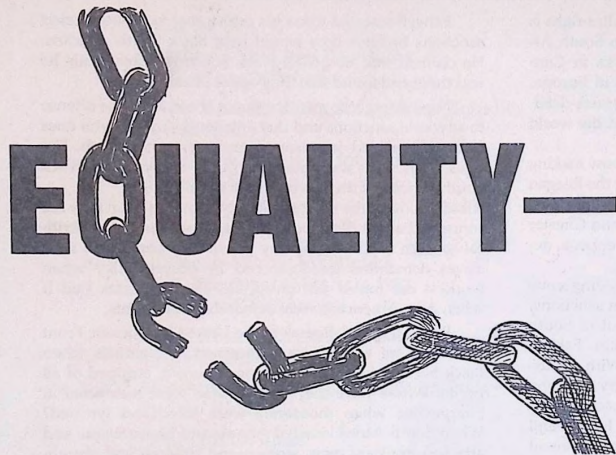


# BLACK LIBERATION EQUALITY— A T I O N J O U R N A L



## ITS TIME HAS COME

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S.J.

# FALWELL'S RACIST HYPOCRISY

*An editorial*

The most despicable foreign policy of the ultra-right is that of so-called constructive engagement with South Africa. After months of demonstrations, set-backs in Congress, and rejection by some of the U.S. allies in Europe, constructive engagement is for all practical purposes dead. Not only is constructive engagement dead, but the world wants to see apartheid dead and buried.

The defenders of apartheid in the U.S. are now making a frantic effort to stem the tide of protest against the Reagan administration support for apartheid. From the Chamber of Commerce to Richard Viguerie, Paul Weylich, and Chester Crocker, a campaign has been mounted to oppose demands for U.S. sanctions against apartheid.

Feeling the blows against apartheid, and needing some justification to veto the Senate bill for minimum sanctions, the Rev. Jerry Falwell was rushed into and out of South Africa to help in the campaign of the Reaganites. Falwell was their salesman, ambassador and prophet. With a Faustian ambition, insatiable greed, this Elmer Gantry had long since sold his soul to big business. With the ecumenical concern of the Pentagon, Falwell's mission was to save and sell the very soul of the most racist and fascist government in the world.

Despite Reagan administration attempts to distance itself from Falwell during his visit to South Africa, all of the ultra-right ideologues have been saying the same thing. Consider President Reagan's outlandish statement that there was no segregation in South Africa, that Black South Africans were gaining civil rights and that the South African government is a reformist government.

This is being said at a time when South Africa is under emergency decree that gives the police, army and court free reign to mete out its hatred and contempt for the people of South Africa.

This, at a time when close to 1,000 children were being arrested for boycotting school, beaten and held hostage by the police; miners forced to work at gunpoint or under the threat of deportation; flying squads of assassins kidnapping and killing leaders of the liberation struggle.

Reagan speaks of civil rights when the majority of the people of South Africa are constitutionally denied the rights of citizenship. The question in South Africa is not one of reform. How can one reform fascism? Who would want to reform it? The point is to get rid of it. Therefore the question is not one of civil rights, but as Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, said, the transferring of power to the majority of the people.

Falwell asserted upon his return that we should reject sanctions because they would hurt Black South Africans. He claimed that he polled Black South Africans while he was there and found that they opposed sanctions.

Falwell forgot to mention that it is a reasonable offense to advocate sanctions and that any South African who does so can be arrested, imprisoned, and even put to death. The question is what was Falwell trying to do by asking Black South Africans if they favored sanctions.

All of a sudden the most racist right-wingers claim they are concerned about Black people. The same kind of hypocritical concern was expressed by the slaveowners when their slaves demanded freedom, and by bosses today when workers are forced out on strike. The Dixiecrats said it when Afro-Americans were demanding civil rights.

But as the Rev. Boesak of the United Democratic Front asked, where were these "concerned" individuals when Black South Africans were being enslaved, stripped of all rights. Where were they when Blacks were massacred at Sharpeville, when thousands were jailed and lynched? When South Africa invaded Angola and Mozambique and attacked innocent men, women and children and slaughtered them as only inhuman fascists could do?

They are propping up apartheid and reaping profits from the enslavement of Black South Africans — and that's where they are today.

The people's forces will not be fooled by the hysteria that the ultra right seeks to stir up with anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism. It too is based upon racism. For example in *The New York Times* Vigurie states that the United States should stick with South African apartheid because the question will not be Black majority rule for a long time to come. It, he continues, will be white rule if not from the West then surely from the East.

This goes back to the slander against the nations of Africa who, according to the ultra right, are incapable of ruling themselves. It is a time worn argument used by the slaveowners and all colonizers.

The problem is not from the East but from the capitalist countries of the West and their drive for superprofits. No Sullivan principles, reforms, and cries of how U.S. business aid the oppressed people of South Africa can hide the fact that the motive force for apartheid is world imperialism.

As to what kind of system the people of South Africa want, that is for them to decide. The lack of this ability now is the essence of that struggle.

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# EQUALITY — ITS TIME HAS COME

## *Keynote to the Afro-American Equality Conference By Charlene Mitchell*

Our conference takes place at a time of unprecedented attacks against gains made by Black people during the last 50 years.

We meet at a time of massive struggles against this erosion of gains, of struggles to reverse the onslaught of monopoly capital directed through its main spokesman, President Ronald Reagan.

Nationally syndicated columnist William Raspberry recently wrote: "By its attitudes, by its appointments and by its actions, the Reagan administration has become the most actively anti-Black administration in recent memory."

Chairman of the Board of the NAACP, William F. Gibson, speaking in the same tone, said that Reagan is "basically a reactionary and a racist."

In the words of Gus Hall: "The four years of Reagan's racist rhetoric and openly racist policies are now showing up in grim statistics, in terrible new conditions and new poverty and suffering."

Overall unemployment stood at the high rate of 7.3 percent in May (which the New York Times described as "the extraordinary stability of the unemployment rate"). Among Black workers the rate was more than double, 15.2 percent, and among Black youth between the ages of 16 and 19 the unemployment rate was an unconscionable 41.9 percent. The Reagan administration's spokesman, Larry Speakes, termed the job growth in May a "significant finding" that indicated "continued solid gains in employment and growth in the overall economy."

In his June 1 report to the Central Committee/National Council, Gus Hall said "high unemployment afflicts the working class of almost the entire capitalist

world" and "the structural crisis afflicting basic industries of the U.S. and Western Europe remains unresolved." "In a sense," he said, "the industrial sector is now in an economic crisis."

Hall continued:

In the months since Reagan's second inaugural 150,000 industrial workers have lost their jobs. Unemployment among industrial workers is at a crisis level.

Among Afro Americans and other nationally oppressed industrial workers there is now double digit unemployment. The industrial sector continues in the grip of the triple-layered crisis, and there is nothing on the economic horizon that can reverse this trend.

While the New York Times raves about "the extraordinary stability of the unemployment rate" the newspaper is forced to agree with Gus Hall when they quote figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics that show 2.3 million jobs in manufacturing have been lost since 1980 and, according to a senior economist for Bankers Trust Company, "probably 90 percent of those jobs will never come back —they're gone for good."

### UNEMPLOYMENT IS A KILLER

These are jobs previously held by tens of thousands of Afro American workers. The AFL-CIO's American Federationist (May 25, 1985) paints a revealing picture of the effects of this job loss:

In the work of Professor Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health, we have measures of the impact of unemployment on health and social breakdown.

He found that a sustained 1.4 percent increase in unemployment was directly responsible for 51,570 deaths, including 1,540 suicides. This rise in unemployment was also

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directly responsible for 7,660 additional state prison admissions and 5,520 as state mental hospital admissions.

In the same issue of the Federationist another article says:

In January 1984 there were 49,000 jobs in the steel mills of Gary and East Chicago in Northwest Indiana. At the end of the year in December there were only 38,300 of those jobs left, a loss of almost 11,000 jobs in one year.

Unemployment in the Northwest Indiana counties of Lake and Porter is up over 16 percent — so one of every six workers is without a job. And only one of every four workers in Indiana gets unemployment compensation benefits.

This triple-layered crisis effects all workers but the added sharpened edge of racism places a disproportionate burden on Afro American workers. In cities such as Newark, New York, Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Gary, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Los Angeles, and in states such as Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama, where Black people are high percentages of the population, unemployment and the problems in its wake are felt even more by Black workers.

Adding insult to injury Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds has stepped up the racist offensive to halt and reverse affirmative action, school integration, desegregated housing, and generally to enforce the Reagan demagogic "principle of colorblindness." For a job well done, Reagan worked overtime to get Reynolds promoted to associate attorney general, the third highest post in the U.S. Justice Department. The persistent struggle waged by the civil rights movement forced the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee to reject his nomination.

### **ANOTHER REAGAN HOAX**

The assault on youth has especially affected Black youth. On the one hand, the Reaganites talk about strengthening the family and, on the other, seek to offer youth nonexistent jobs in "Free Enterprise Zones" at less than minimum wage. The free enterprise zone is a cynical hoax, which, unfortunately, has found some adherents in cities hard hit by high unemployment. These zones are projected as non-union, low-wage, tax-free areas run by small businesses and would not result in a significant increase in jobs.

Reagan's proposal for a subminimum wage of \$2.50 per hour for youth between the ages of 16 and 19 picked up endorsement from Black mayors of cities where unemployment and frustration are very high. However, the labor movement, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Urban League, and others, continue to oppose this.

Six of eight Black youth interviewed by the Afro-American newspaper were very clear: "I just don't think I'll work at below minimum wage because it is not enough as it is." "If kids put in 40 work hours and work basically manual labor jobs we should be paid just as adults who work at a minimum wage." "Let's face it, there is not much you can do with a minimum wage. What does Reagan expect us to do with less than that?" "I don't think it is fair for teens to work at less than the minimum wage. It really is not enough to help support the family even though every little bit helps. I also feel it may discourage some kids from looking for summer jobs and possibly encourage some to find illegal ways to make money." "It is wrong for kids to get less than minimum wage. Youths deserve the same pay as anyone else who works hard. I feel Reagan should cut his defense budget instead of our paychecks." "We should at least make minimum wage."

### **LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED**

This assault on Black workers takes place at a time of sharpening class struggle, Black workers are now experiencing the long-range impact of the triple-layered crisis, including permanent job loss for hundreds of thousands of Afro American workers. Many young Afro Americans will become adults without ever having had a job.

Black people are still subjected to the racist ruling class tactic of "last hired, first fired." This sets the stage for these workers to become "social pariahs" — the homeless, the hungry, the targets for racists cops and vigilantes.

This racist offensive is part of the overall domestic and foreign policy of the most reactionary segment of the military-industrial complex. It is part of the drive for maximum profits. It is in this context (i.e., the structural crisis and the Reagan racist offensive) that we must discuss affirmative action.

There are incorrect views about affirmative action, including that: 1) affirmative action programs produce reverse discrimination; 2) affirmative action programs are fine but should not establish goals or quotas; 3) affirmative action is a proper demand only when there is full employment or at least when plants are opening and not closing down.

## **JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, REPRESENTATIVE OF REACTION**

The Reagan Justice Department has waged an all-out attack on affirmative action. Reynolds argues that neither civil rights law nor Supreme Court rulings permit voluntary affirmative action programs that require employers to hire or promote minorities or women to meet quotas or goals. Reynolds stated "the voluntary use of skin color to confer upon, or deny to, employees or potential employees, available job opportunities would needlessly trammel the interests of those more qualified (whites) who are turned away on account of race." Based on this twisted reasoning the U.S. Justice Department has challenged consent decrees of 53 jurisdictions. Suddenly — if one were to believe Reynolds — the only discrimination that exists in the USA is against white males.

Reflecting the positive effects of struggle, only 2 cities agreed with the Justice Department It is interesting also that the Justice Department has used the challenges to affirmative action hiring in city and state jobs (e.g., firefighters and police officers) as an opening wedge in an attempt to break the strength of the trade unions in the public sector, which are the fastest growing unions in the labor movement. Reynolds' demagogy would have us believe that he is guaranteeing the equality of minorities and women in spite of themselves.

While giving direct leadership to the racist antibusing campaign, Reynolds bemoans the fact that public schools in the inner cities are not preparing Black people for jobs as well as people in the suburbs prepare their children.

Part of the Reagan domestic policy calls for major cuts in social programs that affect quality education, such as library funding, AFDC, Medicaid, and food stamps and other welfare services. This policy encourages poor education in the ghettos of the nation.

The time to fight for affirmative action is all the

time. It is an imperative for the unity of the working class. However, part of any real fight for affirmative action is a struggle for government intervention to put the country back to work.

The overbearing weight of unemployment on the Black community makes all the more important the organizing of the unemployed. The unemployed can be a militant, powerful force if organized. If they remain unorganized, the efforts by the ruling class to divide the working class stand more chance of being successful. It will be more possible to defeat Reagan's attempts to break the back of the trade union movement when Black workers — employed and unemployed — are organized.

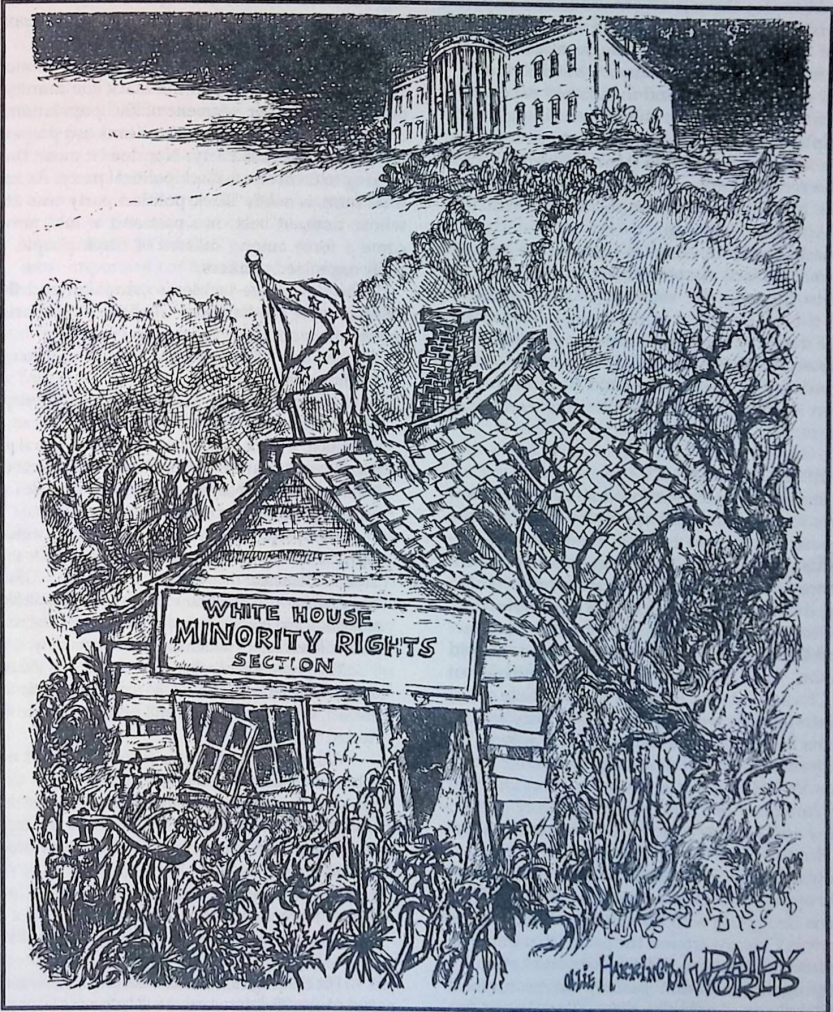
Our Party has issued a draft trade union program. The program answers Reagan's demagogy of solving all questions through private industry. We think the program will be a very important guide to our class and to our people.

The Reaganite domestic policy, of course, goes hand in glove with U.S. foreign policy. The big lie of anti-Communism and the lie of the Soviet threat is used to support the insane nuclear build-up, the continued attempt to sabotage the Geneva talks, the aggressive acts against Nicaragua, the policy of constructive engagement in South Africa and, the huge military budget.

