightback of the younger generation for jobs, quality education and equality.

The mass radicalization process continues to develop at a rapid pace. Black young workers especially, show a great perception of the need for unity of the Black community combined with multiracial, multinational youth and people's unity. There is a growing

understanding of the need for allies, that a “go-it-alone” strategy is not sufficient for victory; yet their militancy compels them to fight ever more forcefully for “Freedom Now.” Relative to other sections of the youth, the anti-state monopoly, and especially anti-imperialist sentiments and developing consciousness of Black youth is at a very high level. This is expressed in a growing mass understanding that their deplorable conditions are a result of the greed of the banks and corporations; a mass awareness of the need for slashing the military budget and for anti-imperialist solidarity—particularly with the African national liberation struggle. The question of the need for an alternative to capitalism is also becoming a widely discussed topic among working class Black youth, the students and many from the middle-strata. Within this, there is a growing interest, in fact enthusiasm, for Marxism-Leninism expressed in the program, strategic concepts and practical work of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, and the example of real socialism.

The growing willingness of Black youth to struggle is sharply reflected in a lively debate that is taking place among other forms and methods of struggle. Increasingly the orientation is in the direction of militant direct action against the state monopoly oppressors. It is precisely this course that the *New York Times* and the class forces it represents would like to prevent Black youth from taking . . . lest they play in our time in the anti-monopoly movement a similar role to that which the Black abolitionists played in their grand alliance that put an end to chattel slavery.

We must pay tribute to the heroic Black youth for not allowing themselves to be provoked out of desperation into adventurism or developing anti-trade union and anti-white positions as their main line of thinking. That this is so says a lot about the impact of the growing class consciousness of Black workers as a whole on the thinking and actin of Black youth. Yet, danger signs—the Safeway strike in California in which Black and Chicano youth were successfully used as strikebreakers—have appeared on the horizon. This is why it is necessary nor the trade union movement to respond by defending and supporting the right of Black youth to decent jobs and equity.

This is why it is necessary for consciou forces, especially in the youth movement, to wage a firm struggle against the political, ideological and moral corruption of Black youth with reformism and class collaborationism. This task includes the fight against the penetration of anti-working class, anti-union,

anti-Communist and narrow nationalist concepts as well as the cult of sex, drugs, violence and hedonism. It is necessary to appeal to the heroic sense of historic

purpose of Black youth, to win them to the class struggle, and to help cultivate and develop them as an ever more militant force of the anti-monopoly and revolutionary movements.

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**THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS
AS REPORTED BY THE ANC**

The present situation in the Pan Africanist Congress is outlined in a lengthy document issued on 4 April, 1978, by Mr. T. Entalala the Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee of the PAC. Mr. Entalala states that "The leadership and membership (of the PAC) have split right down the middle, in the Central Committee, High Command, the whole Army, the entire Party and its Office Administration." In a word, the entire Party had been divided in a manner that has had far-reaching effects on our struggle, at home and abroad.

We, of the African National Congress, are not in the habit of discussing the unfortunate fate of the PAC in public, not only because we regard it below our dignity to indulge in futile recrimination, but also because we realize that such public discussions can only help our enemy. We draw attention to the fact that we readily entered into agreement with our host countries not to attack the PAC and not to enter into fratricidal disputes. We have scrupulously adhered to these agreements, as everybody well knows.

Not so the PAC leadership. They flagrantly abuse the privilege of radio facilities offered them to heap slander and lies on the ANC and other sections of the Liberation movement. Their so-called "political" education in their camps consists solely of bitter denunciations of the ANC as if the ANC and not the Vorster regime were the main enemy.

We have the highest respect for the integrity of our friends who raise the question of unity and we present the facts in this document in a sincere endeavor to make the issue clear.

The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, nearly twenty years ago, on the pretext of alleged policy differences. Never in these twenty years have leaders of the PAC approached the ANC for a discussion on the policy differences. This may be because PAC policy is not clear. We, in the African National Congress, on the other hand, have a very clear and definite program and a consistent policy—open to the entire world. We regard this program and policy as the only sound basis for unity for all progressive and revolutionary forces in South Africa.

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The African National Congress on Unity and a United Front

The formation of the African National Congress in 1912 was based on the major aim of uniting the African tribes into an African nation. It is in this tradition that the ANC developed its attitude towards unity in action of all forces which are fighting the fascist and racist regime in our country.

