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EDITORIAL

Labor before capital

Labor is faced by a major job killer — plant closings and runaway plants.

The employers claim that the private enterprise system gives them the right to do as they wish with their private property — factories and capital.

Labor says that is the trouble with the private enterprise system; it lets big business get away with murder, in fact. Plant closing mean abandoned lives and empty dreams, as the United Auto Workers charge.

But what about the right to a job? The right to live? That is a basic right that should be guaranteed, but isn't.

Abraham Lincoln, who played an important role in the fight against slavery, said: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and man deserves much the higher consideration."

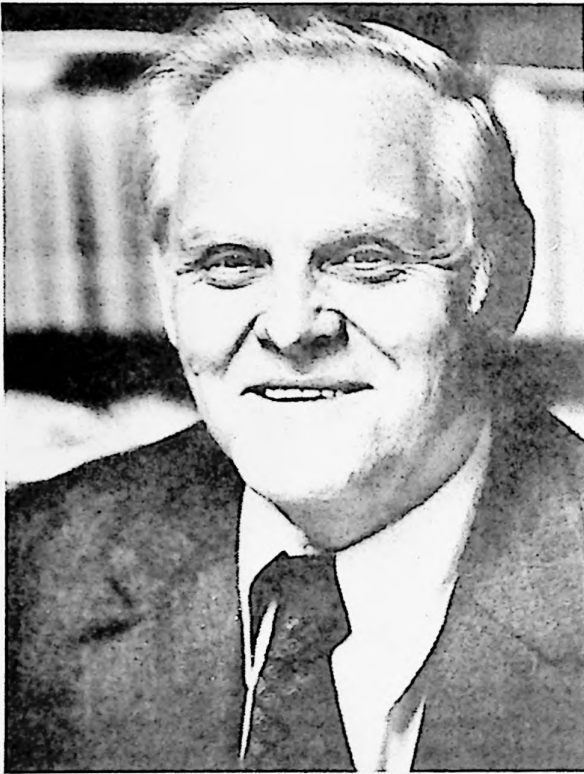
Translated into the modern idiom, that means: Put people ahead of profits! Make the corporation shoulder its responsibility to the worker, the community and the nation!

It can be done by labor developing a stronger voice in government at every level, instead of letting big business do the governing through its people in local, state and federal government.

There is nothing sacred about private property. Congress did away with private property in slaves by the 13th and 14th amendments. It is time to guarantee workers their right to a livelihood.

(cont. on p. 26)

Put People Before Profits! Stop The Monopoly Ripoffs!



Independent political thinking and action grew throughout the 70s. The 1980 candidacies of Gus Hall for president and Angela Davis for vice-president on the Communist Party ticket, will take this movement to even greater heights.

Si Gerson, their campaign manager, said:

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“Big employers have been abruptly shutting down their plants as ‘unprofitable’ or moving operations to low-wage areas in the South or Taiwan or South Korea,” Gerson said. “They have ruthlessly left workers jobless, unable to maintain their families and stuck with mortgages on their homes.

“In their greed for maximum profits, the bosses shout that under the ‘private enterprise’ system, they have an absolute right to shut down their plants — and to hell with the needs of the workers and the community which depended on the jobs, business and taxes paid by the plant.”

From Report of

GUS HALL, General Secretary To 22nd National Convention C.P.U.S.A., Cobo Hall, Detroit, Michigan

AFRO-AMERICAN LIBERATION

The "Draft Resolution on the Afro-American Struggle issued by the Central Committee was prepared as a basic policy statement which goes into the longer-range trends and assessments. For the purposes of this Convention this document should be considered part of the Main Political Report.

There are Supreme Court decisions, executive orders and periodic reports and studies by presidential commissions. Presidents, their wives and Vice Presidents appear at conventions of Afro-American organizations to make speeches about some vague, abstract progress and advances and make even vaguer promises concerning the future struggle against racism. In spite of all the talk that "there is no special system of racism," and while there is some progress, the fact is that the basic system, the basic patterns, of racial and national oppression remain intact and in full force.

While there is some decline in racist attitudes among the people in general, there is no basic change in the racist attitudes of corporations. While there is a growing working class, Black and white unity, there is also an increase in racist activity by ultra-right and fascist groups. The K.K.K. has been emboldened to march. While more Afro-Americans are elected to public office, there is also a well-organized attack against those already holding office.

There are changes and shifts, but the basic patterns of racial and national oppression have not been broken. The proof is in the economic arena.

Because racism is an instrument of capitalist exploitation for superprofits, both its use and the struggle against it are effected by the motive forces, the overall developments, trends and perspective.

While it is a serious problem for most people and for all workers, for Afro-Americans the impact and the effects of the present economic crisis start from the racist levels existing before the crisis. For unemployed Black youth, the crisis starts from the pre-crisis, 60%

jobless levels, passed on from one generation to the next.