## **AFRO-AMERICANS OPPOSE IMPERIALISM**

The Afro American people historically have seen the relationship between their own oppression and the imperialist oppression of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. But the recent mass actions organized by the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) require some special attention. FSAM, led by Trans-Africa, has gained the support of every major Afro American organization, church and elected official, and has propelled action on the part of top-level trade unionists, civil libertarians and peace activists. It has prompted a coalition whose key element of unity is the Black community as a whole and most sectors of the labor movement. As Kevin Mercadal wrote, "this unity between the Afro American community and the labor movement is a decisive element of the vitality and success of the FSAM. It also has a profound significance for struggles on other fronts."

We can be proud of our Party's initiatives in this movement and the timely leadership of comrade



Henry Winston 12 years ago. But we must also be self-critical because there is no conscious anti-imperialist organization to guarantee the anti-imperialist content of the struggle. This struggle must include not only the demand for divestment, but also the demands for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, and unqualified support for the armed struggle and the principle of majority rule. We must increase our participation in the Free South Africa Movement and ensure the reorganization of an anti-imperialist force in the U.S. in solidarity with the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia.

The issue of South Africa is high on the agenda of every major Black elected official, another reason to work to increase the number of such officials. Building the all-people's front against Reaganism means the defeat of Reaganites in every election. One does not need to ponder very long to know what the vote on aid to the "contras" would have been had there been even simple proportional representation in Congress.

#### WINDS OF INDEPENDENCE

The mayoralty elections in New York are upon us. Hopes for a meaningful opponent to Koch have been thwarted but there is to be a Communist-left-progressive slate that will encourage even further independence and raise the issues that are important to the unity, democracy and progress of the whole city.

Reactionaries in Chicago, including the machine-controlled Democrats, are out to defeat Mayor Harold Washington. Such a defeat would be a setback not only for Chicago, but for Illinois and the whole country. The struggle for workingclass unity to defeat the aims of the Vrdolyak forces is key to not only to reelecting the Mayor but to removing the sizable number of the Vrdolyak gang of 29 from office. Unity of the Afro American people is essential. Unity of Afro Americans and Latinos will make a tremendous difference. But the key will be winning white workers to see Vrdolyak as the representative of the bosses' interests as opposed to their interests as workers. This task means struggling with the organized trade union movement in Chicago around the issues that immediately confront all workers, Black, white and Latino.

Left-progressive-Communist candidates for local office will help to clarify the issue. Now is not too early to begin the process to defeat the 29. The favor-

able U.S. Supreme Court decision to allow redistricting the lines of some aldermanic wards will not by itself guarantee a favorable outcome at the polls on election day.

The winds of independence from the Democratic Party are more evident in the Black community than possibly any other segment of the population. This does not mean that Afro Americans are prepared to bolt the Democratic Party. Nor does it mean they are looking to form an all-Black political party. As an electoral form, a solely Black political party was an idea whose time, at best, has past and would never become a force among masses of Black people, especially organized workers.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign and the development of the Rainbow Coalition were part of an important process. At the time we said:

This new movement — the Rainbow Coalition of Afro Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, whites and women — is one of the most positive historical developments within recent times. This movement is not, however, an organization. It is not the formation of a new political party. It is a movement that takes place within the Democratic Party. It does not seek to bolt that party, but to struggle for independent politics within that party.

Black people have projected a number of themes in the course of the struggle for equality. In the late '60s and early '70s, the dominant theme was "Black Power." This slogan was a call for Afro Americans to gain a more equitable share of political and economic power. The call did not recognize class differentiations within the Black community.

The projection of a Rainbow Coalition is the recognition of the need to include all the racially and nationally oppressed, women, poor Black and white — all those who are "locked out."

Although advanced, this concept also does not take into consideration the class stratification within the Rainbow Coalition and consequently does not yet see the need to win labor. Most precisely, it does not see the imperative of winning white workers who are in the organized labor movement.

This development, the Rainbow Coalition, must be seen as a process taking place in the context of a people struggling for equality. It is an important democratic struggle.

The challenge for Communists and all class-conscious workers is to find the way that will help bring labor together with the Black people's movement. The handle must be



found to bring about that strategic alliance without which all workingclass struggles, struggles of Afro Americans as a people, and other oppressed minorities become increasingly more difficult. (Charlene Mitchell, *Black Liberation Journal*, Summer 1984).

The Rainbow Coalition remains the underpinning of many independent forms and candidates. It is an important arena of struggle and Communists must be involved. We must bring the Communist essence — the class content — to the struggle, showing the labor movement as an ally that is also under attack.

#### **UNITY A WINNING STRATEGY**

Our most important contribution is to bring clarity on the only winning strategy — the unity of the multiracial, multinational, male-female labor movement and the Afro American people's movement for equality.

The Reaganite racist offensive against the Afro American people has opened a major assault on democracy.

In the political field the dominance of the military-industrial complex nourishes the most extreme forces of reaction. Limiting the material and cultural requirements of working people, restraining their mass discontent and suppressing the working class and antiwar movements require methods of government that violate bourgeois democracy. This means an intensification of control over minds, of the cult of violence and racism and of chauvinistic and military psychosis. As the experience of the 1930s teaches, in the conditions of mass social ferment and unemployment, the breeding ground for fascism may expand with extreme rapidity." (Kommunist Editors, *Political Affairs*, October, 1984).

Proof of this is the increased anti-workingclass, anti-Black violence in movies and on television, including the glorification of cops, and the real murders by racist police in the Black community. The latest of which was the killing of 17-year-old honor student, Edmund Perry, in Harlem on June 13.

#### **DEMOCRATIZE & CONTROL POLICE**

The racist bombing of a Black workingclass community in Philadelphia on May 13, resulting in the slaughter of 11 men, women and children, leaving 260 people homeless, cannot be excused and must be

condemned. This is not an issue that can be permitted to fade away. The precedent-setting action must be continually exposed. Public tribunals should be demanded.

Laura Blackburn, counsel to the New York Conference of NAACP branches, said, in testifying against confirmation of Reynolds, that she had been part of a delegation that met with Reynolds about police brutality in New York City. Later, she said, he stated that he found no evidence of police brutality in New York. Blackburn said that if Reynolds had acted Michael Stewart and Mrs. Bumpers might be alive today. If we intensify our work in this area through action and leadership with others we can help prevent a police bombing of another Afro American community.

Speaking as executive secretary of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, at a public hearing in Los Angeles in 1981, I said:

In looking at the numerous individual instances of police assaults on our persons and on our rights as citizens to organize and protest, we must not lose sight of the true meaning of all this; we must not fail to recognize that in large measure what we are dealing with politically is an officially inspired reign of terror in our respective communities. It is officially inspired because the reactionary forces of big business, whom Ronald Reagan now proudly proclaims to be the backbone of his imperial presidency, clearly understand that racist repression is the prescription so long as our people are the foremost victims of the current financial crisis and urban deterioration.

Our Party clubs can become active in the demand to democratize the police departments in every city, including the firing of racist and fascist cops. They can become movers and shakers in the campaign to achieve democratically established civilian control of the police as put forward by the NAARPR.

#### **ULTRA-RIGHT A MAJOR CONCERN**

The February 15 New York Times story by Wayne King reveals that:

An Idaho-based neo-Nazi organization has established a computer-based network to link rightists groups and to disseminate a list of those whom it says "have betrayed their race."

"One list available from the computer, titled "Know Your Enemy," includes the addresses and telephone numbers of regional offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the offices of the Communist Party, U.S.A. It also includes names and addresses of "race traitors" and "informers."

In his Central Committee/National Council report Gus Hall said:

The ultra-Right and the "whiff of fascism" remain a danger. What's new is that for the second term Reagan is surrounding himself with even more Rightwing elements like Buchanan, Regan and Meese. More of the fanatical and fascist groups have gone public.

What is also new is the growing public concern and the increase in rejection of and activity against the ultra-Right.

The base of the ultra-Right has not expanded. In fact, the Bitburg fiasco stimulated serious anxiety about the extreme Right and fascistlike activities.

We must do more in exposing not only the ultra-Right organizations, but the base of their support, both political and financial.

The process of change in many areas has accelerated. Therefore, we must be much more alert, much more tuned in and prepared to make changes ourselves in order to keep pace with our policies and especially with our tactics at the club level.

### STRUGGLES SHARPEN AGAINST REAGANISM

In this period of the triple-layered crisis and the reactionary onslaught of the Reaganites there are many struggles in the Afro American movement.

The recent convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) focused its attention on the fight for jobs. Rank-and-file victories are being won against Shanker forces in the American Federation of Teacher. Progressive slates are winning in many local union elections. The militancy and unity of the hotel workers strike in New York were on a high level.

Added to the electoral struggles and those around the Free South Africa Movement, there is tremendous ferment in the peace movement (especially the April 20 action), and the women's movement. Our vice-presidential candidate, Angela Davis, was elected to the executive board of the National Black Women's Political Assembly. Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) is playing an exceptionally fine leadership role in planning for the U.S. par-

ticipation in the International Forum on Women to be held in July in Nairobi. Preparations for the World Youth Festival are enjoying warm support in the Black community. Generally the all-people's front against Reaganism gathers tremendous steam in the struggle for Afro American equality.

### CLARITY, NOT CONFUSION

In spite of the possibilities and the challenges before us there are forces that act as brakes on the forward movement. With such assaults being unleashed against Black people there are bound to be periods of frustration and pessimism. The role of the Left is not to give leadership to frustration but to present a plan of struggle that shows a way out.

In this regard groupings like the Erie Movement and Line of March, while claiming to be Marxist-Leninists, are opportunists. The Erie Movement develops nationalist distrust of white workers. When one concludes that uniting white workers with Black workers is not possible, the only recourse is the suicidal proposal of going it alone. Marxist-Leninists would never utter such nonsense, so the pretenders couch their propositions in suggestions that unity can be found by allying with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and "third world nations" thereby internationalizing the class struggle. Here internationalism is vulgarized and turned on its head.

Internationalism is integral to the Communist movement. Only a class approach and the realization of what particular class is central to these times can serve to work out an effective national strategy for the working class and develop the proper solutions to both domestic and foreign policy problems. Only internationalism, which is fundamental to workingclass and, especially, Communists ideology and practice, correctly reflects the dialects of contemporary world development in the area of national relations, the growth of national self-awareness and the internationalization of the whole life of humanity. Communist internationalism is playing an irreplaceable role as counterbalance to the bourgeois ideologies of chauvinism, racism, national narrowness, cosmopolitanism and national nihilism." (Communist Editors, Political Affairs, February 1985).

In the end there is not really much difference

between the Erie Movement, which is an Afro American form, and Line of March which is predominantly white. The ideologues of Line of March have relegated so many white workers to the labor aristocracy that the few remaining are insignificant. Line of March concludes that only Black workers are radical enough to save the nation. While it is true that proportionately more Afro Americans are in unions, it speaks more to their seeking unity than having to struggle without their class brothers and sisters. Whatever Line of March may want, Afro American workers are not about to become their cannon fodder no matter how revolutionary it may sound. The bottom line is that the position of the Line of March is patently racist opportunism.

There is confusion being heaped upon the Afro American community, much of which emanates from middle class impatience and frustration. It is the task of Communists to bring clarity, to win the honest forces, to win the masses away from wrong and self-defeating leadership.

#### AFRO-AMERICANS ARE ANTI-MONOPOLY

Some gains have been wrested by Black people — after all, struggle does produce results. We know that Afro Americans do not own major heavy industry: steel mills, auto, aircraft, aerospace or munitions plants, or mines. While there are some capitalists among Black people, they are not part of monopoly capital, they are not a part of the military industrial complex, and are overwhelmingly antimonopoly.

There is a middle class in the Afro American community, e.g., small business people, doctors and lawyers in private practice, and those who may not fall strictly into the Marxist definition, such as academics, middle-level management, etc.

There is a quickly decreasing number of Black farmers.

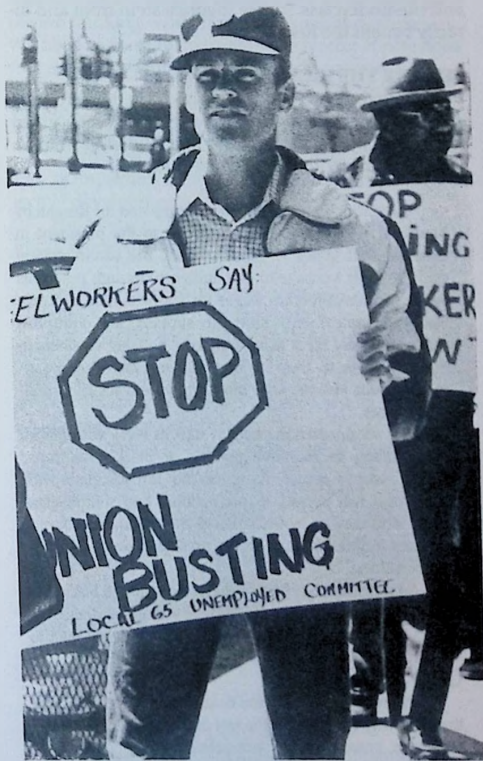
But the overwhelmingly majority of Black people in the United States are working class, employed and unemployed. The Afro American people have an all-class character and are economically, racially and nationally oppressed. Black people within the U.S. are an oppressed national minority.

While there is a growing middle class among Afro Americans, the major new area is the growing numbers of middle-income earners, i.e., those who earn \$25,000 to \$35,000 per year. These workers are to

be found in industries related to the new technology and in organized basic industry. In an article in the Washington Post, Juan Williams made the point that there is relative lessening of Black progress:

Life is better for Blacks; their standard of living as a group has improved, and educated Blacks are approaching parity in income with whites. The Black middle class [sic] has increased in size and income. While 4.8 percent of the people in college were Black in 1965, 10.2 percent were in 1984.

... The number of Blacks in college doubled from 1965 to 1975, but it has remained about the same ever since,



even though the percentage of Blacks completing high school has gone up. The number of Blacks making more than \$25,000 in constant dollars, which doubled from 1965 to 1975, dropped between 1975 to 1985. For Black men the drop was from 11.7 percent to 10.8 percent; for Black women it was from 2.5 percent to 2.3 percent.

In the new vernacular, these workers are "middle class." Workers who are less skilled, unorganized, or paid low wages are termed "working class." The unemployed, those on welfare, the homeless and hungry are termed "underclass." The not-so-subtle suggestion is being made that there are only two important classes in the United States: the middle class and the underclass. These theories stem from and directly benefit the Reaganites.

### BEWARE THE RIGHT DANGER

While there may be confusion from the Left there is a conscious ideological Right that has been given sustenance by the Reaganites. The following from an article by Juan Williams is worth studying:

According to a strategy memo prepared for Reagan by James W. Cicconi, a special assistant to the president in Chief of Staff James A. Baker's office, the administration could send its message to that audience through proposals such as lower minimum wages for youth to help decrease Black unemployment; renewed support for enterprise zones to rebuild Black neighborhoods; housing vouchers to allow the poor to shop for housing; and increased assistance to crime victims, who most often are Blacks in crime-ridden areas.

The administration plans to start its work with Blacks by appealing to receptive pockets of Black Americans, mainly business people. It expects that inroads made with that group will spread to professional and middle-class Blacks who may be beneficiaries of the economic recovery and thus inclined to support the president except for their racial loyalties.

Administration officials believe that enough Blacks are in middle-income brackets to provide a target audience for their appeal, and that the audience is influential enough to start reshaping Black's opinions about Reagan and the GOP.

"We want to segment the Black community essentially the same way we segment the rest of America," said Steven J. Rhodes, assistant to the vice president for domestic pol-

icy. "You wouldn't see the president going out to talk to (liberal white women), so why should he go to the Urban League and the NAACP where we know we can't agree. We don't get anything from those groups but grief, so why give them a platform. What we want to do is identify groups with the same preferences."

Rhodes said administration officials might speak to groups of Black insurance agents, morticians and bankers, or address business schools to reach the targeted audiences. (Washington Post, January 20, 1985)

Clarence Pendelton, Samuel Pierce, Clarence Thomas, etc., are not simply window dressing for the Reagan administration. They actively aid and abet the crimes against Afro American people.

A few such misleaders are also to be found in academia.

The Right is seeking to influence the Black community. It is certainly not the dominant pressure, but it is there. It bears watching and must be constantly exposed.

### BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY

If any conclusions can be drawn from this report it is that the problems facing Black people, especially workingclass Black people, are acute and the entire community is in action. We can also conclude that Communists are needed to bring further clarity to the movement for Afro American equality. The primary conclusion must be that it is both possible and important to build the Communist Party among Afro Americans in the shops and in the neighborhoods.

We must make the building of our Party among Afro Americans a priority task. It means breaking with any "business as usual" discussions. We should creatively and thoughtfully probe what is necessary. Do our plans of work always include a special approach to the fight for equality? Do we respond to the racist offensive with enough passion and mobilization? Are we always sensitive to the influences of racism?

As Black Communists are we underestimating the radicalization of the Afro American people? Are we paying particular attention to the class content of our participation in the struggles for equality?

We hope this conference will be a giant step toward fulfilling our Communist commitment to the fight for equality, peace and socialism.

# A NEW MOMENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

*Special remarks by Gus Hall*

In many ways this is a new moment in the struggle against racism and for equality.

There is still the old. But there is also the new, growing and developing. And, the new developments are in two directions, positive and negative.

In such a new moment we should take a fresh look at our work in the struggle against racism. With some weaknesses, of course, our Party's policies are sound. Our tactics are correct. We are on solid ideological footing.

In spite of this, the main question, then, is why doesn't the weight of our impact on movements and struggles match our ideological level.

If we can determine why we are not doing better and what we should do, then we can examine why the weaknesses and how we can correct them so that our results can measure up to our capabilities.

To get at the root of our problems we should try to separate which weaknesses are influenced by objective developments and which are mainly due to subjective factors.

We should also consider the nature of the objective changes taking place and their influence on the different sectors of the people's movements.

There are a number of new factors that hold back the struggle against racism. It is important to understand the nature of these new factors and the effects they have on struggles and movements, on the trade union movement, the peace and youth movements, on all the people's movements, the left forces and on our Party. We need this understanding for tactical fine tuning.

In order to counteract, to argue against wrong conclusions we must more precisely know what people are thinking, what the mass thought patterns are. We need to learn the nature of the wrong conclusions that are drawn from objective developments.

## WRONG CONCLUSIONS

In general, the wrong conclusions are:

— that the struggle against racism is not as critical, as important today because of the changes in objective developments.

For example, that the issue of Afro-American political representation and electoral struggles are no longer as critical because of the increased number of elected Afro-American public officials, as well as the fact that we have the Voting Rights Act.

Or, that because of the breakthrough in minority college enrollment ten years ago, that education and questions like open enrollment are no longer critical issues. Most do not know that enrollment of minority students is now in decline.

Or, there are wrong conclusions derived from some increases in government employment.

Or, the breakthroughs in the field of sports.

Or, wrong conclusions because of breakthroughs in the struggle against job discrimination, especially in areas like mass transit, service and high tech industries and the entertainment and cultural fields.

In the minds of many these objective changes have lowered, or in many cases set aside, the issue of racism and discrimination as a priority. Some have even concluded that because of these advances racism is not even an important moral issue.

## HOW TO VIEW CHANGES

If we start from the premise that there have been

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no changes in the objective situation we will lose the battle before we fire our first shot. We must begin by viewing these changes as victories, as advances resulting from past struggles. Our approach must be to build on the advances.

However, then we must show that many of the changes, many of the advances are only on the surface. Many are very temporary. Many of the gains affect only small numbers in the Afro-American community.

And then we must focus on the more basic, widespread, long-term effects of racism on the areas of life where there have been no advances. For example, the effects of the three-layers of racist discrimination in the economic framework of the three layered economic crisis.

There are changes in the economics of racism. But they are all negative. The economic gap widens and deepens. The lines of Black permanently unemployed, and the lines of those who have never broken through the racist job market grows.

#### RAW RACISM OF REAGANISM

There is the reality of the raw racism of the Reagan Administration. The Reaganites are conducting a many-sided assault on all the gains won through bitter struggle in every area of life.

The long-range effects are taking hold as a process. There are the effects of the destruction of progressive laws in civil and human rights, the challenges to and cancellation of successful desegregation and affirmative action programs and court decisions that undo advances and victories.

There is a creeping effect. There is the every day reality of increased police brutality, of official racist terrorism, like the bombing in Philadelphia.

Our tactics, our slogans and demands, must be based on rejecting any and all ideas that imply the struggle against racism is now in the past, that we are now entering a new period of a 'color-blind society.' Racism remains a most dangerous pollutant. In some ways even more dangerous precisely because it is a new moment presenting many confusing, complex and contradictory changes and trends.

Thus, we must take into account the changes and the wrong conclusions. But then we must base our tactics and policies on the real essence of racism, the class essence of racism; that racism was always and

remains today an instrument of superprofits and a ruling class weapon used in the class struggle to divide-and-rule the working class and people.

#### WE NEED A NEW PARTY PROGRAM

Because of all these reasons, we need a new Party program on the struggle against racism and for justice and equality, a new program molded in the framework of all that is new, such as

- the new in the relationships that emerged between the independent forces in the 1984 elections and there effects on the struggle against racism;
- the new in the unity of the class forces in the struggle against racism;
- the new in the thought patterns in the Afro-American community, especially in the higher level of political sophistication and the struggle against racism;
- The new that is reflected in the election victories, especially in Chicago, Los Angeles and most recently in Jersey City and the struggle against racism. What is most important in these electoral victories is that it is the same coalition of forces, the independent forces, who are the backbone of the winning coalitions that are electing both Black and more progressive white candidates to public office.

Also new is that these coalitions are not just simple electoral coalitions. They have within them a growing anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist, all people's front essence.

And, just as important, they also have within them the potential power that can raise the struggle against racism to new, higher levels.

Thus, we must make a bigger contribution in this area. We must see the struggle against racism as a feature of the class struggle, but also as a feature of the rise of these independent forces.

#### OUR CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION

Our most critical input must be to convince these forces that their political power will have a built-in limitation if they try, in any way, to evade or sidestep the struggle against racism.

One of the most devastating effects of wrong conclusions, including in our Party, is that we do not take enough concrete initiatives. We do not take concrete actions in the struggle against racism.

## **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE NEW MOMENT**

For example, as a slogan, affirmative action, no matter how many times it is repeated, does not have clout. We cannot rely on spontaneity.

The fight for affirmative action programs with teeth must be a manysided struggle. It must be thought out and planned.

For example,

1) There must be a period of preparation, which means education, agitation, raising the moral issues, the self-interest issues and the need for class unity. We must be prepared to answer the arguments of the opposition.

2) Then the concrete proposal must be presented, as much as possible in the framework of the workers against the bosses in the class struggle.

Proposals for affirmative action programs should be included in the club plan of work, not in general but in selected shops and/or offices.

## **DEALING WITH WRONG CONCLUSIONS**

At moments like this there is always some confusion because the positives are breaking new, unfamiliar ground. There are both right and left forces who add to the confusion by covering up that which is new. Forces who cannot deal with the new, developing factors, not only deny the new, but proclaim that nothing has and, in fact, nothing can change.

There are some phoney left forces who in a sense have adopted the concept of the unchanging two societies concept, with phoney left signposts.

We know this is wrong because our science, Marxism-Leninism, studies all objective and subjective socio-economic developments in the process of change, and the laws that govern such changes.

Among other negative aspects, these wrong conclusions can become the soil in which the racist concepts of reverse discrimination take root. How to approach honest forces and movements that have drawn these wrong conclusions is an important tactical question. And, how to deal with the influences of these conclusions in the ranks of our Party is an important ideological question.

It is understandable that broader forces come to wrong conclusions based on objective developments. But we cannot permit these efforts in the Party to go unchallenged.

## **ON ANTI-RACIST CONSCIOUSNESS**

Because our anti-racism has both a subjective and objective foundation this gives us both a deeper inner-Party understanding, as well as the ability to make a unique contribution to the mass struggles.

For example, we must take into consideration that increasingly white workers do not want to be called racists. They now think it something to be ashamed of, something to hide. Nevertheless, many still have the old ingrained racist prejudices and behave in ways that reflect this contradiction. It is a contradiction that will only be resolved when the new anti-racist consciousness is dominant over the old racist concepts.

How to build on the sprouting new consciousness is a critical tactical question.

Because of the many new objective developments we must learn to fight racism more creatively, more boldly and concretely. For example, we must fine-tune our arguments, our tactics, our ideological sharpness. To be creative one must have a deeper understanding of all the forces and objective factors, as well as a strong sensitivity to racist and chauvinist manifestations, both blatant and subtle.

For instance, we have to carry on the struggle against racism in the framework of such new developments as the two-tier wage structure, in the framework of the three-layered crisis, the dispersal of industries into new industrial regions and the sprouting below-minimum-wage schemes. We must find the best, most convincing approaches and arguments to combat the racist nature of all these new ruling class methods.

## **THE ROLE OF THE CLUBS**

Our recent Central Committee-National Council meeting focused on the Party clubs. And we must also focus the struggle against racism on the clubs. We must take a fresh, creative look at how all these new developments and changes are reflected in the Party's ranks.

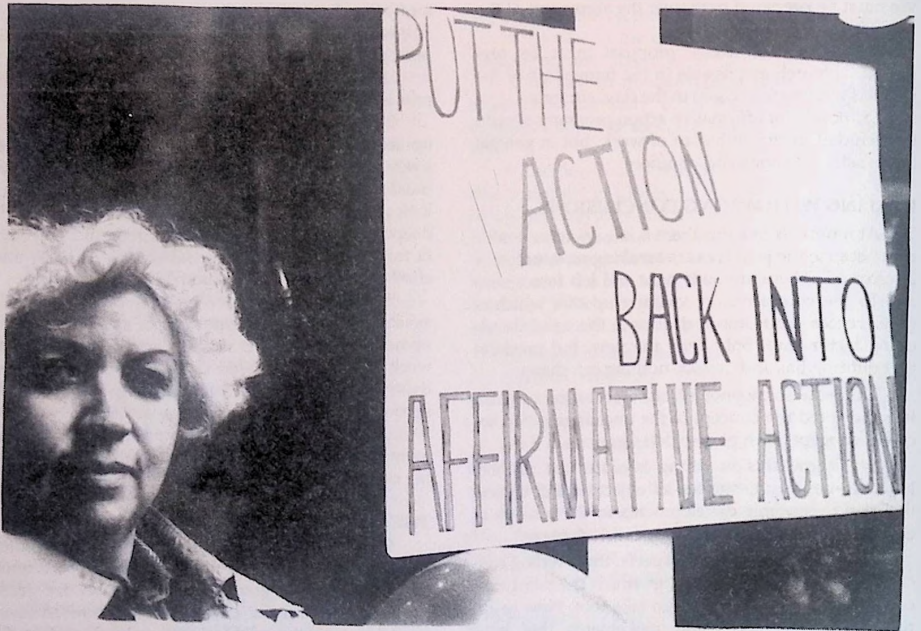
We must do this in the framework of the question: Do wrong conclusions from the objective developments open the door to penetration of influences of white chauvinism?

We must examine to what extent the lack of initiative in concrete struggles is related to the influence of wrong conclusions from the changing objective

conditions.

nal conference on the struggle for Afro-American equality should not be an end to a process; it must be the opening gun, the beginning of a new chapter in

the Party's struggle to raise the fight against racism to a new, higher level. A new Party program can serve as a guidepost to this new beginning.





# HEIGHTEN THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

*By Henry Winston*

This has indeed been a splendid conference. Comrade Charlene Mitchell has given an excellent report and the participating comrades have helped to project a line of policy needed by our Party in the present day struggles.

The implementation of the line of our Party can help determine the course of events and, together with the forces of labor and all progressives, we can guarantee a reversal of the domestic and foreign policies of the Reagan Administration.

The movement of Afro-Americans for equality has reached a new level of militancy. We are witnessing a new vigor by Afro-Americans in every front of the class struggle. The fight against unemployment and the struggle for jobs find Black people in the leadership.

The limited economic gains of Black people won during the late 50s, 60s, 70s and now the 80s are under assault by the Reaganite offensive against labor in general and Afro-Americans in particular in this period of triple-layered crisis.

It was during the period that the civil rights movement under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King made its biggest advance for civil rights. There was the enactment of the Civil Rights Acts of 64 and 65, the winning of voting rights and the elections of many Black officials, and forward steps were made against segregation and discrimination. Jim Crow itself crumbled during this period.

The Reaganite offensive aims to undermine and utterly destroy in law and practice such gains.

## **FULL SUPPORT FOR THE OVERTHROW APARTHEID**

The Communist Party is seeking to improve the quality and quantity of its work within this great movement and with it help to find answers not only to halt the Reaganite assault but how to more rapidly advance the living standards and civil liberties of Afro-Americans in conditions of peace.

An example of what we are speaking is the all-embracing movement against Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement." This is the form in which Reagan is attempting to help strengthen the Botha regime in South Africa. This fact is becoming clear to millions of Black and white workers.

The overthrow of apartheid is the central objective of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the South African Communist Party. This central task in our country is to help win the fullest support in our land from all democrats, non-fascists, anti-fascists, non-imperialists and anti-imperialists for the people of South Africa fighting against apartheid. The goal must be to unite such forces, however limited, in the fight against Reagan's policy in support of apartheid—economic and political. The anti-apartheid struggle may develop around different issues, but to the fore must be placed the struggle for complete and mandatory sanctions.

The Reaganite policy toward South Africa may vary in this or that particular with Nicaragua or Chile in Latin America, and Cambodia or Afghanistan in Asia. But in essence it is a part of Reagan's global nuclear policy and with the same aim: U.S. imperialist domination of the world. That is why our Party also helps to organize a movement to prevent intervention in Nicaragua and in support of those forces seek-

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ing the overthrow of the Pinochet regime in Chile and to reverse Reagan's anti-Soviet policy in Cambodia and Afghanistan.

Fern Winston and I represented the Political Bureau of our Party in the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 40th anniversary celebration of the military victory over fascism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is implementing new measures in the building of real socialism. The geometric growth in the economy that is taking place is awe inspiring.

Happily, every man, woman and child is engaged one way or another in peaceful labor and peaceful study. In conditions of peace, the possibilities of raising the living standards of the people is unlimited.

### **SOVIET UNION LEADS IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE**

Peace reflects the very essence of socialism. It goes hand-in-hand with the transformation of present day society from one based on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to work performed" to a higher phase of development based upon the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The extended hand of the Soviet Union for detente and peaceful coexistence is a direction not only for peace for the peoples of the Soviet Union, but for all humankind. Anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism are the policies of the Reagan administration, which reject detente and peaceful coexistence and heighten the danger of nuclear war.

New socialist states emerged after the military victory over fascism and a family of socialist states was born. The overthrow of the entire system of colonialism became a fact. Three powerful revolutionary currents emerged in the world: the socialist family of nations in the leadership of which is the USSR, the national movements for independence, and the anti-monopoly movements in the capitalist countries. These currents have become the irreversible force determining the direction of the world. The fight against world imperialism has reached a new and higher stage.

The whole world recognizes that it was the decisive role of the Soviet Union during World War II in crushing the Nazi war machine that made this development possible. The role of the Soviet Union in the

fight for peace, democracy and national independence is immense.

Let's consider several facts. Hitler conquered one country after another and the military potential of each conquered country became part of his arsenal directed against the Soviet Union. Hitler invaded the Soviet Union without a declaration of war. His calculations were as follows: Quickly crush the Soviet army. In the autumn of 1941, the Nazis would begin the capture of India, Iraq, Iran, Egypt and the Suez Canal. After having taken possession of Spain and Portugal, they would seize Gibraltar, cut off England from its sources of raw materials, take possession of the mother country and then the United States of America. The Red Army and the Soviet people shattered these calculations.

It was the October 1917 socialist revolution in Russia that made possible the welding of the people of the Soviet Union together into one mighty force. It is the socialist system that brought forth such feats of valor and courage which have been the brightest pages written in the history of human liberation.

### **LESSONS FROM THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM**

A socialist planned economy made it possible to transform industry from peacetime to a war footing very quickly. Ten million people were evacuated from areas threatened by enemy attack to eastern regions of the USSR. Over 2,500 industrial enterprises, millions of tons of grain and other products and a large number of agricultural machines were also moved east. Such tasks were accomplished within a year.

