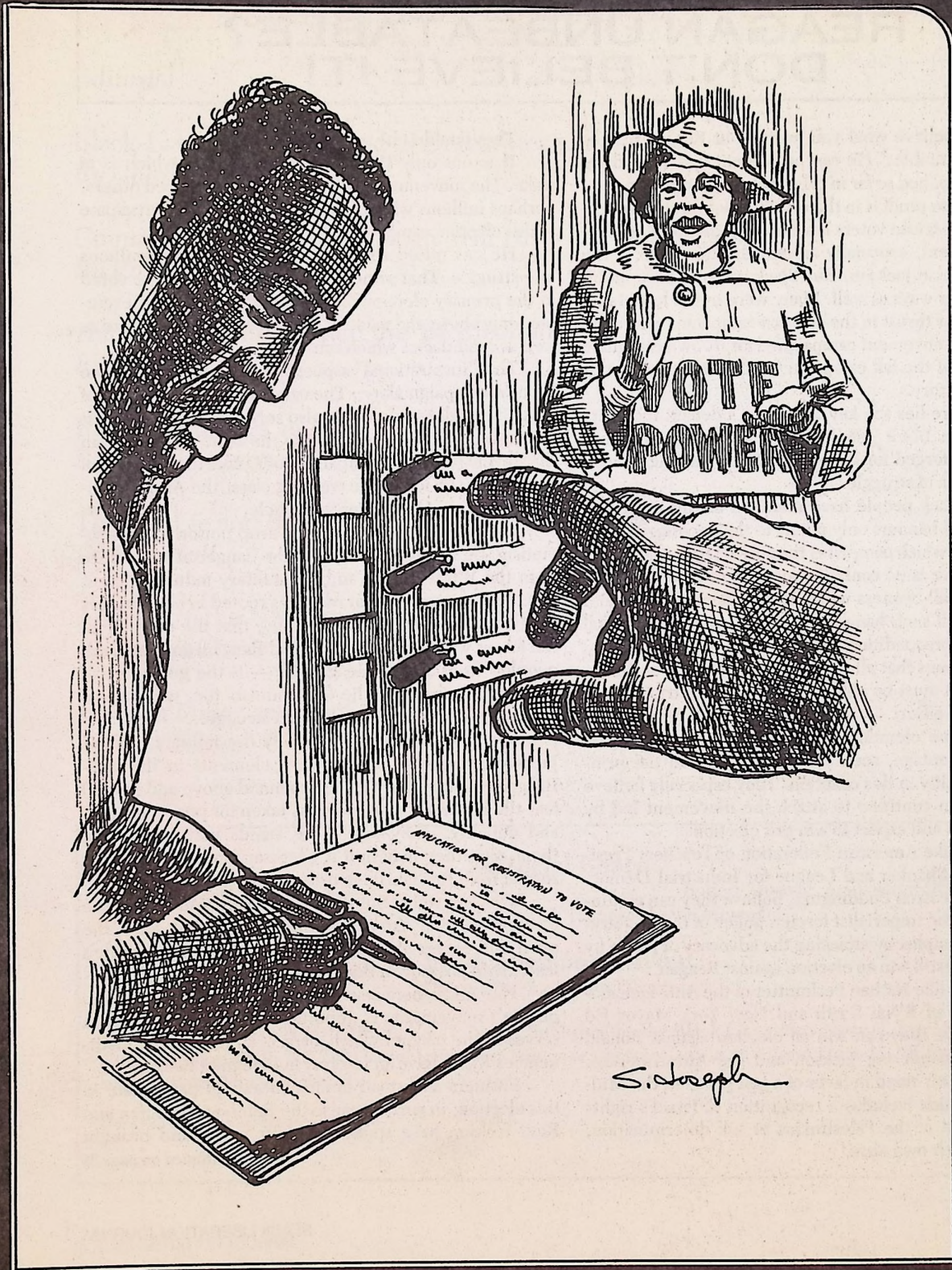


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REAGAN UNBEATABLE? DON'T BELIEVE IT!

Don't believe what you hear about Ronald Reagan being "unbeatable." He can be beaten, and everything that has happened so far in this election year proves it.

The main proof is in the massive mobilization of voters. Afro-American voters have been in the front ranks of this movement, especially around the campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson. But Black workers have mobilized in other ways as well. Many were in the leadership of labor's new thrust in the election campaign, where the trade union movement campaigned for its own candidate in advance of the fall campaign for the first time in this country's history.

And here lies the key to Reagan's defeat: the unity between the Black people's movement and the labor movement, forged for common goals, marching along a common path of struggle.

That Black people have marched in this campaign under varied banners only points to the necessary political diversity which comprises the anti-Reagan coalition.

But there is no contradiction. There is room in this struggle for all banners which stand against Reagan and Reaganism, if such banners accept equality and mutual respect as a precondition for victory.

This means that all the components in the anti-Reagan coalition must be able to make their contribution to the common effort.

But some elements, believing that they can gain partisan advantage, seem to want to jettison the principle of equality in this coalition. They especially believe that they can continue to attack the movement led by Rev. Jackson and expect to win this election.

Some, like American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker and League for Industrial Democracy Director Arch Puddington, believe they can continue to serve the imperialist foreign policy of the military-industrial complex by attacking the advocacy of peace by Jackson, and still win an election against Reagan.

Others, like Nathan Perlmutter of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith and New York Mayor Ed Koch, believe they can win an election against Ronald Reagan by slandering Jackson and the Afro-American people for their stand in favor of a just peace in the Middle East, which includes a recognition of Israel's rights and the right of the Palestinians to self determination, including their own state.

They couldn't be more wrong.

It is not only the Afro-American vote which is at stake. The movement led by Jackson has inspired others, perhaps millions who did not vote for him, to participate in this election campaign.

He has raised issues which have brought millions into struggle. That some of these people may have voted in the primary election for labor's preference, for example, only shows the value of candidacies which inspire as well as candidacies which can win.

This "inspirational" aspect is not the property of the Jackson campaign alone. The campaign and candidacy of Gus Hall and Angela Davis also serve this function. But their campaign cuts deeper into the bone of Reaganism than even Jackson's campaign does, and therefore is of invaluable service to the working class, the Afro-American people, and the nation as a whole.

By exposing the roots of coverup poison of anti-Sovietism; by saying up front that the danger of war comes from the White House and the military-industrial complex; by pointing out that racism is rooted in big business superprofits; and by saying, finally, that the unity of all the forces who oppose Reagan and Reaganism — the all-people's front against Reaganism — is the guarantee of victory and progress, the Communists too, will inspire millions to participate in this great struggle.

Some seem to want to nullify the influence of the Jackson campaign. Conservative elements in the anti-Reagan coalition (such as those named above and others) fear the forthright stands he has taken for peace, for jobs and equality. They fear these stands may rub off on them, that they may find it necessary to promise a real retreat from Reaganism in order to get elected.

They are right. But those who really want to win the election will have to dump their racism and cease the overt and covert attacks on the Afro-American people's leadership position in this election campaign.

The unity between the labor and Afro-American people's movements is important for another reason: it serves as the magnet which attracts all the other constituencies which have an interest in defeating Reaganism.

Farmers and small homeowners will participate in this election, in part, because the Rainbow Coalition and Rev. Jackson have spoken to their needs and brought

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BLACK-LABOR UNITY NEEDED TO DEFEAT REAGAN

By Charlene Mitchell

In his report to the Central Committee-National Council meeting of the Communist Party last June, Gus Hall, general secretary of the CPUSA, focused on the urgency of the struggle to defeat Reagan in November. In these next months, the Party's work among Afro-Americans can only be meaningful if the defeat of Reagan is the central focus. This work must be the concrete expression of the fight against racism and for equality.

"The next 12 months, culminating in Election Day, will determine whether the Reagan-corporate offensive will be permitted to continue ravaging our working class and people or whether the struggles, actions, coalitions and movements will crystallize into an anti-monopoly people's offensive against the corporations that will set the stage for turning our country around." (For Peace, Jobs, Equality, Gus Hall, p.6)

THE JACKSON CANDIDACY

The President is the undisputed candidate of the Republican Party. The Democratic Party primaries are completed. But in great part, because of the candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson in the Democratic Party primary campaign, many issues were forced onto the table. To a large extent, the placing of these issues served to push the Democratic Party into a more combative anti-Reagan position on war and peace, on equality and racism, on Central America, Southern Africa and the Middle East.

Foreign policy, equality, peace and jobs have been placed in a new way by the Jackson candidacy and have earned for Jackson the respect of millions, especially Afro-Americans.

Foreign policy has gained new importance on the agenda of the masses. This is especially true of Black people whose sentiments are historically on the side of the oppressed, of those who struggle to end colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialist domination and intervention, of those who struggle to achieve independence,

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freedom and self-determination. It should be clear that these sentiments have added tremendously to the growing strength of the peace movement.

With the registration of two million new Black voters since 1980, the Jackson candidacy has brought new blood into the electoral process and has generated new energies into the movement to defeat Reagan. Many of those who became new Democratic Party activists will be disappointed by the limitations of their impact on that party's platform and question whether to go to the polls in November. Conscious forces within the Rainbow Coalition and the people's movements should do everything possible to encourage the maximum voter turnout to defeat Reagan.

THE RAINBOW COALITION, AN IMPORTANT PROCESS

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 halt 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 '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 the need for allies and did not recognize class differentiations within the Black community.

The projection of a "Rainbow Coalition" is an advance over the call for "Black Power." Within the concept of the "Rainbow Coalition" is the recognition of the need to include all 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 working class struggles, struggles of Afro-Americans as a people and other oppressed minorities become increasingly more difficult.

RACISM — REAGAN'S LEAD

The use of racism by the ruling class and the Reaganites is on the rise. The media have reflected and demonstrated an out and out racist onslaught against Black leadership with Jesse Jackson as their most obvious target. The attacks on Jackson from the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, NBC's Meet the Press, CBS' Morning News, to more openly reactionary journals such as *Commentary* magazine have attempted to prevent the building of Black-white unity. Indeed they have sought to create a "backlash" of white against Black, resulting in victory for Reagan.

These racist maneuvers can also be seen in the defeat of Katie Hall in the Indiana Democratic Party primary. As a freshman member of Congress, Katie Hall had a 100 percent pro-labor voting record. Yet this industrial district did not vote in its own interest. In the struggle to defeat Reagan, it is important that white workers be won to vote for Black candidates such as Katie Hall.

The unseating of Gary, Indiana, Mayor Richard Hatcher as chair of his District Committee is clearly an attempt on the part of the steel interests to undermine Hatcher as not only the most important political figure in Gary but his status as a national leader as well.

These are setbacks to the struggle for equality and the entire working class. They are indicative of the attempts by the ruling class and the Reaganites to bring about the defeat of progressives, Black and white, most especially members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

LITTLE ECONOMIC RECOVERY FOR AFRO-AMERICANS

One of the more galling attributes of Reagan is his racism, accompanied by his penchant for lying. In his June press conference, quoted in *The New York Times*, Reagan said, "And it is a falsehood that is being pur-

veyed to people that their problems, whether through unemployment or whatever — look at what we've done by the increase in unemployment. And granted, the Blacks in this country had a higher rate of unemployment than whites at the time of the recession. Their rate of recovery is *faster* than the rate of recovery for whites." (My emphasis —CM).