Inflation cuts into the living standards of all workers. But for Afro-Americans it cuts into an existing economic gap which continues to widen.

Black family incomes have declined in relation to white family incomes, from 62% in the early 70's to 57% today. The Black unemployment rate, including those who have given up looking for work and those who hold part-time jobs because they cannot find full-time employment, is 23.1%, or roughly one out of every four workers. Twenty-eight percent of Black families are poor, compared to seven percent of white families. The proportion of Black families in middle or upper income brackets actually declined from 37% to 39% in the years 1972-1978.

One dollar per gallon for heating oil is a crisis for most working class families. But for Black families in Harlem, Chicago, Detroit and other cities it comes on the top of a situation where tens of thousands have gone without heat in below zero weather in past winters.

Afro-Americans need no proof. They live with the proof every day. We have to keep updating the proof because the new deception is that racism is "something in the past," "the Blacks have made it," "the problem is now reverse discrimination."

The peddlers of the "reverse discrimination" line do not expect people to buy the full line—and most don't. These peddlers expect their line to disarm and demobilize the people. On this they are right.

For the peddlers of racism this is only a first step. Their longer-range goals are to reverse the historic trend—to undo the victories that have been won against racism.

Racism adds a special weight and a brutality to the national oppression of Afro-Americans. It is an ideological drug. Those addicted to it need outside help. For workers, the understanding that the drug pushers are supplied by and come from the corporate suites is a most important starting point.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action has emerged on center stage in the struggle against racism. It raises the struggle from talk to concrete action.

The Supreme Court decision in the Weber case is a significant victory for affirmative action and a tribute to the broad coalition of trade unions, Black and Hispanic organizations and other progressive groups which fought in unity to secure a reversal of the lower court decision. The response of the trade union movement—spurred on by the rank and file and organizations like T.U.A.D. and C.B.T.U. has been historic. The Steel Workers Union called a conference on Weber—expecting 600 elected delegates—over 900 showed up.

Weber marks a setback for the racist opponents of affirmative action. Under the false slogan of “reverse discrimination” they had hoped to consolidate the success they won in the Bakke case.

The effect of the Weber decision is to validate the consent decrees and collective agreements for affirmative action in steel, as well as similar agreements in other industries.

However, the victory in Weber is no cause for complacency. The decision is narrow in scope. It applies only to voluntary affirmative action programs—that is, to a plan on which both the employer and the union agree, and then only if a court finds the plan to be a “reasonable” one. It does not deal with the power of the courts to order such a program as a remedy for discrimination, no matter how rampant. It has no application to situations such as in the construction industry, where both employers and unions are adamantly opposed to affirmative action.

It was to limit the decision in this way that the AFL-CIO leadership joined the anti-Weber coalition and argued in its brief that courts are powerless under Title VII to impose an affirmative action program on an unwilling employer or union. Thus, preservation of the gain that was won in Weber—let alone further advances—must still be fought for.

There will doubtless be efforts in Congress to overturn the decision by amending Title VII. These must be countered by an amendment to Title VI overturning Bakke. It will take the greatest possible unity in struggle of all anti-racist forces, particularly in the ranks of labor, to win the upcoming fight.

The Supreme Court decision in the Weber case can be used to raise the struggle for affirmative action with teeth (quotas) to a new level.

Quarter-Century After “Brown”

Concerning school desegregation, this year marks the 25th anniversary of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, holding that segregated education in the public schools violates the 14th Amendment’s guarantee of equal protection under the law. The decision was historic in the sense that it took the Court more than a century to arrive at this conclusion, and 60 years to abandon the vicious fiction of “separate but equal” which it had invented as the legal coverup for racism. The anniversary of the Court’s belated discovery of the meaning of “equal protection under the law” is hardly cause for celebration.

A quarter-century after *Brown*, segregated education remains the rule. The situation in Columbus, Ohio, site of one of the most recent school decisions, is typical.

In 1954, when *Brown* was decided, all Columbus schools were openly and intentionally segregated. Twenty-two years later, half of its 172 schools remained 90% Black or 90% white. The Court, however, did not order immediate, or even prompt correction of the Constitutional violation it found in *Brown*, but ruled that desegregation should be accomplished “with all deliberate speed.” Predictably, the entire accent has been on “deliberation.”

Moreover, the Berger Court has backed off from its predecessor’s commitment—if only in theory—to the principle of desegregation. It reversed the lower court order in the Detroit school case on the ground that an entire metropolitan area cannot be treated as a unit since, according to the Court, the inhabitants of the white suburbs bear no responsibility for inner-city segregation and hence should not be burdened with Black children in their schools.

These and other rulings jeopardized a number of desegregation orders issued by the lower courts after years of litigation and inspired grave fears for the future of court-ordered desegregation. These fears have been somewhat allayed by Supreme Court decisions in June, upholding the desegregation orders for Columbus and Dayton and relaxing somewhat its requirements for proof of a discriminatory purpose.