History has never before seen such sacrifice. The America Firsters, the Liberty League, the Coughlinites, the German American Bund together with the National Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers were actively opposing the popular demands of the CIO, progressives and anti-fascists who were calling for the opening of the second front. President Truman even argued for a policy of aiding the Russians if the Germans seemed to be winning and aiding the Germans if the Russians seemed to be winning. What criminality!

Yet the internationalism of the Soviet Union stood and remains ever present in peace or war. It has often been pointed out that a definite role in equipping the Soviet armies was played by supplies

from the USA. The Soviet union has always given due credit to the United states in the anti-Hitler coalition for this aid. However, it should not be forgotten that material aid through lend-lease accounted for only 4% of the hardware which the Soviet armies needed in World War II in order to crush fascism and liberate the peoples of many countries. The remaining 96% was produced by Soviet workers in Soviet plants.

The common victory over fascism must never be forgotten and this lesson has great meaning for us today.

This is not so for the president of the United States. To him the time has come for "reconciliation." This reconciliation with the revanchists and other reactionary groupings within the Federal Republic of Germany is based on anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. The deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe and the existence of military bases in the Federal Republic of Germany, Reagan's Star Wars program, the huge military budget and the resulting intensified offensive against the living standards of the people are all an integral part of this reconciliation. And the upsurge of racist reaction against Afro-Americans and other national minorities is an integral part of this reconciliation.

The policy of reconciliation is the language of preparation of nuclear war. The source of this danger is not that of a Berlin of 1941, but of Washington in 1985. This state of affairs exists on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism.

#### **REAGAN: SPOKESMAN FOR MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX**

There is in our country a peace majority. There is an urgent need for the peace movement to quicken its pace in the fight for unity of action. This movement must reach deeply into the trade unions, all the religious denominations, among students, women's organizations, people's organizations, public leaders, as well as the press. Such a movement must act with greater cohesion and pursue a policy of action for disarmament, detente, and peaceful coexistence. Such a policy must guide our nation in disarmament negotiations in Geneva. This is the path to prevent nuclear war. This is the path that leads to social progress which is realizable only under conditions of peace. That is the main task before our Party today.

The military-industrial complex is the most reactionary force of monopoly capital and Reagan speaks and acts for this section of monopoly.

Reagan is anti-labor to the core. His attempt to undermine and destroy the fighting capacity of the people's movement, which begins with his offensive against the trade unions and Afro-Americans, is really aimed at the living standards and democratic rights of all.

Of signal importance is this quote from Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU: "Contemporary reaction has the same inherent features as nazism: rabid anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, chauvinism, the use of force against the working class and the working masses in general, international terrorism and aggression against sovereign states."

Ponomarev speaks here about "inherent" features of contemporary reaction. He does not say that fascism exists. What is implicit in Reaganism are inherent dangers that not only must be combatted, but can and must be defeated.

The sharpest edge of reaction's offensive is directed against Afro-Americans on all fronts. It would be a mistake of the most serious kind if conclusions were drawn that this fascist offensive against Afro-Americans was a goal of reaction limited to Black people only. The racism against Blacks being expressed here is designed not only to undermine the trade union movement but to destroy it as well. The alliance of the labor movement and the Afro-American movement is the main pillar of democracy and social progress. We have to help develop tactics that can more effectively help in realizing our slogan "Black and white, unite and fight," which is necessary to put an end to Reaganism.

In this connection let me discuss briefly several questions. Communists support all sincere efforts of the people fighting racism in general and specifically for equality of Afro-Americans. Millions of people are taking part in this struggle. Some are moved on humanitarian grounds and still others on moral grounds or simply for a fair shake or fairness.

#### **BILLIONS IN EXTRA PROFITS FROM RACISM**

There are voices among millions who say that discrimination and segregation should be abolished because no one profits from it. The proponents of this

view however fail to see that racism in theory and practice is an integral part of capitalism. Through the use of racism the monopolies are able to pit Black against white in the market place and are thereby able to reap super profits. The following facts are instructive: in 1947 the monopolies earned an extra \$4 billion due to the double exploitation of Black men and the triple exploitation of Black women. This figure would increase to \$5 billion if one includes Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and other oppressed peoples. Today, in

1985, the loss of income of Black people due to wage differentials comes to \$100 billion. That \$100 billion went into the pockets of the monopolies. The Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native American Indians and Asian Americans lost \$50 billion as a result of wage differentials.

The fight for equality means that this kind of robbery must end and the \$150 billion from super profits must go into the pockets of the super exploited and oppressed national minorities.



The fight for economic equality should become a rallying cry of the entire people beginning with the organized labor movement. There can be no doubt about the justness of this demand.

### **FIGHT FOR EQUALITY IS A MIGHTY WEAPON**

The struggle to end discrimination in any form within the ranks of the multinational, multiracial working class is a definite contribution to strengthening trade union consciousness which must inevitably lead to a higher political consciousness and a third party.

The fight for equality is a mighty weapon, which not only raises the level of wages of Afro-American workers in every classification to that of white workers at their present level, but establishes conditions where the unity of Black and white workers in struggle can compel the monopolies to grant higher pay, shorter hours, and better working conditions for all workers. Thus the fight for economic equality is a fight against keeping a section of the class at the bottom of the social ladder. The fight for economic equality is the barometer of the degree to which the class is advancing in the anti-monopoly struggle.

### **NEW DANGERS FACE AFRO-AMERICANS**

What then is racism? Racism is the ideology of the monopoly exploiters. Basically it is monopoly's weapon to extract extra surplus value from Afro-Americans. Monopoly develops a special psychology to sustain among white workers false illusions of race superiority the essence of which is racism. Racism is a social practice for double and triple exploitation for Black men and women respectively. The monopolies consciously use racism to retard the development of democracy.

Therefore, the fight for economic, political and social equality for Afro-Americans must be rekindled. This is the crucial importance of affirmative action.

Free enterprise zones are a hoax. This proposition does not have any approach toward meeting the basic needs of Black people in the ghetto. It is limited only to the petty bourgeoisie and small businesses in the ghetto.

The campaign for the subminimum wage by Reagan is a dead giveaway. This fraud is related to Reagan's slogan "take the government off our backs" and let private enterprise do its job. Comrade Gus Hall

was right when he said that it is not enough to condemn free enterprise zones. If no realistic alternative is offered to the ghetto and no initiatives are taken to develop struggles for that alternative-for housing, jobs, recreational facilities, etc.-then sweatshops and other poverty wage set-ups can develop.

This concept, flowing from the policies of the military-industrial complex, can have far reaching social consequences. New kinds of dangers face the ghetto and the barrios as well as a result of the structural crisis, growing unemployment and a developing cyclical crisis which most economists think will shortly strike the economy.

Under these conditions, powerful real estate interests with renewed vigor are pushing gentrification with luxury housing and condominiums at rents far beyond the reach of Black workers, especially those unemployed and below the poverty line who have been thrown out of industry.

New dangers arising out of the structural crisis face Black youth who are compelled to leave school and who have never seen the inside of a factory. Shall the future of this great mass be that of Bantustan life? Or to put it another way, can the labor and progressive movements permit a situation where these Black millions become social pariahs?

This special aspect of the problem is related to the offensive against the living standards of all people. The great masses of people are searching for answers on how to prevent such an eventuality. Communist Party club must be the heartbeat of the community and an active organizer within the movement of the masses for their needs. It must be in the van of the struggle and among the best fighters to realize the objectives of the movement.

The work of each club should be based on a program in a defined area of work. If, say, in a 5 or 10 square block area a housing program was launched, a movement of struggle could be developed around the issue of funds from the city, state and federal governments. There should be demands for cuts in the military budget with the transfer of funds to go for housing construction to replace slum dwellings. Such a program would envision new jobs as well. For example, there are many crafts in the building trades and Black youth can be trained to master them. The fight for the Hayes-Conyers Income or Jobs Action Act must be elevated and concretized in this light.

There is a need for a general struggle in the context of the fight for an all peoples front. This aspect of the class struggle has to be strengthened as was the case in the past with the struggle against lynch law, such as the fight for the Scottsboro 9 defendants in the 1930's. The Party has to be in the forefront of this struggle. Our Political Bureau and Central Committee will discuss further how to begin to develop the fight on this front.

### DEMOCRATIZE POLICE DEPARTMENTS

The leadership of our Party, in the fight for democracy, puts to the fore with new urgency the entire fight for civil liberties. Racism has intensified. It is expressed by increased bestial police brutality which exists side by side with vigilantism. The general climate fostered by Reaganism gives license to every fascist, pro-fascist, racist, and ultra conservative force within the police departments to vent their hatred against Afro-Americans. It is particularly aimed at Black youth.

Let me mention Eleanor Bumpers. This 67 year old Black grandmother was behind in her rent for one month and was to be evicted. The police were called in to help in this process and what followed is a horrendous story with gruesome details—the shooting off of a finger and finally the killing of the woman. There is not, nor can there be, any democratic norm to support this action. This inhumanity could happen only because of deeply ingrained racism. It would seem that justice could ask for nothing less in punishment than the summary dismissal of the policeman who killed this woman. Justice should also require indemnity for members of the family.

Democratic opinion in New York should lead in the fight for the democratization of the police department. This would make possible the establishment of a democratically elected civilian control board.

You may have read about events in Queens, N.Y., where policemen used stun guns and electric shocks to brutalize Black youth. So outrageous was the brutality in precinct 106 that even the racist Mayor Koch had to remove the entire command of the precinct. No one knows who took the place of that command, nor is it known where the old command was sent. Could they not do the same thing in their new posts? The mayor is shadow boxing. Policemen using cattle prods and stun guns should be summarily dis-

missed from the police department.

The Bernhard Goetz case is extra legal. It is a manifestation of vigilantism and facts may later prove Goetz did not act alone. His shooting of four Black youth, one of them now permanently disabled, is reminiscent of Hitler's stormtroopers. Once again the general Reaganite climate with special racist emphasis emboldens vigilantism. Goetz too must be punished.

Let me just mention still another incident—the scandalous bombing of the home of 11 people, including four children in Philadelphia. The occupants were killed and the homes of 250 people were burned. This took place in the city of brotherly love. Those responsible for these crimes still determine policy there. Public opinion should demand condemnation of this bombing by the city administration and its denunciation by Mayor Goode. The chief of police and of the fire department should be summarily removed. Not only should the homes of the victims be restored, but full compensation should be given for losses and inconvenience. Full indemnity should be given to the families of those killed in the bombing. The police force should be democratized from top to bottom.

These few examples are representative of the problems facing Afro-Americans everywhere. The fight against these kinds of practices is an indispensable part of the fight for full economic, political and social equality for Afro-Americans.

Review, control or complaint boards are not adequate to meet this kind of situation. The fight against police brutality cannot be effective when the determination of official policy is based upon racism. Review, control, or complaint board are effective weapons when they act within the framework of a policy of struggle against racist ideas and practices—that is to democratize the police force, to rid them of fascist, pro-fascist, and racist elements. This is the way not only to curb these fascist-like attacks but to heighten the fight for democratic policy. The mass fight that must be waged has to be based upon a change in policies of the administration as a whole.

History is with us. We are on the side of history. Let us fight in such a way that we will be worthy of history. Let us not slacken our pace. It must be quickened.

# CLOSE THE INCOME GAP

*Report by Victor Perlo to the Economic Workshop*

In 1947 U.S. employers made an extra \$4 billion in profits from superexploitation of Black workers—and \$5 billion, if one includes Chicanos and other oppressed peoples. This year the total is 15 times as much. Even allowing for the multiplication of prices and corporate profits, this racist superexploitation has doubled in importance as a source of profits for U.S. monopoly capital.

In 1985 the total loss of income of the 30 million Black people in the United States, as a result of the differentials against them, as compared with white people, comes to more than \$100 billion, or \$3,333 per capita. The losses of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indians, and Asian peoples comes to another \$50 billion, for a total of \$150 billion.

I do not have to tell this audience of the unspeakable deprivation and suffering hidden behind those statistics.

The gains of employers from racism comes to far more than the \$150 billion, because the entire standard of the working class, including white workers, is pushed down substantially by the use of racial divide-and-rule strategy. This is the material basis for the racist ideology and practices that the capitalist class so stubbornly follows, regardless of all protest to the contrary.

What program is needed to combat this, to meet the needs of the Afro-American people? Such an economic and social program would have to have two basic parts:

1. Features beneficial to the entire working class and all working people—including white collar, professional, workers, farmers, small capitalists.

2. Features that advance the special requirements of Black people, within these programs for the entire working people and within the overall U.S. economy. Naturally, this applies also to special requirements of Hispanic people, Native Americans, Asian-Americans. But Black people are not only the largest group, the oppression and discrimination against Black people is most severe and determined, their needs are most urgent, and they are in the forefront of struggle.

The two parts must be pursued jointly. Given the actual balance of political forces in this country, important gains for labor as a whole are unlikely to be won without inclusion of particular features responsive to the extra, special needs of Afro-Americans and other oppressed peoples and of women. Nor can one anticipate major gains for Afro-Americans solely through civil rights/affirmative action measures so long as the overall economic situation of the working class continues to deteriorate.

To be successful, struggles to reduce the vast social and economic gap against Black people must be joined to struggles in the interest of all working people. Similarly, white workers must participate substantially in struggles for civil rights and affirmative action measures as part of a rounded program to end and reverse the deterioration in the situation of white workers, professionals and farmers, and to achieve decisive forward movement in the overall situation of the great majority of the population.

The key point is that reduction of the economic gap against Black workers is in no way at the expense of white workers, nor does it involve a loss in their incomes and employment. Achievement of real economic and social equality of Black and white workers will set the stage for scarcely dreamed of economic and social advances for the entire working class and

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Victor Perlo is chair of the Economics Commission of the CPUSA.

an all-around improvement in the climate of life and standard of living of the masses in the United States.

### MILLIONS OF MORE JOBS ARE POSSIBLE

Measures needed for the entire working class, white and Black, fall into two main groups:

A. Measures to radically reduce, and virtually end, unemployment.

A six-hour day with 8 hours pay. This will provide about 12 million additional jobs.

Construction of 2 million good quality public housing units per year, providing another 2 million jobs.

Doubling the present volume of public construction of infrastructure—schools, hospitals, vacation facilities, environmental protection work, providing one million additional jobs.

Opening up trade with socialist countries, providing large-scale development aid to Africa, Asian, Latin American countries where needed, without interference in their internal affairs, providing 1 million more jobs.

This brings the total additional jobs to 16 million, approximately equal to the combined total of officially counted unemployed, the so-called discouraged workers, those who never had a job, the involuntary part-timers, etc. Moreover, providing anything like this number of additional jobs with higher wages will certainly lead to still more jobs being required to supply the added goods and services that workers will purchase.

The financing of these measures, insofar as they involve government spending, will come from slashing in half the military budget and raising taxes paid by the rich and the corporations out of their \$2 trillion per year of gross profits.

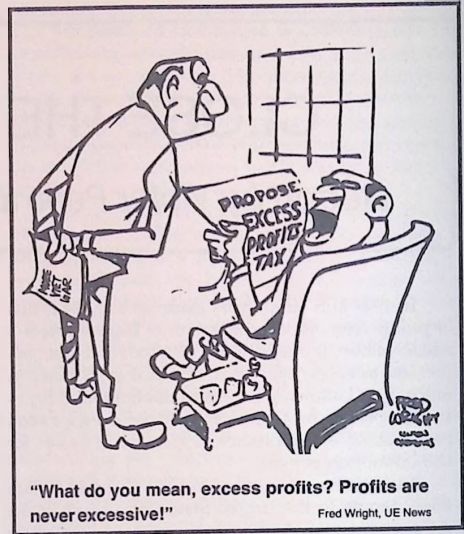
B. Aside from job creating measures, the following are needed to eliminate poverty and increase workers' incomes:

Doubling the minimum wage and making it apply to all lines of work.

Eliminating taxation on earned incomes up to \$15,000 yearly for single persons, and \$25,000 for families of four.

Raising social security, unemployment insurance, aid to dependent children, etc. programs so as to raise effective minimum incomes to 150 per cent of the poverty level.

C. Needed with such a program is price freezing



and controls on all basic living commodities, rents and utilities.