At the time of these remarks the Bureau of Labor Statistics issued the following data: The overall rate of unemployment was 7.5 percent. The unemployment rate for white workers was 6.4 percent. The unemployment rate for Black workers was 15.8 percent. According to the Urban League's *State of Black America* report, "Experience has shown that in a recovery, white unemployment goes down fairly rapidly, while Black unemployment, after a period of stability, begins to drift down slowly, never reaching the point from which it began." Black people with each succeeding depression-recession are left more and more in an economic lurch. Before even completely climbing out from the depths of an economic crisis another one hits. This is especially true for Black teenagers, whose unemployment rate rose to as high as 75 percent in many cities in 1982."

By 1985 the country will probably face another downturn. Clearly, if the unemployment rate for Black workers continues to more than double that of the overall rate, then the problem is obviously more urgent for Afro-Americans than any other segment of the population.

In reference to the Urban League's report, *UE News* of April 30, 1984, made the following observations:

"Disparity between Black and white income is gaining. In 1982 . . . Black family income was 55 percent of white family income, an average of \$13,598 compared with \$24,593. The median income of Black males who had completed four years of college and worked full time in 1980, was \$17,861 — \$1,996 less than the median income of white males who had only completed high school and \$8,178 less than white college graduates . . .

"White female high school graduates with an average income of \$11,636 earned less than their male counterparts, Black and white, but Black female graduates had average income even lower, \$11,008."

If there is any question about Black family poverty, the answer lies in these real figures, not in some speculation as to whether Black mothers are single or married.

EQUALITY — A WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE

The triple-layered crisis presents our Party and our class with an awesome responsibility: how to find a way out of this economic quicksand which continues to erode the very essence of life of millions of Black Americans.

The struggle for affirmative action with numerical

quotas is key to solving the plight of Black workers being forced over and over again into an economic status far behind their white brothers and sisters in the working class.

The Reagan-led attacks on affirmative action have met with approval by the U.S. Supreme Court. Already consent decrees are being challenged in a number of cities.

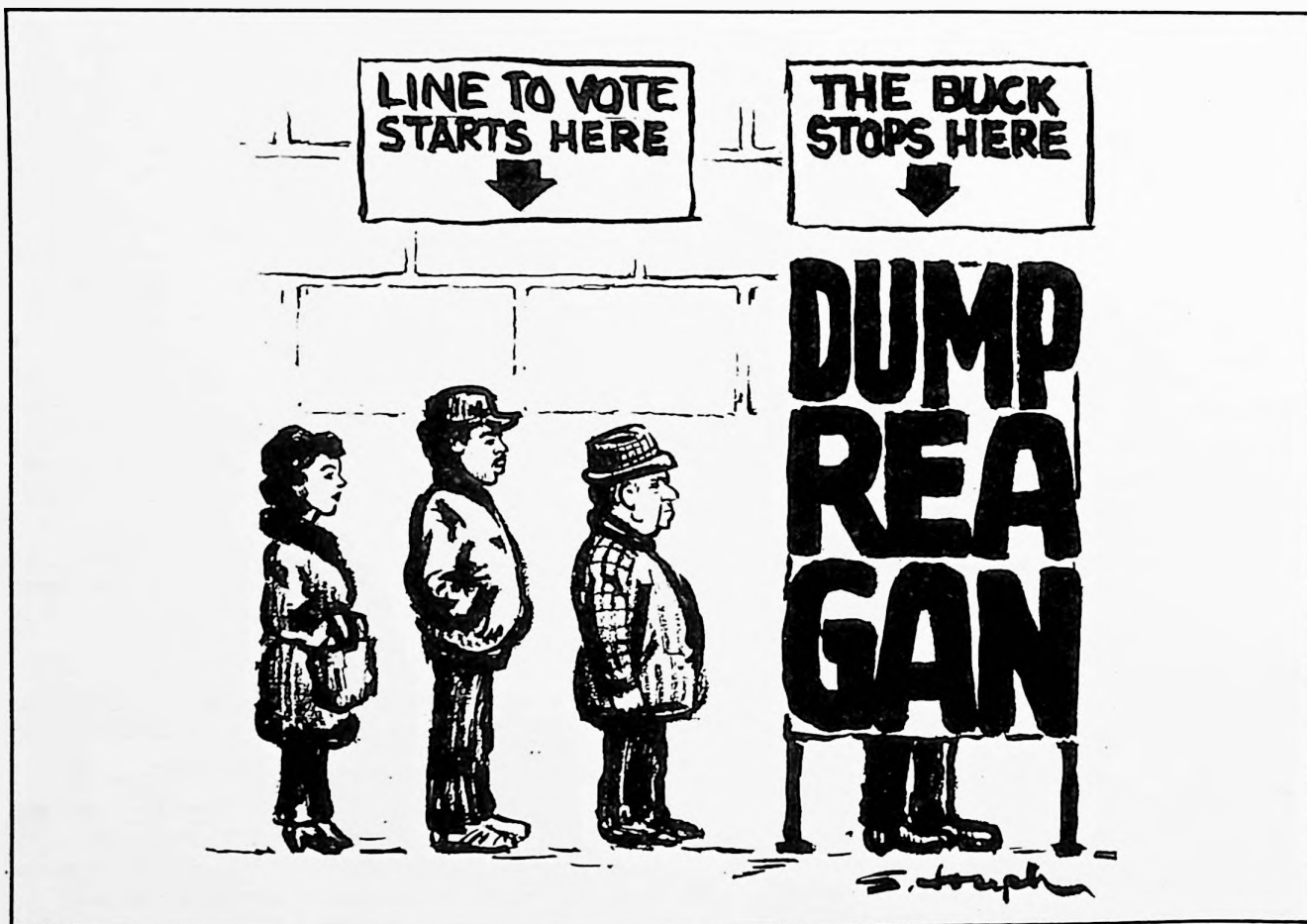
The military budget, the shorter workweek, limiting overtime when people are unemployed, public ownership, etc. are struggles to aid the entire class. But for the section of the working class that is most oppressed, there will have to be special programs. Without them the widening gap will not be closed.

The struggle will have to be conducted within the trade unions to win the understanding of the special needs of Black and Latino workers and to fight for those needs. By the same token, unless this struggle is made, concessions to the bosses will heighten rather than de-

crease. The bosses can only rejoice at winning concessions by sowing seeds of disunity between workers who are employed and such a tremendous pool of unemployed Black workers.

Black workers cannot win this battle alone, nor should they be asked to wage it alone. Greater initiative on the part of the left in fighting for clarity among white masses in general and white workers in the first place is imperative if we are to guarantee the defeat of Reagan.

The Communist Party USA, must be seen as the party that gives ideological and practical leadership in the struggle for equality. A major instrument in this is the Party's election campaign. Only the CPUSA's candidates will present the class and national aspect of the fight for equality. In the all-people's front against Reagan, the Party campaign can make the difference in convincing white workers of their class interest and their class duty.



COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN WILL HELP DEFEAT REAGAN

By Robert Lindsay

The Communist Party USA is playing a unique and fundamental role in the 1984 elections. Its electoral campaign will help to insure the defeat of President Reagan and his policies in 1984. The U.S. and the world cannot afford four more years of Reaganism which has brought the world to the brink of total nuclear destruction. It has already caused untold suffering for the American people and the world community. Indeed, it stands as the enemy to all people.

The candidacy of Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, and Angela Davis, member of CPU-SA central committee, for president and vice-president, is especially significant for the Afro-American community as it grapples with the question of where do we go from here after the primary elections.

The Afro-American community has put forward its agenda for the 1984 elections. By the millions, it has registered, marched and demonstrated, and voted for peace, jobs and equality.

The struggle for Black equality has now reached its highest point since Reconstruction. Therefore, the question, "Where do we go from here?" is being debated among different sections and individuals in the Afro-American community. Now that the primaries are over, there is a search for answers, clarity, and directions in the struggle to defeat Reagan in 1984 and to further advance the struggle for equality beyond the elections. The Communist Party sees the defeat of Reagan as essential for the realization of the agenda put forward by the Afro-American community. Therefore, their struggle is linked with all forces allied against Reaganism.

Gus Hall and Angela Davis call for an all-people's front as a necessity for the defeat of Reagan, his supporters, and his policies which are leading to war and world annihilation. These policies are against the interest of the overwhelming majority of the U.S. people.

The struggle against Reaganism, and its most reac-

tionary forces — the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex — is taking place on many levels and fronts. There is room for everyone in the anti-Reagan, all-people's front. The mass mobilization of the millions in this front is the central task of the Hall-Davis candidacy. Decisive, however, in the struggle against Reaganism and for the formation of an all-people's front is the solid alliance of Afro-American people and the working class. It is this gelled alliance which is the centripetal force pulling all anti-Reagan forces and trends together. With the understanding of the need to include broad classes, strata and forces, a massive campaign can be built which will not only defeat Reaganism, but set the stage for greater victories in the future.

The formation of the all-people's front is diverted by the tactics of some leaders of the Democratic Party, which is wedded to the class interest of big monopolies, and assorted liberals in the party who seek to speak for and in the interest of Afro-American people.

ISSUES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED

Under the banner of "party unity," some leaders of the Democratic Party ask that all differences be buried. But the question is, what are the differences and what do they want buried?

They want to bury the issues which the Afro-American people and labor have long fought and voted for, and especially the issues raised in the 1984 primaries. Therefore, the main differences that labor and Black people have with Reaganism will not be addressed by the Democratic Party. Instead, they say the main differences lie between Black and white people, Black and Jewish people, national group against national group, and Black people against labor, etc.

Therefore, to raise the issues of affirmative action, double primaries, and U.S. support for the racist South Africa apartheid regime is to lose the support of white people. The logic of this is that all issues in the interest of Black people, labor, women, youth, and seniors will not be addressed because of "supposed differences." The

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only issues, therefore, that will be raised will be those in the interests of big business.

To win the elections and continue their anti-people policies, the Reaganites are seeking to create divisions and disunity among the anti-Reagan forces. The mouths of the Reaganites are dripping and drooling as they spew out racism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Communism. New attacks on the organized labor movement are part of this strategy.

These attacks must be answered. This requires unity around the issues. As we can see from Sen. Gary Hart's campaign, refusal to raise issues concerning Black people lead to a loss of support of Black people and organized labor. This was also demonstrated in the inability of Walter Mondale to mount a crusade among Black and white people against Reaganism. None of the candidates fully appreciated the real issues that would unite Black people and the organized labor movement.

But Jesse Jackson's campaign has tapped the aspirations and feelings of the majority of the American people who are demanding fundamental changes in foreign and domestic policies and has compelled Mondale and Hart to speak to the questions of detente and disarmament. The Jackson campaign is raising issues that can help tip the balance of forces in the Democratic Party toward choosing the policies that can defeat Reagan.

When Jackson challenged the dual primary system as discriminatory, a chorus of denunciation went forth from conservatives and liberals alike. They argued that this would antagonize whites into leaving the Democratic Party and that the Republican Party would therefore become the majority party in the South. Some even argued for a colorblind approach, an argument no doubt borrowed from the Reagan administration.