However, desegregation remains subject to the whims of a Supreme Court which has the power to delay, dilute or halt it by inventing and manipulating complex legal formulas not so blatantly racist as—but not much less deadly—than “separate but equal.”

Desegregation faces an even graver threat from Congressional initiatives in the form of legislation or a Constitutional amendment prohibiting busing.

The fight for equality and quality in education remains, as it did before *Brown*, a major battleground in the war to eradicate racism and rid our country of its poison.

It should be clear that the struggle against racism has emerged even more as a key element in every area of struggle. It is a key factor in the class struggle, a key issue in the struggle for working class unity, a central issue in the struggle for democracy, for detente, for SALT II and in the struggle for socialism. It is a struggle that can be won—but it is a struggle.

THE WORKING CLASS

As Marxists we know that the class struggle is the primary essence of capitalism. It is the pivot around which everything else evolves. And because it is the primary essence of capitalism it is also the point of reference for our Party.

Because the working class is the pivotal force in the struggle for reforms, for social progress and in the struggle for socialism, our Party places its main emphasis and focus on the working class.

We have to keep restating this most basic of all basic concepts. Because while this is generally accepted in our Party, it is not always the guide to our practice. It is accepted in our resolutions and speeches, but not always as a guide in our day to day activities. Most of us *talk* along class lines. But not all of us always *think* along class lines. The class struggle and the working class are accepted as a guide for teaching a class, but not always as a guide for our priorities, our emphasis and for the allocation of our time or for our resources.

No one in our Party is anti-working class. But anti-working class misconceptions and petty bourgeois prejudices do diminish the sense of class partisanship.

Since our last convention, many changes have taken place in the critical arena of the class struggle.

The class confrontation has greatly sharpened. The polarization of the economic gap between the two great classes keeps getting wider. The rich are getting relatively and absolutely richer, and the workers are getting relatively and absolutely poorer.

It is estimated that last year a worker in manufacturing produced \$32,000 in goods, and in return received \$13,000, out of which \$4,000 was deducted for taxes. In the first four months of this year workers lost 3½% in real wages.

An interesting reversal of roles has taken place. In attempting to explain why there is an increase in foreign investment capital coming into the United States, *Business Week* said:

“By the standards of today, the United States offers *cheap labor* and the all-too-rare plus of political stability.”

This was said, of course, before Jimmy Carter ran for the hills, came down and proceeded to fire everyone in and around the White House who did not come from Georgia. I am sure *Business Week* would not now boast of the “rare plus of political stability.”

Besides the decline in real wages, job insecurity has emerged as a most serious problem for all workers. Layoffs resulting from automation, from instant plant closings, have become a nightmare for most workers. To these problems must be added the spreading plague of health and safety hazards. Working in industry in general has become a hazardous occupation.

Monopoly's Offensive

Some months ago Brother Douglas Fraser, President of the UAW, said:

“I believe leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a onesided class war in this country.”

The only thing we would change in that statement is that the business community has chosen to wage class war, *with no exceptions*. And, that if it continues to be a “onesided war” for any length of time workers will go down to defeat. However, the recognition that it is a “class war” is a good starting point from which to make it into a two-sided class war. When the monopolies have “chosen to wage class war” policies of class collaboration are white flags of surrender.

In pursuing the class war, the monopolies are continuing their multi-faceted offensive with the aim of destroying existing unions and of frustrating and blocking union organizing drives.

The right-wing corporate slogan for “a union-free environment” is more than a slogan. It is a loadstar that guides the monopolies in their determination to deny workers their basic right of voluntary association in unions of their choice. We have not seen such open, brutal strikebreaking activities since the 1930's as we are experiencing today.

In most cases the government on all levels takes an open, anti-union, strikebreaking position. Anti-strike court injunctions have become almost automatic.

The corporations have become emboldened and encouraged because in a number of areas they have been able to break strikes and destroy the unions. An example is the success of J.P. Stevens, with the aid of the courts, in thwarting the efforts of the textile workers to organize for a whole generation. Another setback is the efforts of the United Steelworkers of America to or-

ganize Tenneco Corporation at Newport News, Virginia. The Newport struggle is not just another setback. It puts the spotlight on the failure of the trade union movement to mobilize all its resources to insure victory in a battle on labor's most important front.

George Meany's boast that "I have never walked on a picketline," has become the official policy of the AFL-CIO executive board.

Solidarity does not mean sitting it out while thousands of workers are engaged in a titanic struggle with an intransigent trans-national conglomerate.

The sorry truth is that we have a divided militant rank and file, but with a leaderless Trade Union movement, up against the highly organized cold-blooded, inhuman, relentless ruling class in the world. The fact is no one speaks for the Trade Union movement. And neither George Meany nor Lane Kirkland speak for the whole Executive Council.