D. Universal, free, socialized health services and education.

With respect to government spending and taxation requirements, I call special attention to the proposal of the Congressional Black Caucus, which moves significantly in the direction indicated, is in advance of the current AFL-CIO proposals, and provides an excellent basis for a united front of labor, oppressed peoples, peace groups, and other elements of an all-peoples forward movement.

Now I turn to the principal measures needed to reduce and ultimately end the widening economic and social gap against Afro-Americans. What I have to say is consistent with, and implicitly called for, by the United Nations International Covenant on Human Rights, which became part of international law in 1976, with ratification by many countries, but not, unfortunately, I believe, as yet by the United States.

Even more explicit in its call for affirmative action measures with the aim of completely ending discriminatory differences is the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,



adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1965, and effective in 1969, with ratification by the required number of members, excluding, again, the United States.

Measures of this nature are of two basic types: (a) prohibitions against discrimination; and (b) requirements for positive action to reduce the gap.

1. Certainly the main legislative and regulatory actions have been of the first type—strictures against barring Blacks from employment because of their race; against access to housing, education, health, etc. Where there have been mass pressures for enforcement, there have been some gains, especially in the South, where the overt discrimination was most blatant—and apparently, in many non-urban areas, still is.

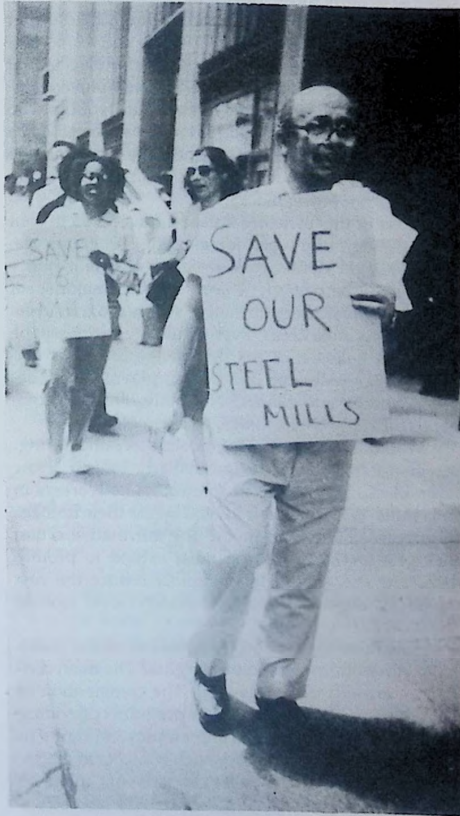
The gains made during the 1960s were notable. And yet, at best, they were sufficient only to reduce the gap against Blacks by perhaps one-tenth. These measures did not eliminate the prejudice of capitalists and landlords or their greed for superprofits. They leave the door open for tokenism, as a means of complying with the judicially interpreted requirements of the laws against discrimination without essentially reducing discrimination.

Since about 1972, the structural crisis of capitalism, the intensifying anti-labor and racist offensive of monopoly capital and its government, culminating in the Reagan Administration, has led to a widening of the gap. The variety of devices used to discriminate against Blacks—and especially against Black men and youth—have become more numerous and sophisticated in the field of employment. Similarly, there has been a resurgence of housing segregation and gross deterioration and shortages of housing available to Blacks, especially in major urban centers, where the great majority of the Black population is still concentrated.

Thus the critical situation of Black people has intensified. There has been a substantial 15 per cent loss in real wages and increase in unemployment of all workers compounded by the widening gap between white and Black workers in both income and unemployment.

2. The most crucial measures required are those that directly aim to reduce and ultimately eliminate the discriminatory economic and social gap against Blacks. These are referred to as affirmative action

measures. As provided by union contracts and by some government laws or regulations—usually by local government—they achieved a certain, but limited, impact. They never covered more than a small fraction of Black workers. Their requirements were generally mild, providing for only slow, uncertain reduction of the gap. They often gave employers options through too general wording. For example the option of employing favored “minorities” who recently arrived from Southeast Asia with little or no political consciousness, or women in low-paying jobs while



avoiding employment of Blacks in skilled and semi-skilled jobs. And they were always attacked by employers sabotage, court appeals, attempted reversals and watering down. Crucial court cases turned against affirmative action.

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BENEFITS ALL WORKERS

The Reagan Administration carries out an intensive drive against all affirmative action programs. It openly opposes them, and has initiated scores of cases to destroy those that exist.

A drive for affirmative action must take center stage, and include:

All enterprises must be required to hire Blacks in at least the proportion of Blacks to all unemployed people, including discouraged workers and youths who never had a job, etc. This must be applied over a region broad enough so that removal of enterprises to largely all-white residential areas will not serve as an excuse for not hiring Blacks.

The effect of this measure must be considered in conjunction with the vast job-creating programs described above. White workers constitute the majority of those unemployed. Therefore, the majority of workers hired under affirmative action programs will be white, in most areas, even while the result will be an overall increase in the percentage of Blacks employed and a reduction in the unemployment gap between whites and Blacks. Naturally, similar provisions will apply to Hispanics, women, etc.

Promotion is nearly as important as initial hiring. Racism in this respect is particularly brazen. How many Blacks are instructed to train white workers in their skills, only to be left behind while their trainees are promoted ahead of them? The affirmative action principles applied to hiring must extend to promotions. The aim should be to rapidly reduce the vast gap in classification and wage/salary level against Blacks.

How does one reconcile affirmative action provisions with union-won seniority rights? The main conflict can arise in case of layoffs. The combination of affirmative action programs with programs providing jobs for millions and restricting employers' rights to close down plants will reduce such conflicts to marginal situations. In such cases adjustments must be made so that layoffs of Black workers do not reduce

the overall percentage of Black workers employed. In too many cases mechanical one-sided application of seniority formulas have wiped out years of hard won gains towards equal employment opportunities. This must not be permitted to happen again. Similar requirements apply to Hispanics, women, etc.

The proposal for 2 million public housing units, to be located at well dispersed places—with accompanying schools, health and recreation facilities—is crucial. These units should be government-owned and operated, with tenants' participation. Rent should be equal to no more than 10 per cent of income. The dwellings should be unsegregated, placed logically from the viewpoint of transportation, access to employment, to clean and open spaces.

The affirmative action principle requires that Blacks be admitted to such housing in proportion to their number among people who live in sub-standard housing, crowded apartments, and especially those lacking housing altogether, an increasing phenomenon in these United States.

Such a program, with 2 million racially mixed construction worker providing good quality, reasonably priced housing for more united, more equal, true melting pot of American people, will immeasurably improve the whole tone and quality of life in the United States.

Almost daily there are fresh warning signs of an imminent new "recession"—that is, an economic and financial crisis—with its fresh blows to tens of millions of working people, especially the oppressed. Struggle for countermeasures to provide recovery for the people, not for monopoly capital, is on the order of the day. If it is to win, the campaign for equal rights, for affirmative action, for decisive moves towards real equality in these United States, must be a major component.



# ALL PEOPLES FRONT IN CHICAGO

*Report by Mildred Williamson to the Electoral Workshop*

We have now just passed the two-year mark in the historic first term of Chicago's first Black and progressive mayor. Already, folks in and out of Chicago are thinking about the 1987 elections. "Can Harold pull it off again," is the question the conventional media asks. The more right-wing press sources ask, "Will the (Democratic) machine unite behind an attractive candidate that can defeat Washington?" It's interesting that people you talk to in the street or on the job don't ask, they say: "We've got to work together to re-elect Harold."

The word "we" kind of says it all. "We" refers to the thousands of people—Black, white, Latino, young, old, workers, men and women who made up the non-paid army of folks—who formed a movement to elect Harold Washington mayor in 1983. This "movement" aspect is the point the major media and many so-called political leaders ignore.

Many people correctly say that the folks with power are going to struggle hard to make the '87 race a 2-way rather than a 3-way Democratic primary, to avoid the split in the white vote that helped Washington win in 1983. Despite their efforts, it seems unlikely that it will be a 2-way race.

Former Mayor Jane Byrne has already announced her candidacy, which has received a lukewarm reception at best from the regular Democrats and business leaders. Tenth ward Alderman Edward Vrdolyak has practically put his hat in the ring. Even Congressman Dan Rostenkowski has been courted by some moderates as the best contender. Basically, all these challengers to Mayor Washington have great difficulty shedding the "great white hope" cloak because their aims are so obvious.

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Mildred Williamson is organizational secretary of the Communist Party in Illinois.

However, whether the '87 race will be a 2-way or 3-way race is not the main issue. The main issue for the re-election of Harold Washington will be how well the excellent multi-racial base can be expanded. Advanced activists place the consolidation of the base among the ranks of labor—including unemployed and unorganized forces—as the most important objective. It is within this strategic group that white workers, many of whom live in all-white areas, can be reached in the most positive fashion.

Consider this: In the 10th ward, home of "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, are located three major steel mills and one large Ford assembly plant. One of the three steel mills is closed (Wisconsin Steel) and another, U.S. Steel's South Works plant employs only 900 out of a previous work force of over 10,000. The LTV steel plant also is not working at full capacity, but hasn't reached such a lowpoint as South Works. The 10th ward is indeed a solid workingclass community, but it is also segregated. The white population is the most isolated from the Black and Latino areas because it is physically separated by the location of the factories and the Calumet river.

Many workers in this area are now jobless, and at least 3,500 of them can place some direct responsibility on Vrdolyak himself. I am referring to the workers at Wisconsin Steel who came to work one day to find the doors locked and bounced paychecks. Their union was the Progressive Steel Workers Union, a company union where Vrdolyak served as general counsel.

The president of this union and Vrdolyak cooperated fully with the owners of the mill to economically abuse these workers. The Wisconsin Steel Save Our Jobs Committee was immediately formed by these displaced workers and they maintain their five-

year-old struggle for benefits and rights today. They are Black, Latino and white and know the true role of Vrdolyak and are fully aware of the positive role that Mayor Washington has played in the whole struggle against plant closings and the fight for jobs.

Progressive incumbents were re-elected and class collaborationist local USWA leaders were defeated in the latest District 31 steel elections, which include Chicago and Northwest Indiana. Two key locals that elected progressives to leadership were Local 65 (South Works) and Local 1033 (LTV).

These elections are a response by the rank and file to end concessions and they can also be a political plus in building new alliances between labor, steelworkers in particular, with the movement to re-elect Mayor Washington. Many workers who worked to elect their new local leadership also worked to elect Harold Washington in 1983. This is a base of white, Black and Latino workers that has swelling potential.

Some positive developments have taken place in other unions in Chicago, including in the Chicago Federation of Labor. One in particular is the new situ-

ation with SEIU and AFSCME, which now for the first time have bargaining rights for Chicago's 42,000 city workers, as worked out by Mayor Washington and the unions.

The Communist Party in Illinois and other advanced forces have a real job to creatively and effectively place the struggle for unity with full participation of labor as key. There are some—white liberals, Black nationalists and even a few social democratic trade unionists—who feel that white workers are hopelessly infected with racism and can't be reached. The Party can demonstrate through its public positions and actions that unity without the struggle for labor is not real unity at all.

Advances are being made that prove the Party's position to be correct in the 22nd and 26th wards on the near southwest and northwest areas, respectively. In these wards, especially the 22nd, solid independent political organizations exist and vividly promote the concept of Black, white and Latino unity. Our challenge is to duplicate these efforts throughout the 50 wards of the city.



# BLACK-WHITE UNITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

*Report by Joelle Fishman to Electoral Workshop*

In the process of emerging political independence in Connecticut, new developments reflect a strengthening of the Afro-American-labor alliance expressed in the battle to rid the nation of Reaganite policies and officials in 1984. The Communist Party and its candidates, putting forth a consistent people before profits program partisan to the working class and all its sectors, have made an important impact.

These past and present experiences can help us draw lessons for future developments of political independence and how to enhance the struggle for Black-white unity and unity of labor and the Afro-American people's movements.

Connecticut is a state of stark contrasts. Hartford and New Haven are the 7th and 4th poorest cities in the nation. In the midst of extreme economic crisis sits the "insurance capital of the world" and United Technologies Corporation representing the military-industrial complex in Hartford, and Yale University in New Haven. Fairfield County, which houses many corporate headquarters, is the third richest in the nation and in its center is poverty-ridden Bridgeport.

The 8 percent Afro-American population in the state is concentrated in these three largest cities and, combined with Puerto Rican and Latino peoples, reaches about 50 percent in each city.

The effects of the structural crisis, including continual plant closings, layoffs and racist gentrification of Afro-American and multi-racial working class neighborhoods, face people daily and are the focus of fightback movements in many shops and neighborhoods.

It was against this background that massive voter registration drives were launched in preparation for

the 1984 presidential elections. Tens of thousands of new voters signed up, spurred on by the presidential primary campaign of Rev. Jesse Jackson. In addition, the trade union movement put its organization into motion, registering thousands of workers on the job at special sessions.

The new voters—many young—wanted to cast their opposition to the Reagan administration whose economic recovery had passed them by in favor of continued huge military buildup and wholesale corporate tax writeoffs.

In the primaries, Jackson came in first in Hartford, where he had gained the endorsement of Mayor Thirman Milner. He won significant votes in white workingclass districts. Jackson came in second in New Haven and Bridgeport without the backing of the Democratic Party machines, but was denied delegates to the convention from these areas based on undemocratic election laws.

Jackson's primary campaign in the state helped set the whole pace around the issues, based on grass roots orientation, and especially focused on voter registration. After the primary, the machinery of the labor movement was crucial in carrying on the work around Mondale.

## **STRONG ANTI-MONOPOLY BASE**

Of the 11 cities in Connecticut that went for Mondale, all have strong organized labor movements. Most are integrated cities, reflecting both the strong and solid anti-monopoly base in the Afro-American and Puerto Rican communities and also the readiness to be organized into action among white workers.

The movements which developed since election day have further brought together the organizations of labor and the Black community, in particular

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Joelle Fishman is executive secretary of the Communist Party in Connecticut.

around actions opposing U.S. support of apartheid, and around strike support for hospital and clerical workers who were out in recent months. Of great significance was a train of over 1,000 Connecticut residents led by the Connecticut Democratic Congressional delegation to protest apartheid at the South African Consulate in New York. Organized labor was particularly visible as a leading organizer and partici-

pant.

The problem of how to develop an independent electoral machinery to win a change in priorities and put forth working class candidates from its own ranks, is now on center stage.

#### POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT COALITION

A promising development is around the Legis-



lative Electoral Action Program (LEAP), which is a political action committee similar to, but of more limited scope than, the Wisconsin Action Coalition. Of particular significance is the formation of a specific civil rights PAC as part of LEAP.

LEAP is a coalition which seeks out, endorses, and works to elect pro-labor and progressive candidates—so far within the Democratic Party. It's roots are in the Connecticut Citizens Action Group, a Saul Alinsky style community organizing apparatus. While they quickly recognized the necessity of involving organized labor to be successful, the coalition ignored the Black elected officials, despite outstanding voting records in the state legislature and on the local level.

Both the events of the 1984 elections, and the arguments of Left forces within LEAP of the need for class unity and recognition of Afro-American leadership, brought the coalition to establish the civil rights PAC under the leadership of Black trade unionists. Their charge is to enlarge the number of Black elected officials, increasing the number of Afro-American women and men in the State's 11 member Black and Hispanic Legislative Caucus (of a total of 187), as well as to elect a second Black mayor in the city of Bridgeport this November, and to endorse progressive Afro-American candidates for city council positions in Hartford.

While not a mass membership or action organization in itself, the LEAP coalition includes representation from the largest labor organizations in the state: International Association of Machinists, United Auto Workers, 1199 and others. All member organizations get out their forces in support of candidates endorsed by LEAP in their area of the state.

The potential of the coalition was shown in the 1984 state legislative races. The Republican Party captured the state house for the first time in many years. The Democrats who lost out in the Reagan sweep were the most conservative, many who had controlling positions. Yet, three newly elected Democratic representatives were LEAP endorsed grass roots candidates considered to be facing unbeatable odds. They all were elected on the basis of their positions and programs which were in opposition to the human needs cuts and military buildup of the Reagan Administration.