Jackson exposed the undemocratic basis of the dual primary system. It is just such a system which has maintained the boll weevil Democrats who are the backbone of Reaganism in the South. They are the mainstay of the right to work laws and union busting, as well as diehard antagonists of women's rights and the Equal Rights Amendment. Therefore, such a system is not only at the expense of the interests of Black people, but also the labor movement, women, youth, seniors, etc.

COMMUNIST CANDIDATES HAVE A FIGHTING PROGRAM

The Hall-Davis campaign, as a unique ingredient in the struggle against Reaganism, clarifies the issues and demonstrates the link between the legitimate demands of the Afro-American community and the labor movement. It exposes racism as basic to the economic foundation of big monopolies. Racism is maintained and nurtured in the interest of greater profits. It is one of the

main ideological weapons used to divide Black and white workers, to weaken the labor movement while the corporations walk away with the loot.

The Communist Party candidates present a fighting program for equality. Gus Hall and Angela Davis call for the outlawing of racism. They call for a strong affirmative action program with quotas to guarantee equality. They call for immediate political, legislative, and demonstrative action to reverse the Supreme Court ruling on seniority which actually undermined at one and the same time the question of seniority and affirmative action. Hall and Davis point out that that decision made it falsely appear as if there's a contradiction between affirmative action when there shouldn't be one. It unleashes a racist offensive against Blacks and whites in the labor movement which signals a great danger for the labor movement at this time.

The Hall-Davis campaign fights for broadening the democratic process. The candidates expose the dual primary system as a shelter for reactionary and backward trends which thwart the will of the people. They point out that it prevents the full participation and equal representation of Blacks, labor and all people's forces while protecting the "special interest" of big business. No wonder a former elected official from Mississippi, who is a member of the platform committee of the Democratic Party, in arguing for maintaining the system of dual primaries stated that "it has served the South well."

Recent polls demonstrate that the U.S. people are fed up with Reagan's foreign policy of intervention and militarism. The Democrats, as well as the Republicans, admit that here he is "weak." However, who will expose this weakness? What alternatives will be offered to the suicidal policies of militarism, aggression, and which seek nuclear superiority which now threaten the very survival of the world? Only the candidacy of Gus Hall and Angela Davis.

A brief look at the Middle East, Central America, and South Africa will confirm this truth. On no other issue was Jackson attacked more than on his Middle East position. There was a cascade of denunciations, cries of anti-Semitism, and questioning of his commitment. Even now some of these same voices are demanding that Mondale and the Democratic Party campaign distance itself from Jackson to keep the Jewish vote from being alienated and turning to Reagan.

Mondale and Hart stumbled all over themselves and each other trying to outdo Reagan. They promised more arms for aggression and intervention against the Arab countries. They whipped up racism against the Arab people, especially Hart, as they strongly denounced the right of the Palestinian people to establish



their own homeland. They even went so far as to promise the establishing of the U.S. embassy in Jerusalem.

Jackson was the only candidate of the Democratic Party which was for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. The essence of Jackson's position on the Middle East is in the right direction.

Yet, while the media, in fake disbelief, credit Reagan with the ability to absolve himself from the failures of his foreign policies, the basic premise of those policies

were never challenged by any of the candidates. Behind Reagan lies imperialism. This is what must be exposed.

The Communist Party campaign points the finger at U.S. imperialism as the culprit in the Middle East. The brutal suppression of the Palestinian people, partitioning of Arab states, and aggression against the national liberation movement is ostensibly to insure the steady flow of profit for U.S. energy corporations. This strategy of U.S. imperialism and Zionism is legitimized by the

Camp David accord. Therefore, Gus Hall and Angela Davis call for the rejection of the whole line of this accord.

This does not pit Jewish people against Black people. It is the issue which unites Black people, Jewish people, and the labor movement as it builds solidarity with the all the forces in the Middle East struggling for peace: Arab and Jewish people.

As Gus Hall has stated, the Jewish people are an integral part of all the movements to defeat Reaganism, to stop the nuclear insanity, to end racism and of the struggle for jobs, peace and equality. To see it otherwise is to equate the interests of Jewish people with Zionism and reaction.

The Democratic Party is headed for defeat with its policies on the racist apartheid regime of South Africa and U.S. intervention in Central America.

Through Jackson's campaign, Black people have showed their deep solidarity with the struggling masses throughout the world. As Mondale and Hart remained silent, Jackson eloquently called for ending new investments in South Africa.

The solidarity of Afro-American people, however, is not enough to defeat U.S. imperialist interests in South Africa. The Communist Party policies are based on developing relations between the Afro-American people and the labor movement here with the liberation movements struggling for independence. Because the liberation movements are in the interest of labor, the organized labor movement is decisive in the battle ahead. Hall and Davis are for the total isolation of South Africa. They are against not just new investments, but all investments in the racist regime and for the breaking of all diplomatic, economic, cultural, and military ties.

In order for the Afro-American people to win substantive, irreversible gains, there must be a 180-degree turn in the foreign policy of the U.S. This is a precondition for reaching higher goals. There must be prevention of militarism and nuclear armaments to guarantee Black equality.

It is impossible to meet the social and economic needs of the U.S. people while over \$300 billion is spent on the military. Furthermore, U.S. imperialism has reached the stage where its policies will lead to nuclear war. There must be a complete break with the foreign policies of Reagan and for the further advancement of the struggle for equality as well as for the very survival of the world.

U.S. foreign policy has for years been based on the Big Lie of anti-Sovietism. This goes back before Reagan. Under the Reagan administration it has reached its logical diabolical conclusion: that nuclear war is a necessity.

Military intervention, the arms buildup, support for racist South Africa, and dictators and repressive regimes everywhere is justified by the Big Lie of anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

The U.S. people, particularly Afro-American people, in their overwhelming majority want peace and disarmament. This is where the Reaganites are the weakest. It is also where the Democrats are weak. Nowhere is there greater confusion or misunderstanding than around the central question of peace and disarmament.

What other candidates than Gus Hall and Angela Davis will take on anti-Sovietism? There is no one else. Except for Jackson, the candidates are for a continuing buildup of the military budget. Neither Mondale nor Hart rejected Reagan's policies of first-strike nuclear weapons as both publicly refused to renounce the first-use of nuclear weapons. Hart, though stating he is for a nuclear freeze agreement with Soviet Union, supports at the same time the so-called build-down proposal which allows for massive increase of more and more sophisticated nuclear weapons. The problem lies in their acceptance and support of anti-Sovietism. This is not the formula for exposing and defeating Reagan.

The source of the war danger is not from the Soviet Union, but from our own shores — U.S. imperialism and the Pentagon. Gus Hall and Angela Davis expose the Big Lie of anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism as a cover to justify militarism and intervention abroad to protect the interests of the big monopolies. It is used to protect the huge investment of these corporations abroad through suppression of those seeking economic and political independence in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism are also used to sow confusion and division in the Afro-American, workingclass and people's movements. The candidacy of the Communist Party projects a real peace program in the interest of the U.S. people. It begins with detente and honest negotiations based on equality and equal security. Gus Hall and Angela Davis call for the immediate removal of the Pershing II and cruise missiles from Europe, and the scrapping of the MX missile. All these are first-strike nuclear weapons.

Hall and Davis show the glaring contradiction between advocating an increase in the military budget and spending more money on social programs. These are empty promises which the Reaganites have no intention in keeping. It is impossible to do both. The Hall-Davis platform calls for drastic slashing of the military budget to rebuild our cities, communities, and the re-industrialization of the U.S. Their program for peace is a program for jobs and equality.

HARLEM COMMUNISTS AND THE 1984 ELECTIONS

By Kevin Mercadel

1984 is one of the most crucial election years in our nation's history. It is highlighted by unprecedented threats to world peace by the Reagan Administration. Domestically, and particularly for Harlemites, this election poses an overriding challenge to defeat Reagan and his policies — policies that have brought increased poverty, suffering, unemployment and homelessness for the masses of working people.

This election campaign has confronted Communists in Harlem with many difficult and complicated strategic and tactical questions. As we are only halfway through the year, it is not possible now to give a complete evaluation of our work. Hence, this article will focus primarily on our more general strategic approach and offer only a preliminary assessment of the practical work in which we have thus far engaged.

One of the main complicating factors in this electoral work is the fact that we have been active in five distinctive campaigns, each with its own characteristics:

1) a voter registration and education campaign, 2) the presidential primaries in New York, 3) the presidential campaign of our Party with Gus Hall and Angela Davis, 4) local campaigns in Harlem, and 5) the general elections in November.

From a strategic point of view, one might add a sixth campaign — the movement to defeat Ed Koch, the racist, anti-working people mayor of New York City who is up for re-election in 1985. For all of Harlem, every activity of 1984 is also a building block geared to the 1985 mayoral contest.

Needless to say, all these campaigns are intimately, indeed inextricably, bound together. For us, the unifying themes are: the primary need to safeguard world peace and halt the arms race, especially nuclear arms, being waged and accelerated by the Reaganites; the need to transfer funds from the military to the rebuilding of our community; the necessity of building an all-peo-

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ple's front to defeat Reagan and his policies in November; and, in the course of this work to further the development of independent political activity in all its varied forms.

PREVIOUS ELECTORAL EXPERIENCES

A number of factors have shaped our overall approach to our electoral activity. In the first place, the Harlem Party organization has a fairly extensive electoral history to draw on. Its high point, of course, was the election and re-election of Ben Davis to the N.Y. City Council in the Forties. But the recent period has also witnessed our active electoral presence in the Harlem community. Since 1968, Harlem Communists have successfully participated in campaigns to place national, state and local Communist candidates on the ballot in New York.

Most recently, we found ways to support progressive and independent candidates. In 1981 we were part of a united front effort that fielded a candidate for mayor in the Democratic Party primaries and as an independent third party candidate in the general election with impressive results in the Harlem community. We intend to continue such independent and coalition activities.

In addition to such practical electoral experiences, we have had the benefit of the policies developed at deliberations of our Party's 23rd National Convention in November 1983. Among other concerns, this convention elaborated the main direction of our Party's electoral work for 1984 and beyond. Its reports and resolutions were important assets in formulating our electoral strategy in Harlem. In particular, the convention discussions helped to deepen our understanding of the unique contributions we as Communists could make to the general struggle for democracy in our community.

VOTER REGISTRATION

Another factor that significantly influenced our thinking was the tremendous upsurge in Black communities as reflected in voter registration and in the election campaigns and victories of Black candidates such as

Harold Washington in Chicago and Mel King in Boston.

We in Harlem are proud to have contributed in the past year to the registration of nearly 5,000 new voters in Harlem, both directly through our membership and indirectly through other organizations and coalitions that we work in and with.

Our voter registration efforts have been especially valuable because they have enabled us to work with many non-Party forces. Voter registration activity also brought us into direct contact with the pulse of the community. It has helped us learn how our community views the main issues of the day and taught us how to express more effectively the opinions and positions of our Party in a mass way. Our plans for future voter registration drives aim to broaden the united front character of our efforts to focus more on door-to-door drives and to concentrate more attention to voter *education* activities.

THE RAINBOW COALITION

A most significant factor influencing our approach to this electoral year is the campaign of the Rev. Jesse Jackson and the building of a Rainbow Coalition. Many questions emerged in our discussions about this campaign, such as: would support of the Rainbow Coalition in effect be support that essentially strengthens only the Democratic Party? Is there a contradiction in supporting the building of a Rainbow Coalition and the campaign of our own Party candidates? Are we a strong enough organization to participate in so many distinct campaigns? Was Rev. Jackson's program one that we could support?