The COLA Formula

The fact is that the unions are now losing 52% of all elections held under the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) regulations. And while the mass media makes a lot of noise about how the new labor-management contracts are a repudiation of Carter's 7% wage guidelines, the unfortunate truth is that with minor variations these contracts have not strayed very far from the old COLA formula. They are well within—or at very best only slightly nudge—the outer perimeters of the wage control guidelines. They may soften the blow, but without exception they fail to halt the precipitous decline in the take-home pay of the workers.

The monopolies, on the other hand, use the hyped-up press reports to justify another round of price hikes. When he was head of the Steel Workers Union, Phillip Murray said: "So what if steel prices rise—steelworkers don't eat steel." Because of that shortsighted and class collaborationist line some steelworkers don't eat much of anything, because as the steel corporations raised their prices and priced themselves out of both domestic and foreign markets.

The gist of the COLA formula is an annual productivity wage increase, plus periodic adjustments for inflation. In practice, COLA cannot redeem what it seems to promise—income stability. The purpose of the COLA formula is to remove wages as the central issue in collective bargaining and to substitute other issues such as pensions and supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) that would have been better handled through legislation for all the workers.

We are not at this time opening a full discussion on

the pros and cons of the COLA formula as implemented in various contracts. We are expressing a growing concern over their long-range impact on workers' take-home pay, which has been on a downward slide since 1965. In fact, the real wages of workers are the same in 1979 as they were 15 years ago.

We suggest the following for consideration and discussion: The COLA formula does not offset the full effects of inflation and taxes. In fact, it insures the relative impoverishment of workers. As these quantitative, relative declines accumulate they result in a qualitative change to absolute impoverishment.

The new problems creating a new crisis for workers are the simultaneous occurrence of high unemployment and inflation. And inflation cuts the living standards of every worker.

For some time economists and spokesmen for monopoly capital have given up even talking about cures for both. They now talk about a trade-off and that the workers must accept one or the other.

Harry Bosworth, Carter's Director of Wage and Price Stability, says it clearly:

"Inflation can be brought to a halt if economic policies turned extremely restrictive. For every percentage point shaved from the inflation rate through such policies an additional one million people would have to be tossed out of work for two years."

What is new is that the trade-off options are becoming less available. It is not possible to have guns and butter. More guns means less butter. Without some powerful, effective anti-monopoly measures it is not possible to have low unemployment and low inflation.

The only trade-off that is realistic is to trade off some of the corporate profits for higher wages or the Transfer Amendment; trading off money from the military budget to job-creating meaningful projects.

One of the most serious problems facing the trade union movement is the fact that only a minority of the workers are members of trade unions. And the percentage is declining. The trade union movement can not continue to have clout if it is a diminishing minority of the labor force.

When asked if he would prefer to have a large percentage of the work force unionized, George Meany responded: "Not necessarily. We have done quite well without it." George Meany has reached the point where it seems he wants to take the trade union movement into the cemetery with him.

The impending retirement of George Meany ought to be turned into a rousing celebration, a paid, national holiday of "thanksgiving."

But it should also be much more. Along with Meany, the trade union movement should retire the whole policy and practice of class collaboration, sever relations with the CIA, stop pimping for corporate executives and start fighting for workers' interests, stop begging at the doors of Democrat and Republican politicians and set up a fighting, independent, electoral structure. The trade union movement should stop looking for allies among the wealthy and start building a fighting people's front of labor, of the racially and nationally oppressed peoples, the poor on the land, the women, senior citizens and youth.

The impending retirement of Meany opens up a historic opportunity to raise in a new way the question of a united trade union movement, a trade union movement that takes a definite position in the class struggle, that breaks up the demeaning, defeating class partnership. It is an opportune time for the left and center forces to unite and put the U.S. trade union movement back on the working class track.

It is one thing for the organized sector to be a minority in a period of union growth and increasing popular acceptance. It is quite another to be a diminishing minority when unions are losing ground, both relatively and absolutely.

As the unions lose ground, even relatively, their strength is sapped at the bargaining table and in the legislative chambers. The challenge of organizing the great majority who are unorganized is a critical question for both organized as well as unorganized workers. It is a critical question for all the forces of progress.

With all its shortcomings, the Supreme Court victory in the Weber case can become an important instrument in the struggle against racism, especially in the industries. It provides a legal basis, a legal argument, for all kinds of affirmative action agreements. However, as is the case with any tool, if it remains on paper or in the tool chest it is of little practical value. Utilizing the Weber case victory within the context of future struggles for affirmative action programs in industry can become a basis for a qualitative leap in the struggle against racism. It can help remove a formidable obstacle. It can make a qualitative difference in the unification of the working class and trade union movement. There should be no labor contract negotiated, no grievance setup in trade union locals that does not include a concrete affirmative action agreement. This should become standard trade union procedure.