As this potentially important coalition is pulled

in a more workingclass direction, it will have to face the question of becoming a mass action organization as well, which could involve the memberships of the many organizations of the coalition in united action around key economic issues facing the people of the state.

LEAP was also active in the re-election of Congressman Bruce Morrison from the 3rd CD. Morrison won a big victory over his Reaganite opposition who had expected to be elected on Reagan's coattails. Important to the victory was the vote in New Haven, the District's working class center, which went overwhelmingly for Morrison and also for Mondale on the Presidential ticket. The Morrison race was a focus of organized labor in general and of the Freeze Voter '84 Peace PAC. Among the leading forces guaranteeing the victory was the IAM at Winchester sporting arms, a local whose membership is over 60 percent Afro-American, and which is being threatened with a moveout as the result of a pending merger.

#### IMPORTANCE OF CP CAMPAIGNS

Morrison's original election in 1982 came on the heels of eight years of Communist Party campaigns in the District. The political base built during that period and the issues raised by the Party in the 1982 campaign helped Morrison to take a firmer position on the issues, particularly on peace, and helped to create a climate in which a generally pro-peace and pro-labor candidate could be elected for the first time in over 24 years.

The attempts by the Democratic Party nationally and in Connecticut to try and get around or exclude the Rainbow forces, labor, peace, women and others who emerged in the anti-Reagan front, present big problems and much discussion on the local level. Despite the attempts of the Republican Party to exploit this situation with the argument, "Don't put all your eggs in one (Democratic Party) basket," for the most part the Afro-American voters recognize their strength as a solid voting block and are staying in the Democratic Party at this time.

Side by side with these developments, the Hall-Davis campaign was collecting thousands of signatures in working class neighborhoods, including many Afro-American neighborhoods, where we were warmly received as part of the Dump Reagan forces, handing out literature and Daily Worlds calling for

united action to defeat Reaganism, holding press conferences, and generally building on the work of the Communist campaigns in the 3rd CD. We got on the ballot for the first time in 40 years, and we got 5,000 votes!

The large vote stunned many. It gave hope and inspiration to others. It showed that it is possible to mount an independent campaign—independent of the parties of big business. Our campaign contributed to public awareness and rejection of the anti-democratic, racist and anti-Communist ultra-right. It broadened the spectrum of political debate, thereby indirectly impacting on LEAP and other electoral movements.

Our campaigns have encouraged people by showing that if we can run independent on a class partisan program, others can look beyond the Republican and Democratic Parties as well. The Afro-American contender for the Democratic Party Mayoral nomination in New Haven who emerged from the Rainbow Coalition has publicly stated, for instance, that he is considering running independent in November. It is too early to judge how things will develop.

There is an integral connection between our day-to-day struggles in a given area as Communist political clubs, the electoral base we are able to develop and recruitment of new members into the Party.

In our local campaigns, we have singled out certain concentration wards for massive literature distributions, door knocking, etc., including the neighborhood which surrounds the Winchester plant. We have received wide support from residents of the area, many of whom work at the shop. The support includes financial contributions in annual Daily World plant gate bucket collections and during weekly distributions, an enthusiastic response to the Party shop paper Bulls Eye, and participation in some Party-sponsored events. In 1984, a quarter of the workers stopped on their way in the gate to sign petitions to put Hall and Davis on the ballot.

However, this base has not been reflected in our vote. As we visited the polls on election day, one of the Aldermen greeted us with a handshake and smile, "Keep on staying out there," he said. "We can't vote for you this time—we have some business first."

In this sense, the left-Communist electoral front

can play an important role of bridging the gap between our campaigns and those in the labor movement who are looking for something more advanced, while maintaining their relations with the Democratic Party.

A major part of the Party's electoral work in the past has been around the issue of runaway shops and plant shutdowns. Today, the workers at Winchester are faced with a threat of losing their jobs due to a corporate merger. This threat has angered many forces in the City government. The Party has already responded with a special issue of Bulls Eye. The challenge confronting us is to make the fight to save the Winchester jobs and community the key issue in this year's city election campaign.

It is clear that it is not enough to take a limited approach to the shop in isolation from the surrounding Afro-American neighborhood plagued by high unemployment, especially among youth. While we are at the shop on a year round basis, we cannot project the Party as an organization with solutions for the future if we do not make the connections between the Free Enterprise Zone newly established in the Winchester area and the issues in the shop.

The development of a Communist-left electoral front here will require an approach to the conditions in the wards where workers live and vote as well as addressing shop issues.

In this sense, the very concept of the electoral front forces the clubs to directly address the day-to-day economic issues the people in their area of responsibility face, and from the viewpoint of a mass movement/legislative program to solve these problems. Such a class struggle-unity program and general action orientation enables our clubs to play a role in developing electoral unity between organized labor and the Afro-American organizations.

The base we have laid, the anger and frustration of the mass of people, the newly registered voters and newly developing electoral forms—including the Rainbow forces and LEAP—present important new possibilities for forging a closer alliance with organized labor. The developing situation opens the way for greatly increasing the number of workingclass Afro-American elected officials, and opens new possibilities for club initiatives along the Communist-left electoral front concept in Connecticut.



# AFRO-AMERICANS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

*Report by Carl Bloice to Electoral Workshop*

Black influence on the discussion and conduct of U.S. foreign policy has been a markedly progressive one for over 85 years. Indeed, at the turn of the century conscious anti-imperialism was a definite major factor in the Black liberation movement. This direction has continued and deepened since that time.

At the onset of the modern post-World War II struggle against the danger of nuclear war, the civil rights movement which arose concurrently added its weight to the peace effort. This period was highlighted by the pro-peace, anti-imperialist activities of Paul Robeson, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Charlotta Bass and others, and government attempts to silence them.

Thirty years ago the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was founded at Bandung, Indonesia. After strenuous efforts to dissuade him from attending the historic gathering, Harlem Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. went as an observer and upon his return was greeted as a hero by thousands.

## TURNING POINT

It is well known that an historic turning point was reached in the anti-war movement of the 1960s when the leadership of the Southern civil rights movement, including those of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and, most importantly, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., identified themselves with the movement against nuclear weapons and deployment and the struggle against the war in Vietnam. In doing so, SNCC, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and others shattered the wall that had been erected by other major Black

leaders between the liberation movement and any mention of foreign policy. For over a decade, some of the major Black leaders and organizations either colluded in various imperialist activities, schemes and plots against peace and national liberation movements or stuck firmly to a self-imposed silence. They went so far as to frequently join in the attempted isolation and victimization of people like Robeson and DuBois.

One of the effects of the government and private efforts to silence the voices of peace and liberation solidarity in the Afro-American community was the muting of the burgeoning movement in solidarity with African liberation initiated by such figures as DuBois, Robeson and Dr. Alphaeus Hunton.

Another important milestone in the struggle for peace and justice occurred recently with the bold and politically courageous statements by the Rev. Jesse Jackson concerning the Middle East and the rights of the Palestinian people. While there have always been voices inside the Afro-American community supporting the cause of Arab and Jewish progressive forces in the Middle East—especially leaders of the Communist Party—Jackson's positions broke with the dominant posture of most major Black leaders. That was one of either support of and cooperation with Zionist expansionism and its supporters or silence on the matter.

Note too should be taken of the identification with the cause of a just peace in the Middle East by Reps. John Conyers, Walter Fauntroy, George Crockett, Gus Savage and other Black political leaders.

Sentiment in the Afro-American community on questions of world peace and support for national liberation is expressed in a number of ways. It is expressed through statements of Black leaders and the

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convention resolutions of major civil rights organizations. It is expressed through the pro-peace and liberation support stands taken frequently by individual members of the Congressional Black Caucus and often by the Caucus itself. It is expressed at the polls through support for peace candidates and the whole-hearted, nearly unanimous opposition to the Reagan administration and the foreign polics of Reaganism. It is expressed time and time again by public opinion polls that register such things as Black support for the Nuclear Freeze proposal, opposition to the militarization of space, early opposition to the war in Vietnam and revulsion at the invasion of Grenada.

#### ADVANCED POSITION ON PEACE

In the recent period the number of Afro-American political groups and personalities taking an advanced position on the struggle for peace and liberation has grown quickly and significantly. This is expressed, for instance, in the involvement in the activities of the World Peace Council and other progressive international organizations by such figures as Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport, Reps. Crockett, Savage and Conyers, Communist Party leader James E. Jackson, publisher Carleton Goodlett, Jesse Jackson, Jack O'Dell and others. A number of Black leaders and activists from around the country participated in the recent Vienna Dialogue on Peace and Security.

Historically there has been a direct link between accomodationism in the struggle for equality and acquiescence on matters of foreign policy. Three major factors have contributed to the dominant progressive trend in the Black community on international questions:

- 1) Natural identification with the cause of people struggling against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- 2) The historic and organic link between imperialism and the forces of monopoly capitalism and the racism, subjugation and discrimination visited against Black people and other nationally and racially oppressed peoples.

- 3) The overwhelming workingclass composition of the Black population which dictates that there is little of a social base for pro-imperialist ideology.

Increasingly, the consciousness of Afro-Americans on matters of foreign affairs—both among leadership groups and in the community—has been toward recognition of the positive role of the Soviet

Union and the socialist world (in a special sense revolutionary Cuba) in the worldwide struggle for peace and national liberation.

Throughout this nation's modern history imperialists and their apologists have looked upon the Black liberation movement as an achilles heel in the international arena. The efforts exerted since the late 40s to persuade, bribe, intimidate or coerce the Afro-American people into acquiescence or silence on foreign policy matters has been based on the clear recognition that given knowledge and choice Black people would side with the forces of anti-imperialism, detente, non-alignment and/or socialism.

#### BATTLE AGAINST APARTHEID

While the forces of the Afro-American equality movement have been historically linked to the struggle for peace and anti-imperialism, at no point has mass consciousness in the Afro-American community expressed itself to the degree that it is currently in the battle against South African apartheid. A number of factors have converged to propel mass action of Afro-Americans against the racist regime in Pretoria and the Reagan Administration policy of "constructive engagement" with it. Among them are:

- 1) Identification with the struggles of Africans as a result of ethnic links and the shared experience with racism and colonialism.

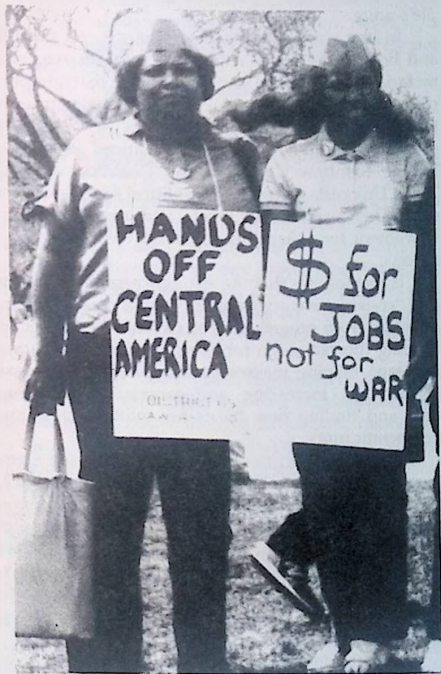
- 2) A long history of active involvement on the African continent through Christian missionary and charitable activities.

- 3) The clear implications of the policy of Reaganism which while adopting an increasingly activist, interventionists, confrontationist and aggressive international stance, actually acts as the prime defender and public shield for the most reactionary and racist government on the planet: the South African fascist regime.

- 4) Much organizing and educational work has been done by conscious forces like TransAfrica, The American Committee on Africa, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and others. These efforts were given tremendous impetus and aided by the convening of the Conference In Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa in New York City in 1981.

Of special importance has been the role of the Communist Party, USA in projecting certain vital as-

pects of the struggle against apartheid such as recognition of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) as the legitimate representative of the liberation movement in South Africa; the importance of South African workers and trade unions, particularly the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in the struggle; the necessity of projecting a struggle under the all-embracing slogan of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime.



Today, amid the historic and effective mass actions aimed principally at securing public and private divestiture of funds invested in South Africa and companies doing business in South Africa, the Communist Party calls for raising the question of complete sanctions to a new level in the campaign. The Party urges proceeding to the demand for a complete break with South Africa, including the ending of diplomatic ties and participation in the worldwide efforts to totally isolate the Pretoria government in the international community. This should include efforts at all levels to force a reversal of the policy of "constructive engagement."

An important role in advancing the anti-apartheid movement was that of candidate Jesse Jackson in forcing U.S. policy toward South Africa as an issue in the 1984 presidential election.

Of special note at the present juncture is the fact that the current multi-racial upsurge against apartheid in the U.S. is a campaign which originated with an initiative in the Black community and has been led, in the main, by Black people. This has important implications for the anti-imperialist and peace movements as a whole.

The potential of Afro-American leadership in the struggle for peace and solidarity was clearly demonstrated in the summer of 1984 at the Democratic Party convention held in San Francisco. There, Rev. Jackson with the support of the forces arrayed in the Rainbow Coalition waged an effective and meaningful struggle for the adoption of four planks into the Democratic Party platform which contained advanced positions on the questions of peace and non-intervention. The planks drew the necessary connections between domestic and international issues. The proposals were turned down by the convention at the urging of the other candidates and the pro big business leadership of the Democratic Party. But they became and remain important rallying points for the forces of political independence both within and without the Democratic Party.

As a political force on the U.S. scene the Afro-American movement has influence far beyond the

percentage of Black people in the population. Concentrated as they are in the major population centers, north and south, Black people play an increasingly significant role in the nation's political life. A large percentage of the members of the House of Representatives who play a progressive role on matters of peace and non-intervention—Black and white—represent districts with large Black populations.

As the current anti-apartheid movement demonstrates, in alliance with organized labor, foreign policy initiatives can assume extensive and organized expression quickly and effectively. The action of West Coast longshore workers—at the initiative of Black workers—in refusing to handle South African cargo demonstrates at one and the same time the potential of workingclass actions of international solidarity and the effectiveness of Black and white workingclass unity.

In today's conditions for Afro-Americans questions in international affairs merge very clearly with domestic considerations. The cost of new and deadly weapons systems and foreign military adventures (in which Black youth pay a disproportionate cost in fatalities) stand in sharp contrast to the cutbacks in social services and social security. They are viewed against the worsening conditions in the Black community as a result of Reaganism. This juncture of domestic and international questions find sharp expression among Black people because of the overwhelmingly working class character of the Black population. For this reason Black organizations have been the leading force in linking various struggles under the slogan: "Peace, Jobs and Justice."

Two things would appear clear from the above. First, in the struggle for world peace, against the nuclear arms buildup and for national liberation and independence, the Black people of the U.S. play a growing and significant role, one of historical and worldwide importance. Second, the outlook should be for new and important initiatives by the forces of the movement for Black equality in the future thrusting it even further into the forefront of the mass movement against Reaganism. A leading role will be assumed in the fight to stop efforts to upset nuclear parity and launch a dangerous new round of military escalation and in the fight against armed imperialist intervention in Central America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

It follows therefore that the Communist Party, recognizing the key role of the Afro-American equality movement in the international arena and the importance of the foreign policy concerns of Black people, must pay close attention to this question in advancing the struggle for equality. The matter takes on added importance in the area of recruiting and Party building. Our ability to attract and hold Afro-American members, particularly from shops and working class neighborhoods, is linked to recognizing and furthering advanced trends, deepening political awareness and championing ever widening people's unity.

In line with building new alliances on the Left and linking the Party with other progressive, non-sectarian forces in the struggle against reaction, special attention must be paid to the new level of international awareness in the Black community. Particular attention should be paid to the advanced role played by the Rainbow Coalition, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, progressive political figures who remain Democrats at all levels and the burgeoning movement for peace and solidarity within the trade unions.

It also follows that the struggle against apartheid and "constructive engagement" must receive urgent attention from progressive forces with the aim of advancing the campaign for comprehensive sanctions. It means helping masses to draw new and proper conclusions, increasing anti-imperialist consciousness and finding new bases for militant class and democratic unity.

In his report to the recent meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee/National Council, general secretary Gus Hall noted that when Communists fail to take note of changes in the thinking of various sections of the population "we tend to tail movements and struggles and to misjudge the thinking and mood of the masses. In fact we become tactically stagnant. We cease to give vanguard leadership."