In general, our analysis was that the Rainbow Coalition represented a profound shift in the development of electoral activity in Harlem. Of special importance is the fact that this campaign encouraged the participation in the electoral process of masses of people in our community who had never before participated. The essential ingredient in the Rainbow Coalition is that it brings to the fore the very *issues* that the community is most interested in. These factors — issues and mass participation — were totally absent in past Democratic Party campaigns, especially in traditional clubhouse politics.

In arguing for an *independent* role of Communists in electoral politics, we are NOT arguing for the nonassociation of Communists from the various political trends that exist in Harlem. In fact, the overwhelming majority of forces we worked with arrived at essentially the same conclusion as we did. They were among the healthiest forces to emerge in the Rainbow Coalition in Harlem.

It is important to recognize, as one Harlem activist noted, that the Rainbow Coalition is a work of art *in progress*. It is not a finished product and as such inevitably has weaknesses. Nor is this a coalition simply a narrow electoral effort. Rather, it is a movement-oriented cam-

paign. For Communists in Harlem, the coalition that has emerged is an essential ingredient in the forging of an anti-monopoly alliance. It is not the complete alliance, but without it no alliance or coalition can conceivably develop.

As a result of our discussions, therefore, we decided that we had a responsibility to participate in and work with the Rainbow Coalition in Harlem. We harbored no illusions about the campaign or the potential differences that might arise. But non-participation, in our opinion, would have been the most sectarian of errors.

Once the above conclusions were arrived at, we had to elaborate specific tasks that we would engage in. In the first place, we decided that we had to work as Communists.

This was necessary to avoid working simply as liberal Democrats interested only in reforms. Only this approach could enable us to make our unique contributions as Communists.

Next, we singled out specific ideological aspects of the campaign that we wanted to emphasize. Among the most important of these were:

1. To keep in the forefront the *mass* character of the campaign and its emphasis on issues. This was necessary to counter the approach of some members of the coalition to run the campaign along the traditional Democratic Party club lines.
2. We fought to make the question of the nuclear danger the prime issue in the campaign.
3. We continually pointed out the relationship of the issues being raised to the nature of the system, the capitalist system.
4. In all this, the fight for the unity of the coalition in the face of all manner of attacks was an overriding concern.

As for practical work in the primary, we were active in most phases of the work. We helped collect signatures to assure ballot status for Jackson and progressive delegates, circulated campaign materials, participated in fundraising efforts, registered people to vote and worked on primary day to get out the vote. We also exerted major efforts to help build a rally in Harlem that saw more than 20,000 people march in support of the campaign.

LONG-TERM SIGNIFICANCE

The primary results in our opinion validated our approach. Jackson won over 65% of the vote in the Congressional District of which Harlem is a part. This district, it should be noted, is less than 50% Afro-American. The victory was all the more significant in that the congressman from the district, Charles Rangel, opposed Jackson and campaigned vigorously for Mondale. The assemblywoman and the city councilman from Harlem

also opposed Jackson and supported Mondale. This highlights the anti-Democratic Party machine character of the campaign.

One long-range significance of this campaign is the 100% increase in voter turnout registered in the district. In some places, it was even higher. For example, in the 70th AD, the Central Harlem Assembly District, the primary vote in 1981 was 7,000. In 1984 it was over 17,000. This is unprecedented in New York City politics. It is sending tremors throughout the political machine in Harlem.



Some initial conclusions: the Jackson victory in Harlem was a smashing victory for independent politics. It was a victory that we Communists believe we share. It is a victory that establishes a solid foundation on which to defeat Reagan in 1984 and Koch in 1985. And, most importantly, it is a victory that has witnessed the re-emergence of a coalition of progressive forces, both in and outside the Democratic Party, with Communists, quite similar to the coalitions that Adam Powell and Ben Davis were a part of in the Thirties and Forties.

Furthermore, the Rainbow campaign in Harlem has convincingly demonstrated that it is possible to build a coalition and work together, despite the lack of 100% agreement on all issues. The Party in Harlem is emerging as a constructive and unifying force in progressive politics in the community. Of course, much remains to be accomplished, but important trends are being established. Red-baiting has been dealt a severe blow.

In all modesty, we Communists in Harlem also recognize the fact that we learned a great deal from the campaign activists and especially from the people of the Harlem community. We never believed that we had all the answers and this was certainly borne out through the course of the campaign. At the same time, as a result of our participation, we gained new confidence in our abili-

ty to make a unique contribution to the whole. And the people of Harlem learned that Communists make good, cooperative, hard-working allies.

COMMUNIST PARTY CAMPAIGN

As for our own Party campaign with Comrades Hall and Davis, the Rainbow campaign has been an important benefit. It has helped to put our Party organization on an electoral footing and provided a wealth of ideas to incorporate into our campaign. Our comrades who participated in the Rainbow Coalition are among our best Hall-Davis activists.

This is so because their work in the coalition has brought them into closer contact with the Harlem community. Because we participated as Communists, right from the beginning of our Party's announcement that we were fielding candidates we were engaged in discussions with non-Party forces about our Party's campaign. This has helped to clarify and strengthen our thinking about our campaign and prevented a mechanical approach to our work. We in Harlem are firmly convinced that there has been no contradiction between the Rainbow Coalition and our Party campaign, even though there are very distinguishing characteristics between the two.

As a result of our work thus far in this election year, Harlem Communists are eagerly awaiting the Communist Party petition drive and campaign in New York. We also look to the September primaries in Harlem for local races as another opportunity to strengthen independent political activity. So far in our work this year, we have been able to recruit new members and increase the circulation of the Party press. Interest is high in our Party and our approach has enabled us to reach and win new forces. All our work convinces us that our independent role as Communists **MUST** be seen within the framework of mass struggles and that such an approach strengthens **BOTH** the mass movement and our Party when it is properly organized.

RUNOFF PRIMARIES A QUESTION FOR ALL

By Geoffrey Jacques

Two of the most important developments in this year's presidential election campaign are the endorsement by the AFL-CIO of a presidential candidate before the opening of this year's primaries, and the historic campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson. These two actions have been responsible for mobilizing additional millions of voters. They have helped to sharpen the issues in the campaign. They have helped develop the movement of opposition against the Reagan Administration and its policies in a way which can decisively defeat Reagan and his supporters in November. But this can only be achieved if the unity of these movements can be attained.

Yet such unity will be difficult to attain. There is much in the labor movement's intervention into the campaign and in the campaign of Rev. Jackson which upsets the country's corporate rulers. The beginnings of a new progressive coalition, as a prelude to the anti-big business, anti-monopoly alliance which is necessary for decisive progress in this country, can be seen in the developments in this election campaign. And this also upsets many who have a stake, if not in big business' interests, then in maintaining the old, big business-dominated coalition in which labor and the Afro-American people's movement has participated.

This can be seen in certain reactions to the campaign of Jesse Jackson. Jackson raises basic issues concerning the health of democracy and the direction of democratic progress in our country. And the demands he is placing on the Democratic Party leadership are in this direction.

His "litmus test" demand on Mondale and the Democratic Party leadership is that they come out against the "double primary" system in the South in exchange for Jackson's support of the Democratic ticket.

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Citing the case of H.M. (Mickey) Michaux of North Carolina, who lost the 1982 Democratic nomination to Congress in a second primary after winning 44% of the vote in the first primary, Jackson says that if the second, or "runoff," primary is eliminated, the political as well as racial complexion of the U.S. Congress could be drastically changed.

The figures suggest Jackson is correct. In his bid for the Democratic nomination, Jackson won 30 congressional districts in the South alone, and this seems to suggest that the electorate in that region is ready to challenge President Reagan and the policies of Reaganism.

But those who oppose Jackson's proposals apparently fear what they may do to the strength of their own racist convictions.

Such is the apparent case for one spokesperson for those who seek to minimize the challenge which Jackson places before the country.

In an article entitled "The Runoff Issue," Tom Wicker, an associate editor of the *New York Times*, in the May 1 issue of that newspaper, calls the Jackson challenge to white supremacist voting patterns, and specifically making the double primary an election issue, "self defeating."

He makes several points to prove his argument. First, he says, runoff primaries aren't always discriminatory. Such was the case in the election of the "progressive" governors of Mississippi and South Carolina, who were "most favored by blacks."

Then, he says, voting along racial lines "not only in the South" will be "a fact of life" for the foreseeable future in the United States.

The effects of this "fact of life" are that if the runoff primaries are abolished, it would become difficult for an Afro-American candidate to win in a one-on-one contest against a white opponent. "Many white Democrats, in such cases, undoubtedly would support the white Republican," Wicker claims.

In order for whites to be won to support Afro-American candidates, it is not necessary for such white voters to see that such support is in their self interest. It is necessary, in Wicker's view, for Afro-Americans to prove themselves worthy of white support. Black nominees for office, he says, "in the long term" might convince whites that Afro-Americans are "as able as whites to represent all elements of a constituency fairly and effectively."

Finally, making the runoff primary an issue is "self defeating" because the Democratic nominee would lose substantial support if he had to take a position on the issue. The Democratic nominee, Wicker says, "would lose some of the Southern states by acceding to Mr. Jackson's demand; or, if he lost Mr. Jackson's wholehearted support by refusing, he could lose the black votes also needed to carry those states."

Two things stand out in Wicker's objections. First, he fears the *independent* role of Afro-American leadership in the public affairs of the nation on all public policy questions, not just traditional "Black" issues. Second, there is the question of the nature of the franchise itself in the United States; whether it is a right to be exercised by all citizens, or whether it is a gift bestowed upon the population by the rich and those who speak for them.

The independent role of the Afro-American population, as expressed in the pro-peace, pro-equality, and growing pro-labor stance of the Jackson movement, is a complement, an objective ally, of the independent role of the labor movement as expressed in its new role in this election campaign. On some questions, such as foreign policy concerns, Jackson is in advance of, say, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland. But many AFL-CIO affiliates, such as the United Auto Workers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, condition their mobilization in this election campaign on their own positions on foreign policy. And some of these positions, which are for detente and against militarist aggression in Central America, are in advance of the positions of both Kirkland and Mondale, moving closer to Jackson's statements.

Jackson, even before the June 5 primaries, had won 19% of the popular vote overall in the Democratic primaries. The percentage of the registered voters in the overall population who are Afro-American is 11%.

It is clear from these figures that Jackson's vote goes beyond the Afro-American community, and in some states, such as Vermont, he won nearly all his support from white voters.

By arguing that Afro-Americans must take a back seat in the voting booth in the interest of electing "pro-

gressive" whites who do nothing about the racist voting systems of the South, Wicker, in effect, seeks to nullify the independence of the Afro-American vote. Wicker poses the election of such "progressive" white officials against the prospect of doubling the size of the most progressive bloc in Congress, the Congressional Black Caucus. This pro-peace, pro-labor bloc could be significantly increased if the racist voting patterns were abolished, thereby strengthening all pro-peace forces within and without Congress. Wicker, then, is advising the electorate to forego change and accept the racist status quo. He argues, like certain "moderate" apologists for segregation of a generation ago, for a gradualist approach to the problems of racist voting laws in the South.