The Left-Center Force

Since our last convention many changes have taken

place on all levels of the trade union movement.

There is movement even in the ranks of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Many have become dissidents from class collaboration. Many have moved to a more militant center position. Only the old reactionary pigheaded die-hard core of the Meany-Kirkland gang remain stuck in the corporate pig sty, maintain their good standing in the Trilateral Commission, with the nuclear maniacs in the Committee on the Present Danger, and advocates of the policy of confrontation within the Atlantic Council. However, they are more and more isolated. They speak for less and less of the trade union movement.

However, the problem is they continue to speak in the name of the AFL-CIO. Reflecting the change in the ranks of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and the mood of the grass roots, increasingly there are new voices in the leadership of many of the national trade unions. This adds a new layer in the shift towards the center. This is a most important development. Its significance is even greater because it is taking place simultaneously with the process of radicalization that continues in the grass roots.

On a different level and related to a different set of problems the same two kinds of processes in the 1930's made a qualitative change in the class struggle. In this period the shift towards the center and the process of radicalization can bring about even greater changes.

Our present trade union policy has a history of some 12 years, and was basically outlined in the pamphlet, "Labor-Key Force." It has gone through a process of clarification, development and some adjustments to reflect the changing scene.

Let me quote from an early document:

"In our trade union work our aim is to replace the policies of class collaboration with policies of class struggle.

"The central point of our emphasis and therefore our fundamental point of departure is to help build rank and file formations in every department, shop, industry, local union and central labor body."

When we formulated this policy it was not an abstraction or just a good idea. Its aim was to give direction to mass trends that were already in motion. Life has proven the correctness of this.

In today's world, to reflect today's realities the policy means building coalitions of the left and center forces within the labor movement, coalitions that are capable of moving the whole labor movement away from the right wing policies of class collaboration.

Further, it means the need to develop the tactics and organizational forms that can capture the mood of the times, the power that is inherent in the spontaneous mass reactions to the corporate offensive.

Lenin described such spontaneous mass currents as the "embryonic level of class consciousness," that updates our policy.

Again, it is not a good idea per se, or an abstraction. It is consistent with the new level of mass currents. It is a policy that reflects the fact that the "embryonic" consciousness has developed further—to a higher level.

The question is: are the currents strong enough. Is the potential powerful enough—capable of moving the whole labor movement away from policies of class collaboration. We believe this is in the cards.

For some time, during the McCarthy period of repression, the center forces were either non-existent or cowed into silence. In either case, they were not a force with much influence or power. They were dominated by the right wing.

In the last years, the center forces have re-emerged as a power, initially on the grass roots level, and subsequently on leadership levels. It is to the credit of our Party that we foresaw this development when it was but a ripple on the scene.

Generally, what we call the center is a force that is breaking with and moving away from the worst features of class collaboration. In life, nothing moves in a vacuum. This is true of the movement of the center forces. Therefore, it is clear that while they are stimulated by objective factors, while they are reacting to issues, how fast they will move, on what issues they will move and what forms the movement will take depends largely on their relationship with left forces. This is the basis for the concept and the need to work for unity of the left-and-center forces.

In working for left-and-center unity we are again working with and giving direction to trends that are already in motion. We are not inventing these trends.

It is also obvious that left-and-center unity cannot be established on the basis of a left program. If the center forces were ready for such a program they would be left forces. Therefore, it follows that left-and-center unity can be established only upon the most advanced position that the center forces are ready to take.

In other words, this process of unification must start on the level of the most advanced position of the center forces. The left forces cannot say: "Come, we welcome you." Instead, the attitude must be: "Let us reason together. Let's see what we can agree on."

This process can be started on such issues as the Transfer Amendment, ratification of SALT II, working for a shorter work week through such forms as the All Unions Committee for a Shorter Work Week. It can be established on the basis of shop issues, hours, wages, speedup and trade union democracy.

Those who reject the left-and-center concept, or keep saying they are "confused" are doing so because they do not believe there is a process of radicalization taking place in the ranks of workers. Or they do not accept that the center forces are in the initial stages of that process.

Not to accept or understand the significance of this radicalization of the working class is to miss or reject the main element—the cardinal essence of today's reality.

There are some areas where the center forces are weak, and some areas where they do not yet take a center position. These weaknesses should not be ignored. But they should not be made into roadblocks to left and center unity.

In the field of independent political action many of the center forces remain advocates of the theory of lesser evil. This holds them back within the orbit of the Democratic Party.

Many of those who have broken with the policies of George Meany do not yet follow a consistent class struggle policy. They have not yet accepted the idea that if you follow class struggle policies you have to involve the rank and file.

Many of them still follow the opportunistic class collaborationist policies of not taking on the fight against racism. Although many did take a good stand on the Weber case.