Further, Hall noted, "One of the new and growing factors in this period is the coming together and overlapping of issues and struggles." Opposition to war and imperialist adventure is an historical fact in the Black community, one that has assumed an important new level in the present period and continues to develop.

# THE FIGHT FOR JOBS

*Report by Ben Riskin to Economic Workshop*

Between Madison Avenue and the academics, the ruling class always comes up with a fancy phrase, a catchy formulation to divert attention while they put over the "big sell."

One of these new phrases is "the underclass."

"Underclass!" Just seeing it seems to set off special vibes. "Underclass" leads to a "wastebasket concept into which are thrown the outcasts, the social waste."

"... the United States has become a society with persistently high levels of unemployment. Unless current policies are changed, this will continue; under even relatively optimistic projections, there will be a structural shortage of at least 4,000,000 jobs through the 1980s," according to "The Future of Work" issued by the AFL-CIO Committee of the Evolution of Work.

These 4,000,000 trained, experienced, skilled basic workers — these steel workers, builders of electrical machinery, autos, tires, of all our basic necessities — these victims of "a structural shortage of at least 4,000,000 jobs" — are now designated as "permanently unemployed and unemployable." They are thus members of that new corporate concept, the "underclass."

Let's look at who is being tossed aside. Those called the "underclass" are our brothers and sisters. The character of the U.S. working class is reflected in them — Black and white, men and women, multi-national, multi-racial. Of the 11.5 million aged 20 and over who lost jobs — not to mention the millions of youth who haven't been able to get jobs — who is it that makes up the reservoir of "unemployables" now called "underclass," those least likely to be re-em-

ployed? Older workers, women and nationally oppressed minorities.

Says who? According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, unemployment was 23 percent among whites, 34 percent among Hispanics and 41 percent among Afro-Americans.

So even in the unity of misery, the special additional discrimination against Black and other national minority members of the working class stands out in the overall misery of the loss of jobs.

## CAPITALISM IS NOT WORKING

Why are they unemployed and unemployable? Are they people who don't want to work?

No! These are the people who helped build our country, helped achieve the highest living standards in the capitalist world.

The ONLY reason that they are not working is because their former employers — U.S. Steel, GM, Ford, GE, etc. — threw them out of jobs. What they produced is now being supplied by the very same companies from their runaway shops in unorganized areas in the United States and in unorganized areas abroad.

Nearly half of our unemployed workers were displaced from jobs in basic industry in the East, North Central and Middle Atlantic regions where heavy industry has been concentrated. These unemployed workers are "unemployable," not because they can't work, but because U.S. transnationals and conglomerates have made rust bowls of the huge industrialized areas of our nation. Dodge Main in Detroit, Youngstown steel plants, Mon Valley Steel, Wisconsin Steel, Phelps Dodge, American Smelting and Refining and GE engaged in the calculated, planned closing of their plants — even those still

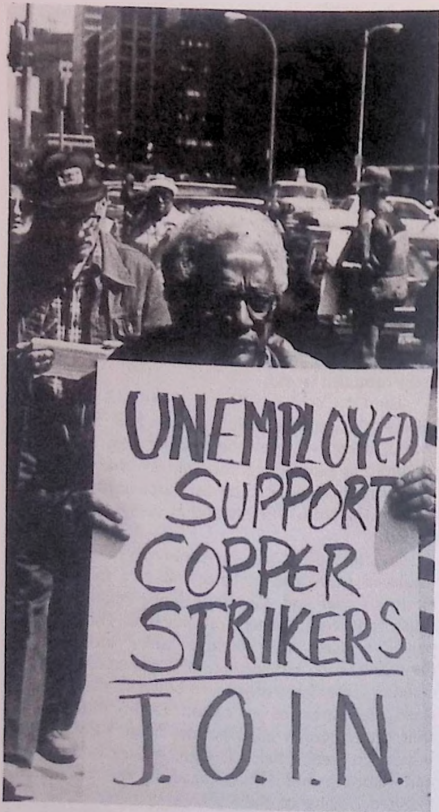
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Ben Riskin is a member of the Labor Department of the Communist Party.

making profits — only to transfer investments abroad using low wage unorganized workers to make even greater profits.

These were the basic, high-paying, unionized industries in which the struggle for affirmative action had brought Afro-American, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific and women workers into the coke ovens and foundries, the auto and rubber plants, the mines and mills.

These unemployed millions were not just "laid off" from the industrial heart of our country. They were dispossessed, locked out of their jobs



by the structural crisis caused by profit-making monopolists who eliminated whole chunks of their industries.

There are no jobs left for these trained workers in their entire section of the country. Retrain them? For what and where? Most certainly workers are entitled to be retrained for new jobs as new machinery and production techniques are introduced. But, why should a coke oven operator, a copper miner, a wire drawer, a tire builder, a toolmaker have to be retrained for high tech in Silicon Valley, thousands of miles away? Aside from the different physical and technical requirements, high tech is already in its own phase of the capitalist crisis. Corporations like Atari have already closed down new plants here and transferred production to the Far East, to employ still cheaper labor and make even more profits.

In their desperate need for jobs, many workers have been lured by "consultants" and "experts" into various ESOP schemes, in which workers supposedly buy their own plants.

A special study made by the New York Society Analysts in early 1985 found that when workers buy a company, such buyouts result in large debts, less job security, lower wages and a loss of benefits. In other words, the workers get the dirty end again.

The "permanently unemployed" are living evidence that capitalism can no longer provide the necessary jobs in the United States. The capitalist system of production has broken down — it can't do the job for our people and for our country.

If retraining and buying closed plants are not the answer, what then are the millions of workers, white and Black, men and women, who have been thrown into the industrial waste basket by their bosses — what then are they to do?

#### THERE ARE ANSWERS

Yes, there are answers. But these answers require the maximum unity of the entire working class, employed as well as unemployed, regardless of race, color, sex and political belief. A split working class, a disunited labor movement is a sitting duck for the ruling class.

A program to put Americans to work must include:

1. A massive public works program. The government must fill the vacuum left by the inability of the

factory owners to provide jobs for millions of workers. It is time to rebuild the thousands of bridges, roads, the entire transportation system, new schools, housing, hospitals, parks — the things our nation needs.

The beautiful part about this simple program is that it requires the steel and copper, the autos and rails — precisely those heavy basic production industries, which the profit-making bosses have shut down. And the second beautiful part of this simple program is that our 4,000,000 “unemployables” can go right back to their old jobs without the need for “special training” because they are the only ones immediately able to provide the skill, the experience and the knowledge to get this job done.

In the steel industry alone, this program would need 20 million tons of steel and employ 70,000 workers full time for 10 years.

2) Management of the public works program by elected public officials, union representatives and representatives of community organizations. Since private industry has failed to provide jobs, if they insist on closing the plants, the government should use the right of eminent domain and take the plants as needed.

As a result, the entire public works program to rebuild the nation can be done on a not-for-profit basis, which by itself will make this program less costly to the taxpayers.

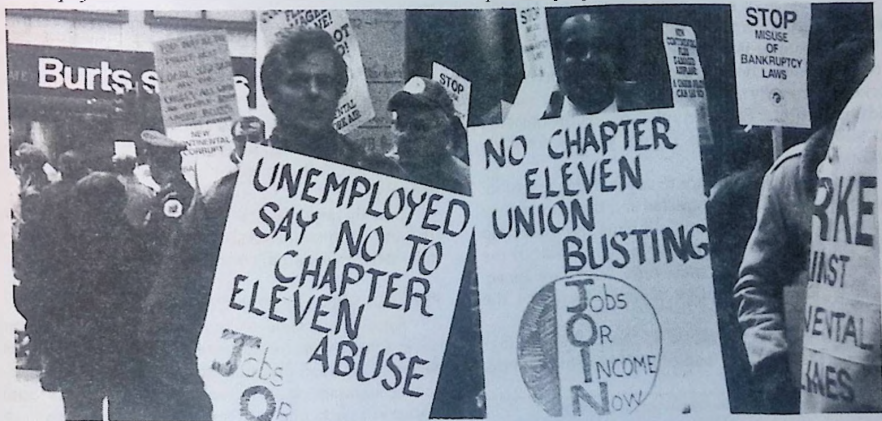
3) Re-employment of the millions of basic skilled workers, men and women, Black, white, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian, Native American Indians, under the rule of affirmative action, which worked before and which the Reagan Administration has tried to destroy.

4) Equal pay for equal work; comparable pay for comparable worth — another principle which the Reagan administration has opposed.

5) The 6-hour day, 30-hour week with no cut in pay. This alone will re-employ 5,000,000 workers while freeing all U.S. workers from the chains of forced overtime.

6) Trade with the socialist world. Each billion dollars of foreign trade creates some 30,000 jobs, according to industry calculations. The high tech producers see 150,000 jobs in trade with the USSR. The U.S. grain embargo of the Soviet Union cost the U.S. 300,000 jobs in farm-related industries. Caterpillar workers alone lost jobs for 21,000 jobs when Reagan prevented that company from providing the equipment for the Soviet pipe laying project.

All this is possible; all this is needed. That is why the Communist Party, USA, believes that concessions, union busting, throwing millions of workers out of jobs while exporting investments abroad to make more profits out of cheaper labor are serious crimes against the U.S. workers. United behind such a practical program we can win a better life for all.



# BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY AMONG AUTO WORKERS

*Report Sam Webb to Party Building Workshop*

My remarks will try to address the following question: Why is there such slowness in recruiting Black auto workers into the Party? The answer to this question is of great importance to the struggles of auto-workers, to the whole movement fighting Reaganism, to our Party.

Before I present to you some tentative thoughts, I want to underscore two things. First, what I say is only an attempt to open up a discussion on this urgent question. A rounded discussion and more definitive conclusions depend on the input of this workshop, of leading bodies at a national and district level, and of comrades in auto and basic industry generally.

Second, finding answers to this question will help us solve the related question of recruiting workers in general.

What are then some of the obstacles to building the Communist Party among Black workers?

One obstacle is the prevalent idea that the crisis is not yet deep enough and that Black workers and workers generally in the auto industry are not yet ready to join our Party. In other words the objective and subjective conditions are not yet ripe for Party building.

There is little evidence to support this assertion. The crisis is deep and protracted and the autoworkers are looking for fundamental solutions and leadership while fighting against the day-to-day assault of the auto companies. At the same time, where we are active at a plant the prestige of and support for the Party are considerable.

Another obstacle related to this is the idea that objective factors and subjective thought patterns

build the Party by themselves.

Such views let us off the hook. They become the cover for doing little to build the Party, for waiting until the times are ripe for avoiding a closer critical and self-critical look at our own work.

None of this is to say that objective factors and subjective thought patterns are inconsequential. In some situations, they create more favorable conditions for Party building; in other situations, they create less favorable conditions. In all situations, they help us to shape and refine our tactics, the content of our propaganda, agitation, and programmatic demands, and our methods and forms of Party building to the specific situation and level of militancy and class understanding of the mass of autoworkers as well as each particular sector.

What they don't do, though, is build the Party. They never have and they never will. That task, carried out in good and bad times, depends upon what our clubs do, on what initiatives our clubs take, on how our clubs integrate industrial concentration into their plan of work.

To argue otherwise is not only wrong theoretically, but is tailist and liquidationist in practice. It flies in the face of all our experience—both positive and negative.

Equally important, it depends upon how the district and national leadership assist the clubs in carrying out their industrial concentration plans.

## PROJECT SPECIAL CONCRETE DEMANDS

Another obstacle to building the Party among Black autoworkers is that we are inadequately connected to the most urgent and aggravating issues propelling spontaneously autoworkers and Black autoworkers in particular into struggle. In some ways we

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Sam Webb is District Organizer of the Communist Party in Michigan.



as a Party—which is different from the involvement of a single or a couple of Communists—are not connected to these issues at all. Our emphasis is often elsewhere, on other movements and tasks. When we do give attention to these struggles, it often takes the form of giving general advice and constructing real programs that address general problems in the industry. No sensible person would argue that such programs, which must include calls for affirmative action in hiring, promotion and layoff, are not needed, particularly today. At the same time, they should not be the sum and substance of our work nor should we somehow assume that Afro-Americans or any other section of autoworkers for that matter will automatically embrace them. Things do not always work out like that. If they did there would be no need for tactics, for propaganda, for struggle, for the Party.

At this moment the Big 3 (General Motors, Ford, Chrysler) are unleashing a fierce assault on living standards and workers' rights on the shop floor. This assault combines open union busting with the most sophisticated forms of class partnership techniques. At the Jefferson Assembly plant in Detroit, for example, where over 70 per cent of the workers are Black the struggle to maintain existing job classifications and work rules against company encroachments is the combustible material that creates the basis for Party building among Black workers and workers generally. Any attitude that we can bypass these issues can only isolate us.

Of course, involvement on the shop floor and in



the collective bargaining arena, while this is the foundation of Party building, is not enough. We have the responsibility to pinpoint the specific ways in which these struggles impact on Black workers. In one case it may be that jobs and job classifications, like inspectors and repairmen, which Black workers have recently entered, are being eliminated; in another case, it may be the combining of two or more job classifications into one and in turn the increase in workload and watering down of job bidding rights is taking place in departments, like assembly, where Black workers are concentrated. In still other cases, it may be that work rule changes, like production standards which are supposed to be frozen 30 days after the model changeover, are being continually changed—again in those departments where the majority of Black workers are assigned. Finally, it may be that disciplinary action against Black workers who resist the stepped up exploitation and superexploitation is more severe than that meted out to other workers. Whatever the case maybe—and I am not trying to be exhaustive—our ability to bring Black workers into the Party will be enhanced to the degree that we can project special concrete demands and win the rest of the workers, particularly white workers to support them. That would be a unique contribution and it would lay the groundwork for higher levels of Black-white unity and struggle for equality and overall advance.

Still another obstacle to Party building is an insufficient sensitivity to security. At the Jefferson plant, for example, many workers support the Party and want to learn from the Party, but are fearful of joining it. Black autoworkers know that jobs are scarce and that the company will fire militant workers, particularly Communists, for the smallest infractions of company rules. Short of that, they redbait and do whatever else they can to isolate Communists from their brothers and sisters in the shop.

Adding further to the problem is the fact that the workers at the Jefferson plant, for instance, do not know any Communist who is at all squeamish about hiding his or her political affiliations. The Communists they know are open, but few recruits want to be put in that position. Security aside, they are also unsure as to how their closest co-workers will react and feel unequipped to answer questions if asked. No wonder most prefer to support the Party rather than

join it. It's an easier row to hoe.

Still another obstacle in the building of our Party among all sections of the autoworkers, including Black workers, is that little attention is paid to integrating the Communist essence and presence into the struggles unfolding in the industry. Consequently, the experience of Black workers which enables them to easily assimilate basic Marxist ideas is not fully tapped.

### BLACK WORKERS EXPERIENCE SPECIAL HARDSHIPS

The end result is twofold. On the one hand, Black autoworkers are politically and ideologically shortchanged. Some even come under the influence of our class adversary and proponents of social democracy. And, on the other hand, a section of Black autoworkers who should be joining our Party are not because they don't see our unique role. What they see, especially in situations where we have one Communist in a shop, is a good guy and militant unionist who happens to be a Communist.

Finally, club life and club atmosphere are sometimes barriers to Party building among Black workers and workers in auto generally. Black workers who come into our Party expect to find answers to concrete problems that they experience at the point of production in the first place. They expect to find a Party of action, sometimes expecting us to move mountains. Unfortunately, that is not always what they find. In some cases they find a club that talks in

broad strokes, is peripherally involved, lacking in collective focus and collective life, and predominantly white and doing little to change it. Such an atmosphere is not conducive to recruiting or consolidating Black autoworkers.

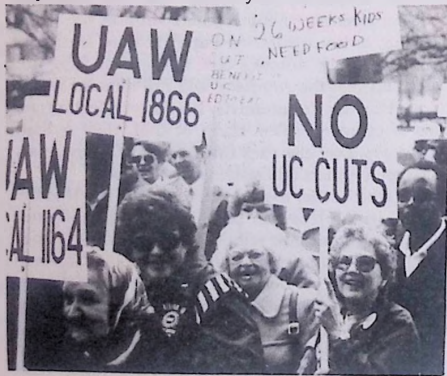
What are some of the roots of these obstacles just mentioned? Many have been outlined by Comrades Hall and Winston in reports to the 23rd Convention and subsequent meetings of our Central Committee. Among the most important is the veering away from the working class and the class struggle. They are not our basic point of reference day in and day out, our main focus. Other things and movements take priority and weaken our efforts to build the Party among autoworkers and Black autoworkers in particular.