Such advice is a tacit recognition that any challenge to racist congressional representation would, at the same time, be a blow against the cold war, aggressive, interventionist foreign policy, which finds its most vocal advocates among the "Dixiecrats" in Congress. Such advice is a call for Afro-American and other voters in the South not to struggle for the right to vote in their own best interests, in the interests of the struggle against nuclear war.

In saying that we have to accept the "fact of life" that racist voting patterns will be a reality "for some time to come," Wicker chooses to ignore one of the central contributions of the Jackson campaign to the building of a broad, all-people's coalition against Reaganism. We noted earlier that Jackson has received more votes than the percentage of Afro-Americans in the registered voting population. It should be noted that many more within the labor movement would have voted for Jackson were it not for loyalty to the AFL-CIO endorsement of Mondale, and that polls show that Jackson is liked by more white voters than the voting totals show.

Racism remains a significant factor in keeping down the number of white voters for Jackson. At the same time, by running a pro-peace and increasingly pro-labor campaign, Jackson has made the issue of Afro-American leadership *a question for the entire country!*

Wicker calls on white progressives to ignore the challenge and the responsibility posed by the Jackson campaign: to struggle against white supremacy among white workers in the first place and among the white population generally.

The questions put forward by Jackson on the issues in this campaign are questions which are in the interest of the entire nation. His criticism of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy not only coincides with the ideas of the majority of the people of the country, but is a

component part of the program which is necessary for the defeat of Reagan in November, because it is a criticism which has demonstrated its ability to mobilize voters to vote in the interest of progress.

Yet we hear a call to abandon the struggle to implement these policies, to make them the property of the entire anti-Reagan, anti-nuclear war movement. And why? Because racist voting patterns are "a fact of life" which will be with us "for some time."

What is the meaning of the alternative posed by Wicker, to accept the status quo? It means that the struggle to organize and mobilize the working class and the majority of the people of our country, of all nationalities, to rise to the needs of our times, to rise to the level that the class struggle demands, will be abandoned. It means, in fact, that the struggle for jobs, economic security, peace and equality will be abandoned.

This is the meaning of accepting the "fact of life" of the continuation of racist voting patterns in the South and elsewhere in the United States.

Wicker fears a white "backlash" if the racist voting patterns are removed. But white voters in their majority aren't served by racist voting patterns.

Only the arms billionaires are served by members of Congress who are beneficiaries of a racist franchise laws; only big business is served by anti-union Congress members who are the main beneficiaries of the runoff primary; only the corporate rulers are served by Dixiecrat and "boll weevil" Congress members who ensure a low-wage environment in many places in the South.

And certainly no one, Wicker included, could argue that the government-assisted terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist groups in the South, for example, which are kept in a de-facto legal state due to the domination of Southern state politics by racists, are in the interests of democratic unity in that region.

Wherever racist voting systems have been broken down, the democratic progress has been served. And the nation has not witnessed any "backlash" because of such progress. Whites have proven, admittedly in as yet insufficient numbers, that they will vote in their own self interest, given the opportunity. It is the job of every progressive worker to ensure that such opportunities are plentiful.

In proposing to overturn the political pattern of the South, Jackson would strengthen the labor and peace movements in that region. This would not cost any opponent of Ronald Reagan in the 1984 election either the nomination of his or her party or the general election. On the contrary, it would strengthen the unity necessary for victory over Reagan and Reaganism in the South.

Contrary to what Wicker perceives, such a struggle would not be "self defeating." In fact, not to undertake this struggle for fundamental progress in a section of the country which has for too long been a stronghold of conservatism and reaction would be self defeating for the working class, the oppressed nationalities, and all who stand for an end to racism and Reaganism, and for social justice in our country.

It could, indeed, cost us the 1984 election.



THE BIG LIE AND THE JEWISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY

By Gus Hall

The following address was given by Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, at the Twelfth Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner at the Roosevelt Hotel Grand Ballroom in New York City, June 10, 1984.

Today, we are, in a sense, celebrating three related anniversaries: The 36th anniversary of the State of Israel, the 50th anniversary of Birobidjan, the Jewish Autonomous Region of the Soviet Union and the 14th anniversary of *Jewish Affairs* magazine. Considering past history and experience, I will base my remarks on the premise that the masses of Jewish Americans are concerned about and involved in all the movements, struggles and problems faced by the majority of Americans. They are an integral part of all the movements to defeat Reaganism, to stop the nuclear insanity, to end racism and in the struggles for jobs, peace and equality.

VOICE OF TRUE INTERESTS

I look back with a sense of pride on my presence at the first discussion about publishing the magazine, *Jewish Affairs*, especially because I was in the company of such leading comrades as Henry Winston, Hy Lumer, Alex Kolkin, Herbert Aptheker, Philip Honor, Jack Kling and Abe Wise. And I am therefore especially honored to be here on this proud day to join in the celebration and recognition of *Jewish Affairs*' consistent contributions to the Jewish American community in helping to clarify and give direction on some very complex and sensitive questions affecting Jewish national pride and identity.

Since the very first issue, *Jewish Affairs* has been a consistent, tried and tested voice of truth, a voice of truth against a cascade of slander and lies. The new magazine was made necessary because most of the institutions and publications dealing with Jewish affairs had become engulfed in the tidal wave of reactionary cold war anti-Sovietism, a wave that was whipped up by the poli-

cies of U.S. imperialism worldwide and the policies of expansion and annexation by the ruling circles of Israel in the Mideast. *Jewish Affairs* has established itself as a true voice for peace, an unrelenting fighter against racism, against Reaganomics; a clear voice for human and civil rights, for democracy and against all forms of anti-Semitism. Because *Jewish Affairs* is an advocate and defender of the true interests of Israel it has never opportunistically remained silent. Nor has it distorted the truth when criticism of Israel's policies was, in fact, the truth.

THE BIG LIE BRAINWASHING FOG

The big lie — the so-called Soviet threat, evil empire, anti-communism — is the most massive brainwashing scheme in all of history. There has never been a bigger lie, repeated more times, in all of history. It is a diabolical, ideological trap. It is the real opium of the people. It is a brainwashing drug that transposes reality into its very opposite. It is designed to create a danger where none exists and to cover up when the danger is real. Under its hypnotic influence, those who should be honored and supported are vilified and condemned. The heroes are turned into villains and the villains are painted as heroes. It turns people against their best self-interests.

For humanity, the big lie about a Soviet military nuclear threat has now become a matter of life or death, because the main ideological weapon in the Reagan Administration's arsenal in preparation for a nuclear war is the big lie of anti-communism. It is the brainwashing fog to cover up the Reaganite drive toward nuclear confrontation and a final nuclear holocaust. Many believed the big lie of anti-communism when Hitler used it. The 50 million lost lives should be a horrible reminder to the whole world that, unless challenged and checked, big lie anti-communism may well become the final funeral dirge for all of humanity — when there is no one left to raise their voice. All the slander about a Soviet military threat is an unmitigated big lie. But the vile, vicious anti-Soviet brainwashing campaign is not limited to lies about a Soviet military threat.

Gus Hall is the Communist Party candidate for U.S. President and is general secretary of the CPUSA.

THE BIG LIE OF SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

The charge of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is just as big a lie. In fact it is an integral part of the big lie. It also turns historical facts on their head. According to this slander, the real fighters against anti-Semitism become the anti-Semites. And the anti-Semites become freedom fighters.

It is one of those ironic brainwashing twists that the socialist countries are accused of anti-Semitism, when they are the only countries that have political, ideological, legal and constitutional bars against all forms of racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism. Their philosophical world outlook consciously rejects and leaves no room for racism and anti-Semitism. The Soviet Union is accused of anti-Semitism while it is the only country in the history of the world that has, for over 65 years, pursued a policy of affirmative action, the Leninist policy of equality and justice for all peoples and nationalities. It is an ingenious policy that has literally wiped out the effects of generations of feudal and capitalist inequality, chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

Soviet socialism completely wiped out the degrading oppression, the poverty-stricken, pogrom-ridden ghetto existence of the Jewish people under Czarism. And with these material conditions, it also removed the social and economic roots of racism and chauvinism — thus guaranteeing that never again will it happen on socialist soil.

The country that was known throughout the world as the prison house of nations has been turned into a highly developed, technologically advanced union of equal republics and peoples who live in peace and harmony. The big lie brainwashers work to cover up or turn history upside down. We must not forget that during the Hitler-fascist onslaught, with its genocidal anti-Semitic thrust, there was only one country in the world that took special measures, including mass evacuation, to protect and save its Jewish population. It was not an accident of history that this country was the socialist Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where the working class is the dominant force.

SOVIET UNION'S HEROIC ROLE IN WW II

While every capitalist country in the world, including the United States, turned a deaf ear to the appeals for help and anti-fascist unity, the Soviet Union responded with heroic actions that saved more Jewish lives than any other single act in history. Millions more, including millions of Jewish people, would have been saved had the United States, Great Britain and France responded to the Soviet appeal for a joint effort when Hitler continued his aggression with the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In fact, an early, anti-fascist, collective security, united front might have prevented World War II. And, after Hitler's invasion of Europe and the attack on the Soviet Union, even more millions could have been saved if the allies, the United States and Great Britain, had responded to the Soviet appeal to open up a Second Front against Hitler in Europe. They did not join in the anti-fascist struggle in time because they were still hoping, and in fact maneuvering, to join forces with Hitler against the Soviet Union.

THE TRUTH ABOUT NORMANDY

These days, much is being made of the 40th anniversary of the Normandy invasion. But this is another clear example of big lie distortions because it is an attempt to rewrite history. In the volumes of commentary, nothing is said about the absolute truth that the U.S.-British invasion took place long after the Soviet Union had already broken the back of the Nazi armed forces on blood-soaked battlefields in Leningrad, Stalingrad and Kursk. It is also absolute truth that during the Hitler holocaust, of all the political parties in the capitalist countries, only the working class Communist Parties pursued policies of concrete actions to block the mass murder.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL

Setting another historic record straight, when the question of setting up and recognizing Israel as a sovereign state was on the United Nations agenda, the U.S. government spent months debating whether to support such a move. The U.S. oil monopolies were against it. They already dominated the rich oil fields in the Middle-East-Persian Gulf. While all this was going on, the Soviet representatives at the United Nations had already taken supporting public positions and a firm lead in the establishment of the state of Israel. The Soviet Union supported either of two concepts: two separate states, Arab and Jewish, or one united Jewish-Arab state. This Soviet policy was not accidental, arbitrary or subjective. It was a policy leading to actions based on a solid partisan class position. The Soviet Union well understood that anti-Semitism, like racism, is an instrument of capitalist class exploitation. And that active opposition to racism and anti-Semitism is a working class position.

CONTRADICTIONS IN HISTORY

Contradictions have often arisen in world history between the interests of nations and the interests of peoples. The U.S. itself is a product of such contradictions. In its early years, the interests of the mass of immigrants coming to the U.S. from around the world and the interests of the Native American Indian peoples developed

into a contradiction. This contradiction arose within the framework of developing capitalism.

The U.S. government and the capitalist class position has always been based on maximum corporate profits. Because of this there have been no adjustments, no reparations, no attempts at a just solution. The brutal, genocidal offensive against the American Indian peoples was, and remains, a capitalist approach to the question. It was, and remains criminal, unjust and wrong.