These weaknesses do *not* argue for less work in the trade union field. On the contrary, they argue for *more* support for left-and-center and left unity. They argue for *more* support to building rank and file groups. This means more support for such organizations as TUAD and other industry-wide rank and file formations.

The Lesson of the Weber Case

As long as we have capitalism the struggle against discrimination based on racism will never be totally won. It is a continuous, on-going struggle. How this is dealt with by the center, by the left-and-center, and by left formations is a most important question.

There are cases where the struggle against racism has been opportunistically compromised in the "interest of left-and-center unity." I think it is undeniable that a rank and file formation that does not take a position on the struggle against racism is going

nowhere. An organization that does not take a position on the issues that divide it is going to remain divided.

There is a lesson in the unprecedented trade union support in the Weber case. More than usual, the issue was linked to the class self-interests of all workers.

There is racism. But there are also some wrong assumptions that either become the excuse or a coverup for not fighting racism. It is the assumption that racism is so deeply ingrained among white workers, so powerful a prejudice, that it is impossible to change them, or to in any way involve them in the struggle against racism.

The experiences of struggles do not sustain such assumptions. Such assumptions also assume that because of racism the white workers will not respond to appeals for class unity, for class self-interests and will not develop a class consciousness.

We have to do more in mastering the art of fighting racism in concrete situations where the self-interests of the class and the struggle against racism are complementary and inter-related.

It is necessary to reject racism and racist expressions. But that is not enough. What is called for is leadership that can win over white workers—clear up their confusion and replace the racist prejudices with class consciousness and concepts of class unity.

In most departments or shops there are always one or two who are loudmouth racists, or racist provocateurs. They take advantage of the fact that white workers are either silent or laugh at the racist jokes. How to take such a situation and turn it around is the challenge for all Communists and other progressive trade unionists.

The key concept here is that the racism and the loudmouths are instruments of the boss who work against the interests of all workers. But you will be able to take on the loudmouths only if you are convinced, first, that the silence does not necessarily mean support to a racist and, secondly, if you are convinced that the class self-interests, that class consciousness, is a more viable current. If one is able to relate the struggle against racism to some concrete class issues in the department or shop the argument is always more effective. These are crucial tactical questions in the building of left-center unity.

It is easier to determine the line of demarcation between the right and center forces because the right's position is more clearly definable. It is more difficult to define the line between the center and the left because they are both forces in the process of change, of movement. Also, while the concept of the center forces is correct, this does not mean that the center forces,

under all circumstances, will be the same. Some center forces tend to waiver under pressure.

For example, the center forces in leadership positions and the center forces on the grass roots level will not necessarily have the same reactions. The center forces on the grass roots level tend to take a more militant stand, especially on shop issues. The center forces in the ranks of the racially and nationally oppressed workers tend to be even more militant.

It is also true that it is not always possible to have both left-center, and separate left forms in every instance, in every situation, or even in every campaign or struggle. However, this should not become the excuse for giving up or to taking the initiative to establish such formations on both levels.

The Growth of the Left

Since our Convention in Chicago, possibly the most important development on the working class grass roots level is the significant growth of a good healthy left sector. In many of the plants in basic industry the left is not now a small isolated grouping. In many cases they are now the most active Union force. They are left but they are not narrow or sectarian. It seems obvious we need to give much more attention to their development.

These left forces tend to gravitate and move toward



associations with those who are ready to take more advanced class positions, with those who are more militant and advanced, including in the struggle against racism. They tend to move toward those who take more advanced positions on political independence and who are ready to work with Communists, even if still being influenced by anti-communism.

The concepts of left-center unity, and left unity are concepts of struggle. They have meaning only within the context of struggles and specific forces. They have meaning only within the context of moving workers, leading workers in struggle. Within these formations there are some specific problems which we in the Party have to focus on.

A large component of the left is composed precisely of those who see the need for militant activity. Often these groups are new in industry, and some still have many petty-bourgeois influences from their previous life. In many cases they are workers with little or no accumulated seniority rights. They are very often starting at the bottom. And often they are young. They include a large number of racially and nationally oppressed workers who daily must contend with humiliating attacks. These workers often proceed first from the viewpoint of moral indignation—that is, “It’s not right. How can they do this to us?”

Having reached the point where they have decided to act they often want to act NOW. They have no time to wait. This is, of course, a source of great strength for the movement, when it is directed into class channels, into tactics of mass struggle. At the same time, it has at times led to problems, since they cannot understand or refuse to accept the concept of and the necessity for unity. These workers have difficulty with the concept of unity because it is often necessary—in order to establish left-and-center unity—to compromise, to adjust, especially tactically, with less militant workers. The result is that often there is a revolving door of these militant elements within the rank and file movements. And to some extent, even in the Party.

Some of these workers fall for the demagogy of phony left sects because they sound militant and radical. After being drawn into playing irresponsible games with militancy most of them become disillusioned not only with the left sects, but also with the working class movement and the workers they work with.