Broadly speaking, the politics, program, strategy and tactics of the ANC developed to unite all sections of the Black population and progressive whites in the revolutionary movement for the seizure of political power, the complete destruction of the white supremacist state and the creation of a society in which all South Africans shall live in peace, progress and prosperity.

It is this approach of the ANC which led to the breakaway of the PAC. The Pan Africanist Congress chose to follow a solitary course, ignoring Indian, Coloured and White opponents of racism. The PAC stand led them into the trap of the old imperialist tactic of Divide and Rule. Splitting our forces weakened them in the face of the common enemy. PAC's policy also strengthens the oppressors by promoting the whites' fear of Black majority government.

The maximum unity of all anti-racist and anti-fascist forces in South Africa has always been, and remains, the cornerstone of the policy of the African National Congress.

- 1) The further strengthening of the forces that are already united under the ANC.
- 2) The formation of a United Front where this is called for with those organizations opposing fascism within the country and who are willing to enter into an agreement with us on a common minimum political program.
- 3) United Action with any groups unwilling to enter into such a united front, but who are willing to cooperate with us and confront the enemy on certain issues.
- 4) The formation and encouragement of legal organizations to ensure the greatest possible mobilization of the masses of the people and



safeguarding the legality of these organizations to the extent that this is possible and consistent with correct revolutionary tactics.

- 5) Ensuring that at all times the masses of our people understand and are familiar with the principle objectives of our strategy and tactics, so that the people, whether organized or not, follow the broad principles of our struggle.

The African National Congress however, continues to abide by the stand that the question of unity of the revolutionary forces of South Africa is a South African question to be solved by the South African people, without the interference of external forces. The position decided at the Maputo session of the Liberation Committee that any meaningful unity can only start at the base, that is IN South Africa, is correct and coincides with the longstanding position of the African National Congress and the whole experience of our own people.

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Racism in Unemployment and Education

*Emma Stern Club, San Jose,
Northern California*

The following is an addition to the Draft Resolution, "The Afro-American Struggle," on the questions of racism in employment and in education. It is proposed to follow the last paragraph in the section "Racist Exploitation," at the end of the first full paragraph on page 23.

Black workers, especially young people, bear a particularly heavy burden of unemployment—estimated to run between 40 and 70 percent among Black youth in many urban areas. Likewise, the deterioration of school standards and facilities affects all young people of color. The fact that this is so is not simply the outcome of general patterns of racial discrimination. On the contrary, it is a central aspect of the new level of racism.

This new level of racism stems from the present stage of state monopoly capitalism which, among other things, now results in a permanent high level of unemployment, persisting even in periods of relative prosperity. The capitalist class uses racism as its main weapon, to try to justify and explain the system's growing inability to provide jobs. Millions of Black youth are out of work, and white supremacist ideology is used to sell capitalism's current apologist mythology: that the unemployed prefer welfare to wages, or that unemployment is caused primarily by lack of education. Racism is used to try to divide the working class, with the objective of persuading employed workers (and all those suffering from the inflation crisis) to look upon the unemployed, particularly the Black unemployed, as the main enemy, rather than the capitalist class.

In this situation, the capitalists have much to gain from a continued, even aggravated deterioration of education. As the government becomes more and more an arm of business, funds needed for schools are increasingly funnelled into the military spending welfare system for big business. Ideologies of class and racial supremacy are used to justify the horrifying fact that hundreds of thousands of young people finish school (graduated or forced to drop out) as "functional illiterates"—unable to perform the basic reading and

writing skills necessary for skilled jobs, and for full full-scale participation in the political process.

Countless educational practices discriminate against working class children in the school system. These practices include: the use of biased, so-called "intelligence tests"; tracking systems which concentrate working class youths in "slow track" sections where they get diluted and inferior instruction; the deterioration of curriculum for the "non-college bound" student; the use of language and subject matter oriented towards white, middle-class experience; and a program of teacher education in the colleges designed to foster low expectations, fear and hostility towards working class youth. All these practices are aggravated and intensified in the treatment of young people of color, in ghetto schools with the poorest facilities, and in the lowest of the "slow learner" classes.

When these discriminatory practices produce lowered academic performance, the fact of this lowered performance is then used to justify doctrines of racial inferiority (as espoused by Arthur Jensen at the University of California) and of class inferiority (as espoused by Richard Herrnstein at Harvard). In turn these doctrines are used to excuse the criminal rates of unemployment among young people of color. Intellectual elitism and the separatism of "tracking systems" encourage attitudes of white supremacy among students whom the discriminatory patterns favor. The fact of lowered academic performance is also used to justify the attack upon affirmative action in college admission policies.