Another root cause is an attitude that "we are all in the same boat." Such an attitude comes from the penetration of social democratic and ruling class propaganda into our ranks as well as an incorrect understanding of the concept of the growing "oneness" of our class.

While it is true that the economic crisis affects all sectors of the working class, creates a commonality of concern about living standards and working conditions, and becomes an objective propellant for Black-white working class unity, it should never obscure the fact that Black autoworkers experience special hardships nor the fact that the fight for unity is a conscious one at all stages of the struggle and requires special demands, particularly that of affirmative action.

A less than full appreciation of the role of Black workers as the key class force in the Black peoples movement, as the key link in the strategic alliance between labor and Black people, and as a vital, militant, politically conscious sector of our multiracial, multinational working class also contributes to a lack of class focus and focus on the special problems of Black autoworkers at the point of production and in the communities where they live.

Clearly, we have to make some big changes in our work among Black workers in the auto industry. One important first step will be to use the main report by Comrade Charlene and this weekend's deliberations and the new book on the fight against racism by Comrade Gus Hall as the ideological and political wherewithal to retool our Party in this critical area of work.



# DECLARATION OF THE CONFERENCE

Afro-Americans living in the United States today are faced with a crisis of calamitous proportions. Hardly touched at all by the recent fleeting "recovery" in the business cycle, the mass of Black people live in depression conditions, and for many the situation worsens daily. More than one out of every seven employable Black people cannot find work, and the duration of their unemployment continues to lengthen.

This condition means physical, psychological and social havoc on the lives of millions of men, women and children. For young people the situation is even more extreme and threatens dire long-term consequences. One-half of all Black youth between the ages of 16 and 19, available and greatly needing the means to a livelihood, are forced to walk the streets with nothing to do and denied the means to an honest income. Many reach adulthood having never worked and with little prospect for ever doing so.

The depression conditions arise in the Black community from three principle directions. First, there is the continuation of racist discrimination. It persists for the same reason it began: to maintain a pool of disadvantaged labor that can be superexploited and to keep the nation's working people divided one from another. Second, Black people, the overwhelming majority of whom are part of the U.S. working class, are hit extra severely by the structural crisis of the capitalist economic system. Jobs in most basic mass production industries where Blacks once were a major — sometimes majority — force are disappearing at the impetus of the scientific technological revolution and the flight of capital and production abroad as the corporate monopolies seek higher rates of exploitation and thus greater profit. Third, Black people are the special victims of Reaganism, which acts to decimate social programs that have historically acted to sustain the unemployed and the poor. Reaganism wages a continual assault on the legal guarantees of equality

won through struggle over the past three decades and affirmative action programs established for the purpose of making up for a century of discrimination and which have offered some promise of Black involvement in the new technologies.

However, the crushing negative affect of Reaganism extends far beyond the shop floor or unemployment line. Other reflections of its impact can be seen in the increasing deterioration of Black neighborhoods and the desperate lack of affordable, quality housing; in the high dropout rate of Black youth from schools and their inadequate preparation for the job market; and by the fact that every statistic for measuring health finds the Black community suffering at two, three and even four times the rate of the general population.

Reaganism, an expression of some of the most chauvinistic, most reactionary and most warlike sectors of monopoly capital, has given rise to and encouraged a new level of racism, anti-Semitism and intolerance in the nation's political life. Throughout the land, acts of terrorism and racist vigilantism directed against Black and other minority people increase. On the other hand, official violence in the form of police brutality and the deployment of "high tech" methods of coercion and military tactics in the Black communities grow in force and frequency. This found its crudest and most genocidal expression recently in Philadelphia where a military fire storm was unleashed upon a residential community, an action that stunned the world.

Another serious manifestation of the effect of Reaganism on the Black community is found in increasing attacks on democratic rights. This includes attempts to smear and victimize Black elected officials and efforts to undermine the 1968 Voting Rights Act. Serious threats in this regard are the current frame-up indictments of Black political activists in Alabama and elsewhere.

The Reagan administration provision of a "constructive engagement" shield for the racist apartheid

regime in South Africa, the escalating support for war and counterrevolution in Central America and the President's personal embrace of the West German militarist right at the Bitburg cemetery are among many ominous international reflections of the reactionary thrust and social revanchism of Reaganism.

We Communist activists and leaders gathered in New York City, June 15-16, have reflected upon this dire situation confronting Black people. We take note of a new level of danger and indignation arising in Black communities throughout the nation and the sense of threatened danger for the future. Such alarm is more than fully warranted. We say the situation cries out for new approaches, new levels of unity, new militancy and sober vigilance.

We take special note of the heightened level of political activity and consciousness among Afro-American people. This was expressed most clearly last November when Black voters cast 90 percent of their ballots against Reagan and Reaganism. In the presidential primary period it was expressed in the dramatic development of the Rainbow Coalition and the challenge to the Democratic Party to adopt a platform based upon peace, social security and economic and social justice. Advanced positions on the side of peace, civil liberties and economic justice are also reflected clearly in the activity of the Congressional Black Caucus, members of which play leading and effective roles in the struggle against Reaganism.

Because of their concentration in major population and industrial centers, Black voters exercise considerable, often decisive, collective influence on political developments in the nation.

They clearly recognize that while the effects of Reaganism are exceptionally harsh among Black people, its thrust is directed against the interests and aspirations of all working people, democratic forces and the forces for peace and liberation. Black political forces have come to play a special role. Through their political activity, both inside the two-party structure and independent of it, in social and civic institutions and in the labor movement Black activists have exhibited a high degree of consciousness, placing forward demands that express the needs of all working people and are the basis for wide and popular democratic unity.

Communists see clearly the need for the involvement of conscious workingclass political forces in

broad struggle for equality. It is more imperative now than at any point in history that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism be popularized amongst those in struggle. The CPUSA's program of anti-monopoly coalition and the goal of socialism has acquired new significance in the present situation. The principle of Black and white unity is critical in the struggle today; so too is the indispensibility of organized forces, particularly the CPUSA, prepared to fight for such unity on all fronts.

Our party has been a leading exponent of the forging of an all-people's front against Reaganism and the reactionary political forces it represents. We continue to call attention to the heightened role of the military-industrial complex and the threat to world peace and the nation's well-being it embodies.

The program of the Communist Party was boldly expressed during the 1984 presidential elections through the candidacy of Gus Hall and Angela Davis for president and vice-president, respectively. From one end of the country to the other the principles and outlook of the Party were effectively brought to millions.

We take pride in the growing influence of our party, its cadre and the ideas of scientific socialism in the struggle for Black liberation. At the same time we must take note of the fact that in numbers the size of the Communist contingent in the movements for peace, justice and equality is insufficient. At this important political juncture, a larger, well-organized Communist Party is in the interest of all economic, political and social struggles. Aware of this, we say forthrightly that the critical nature of the current Party building drive is derived not from any abstract need for a larger Party but corresponds to the needs of the current stage of the struggle for equality, peace and democratic advance.

It is necessary to turn our attention as well to the importance in the current period of building and strengthening the party organizationally and politically, and of the education and consolidation of new members.

Today greater importance must be placed on the need to strengthen the Party clubs in keeping with the plans contained in Comrade Gus Hall's report to the June 1985 meeting of the Party central committee. It is imperative that the political life of the clubs be strengthened with the aim of making these basic

units of the Party ever more relevant to the activities of comrades doing Communist work in the mass movement for equality.

The preparation of our Party for the critical period ahead demands a step up in efforts to guarantee internal cohesion based on the interests of the multinational working class of men and women. Vigilance is required to guard against any manifestation of white chauvinism, paternalism or ethnic divisiveness.

The key to confronting and overcoming Reaganism and advancing the struggle for peace, jobs, justice and equality is the unity of Black and white in conjunction with the struggles of Asian Pacific, Native American, Puerto Rican, Chicano-Mexicano and Middle Eastern peoples. The linchpin of the entire peoples movement, and the advance of the working class as a whole, lies in the strategic alliance of the Black liberation movement and the working class, be-

tween the elements of the struggle for equality and the organized trade union movement. We reject all calls for separatism or go-it-aloneism as diversionary and ultimately self-defeating.

The path to unity of vast social movements and class forces is never a straight line without zig-zags, setbacks and difficulties. It is, however, the only viable way forward. It does require at each stage the existence and disciplined activity of conscious and principled forces. In the struggle against imperialism and monopoly capitalism today it requires a larger and more effective Communist Party. In order to aid the Party building drive we will proceed as quickly as possible to issue a new Party program for the struggle for Afro-American equality. In the process of formulating such a document it shall be the aim to involve Party and non-Party forces in discussion of it. Building and expanding the influence of our Party is the major task of the day.

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# A PARTY FOR OUR TIMES

## *Statement of the Central Committee, CPUSA on the Party's 66th anniversary*

September 1 of this year marks the 66th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The need for such a party arose from 20th century developments in the socio-political life and history of our country — the growth of the working class, the sharpening of class contradictions, the intensification of class exploitation and racial oppression. U.S. capitalism entered this century with the military seizure of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Southwest Pacific, emerging into the age of imperialism. Entering more forcefully into the class struggle, it plunged our country into the bloodbath of World War I.

In 1917 the Great October Revolution, led by the working class and its vanguard Party of Communists headed by Lenin, gave birth to the first socialist state — the Soviet Union. This event was also a great inspiration and imparted a revolutionary impulse to the movements of the working class and oppressed nationalities in struggle for emancipation from the yoke of the monopolists in countries around the world. Its impact on the workingclass and socialist-oriented forces was a strong impulse for the birth of the CP.

Out of the struggle against the imperialist war of 1914-17, against opportunism and class collaborationist policies in the workers' movements, came the birth of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

From its first day, the CPUSA has unwaveringly dedicated its energies to the fight for peace, democracy and equality for economic, political and social advance, for socialism.

Neither the repression of the Palmer Raids of the early '20s nor the McCarthyite repression of the '50s could destroy the Communist Party or deflect it from its dedication to the interests of the multiracial, multinational working class and the specially oppressed minorities — the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian and Asian and Pacific peoples of our country.

Guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, the CPUSA has been part and parcel of the day-to-day struggles of the people to solve their immediate problems. Representing the interest of the socialist future in the movements of the working class, the CPUSA has accumulated a vast experience.

The CPUSA recognized that there could be no basic social progress toward the goal of ending the exploitation of man by man without breaking the stranglehold of monop-

oly industry and banking on the nation's economic and political life. Knowing that the working class was the decisive force in bringing this about, the CPUSA set the goal of organizing the unorganized in the mass production industries into industrial unions, forging unity to abolish racial and national divisions, promoting the independent political action of the working class.

The tireless, effective organizing work of thousands of Communists helped establish unions in steel, auto, rubber, electrical, maritime and other industries. This accelerated the rise of the powerful Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Thus was forged the economic shield of the working class, a shield which must be further reinforced and strengthened by organizing high tech and other industries, by resolutely defeating the anti-labor drive of the Reagan administration, by setting new sights to defend and advance working and living conditions through, among other steps, the shorter work week and the use of the right of eminent domain and democratic nationalization to keep plants open and provide work for millions, and by vigorous trade union action to crystallize an all-people's front against Reagan reaction and monopoly domination.

The focal point of this struggle today is the strike of the Wheeling-Pittsburgh steelworkers to save their jobs and their union. Their picket lines stand in defense of all unions. Their fight is the fight of all workers, organized and unorganized.

On the basis of its Marxist analysis, the CPUSA foresaw the outbreak of the Great Depression of the 1930s and set about preparing for the struggles against its disastrous consequences for the millions of jobless. Organizing Unemployed Councils throughout the land, the Communists led hunger marches on state capitals and on Washington, D.C., put the furniture back in thousands homes of tenants in anti- eviction fights and led hundreds of delegations demanding home-relief welfare on the county level. These struggles were the launching pad which inspired and united a vast array of forces, including thousands of AF of L local unions, which won Unemployment Insurance and Social Security, the 50th anniversary of which our country celebrates this year.

Raising high the banner of full economic, social and political equality for the Afro-American people, for the unity of Black and white and all the oppressed, the CPUSA launched initiatives in the struggle against segregation, racial discrimination and injustice. The CP sparked cam-

paigns to elect Afro-Americans to public offices. It spearheaded campaigns for job openings and cultural opportunities.

Communists contributed importantly to the great civil rights reform movement of the '60s, which through heroic mass struggles won significant gains, especially in the South.

The CPUSA was the first political party to raise the alarm against the danger of Nazism and Japanese militarism. Recognizing that the best interests of the people of the United States were closely bound up with the defeat of Franco fascism in Spain, 2,000 U.S. Communists, together with other American anti-fascists, fought there alongside the Spanish people and volunteers from many other countries against the armed forces of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini.

The CPUSA was out front in the struggle against the ultra-Right, fascist-like supporters of Hitlerism in the U.S. Its members made outstanding contributions to the defeat of fascism on the battlefields, the high seas and in the war production industries during World War II.

Following the Second World War, the CPUSA was among the frontline fighters against U.S. imperialism's war in Korea, at a time when Party leaders were being persecuted under the infamous Smith and Taft-Hartley Acts. Throughout its entire history, the CPUSA has stood by its principles of international solidarity with all who fight for peace, national liberation and socialism. The principled, decades-long struggle of the CPUSA against U.S. imperialist intervention was vindicated when the great majority of our people rose in opposition to the barbaric war against the freedom struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people.

Today, the CPUSA is a vital part of the developing internationalist solidarity of organized labor and the majority of the people of our country in support of the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid and for the freedom of Nelson Mandela. The struggle for complete and comprehensive sanctions against the government of South Africa and for divestiture accords fully with the best interests of the people of South Africa. It is, at the same time, a struggle in our own interest, directed as it is at the anti-labor, racist, ultra-Right supporters of apartheid, who would, if they could, destroy all affirmative action mea-

asures and replace them with Botha-like policies and practices in this country.

in the ever more vigorous solidarity actions of U.S. trade unions and broad sections of the public in militant opposition to any U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, Central America and the Caribbean.

Today, on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the founding of the CPUSA and as we approach the 100th May Day next year, the Central Committee, CPUSA, declares that there is no more important task before our people, our country — before all mankind — than the prevention of a thermonuclear war and an end to the escalating arms race.

The future of the planet itself and all living things on it hangs in the balance. Reagan's Star Wars plans are a threat to all mankind and would accelerate the deadly arms race. They place in jeopardy the arms negotiations in Geneva and hang like a sword of Damocles over the upcoming summit meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan.

No to Star Wars! Peace must prevail in the heavens and on earth! Arms negotiations must succeed!

Let there be a freeze on all nuclear testing and arms production. Let the process of disarmament begin. Let us put an end to the threat of nuclear omnicide. Let us put an end to the arms race, which brings slow death to millions by diverting funds from needed food, health care, shelter and peacetime jobs.

Let us put an end to the poisonous policies of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, the bloody banners under which Hitler unleashed World War II. Let us move onto the path of detente and peaceful coexistence.

Today, more than ever, our country needs a strong Communist Party. As much as its efforts contributed to significant gains for the working class and people of our country in the past, it is needed all the more for the great tasks before our country today and tomorrow. You need the Communist Party and the Communist Party needs you. Let us join together to work for a better USA, at peace with the world, a USA which puts people before profits. On this 66th anniversary year of the birth of our Party, we extend a hearty invitation to join the Communist Party USA!

Gus Hall, General Secretary  
Henry Winston, National Chairman

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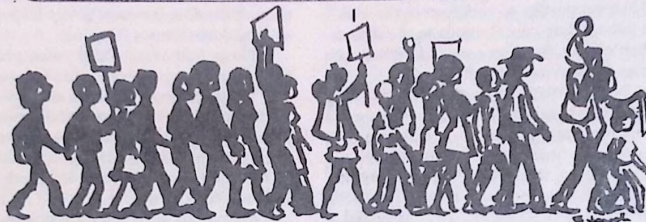
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