As if following a master plan, with the full sanction by the corporations, small sects move from one industry to another. When their irresponsibility is exposed at one plant, they move to new ones. The corporations

could not buy better union-busting forces. Some of these groups behave like union-busting provocateurs, including the use of lead pipes against trade unionists.

We have made headway, but we must work continuously to show the workers that these phony sects are not Communists; that our Party rejects and condemns their anti-working class activities.

There are times when for demagogic reason they make reasonable proposals. We must become more adept at taking these proposals and turning them into mass struggles which will help to expose their real purpose.

It is precisely this problem that further argues for the need for special left forms. Without left forms there is a vacuum. It also points to the fact that left forms should be more than committees on economic questions. In some cases it is necessary to consider whether the left forms should be more than loose caucuses, whether they should combine the struggles around shop and union problems with forms of educational and social activities.

Experience shows that there is also an absolute need for industry-wide rank and file forms. I may be wrong, but under the present circumstances they would be left forms. We should put an end to all speculation about this matter. Wherever such movements have been given leadership they have made important contributions. Without them the rank and file groups tend to float in air. There is a need for some organized body for them to relate to. Even if this is done only through a regularly-issued bulletin or newsletter, these industry-wide forms are necessary for industry-wide initiatives and coordination.

Multi-national, Multi-racial Working Class

The statement in the Draft Main Political Resolution to the effect that:

“Our working class has always been multi-racial and multi-national. But the process has now reached a new level. . . . What is new is the new level of the process of unification . . .” (p. 18)

This concept has been the cause of some confusion in the pre-convention discussion period.

What is not clearly understood is that this description is meant to emphasize the new level of unity, of oneness of the class. These are the objective processes that are creating the basis for our working class to think and act in class terms. The emphasis is not on one or another part of the class, but the class itself. Life, class exploitation, is the mold.

Throughout our history there have been a number of

factors that have held back the development of class unity and class consciousness; factors that have kept our working class divided ideologically, politically and even physically. In past periods, the easy access to land, the Civil War and the remnants of feudalism in the South have all acted as roadblocks to working class unity.

What the Draft places in a new way is that there are a number of more recent, newer factors that have either disappeared or do not now have the same effect. The result is a more cohesive, united, single class. And these changes facilitate and speed up the process of class consciousness.

The struggles and the process of breaking down the doors of industry in the interest of racially and nationally oppressed peoples has reached a new level. While this has not put an end to policies of discrimination, it has brought great numbers of oppressed peoples into the production process and into the ranks of the working class.

It is in this context that the Supreme Court decision in the Weber case can produce important results in furthering this process, especially in upgrading and promotion of those who have held back because of race or nationality. This is a most important change affecting the working class.

It is not too many years ago that women also were generally barred from industry. Now some 45% of the work force are women. This again has its impact on the working class as a whole. This also has its effects on the women's movement generally, but here we are speaking about its relevance to the working class. Here again, the new development does not eliminate the policies of discrimination, but does change the framework of that struggle.

In the not too distant past industrial development in the United States had a regional character. Now industries have filled in the empty spaces. This has also eliminated the division of the working working class into regions. The GM plant in Oklahoma City, employing some 3,000 workers who just voted for the UAW as their bargaining agent is a case in point. As a result of this development, Oklahoma will never be the same again. And the U.S. working class will never be the same.

And there are other changes: because of the unusual resources that U.S. capitalism has been able to draw on, it has with relative ease, been able to divide the ranks of the working class by pitting one section against another.

In the past, its ability to create a small but influential

"aristocracy of labor" was one of the methods used to divide. Very often U.S. capitalism has also been able to use the workers of one craft in one industry against another, or one region against another.

However, we are now in a different situation. U.S. monopoly capital no longer has the same resources to draw on domestically or on the world scene. It is no longer able to do some of the things it has done in the past. For example, the critical problems produced by the new economic crisis affects all sections of the working class.

Take the construction field: The construction industry which has traditionally served as one of the bases for the creation of some "labor aristocrats" is now in a crisis and the workers have been forced to take wage cuts or are unemployed. That has served to cut the source for the fattening of "labor aristocrats."

When all of this is added up it signifies that our working class has reached a new level of oneness, a multi-racial, multi-national, male-female working class, national in scope. These developments have prepared the working class for organizing the unorganized, for a new level of affirmative action programs, a new level of class consciousness, for class political independence and for a new working class offensive. In a sense, these objective developments were prerequisites to enable the working class to take its place at the head of the legions fighting for social progress. These are all very positive developments.

Rank and File Forms

It is possible that our concept of rank and file forms is too narrow. In most cases they are not "the meeting is called to order" kind. They are more on the order of: "Well, what do you think we ought to do?" kind. Some are left, some are left-center, some are Black and white, some are Black, some are only the young and some only women.