While Black and other minority youth bear the heaviest burdens, all young people in the public school system suffer from an approach which sees education simply as "training" for an economic niche, and all suffer from declining standards, reduced facilities, and from the growing, open attempts of big business to control or to scuttle public education (as in the proposed voucher system in California). These common problems establish the basis for unity in a broad fight to improve public education. This struggle must have as its core a demand for programs which are addressed to the job-school crisis of Black youth in the urban areas which

combine opportunities for both skilled work experience and high level education.

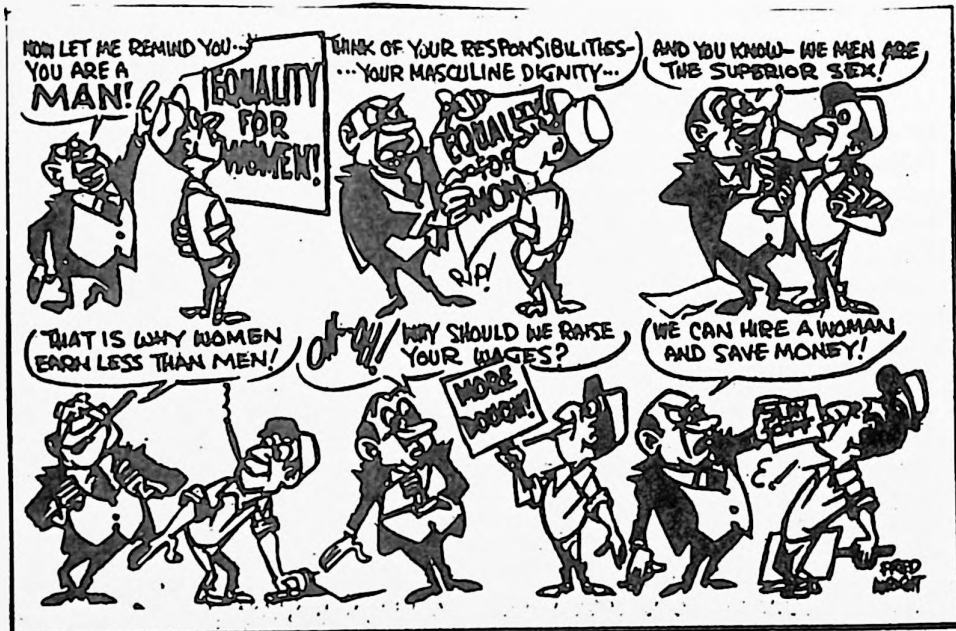
At the present time our schools are segregated, by classrooms, and by school. Segregated classrooms and segregated schools are given inferior facilities. Segregation hurts children of all colors and classes. Full-scale integration in the schools is basic to all real education about U.S. life and culture. It is the first experiencing of the truth "in unity there is strength." Integration is the precondition to quality and equality in education. The long-term goal for school integration is the total abolition of segregation in housing. Until housing segregation is abolished it will be necessary to redraw school boundaries, and in many cases to transport students. Busing, or student transportation, has been used throughout the history of public education, to deal with a variety of school problems. Integration also requires the abolition of tracking systems (so called "ability grouping") or any system which segregates classrooms along class, race, or sex lines. The fight against tracking is a fundamental aspect of the fight against racism in the schools.

The campaign against "busing" has become the center of the racist attack upon the schools. The answer to this attack is the positive involvement of the community in the development of common goals for the re-

vitalization of the schools, within which integration is a positive goal associated with true multi-cultural enrichment for all students—but there must be no compromise with the *central* character of the need for integration. Student busing must be planned so that it will not isolate young people of color, or downgrade their culture, background, or neighborhoods. Busing must not place all the burdens of transportation upon young people of color; where busing is necessary it must be "cross busing" in which students move in both directions.

A crash program is necessary to remove every vestige of inequality in school facilities; inequality is denied in principle, but admitted publicly the moment it is proposed to bus white middle class children into ghetto and working class areas. But removal of inequality is not enough. The susceptibility of white communities to racist propaganda against busing is created in large part by fears and problems associated with the general deterioration of education.

A movement which is strong enough to transform the schools and to make a successful attack upon the elements of racism and class superiority which pervade the school system, will link together the redrawing of school boundaries, busing (in both directions) where necessary, and also a general approach to the revitalization of the school system.



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