SOLUTIONS FOR TODAY

However, a just correction of the wrongs cannot be a return to the very beginning. Corrections and solutions must be made within the framework of today's realities. A just solution must start with the elimination of all forms of racism and discrimination through affirmative action programs to wipe out all the inequalities suffered by the Native American Indian peoples.

Likewise, the Palestinian people and the Jewish people have historic ties to Israel. But the mass influx of Jewish immigrants, especially after World War II, created a contradiction between the interests of these immigrants and the interests of the people of Palestine. The explosive, violent and — yes, genocidal — policy pursued after the United Nations decision to create two separate states was a capitalist Zionist approach to the question. For the Palestinian people, the outcome was criminal, unjust and disastrous. It was, and remains, a crime against five million people.

But here, also, it is difficult to think of a just solution in terms of going back to the conditions of the very beginning. Today the solution must start with Israel's withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon, from the West Bank, from the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Israel must withdraw and return to its 1967 borders. The solution must include creating conditions of total equality, with affirmative action programs to undo the wrongs of the past. The solution must include the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent homeland. The solution must encompass basic recognition of the sovereignty, independence and rights of all existing states, including Israel. There has been, and remains, a basic difference between the Mideast policy of the Soviet Union and the United States. The U.S. policy has always been based on oil and corporate profits. The Soviet policy has always been based on the original, basic United Nations resolution, on the existence of Israel and an independent, sovereign Palestinian state. Understandably, Jewish people pay particular attention to developments in Israel. Progressive people worldwide supported the achievement of Israel's independence. But progressives supported an independent state, with equal rights for Jewish and Arab inhabitants of the former Palestine.

ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY POSITION

In celebration of Israel's 36th anniversary, the heroic, multinational Communist Party of Israel said: "On the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, we note with concern that Israel is today much further from true independence than ever before in her history. The realization of the hope of the masses for peace, the strengthening of independence and progress have evaded us further as a result of the dirty war in Lebanon, which was unleashed by the Likud ruling clique and the U.S. Reagan Administration. As a result of adventurist policies, three quarters of the country's budget is spent for military purposes. We are in the midst of galloping inflation, reduced are health services, construction, social services and expenditures for culture. The economic and social crisis deepens. And, as a result of such politics the threat of fascism increases in Israel and racism rears its head."

SHORT-SIGHTED POLICY

The policy of the Israeli government is a very short-sighted one. It is staking everything on its alliance with U.S. imperialism. It has isolated itself in the world community. The world balance of forces is moving against U.S. imperialism. Therefore, it is becoming an unreliable, unstable senior partner. And there is no guarantee the U.S. will not sell Israel down the river. The U.S. imperialist interest in Mideast oil is much bigger than its interest in Israel. So far Israel has been useful to the U.S. oil monopolies. But this situation could easily change. Israel could become an obstacle to U.S. access to Mideast oil, in which case the United States would have no compunctions about dropping it. The true national interests and security of Israel lie in a completely different direction than the one Israel has been following.

TRUE NATIONAL INTERESTS

It lies in sitting down at the negotiating table with representatives of all parties who have a legitimate interest in the region — the Palestinian people and Israel's Arab neighbors, the Soviet Union and the United States. It is not in the true national interests of Israel to continue opposing the legitimate aspirations of the Arab Palestinian people to a homeland and state. It is not in the true national interests of Israel to continue establishing settlements which greatly aggravate and complicate the situation. It is not in the true national interests of Israel to continue annexing territory seized through aggression and war.

The true national interests and security of Israel lie in agreeing to implement the many United Nations resolutions and returning all annexed territory to its rightful

owners. It lies in Israel agreeing to return to its 1967 borders as a condition of peaceful coexistence with its Arab neighbors. Israel's security is not guaranteed by military aggression and the seizure of other countries territory. In this day and age a little more or less territory has no real military significance. What really counts is to establish boundaries recognized by all, guaranteed by all, especially the United Nations, the United States and the Soviet Union. For this, working out a just peace is absolutely necessary.

Concerning Jewish Americans, it is important not to give mechanical, uncritical support to the policies of the Israeli government. On the other hand, it is important to support what is in the best interests of Israel. Among the Israeli people themselves there are many who do not agree with the policies of the Israeli government, including a strong and growing peace movement of the people.

PRIVATE INTERESTS MISUSE & ABUSE

The sole purpose of the big lie of anti-communism, including the nonexistent Soviet military threat and the lie about Soviet anti-Semitism — which is the dirtiest of

terests, which run counter to the true interests of the Israeli people. These private interests justify their policies and actions on the basis that they are defending the national interests and security of Israel.

The truth is that in the long run their policies and actions jeopardize the very existence of Israel. In all this the ideas and policies of the Zionist groups play a special supporting role. From their special angle, they fully support all these reactionary policies and forces. They misuse and betray the very real concerns and sentiments of the Jewish people. Some have been perverted by the Zionist leadership and turned into support for the policies of war and aggression in both Israel and the United States. The big lie of anti-communism and especially the falsehood of Soviet anti-Semitism have become the main ideological substance of Zionism. It is attached to the old backward concept that anti-Semitism is an incurable, eternal, inherited human characteristic of all who are not Jewish.

For this reason, it is important not to equate Zionism with the Jewish people, their just aspirations and

“Concerning Jewish Americans, it is important not to give mechanical, uncritical support to the policies of the Israeli government. On the other hand, it is important to support what is in the best interests of Israel. Among the Israeli people themselves there are many who do not agree with the policies of the Israeli government, including a strong and growing peace movement of the people.”

all dirty tricks — is to ensnare people into support for the Reagan policies of war, of nuclear superiority, policies of U.S. corporate world domination. The falsehood about Soviet anti-Semitism is specially designed to ensnare the Jewish people.

It is natural that the Jewish people should have an emotional attachment to Israel and a special concern about anti-Semitism. But there are those who take advantage of this attachment for their own purposes: U.S. imperialism, which has huge corporate interests in the Mideast; the Israeli ruling class which has accepted the role of junior partner and surrogate serving the interests of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast; the corporations and bankers in both countries. All these private interests have nothing in common with the public interests of the Israeli people. They represent special selfish private in-

terests of national pride and their support for an Israel at peace with its neighbors and the world.

As the struggles sharpen and the questions become more difficult and complex, the clear thinking and contributions of such great personalities as Mike Gold, Hyman Lumer and Moshe Olgin become even more significant. And, as truth conquers the big lie they will stand even taller.

There is a lasting lesson in Mike Gold's classic, workingclass novel, *Jews Without Money*. Reaganism, with its anti-labor, racist, war-making policies, can be defeated by the unity of Jews without money, Catholics and Protestants without money, Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos without money — all uniting with our multiracial, multinational working class without money.

ADDRESS TO UNITED NATIONS ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE

By Angela Davis

I am honored to have the opportunity to address the North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, sponsored by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid. I am co-chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, an organization which was founded in 1973 and which works to defend the fundamental democratic right to organize and struggle, and to end the racism of the police, courts, jails, and prisons. We are also spearheading a campaign to free Nelson and Winnie Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa.

Before President Reagan entered the White House, he made the following statement: "(M)any Americans have interpreted our interest in South Africa as an expression of our own desire to achieve racial equality and the elimination of injustice based on race. I'm afraid that this is a naive oversimplification of what is really at issue."

And indeed, the Reagan Administration has forged a military and economic strategic alliance with the apartheid South Africa regime, one of the most hated dictatorships in the world. Under the euphemism of "constructive engagement" the Reagan Administration has reversed decades of policy by successive U.S. Administrations which, at least, gave lip service in opposition to the criminal system of apartheid, in support of majority rule, and in support of the independence of illegally occupied Namibia.

The present Administration has now openly embraced the apartheid dictatorship as an "ally" and by doing so has not only shown contempt for the South African and Namibian people, for international law and world opinion, but also for the more than 20 million oppressed Black people in this country.

Racism is indivisible. To embrace the world's most brutal form of racism, South African apartheid, is also to embrace racism at home. "Constructive engagement"

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means that the Reagan Administration's goal is the delegitimization of the liberation movements led by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the ultimate defeat of these movements.

The Reagan Administration's goal is the destabilization of the independent countries of southern Africa, some of whom have just recently thrown off the brutal yoke of centuries of colonial oppression. This goal involves the institutionalization of a formal military alliance between the U.S., the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the apartheid regime.

The fruits of this so-called "constructive engagement" have already shown themselves to be bitter and bloody. Emboldened by the White House and its commitment to end what the Reagan Administration itself has called the "polecat status" of South Africa in the international community, South Africa has embarked upon a murderous path of state terrorism against all of its neighbors. It has criminally bombed and raided Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Lesotho. It continues to occupy southern Angola; and last December, the same day the Reagan Administration diplomatic mercenary Chester Crocker was meeting with the South African foreign minister in Rome, South Africa launched its largest military invasion of Angola since 1981, causing untold loss of life and destruction of property.

This is terrorism — state terrorism, brazenly supported by the Reagan Administration. Not only has South Africa launched direct military actions against its neighbors, but it continues to finance, train and give logistic support to terrorist bands of mercenaries and sadists, which, like the contras in Nicaragua, are aimed at the legitimate governments of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. As the foreign minister of Zimbabwe, Witness Mangwende, has pointed out, "South Africa has a different strategy of destabilization for each of the independent Black-ruled states in southern Africa."

Marching hand in hand with the apartheid coloni-

alists, the Reagan Administration has frustrated and sabotaged all attempts, under the auspices of the United Nations Security Council, to implement Security Council Resolution 435, the internationally recognized formula for the independence of Namibia. It has introduced the bogus "linkage" issue, attempting to equate the presence of South African troops in their illegal occupation of Namibia, with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, at the request of that government and to assist in repelling the repeated attacks by the South African invaders.

There can be no reason for introducing this ludicrous, illegal, and blatantly transparent condition except to sabotage the Namibian independence process and to prevent the ascension to power of the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people, the South West African People's Organization.

In violation of the ruling of the International Court of Justice in 1971, and subsequent United Nations Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the Reagan Administration has established a so-called "liaison office" in Namibia. Further, it has been charged by SWAPO, at least 100 U.S. military personnel are now stationed in Namibia. There can be little doubt that the Reagan Administration and Botha's dictatorship are moving in the direction of establishing a puppet regime in Namibia, along the lines of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence instituted in Ian Smith's Rhodesia in 1965 to frustrate Black majority rule and true national independence for Zimbabwe.

South Africa's Wermacht, through aggression and invasion, has sought to force the independent countries of southern Africa to kneel before the apartheid altar. Through economic pressure, it is seeking to tie these countries to the South African economy in what South Africa calls a "constellation of states." It is attempting to establish economic dependence through blackmail and intimidation, the peace of subservience and the tomb.

That is the meaning of the concerted effort by Reagan and Botha to win international support for the so-called peace initiatives of the apartheid regime in the region. They seek to rehabilitate South Africa's image, to deny moral, political and humanitarian support to the ANC and SWAPO, and in the interest of Reagan's reelection campaign, convince world opinion of the "wisdom" of the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement."

But international public opinion is not easily misled; and enormous numbers of people, like those of us here today, are well aware that nothing but destruction, maiming and murder has come from this "constructive engagement." Our task is to bring that reality to the U.S.

people and to insure that no other resident of the White House embraces apartheid or allies itself with the hated apartheid regime. We must break this terrorist connection. We must join in the effort to eliminate this threat which looms over southern Africa, indeed all of Africa and the entire globe.

While the Reagan Administration and the Botha regime feign peace in the international arena, they also feign reform within South Africa itself. In the meantime the apartheid regime takes even more draconian measures against the Black majority, Coloreds (mixed race—Ed.) and Indians, and against a growing number of white opponents of apartheid. This increased repression is coupled with the alleged constitutional reform applauded by the Reagan Administration, which totally excludes any political role for the 22 million Africans who make up 72% of South Africa's population. In attempts to divide the anti-apartheid front, Coloreds and Indians will now be included in a meaningless and powerless tricameral parliament. And for this meaningless participation, Indians and Coloreds will be conscripted into the armed forces, which amounts to cannon fodder against the liberation movement.

A rising tide of opposition is challenging the apartheid regime. An unprecedented movement is reflected in the expansion of Black trade union activity and in the formation of the United Democratic Front representing a multi-racial coalition of hundreds of organizations. There are increasing public manifestations of the Black majority's overwhelming support for the ANC and there is an increasingly widespread campaign to free Nelson Mandela from prison and Winnie Mandela from banning.

Here in the United States, Congressman George Crockett has introduced House Resolution 430 which calls for an end to the repression of the Mandelas. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression is circulating on a massive scale a petition calling for Nelson and Winnie Mandela's freedom. We are also petitioning for the release of 55,000 political prisoners and detainees in South Africa.

We in the United States bear a particular responsibility to force our government to support the just aspirations of the South African majority and to isolate the fascist white minority regime economically, politically, militarily and culturally. We must force our government to join those who are fighting for peace, democracy, progress and independence in the region, those who are struggling on behalf of all humanity, to overthrow the hated apartheid regime.

FOREIGN POLICY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION

By Carl Bloice

Between 1890 and 1900, at least 1,217 Black people were lynched in the United States. The Civil War was over, the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued some three decades previously, but the government in Washington did little to protect the lives of citizens who happened to be Black and living in the South.

The President at the time was a Republican, William McKinley. In 1899 he received a letter signed by "the Colored National League." The letter chided the President for his "incomprehensible silence" about the lynchings and other acts of hate and violence directed against Black people in the South.

His attorney general had, however, come out one day to say that the U.S. government could do nothing about the crimes because they had "no federal aspect."

The letter denounced this hypocrisy, touching on a trait that has affected every chief executive who has followed him into the Oval Office.

"Had, 18 months ago, the Cuban revolution to throw off the yoke of Spain, or the attempt of Spain to subdue the Cuban Rebellion, any federal aspect?" the Colored Citizens of Massachusetts asked.

The letter challenged McKinley's assertion that the dispatch of troops to Cuba was warranted by a "chronic condition of disturbance in Cuba, so injurious and menacing to our interests and tranquility, as well as shocking to our sentiments of humanity."

The Colored Citizens of Massachusetts asked: "Mr. President, had that 'chronic condition of disturbance in Cuba so menacing to our interests and tranquility, as well as shocking to our sentiments of humanity' which you wished to terminate and did terminate, a federal aspect, while that not less 'chronic condition of disturbance' in the South, which is a thousand times more 'injurious and menacing to our interests and tranquility,' as well as far more 'shocking to our sentiments of humanity,' or ought to be, none whatever?"

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A similar letter could be written by the Black people of any state of the union writing a letter to President Reagan on the dispatch of troops to El Salvador, Grenada or Lebanon. What is it, they might ask, about the disturbances in those places that calls for the expenditure of billions of dollars (not to mention the sacrificing of young lives) and the exertion of force when funds are cut off and programs terminated that are designed to relieve the suffering and inequities of people here at home?

The appeal of the Colored Citizens of Massachusetts came at the end of one of the most inglorious periods in the history of the U.S. It was in the short period from 1890 to 1900 that the countdown of institutional racism and segregation of the next 84 years were shaped. It also coincided and was integrally bound up with a critical turning point in the nation's history: the rise of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

With the signing of the Hayes-Tilden Pact in 1876 the period of radical reconstruction in the South came to an end. Coming in the wake of the ending of chattel slavery and the defeat of the slave states in the Civil War, that era had seen the use of federal authority and the power of the state utilized to guarantee the beginnings of bourgeois or capitalist democracy in the South. Black people were enfranchised. They began to assume political power commensurate with their numbers and were elected to office on all levels, including to the Congress of the U.S.

The federal government's direct role in this process of democratization was ended by virtue of a political pact between the big economic interests in the North and the former slaveholders in the South. This, in turn, prepared the way for the resubjugation of Black people and the subjugation of the entire nation by a new force: monopoly capitalism.

The decade 1890-1900 saw the rapid concentration of economic power into fewer and fewer hands. It witnessed the growth of large formations of capital (trusts) which sought new markets and new sources of raw materials. It saw this new system engage in a frantic

search for new areas of exploitation on the continent and abroad.

In 1901 the first billion-dollar corporation — U.S. Steel — was set up. As Marxist historian Herbert Aptheker notes, the 10 years before that saw the growth of more monopolies than during the previous 30 years. During that same 10-year period, monopoly captured the agricultural lands west of Ohio, launched the imperialist war against Spain, and captured Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guam and the Philippines. It was during this period that the resubjugation of Black people had its greatest impetus. That impulse was the same one that led to the conquering of the foreign territories.

Not to be left out of this picture is the subjugation of the neo-feudal agricultural economy of the South to the growing capitalism in the North as a result of the Civil War. With the birth of monopoly capitalism, the drive was on to bring the area fully under the control of the monopolists. The destruction of Reconstruction was part and parcel of U.S. imperialism's expansionism.

The rise of monopoly capitalism and the birth of U.S. imperialism were one and the same thing. V.I. Lenin called imperialism "the quintessence of monopoly." He also observed: "This transformation of competition into monopoly is one of the most important — if not the most important — phenomena of modern capitalist economy."

In the preface to the Russian edition of *Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism*, Lenin wrote, "The question is the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."

Leading Black personalities drew links between the resubjugation of Black people and the birth and rapid early growth of monopoly capitalism and the spread of imperialism. During that fateful decade (1890-1900) an anti-imperialist current of thought developed in the Black community which has continued up to this day. Anti-imperialism among Blacks has had its ebbs and flows. In general it can be said that the Black liberation movement has peaked when anti-imperialist sentiment has been strongest, while periods of political accommodations saw the emergence of leaders marked by acquiescence and even pro-imperialist sentiments.

In supporting the uprising of Cuba against Spain, Providence, Rhode Island, attorney Charles G. Baylor in the *Richmond Planet* July 30, 1890 wrote, "Shall the liberty cause in Cuba be thus betrayed and sacrificed without a determined resistance by liberty men and women

everywhere? I ask the question because the American Negro cannot become the ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race."

In the summer of 1899, Boston attorney Clifford H. Plummer, secretary of the National Colored Protective League, boldly announced: "An uprising of the colored race against the administration in Washington is being organized in Boston." Plummer was referring to a "revolt at the ballot box" wherein Black people would desert the party of Lincoln and that would "mean the downfall of McKinley, imperialism and the Republican Party."

Plummer also noted that at the same time there were some who were ready to take part in armed anti-imperialist struggle. During the war with Spain, he reported there were those who wish to go fight on the other side, and that for some "were it possible to render the fighting Filipinos armed assistance, it would be done."

In an August 11, 1900, letter to the pro-Republican Black newspaper the *Indianapolis Freeman*, George E. Taylor, president of the Negro National Democratic League, sought to explain why many Black people were deserting the Republican Party and supporting William Jennings Bryant over McKinley for President: "(W)e believe that imperialism leads to despotism, and we consider that the present administration has strong imperialist tendencies; we also believe in the rights of all men to govern themselves, hence we oppose the policy of the administration toward the Philippines; we are firm believers in the Monroe Doctrine, and since the present administration has practically annulled this doctrine we oppose the action; we are opposed to the propagation of private trusts and combines, and consider that the administration is in full sympathy with such; we in no wise feel benefited by the Dingley Tariff, hence we oppose it; we are unalterably opposed to the present 'gold standard' policy, believing that it tends to contract the currency of the country, thus hampering our chances for sustenance . . ."

An anti-imperialist conference was held in Chicago in the fall of 1899. Delegates from 30 states attended. They were called together by the Anti-Imperialist League. League members viewed with alarm the growing power of the monopolies and opposed imperialist expansion. They counted among their members a number of prominent Black intellectuals and professionals, including Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. The main action of the convention was to join the Populist People's Party in endorsing the candidacy of Bryan, the Democratic Party's

standard bearer, because of his opposition to imperialist expansion.

The Freeman, however, noted editorially that while the convention had "in mild form" spoken out against the reign of physical and legislative terror aimed at disenfranchising Blacks, the Democratic Party had said not one word on the subject. The editorial defended the "great Republican Party," the party of McKinley, who the Colored People of Massachusetts had denounced for his silence on the assault on democracy in the South.

It was McKinley who told the people of Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines that when the fighting stopped, "there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all."

The Black liberation movement found itself between a rock and a political hard place. The struggle of Afro-Americans for democratic rights and economic and social advance had been engendered by the rise of monopoly capitalism. As William Z. Foster, the late Communist Party leader, noted, "The triumphant northern capitalists were entirely unsympathetic to the Negro's clear sighted demands for 'forty acres and a mule' and 'for full citizenship rights.'" These same "northern capitalists" who were tightening their grip on the South were the ones extending their tentacles abroad. A lot of Black people saw it, but the "anti-imperialists" only dimly and the Democrats not at all.

In 1916, Lenin noted that "as a consequence of the fact that the political features of imperialism are reaction all along the line, and increased national oppression, resulting from the oppression of the financial oligarchy and the elimination of free competition, a petty-bourgeois democratic opposition has been rising against imperialism in almost all imperialist countries since the beginning of the 20th century.

"In the United States, the imperialist war waged against Spain in 1898 stirred up the opposition of the 'anti-imperialists,' the last of the Mohicans of bourgeois democracy."

Lenin observed: "They declared this war to be 'criminal'; they denounced the annexation of foreign territories as being a violation of the Constitution, and denounced the 'Jingo treachery' by means of which Aguinaldo, leader of the native Filipinos, was deceived (the Americans promised him the independence of his country, but later they landed troops and annexed it) . . .

"But while all the criticism shrank from recognizing the indissoluble bond between imperialism and the very foundations of capitalism; while it shrank from joining up

with the forces engendered by large scale capitalism and its development — it remained a 'pious wish.'"

The only way to mount a successful struggle against imperialism is to take on monopoly capitalism. The only force that could mount such an attack would be the combined weight of all those political, economic and social "forces engendered by large scale capitalism and its development." Key is the industrial working class, with its main ally, the Black liberation movement. Without these forces any anti-imperialist effort will remain a pious wish. "The winning of the war and the abolition of slavery gave a powerful impetus to capitalism, and it likewise spurred on organized labor," Foster wrote. "The National Labor Union was formed in August 1866, and trade unionism spread rapidly throughout the North."

However, at the turn of the century, the industrial proletariat was still in its infancy and unorganized. The unions that were organized, mostly along craft lines, excluded Black workers. As unionism spread throughout the country and Europe, there emerged two tendencies within the labor movement, one of accommodation or acquiescence to imperialism, and one of opposition. It was the former that prompted Lenin to write *Imperialism* wherein he observed in 1916, "The distinctive feature of the present situation is the prevalence of economic and political conditions which could not but increase the irreconcilability between opportunism and the vital interests of the working class movement."

It wasn't until three years later that the Communist Party of the United States was founded. It launched an attack against racial discrimination in the labor movement. A theoretically equipped anti-imperialist current was introduced.

Today, the necessary prerequisite for the forging of the historically required people's anti-monopoly coalition is a firm alliance between two of the principaled forces engendered by monopoly capitalism. CPUSA Chairman Henry Winston has spoken of the necessity of "an alliance between the multi-racial working class, the Black Liberation Movement and all the oppressed as central to the anti-monopoly struggle."

Our purpose here has been to trace some of the roots of anti-imperialist sentiment in the Black community in the U.S. The awareness of the nature of imperialism sprang from two sources.

First, there were nationalist feelings and a common bond with those oppressed by U.S. imperialism who were, after all, also colored.

Second, there was the awareness that flows from being directly affected by the rise of monopoly capital and the growth of imperialism.

Communist Party Chairman Henry Winston has argued against seeing the Black liberation struggle as "a self-contained entity in opposition to the labor movement" and called for "a welcoming of Black leadership in the struggle, based upon a scientific outlook which sees the necessity of solidarity within the labor movement and a firm alliance between labor and Afro-Americans which can strengthen the fight against the corporations."

"The Afro-American community is objectively anti-monopoly," Winston observes.

For reasons of history and current actual relationship to monopoly capitalism, the Black community finds itself also up against its "economic quintessence": imperialism. It is a force acting directly against the interest of Black people as a whole precisely because, as Lenin wrote, "Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom."

For the first four decades of this century, U.S. imperialism's direct expansion was generally limited to the North American continent and areas of the Pacific Basin, while it held sway over markets and sources of raw materials of nominally "independent" countries of Central and South America. The U.S. employed armed force in the Western Hemisphere numerous times to squash movements for national liberation and economic independence and maintained a string of "banana republics beholden to the U.S. Administration." With World War II, the U.S. expanded its role.

Just as the Civil War had been a powerful impetus to capitalism, the war against the Axis powers propelled U.S. imperialism onto the world scene in a new and dramatic way. Having come through the war with its production machinery intact, while the nations of Europe, Japan and China had been devastated by the fighting, U.S. imperialism moved quickly to become the dominant force in the imperialist world.

At the end of the war, U.S. imperialism began promoting the idea of "the American Century." U.S. military force was spread out all over the world. U.S. imperialism became the main threat to the socialist countries, which had been greatly damaged by the war fought on their soil and to the rising national liberation, anti-imperialist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which, like U.S. imperialism, had been given impetus

by the war.

Penetration of the former colonial world has taken many forms over the past 40 years, but one instrument has remained constant. Hardly a year has gone by since 1945 that has not seen U.S. military force employed at some point of the planet, suppressing a rebellion or installing a client government.

The new situation brought a new challenge to the Black community and the Black liberation movement. During WWII, Black soldiers had given their lives in the struggle against fascism and at home the Black community gave its wholehearted support to the war effort. When the fighting ended, Black veterans returned to segregated housing and public facilities, discrimination in the workplace and, in large parts of the country, to disenfranchisement. Black children continued attending segregated, inferior schools, and Black women continued to be exploited on the job in triple fashion, as workers, as Blacks and as women. The Black liberation movement took up in earnest the struggle against the centuries-old wrongs. But it also faced a new crisis. A decision had to be made: would Black people ally themselves with the worldwide movement for peace and national liberation or link up with those seeking to crush those movements at home and abroad under the banner of anti-Communism?

Paul Robeson sensed the urgency of these questions and proclaimed defiantly and proudly that in his opinion Black people would not line up against the millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America on the march against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Nor would they support aggression against the socialist world.

Nowhere was the dilemma facing the Black community clearer and more urgent than in the case of Africa. Largely through the Pan-African movement, prominent Black people, even before the end of the war, supported the effort to end colonialism on the African continent. The colonial governments these Black nations were arrayed against were the very same ones the U.S. was enlisting in its Cold War crusade against socialism, arming to the teeth through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Powerful allies of the anti-colonial struggles in the colonial nations, the left and trade unions were being victimized by the Marshal Plan and sabotage plotted in Washington.

In 1946 Robeson called attention to "a new and heightened interest in Africa on the part of American Big Business." In Africa "as in every other part of the world," he noted a race had commenced "between the



"Gentlemen, if anyone tells you we're ridin' too low in the water, just tell them that's a communist lie"

forces of progress and democracy on the one side and the forces of imperialism and reaction on the other.

"And Africa, with its immense undeveloped and unmeasured wealth of resources, is a major prize which the imperialists convert and which we, the anti-imperialists, must defend."

Today Southern Africa has not been fully liberated and the single most important reason for that is the support the racist government in South Africa has received from U.S. imperialism and the refusal of successive administrations in Washington to join in the near unanimous demand of the world for the liberation of Namibia and the end of fascist minority rule in South Africa.

However, intervention in Asia, Africa and Latin America against the forces of liberation has not been the only way U.S. imperialism has shown its reactionary face to the world. With the explosion of the first atomic weapon on the colored peoples in the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a costly and destructive arms race was forced upon the world. President Truman and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill together launched the Cold War in 1948, taking up the banner Hitler had carried in the crusade against the Soviet Union and socialism. These actions raised the very real threat before the world of a thermonuclear holocaust, a threat that has remained to take on its most ominous coloration under the reactionary Reagan Administration.

Speaking at a peace conference in Paris in 1949, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois said, "Leading this new colonial imperialism comes my own native land, built by my father's toil and blood, the United States. The United States is a great nation: rich by the grace of God and prosperous by the hard work of its humblest citizens . . . Drunk with power we are leading the world to hell in a new colonialism with the same old human slavery which once ruined us; and to a Third World War which will ruin the world."

In the years that followed, Black leaders and activists played a major role in the national movement against the nuclear arms race, for peaceful coexistence and against imperialist military intervention against the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With the coming of the Cold War and McCarthyite hysteria which swept the country in the 1950s, a concerted effort was made by government security and propaganda operatives to turn Black people away from the peace and liberation movements. On one hand, leaders of a number of major Black organizations were lured into open support for the emerging bipartisan Cold War

consensus. In some instances this involved actual collaboration with imperialist aggression and subversion through various fronts established by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. In others it involved participation in government-sponsored efforts to purge the left and Communists from Black organizations.

However, these efforts, while meeting with some success, failed to deter Black participation and leadership in the peace movement. As a result Black peace activists and those organizing community support for the liberation movements in Africa were especially victimized during the McCarthy period. Some Black leaders, having themselves become ostentatiously active in the "struggle against Communism," shamelessly watched as Black peace activists were carted off to jail.

In his recently published U.S. Peace Council pamphlet on Afro-Americans in the peace movement, *Daily World* staff writer Geoffrey Jacques described the arrest of Roosevelt Ward, a leader of the Labor Youth League during the Korean War, on charges of draft evasion. "The arrest of this Afro-American leader was seen by many as an attempt to intimidate the peace movement as a whole and the Afro-American leadership within that movement in particular," he wrote.

Jacques noted that those persecuted during this period included Communist leaders Benjamin Davis and Henry Winston. Their arrests and those of other Black peace activists, he notes, "may have dampened but did not stop, the struggle against the bomb or the Afro-American contribution to the leadership of that struggle.

The class character of the civil rights movement born with the coming of the 1960s is important here. At its convention in 1959, the Communist Party USA passed a Resolution on the Negro Question which observed that the attitude taken by Black workers and the poor "will determine the basic orientation and ultimate character of the Negro people's movement for equal rights and national liberation.

"It will propel that movement in the direction of conscious anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist struggle in combination with and under the leadership of the working class."

The rest is history. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. stubbornly fended off the concerted effort to silence him on the question of peace. He and a new generation of Black leaders and activists who emerged from the South as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

James Jackson, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPUSA, wrote in Political Affairs, the Party's theoretical journal: "They have pointed out that for American Blacks to adopt a position of support to U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war would be to isolate themselves from the overwhelming majority of mankind. This represents not only a meaningful contribution of Black Americans to the growing power of the world peace front to force the U.S. government to quit Vietnam, but also represents a new depth of comprehension of the true nature of the social and class forces within the country and the world arena on the part of an important sector of the Black freedom movement . . ."

Eighteen years have passed since those words were written. Dr. King's voice was silenced by an assassin's bullet, but the legacy he left remains and influences much of the direction of the Black liberation struggle.

Over the past decades support for the peace movement and against military intervention has grown among Black people. The invasion of tiny Grenada was met with almost unanimous condemnation in the Black communities and support for the embattled people of Nicaragua and revolutionary Cuba has continued to build. Mass awareness of the issues involved in Southern Africa and support for the liberation forces there is reflected in such developments as TransAfrica, a Black-led lobbying operation in Washington, D.C., the founding of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity With African Liberation (NAIMSAL) and the holding of the historic Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation

Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa in New York City in 1981.

In 1984, the question of imperialist intervention especially as regards Central America and U.S. policy toward the apartheid government in South Africa has emerged as issues in the presidential election. Much of the impetus for this has come from presidential candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson who repeatedly posed the same question put by the Colored Citizens of Massachusetts: how can the nation go on fighting wars of foreign intervention under the guise of fighting for "freedom" and the well-being of others while at the same time demonstrating an inability to guarantee democracy, equal rights and the most minimal social welfare here at home? In the present period this question has taken on two added dimensions: 1) military spending is accelerating the current chronic domestic economic crisis; 2) the aggressive military posture of imperialism and the continuing arms race has brought the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe posing a serious threat to the continuation of life on this planet.

Today that "important sector" of the movement that Dr. James Jackson noted has enlarged dramatically. The anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly trend has become a mass one and is on the way to becoming the dominant one in the struggle. Masses are coming to understand what Charles Baylor saw so clearly in 1890 when imperialism was embryonic, that "the American Negro cannot become an ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race."

EDITORIAL

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them into action.

The women's movement has drawn strength from and added strength to the tremendous mobilization spurred by the Rainbow Coalition and by the labor movement.

The youth, who suffer from more unemployment and the threat of being cannon fodder in an imperialist war, have been inspired to participate in political activity through the unity of these two movements.

The senior citizens of our nation have themselves been an inspiration for struggle, while drawing strength by its alliance with the labor and Afro-American people's movements.

The aim of those who think they can beat Reagan while denying the right of the Afro-American electorate

to help define policy in this election is, in fact, to split apart this growing coalition which, today, stands ranged against Reagan, but which tomorrow can be ranged in favor of far more progressive change in our nation.

Together these movements make up the majority of the people of our multi-national, multi-racial nation, and, with the working class — the nation's basic force for democracy and progress taking a leading role, the defeat of Reagan is definitely in the cards.

But we can't rest on our laurels. Reagan can be defeated, but in order for this to happen, it is necessary for the people to be inspired to defeat him. People won't be inspired by politics as usual. The movement, the mobilization which has taken place so far can't let up now. Not even for a minute.

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