Take the 30,000 affirmative action cases that have been filed. Most if not all, were initiated by some rank and file group. It also seems obvious that the most successful rank and file groups are the ones in the shop or on the Department floor, especially to back up the grievor. As to the level of rank and file groups, the need for action, for struggle, is what propels rank and file action. So they may be on many levels, left and left-center; and in the process of struggle this may shift very fast from left to center and for some, into the Communist Party.

It is clear that because of the fast shifts, the processes of radicalization, it is necessary for us to be ready to

reflect the changes and when necessary to change tactics, while always keeping our feet on the solid earth.

The positive developments in some sections of the trade union leadership are very important. We must continue to work with them. But we must make it absolutely clear that this does not in any way replace our emphasis on the grass roots and the need for rank and file forms. In fact, the other way around is true. There is a need for greater emphasis on normal rank and file forms.

(cont. on p. 14)

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CHICANO-MEXICAN AMERICAN LIBERATION

There have also been some changes in the arena of Chicano-Mexican American liberation, but the basic chauvinism, the basic policies of national oppression and discrimination against the Chicano-Mexican American community continues. These patterns remain intact.

In most Chicano-Mexican American communities the per capita income remains below the poverty level. Therefore, the present economic crisis for the majority means moving downward from the already existing poverty levels.

For most of the young people the prospects for a bi-lingual, quality education remains on the drawing boards. The housing construction boom has bypassed the barrios.

Because of the lack of bi-lingual education in many cases the dropout rate of Chicano-Mexican American students is 50%. Because of the extreme racist conditions in cities like Houston, Texas, the rate is 85%.

The high unemployment rate, working in low-paying and seasonal jobs, the discrimination in housing, education, medical care and culture, and the vicious police brutality all fires the struggles and movements of Chicano-Mexican American liberation.

Much of the chauvinism affecting the whole community is centered around the drive against people without legal documents. Every so often there are widely publicized "round-ups" and deportations continue to be a convenient way of getting rid of excess labor when the harvest is in, without paying unemployment or social security benefits.

The people without documents are blamed for the economic ills. They are projected as an economic burden when in fact most of them are workers who produce and pay taxes, but who nevertheless in most cases are without such benefits as social security, unemployment, etc. Because they are forced to work in low-pay industries they continue to be a source of extra profits. Any solution must start from the premise that it is those extra profits that must be taken out of the exploitation of the undocumented workers.

The communities of the Chicano-Mexican American people are basically working class. Some 50% of the Chicano workers are basic blue-collar workers, namely, in metal, mining, aerospace, longshore, steel, auto, and they are laborers in a variety of other industries. Some 50% are agricultural workers.

These workers are therefore an integral part of the

multi-racial, multi-national U.S. working class. They are the key section of the working class in many industries and shops. These Chicano members of the U.S. working class have a unique role in the alliance of the working class and the Chicano and Mexican American people's liberation movements and struggles.

Chicano liberation has unique features because it develops mainly in the regions that straddle both the history and traditions of both countries. The movement works and develops with two languages. It is influenced by and shares the cultures, the class struggles and anti-imperialist sentiments of both countries.

But the exploitation and oppression are an integral part of the U.S. capitalist system of exploitation. It is this that basically determines the trends, the social and economic outlook, the relationships and class forces within the Chicano-Mexican American liberation movement. It is a struggle for equality. It is a struggle against the policies of discrimination in industry, in the system of education and culture. It is a struggle against the policies of national oppression by U.S. corporations and by the U.S. government.

There has always been an ongoing conspiracy between the U.S. corporations and some of the ruling class circles of Mexico on how to exploit the border situation. Mainly it has been at the expense of the people and workers of Mexico. In the past it involved agriculture. Now the conspiracy includes industry and trade. This conspiracy includes low wages, tax ripoffs on both sides, and using the workers on both sides. The aim is to extract more profits, from both sides. It is a perfect haven for the multi-national corporations.

Only a united movement of the peoples of Mexico and the United States, especially a united movement of the trade unions on both sides can put an end to the profit conspiracy.

The Mexican Communist Party and our Party have taken some new initiatives in this direction. It is an important question of proletarian internationalism. We must give these efforts a higher priority.

In the Chicano-Mexican American communities there is a growing movement of independent political action. There is a growing sense of affinity and alliance with the working class and trade union movement. There is a strong anti-corporate, anti-state sentiment. And there is a need for concrete programs of affirmative action. There is a need to create a mass democratic human rights campaign to force the U.S. government to put an end to the harassment and brutality inflicted on people without legal documents.

We must do more to mobilize a movement espe-

cially by the U.S. trade unions to take the super-profits out of the exploitation of undocumented workers. There is a need for a campaign to secure prevailing wage levels and for securing all the benefits and social services that, as worker, the Chicano-Mexican American people are entitled to.

This is both a human rights campaign and a struggle that will serve the self-interests of the whole U.S. working class.

In the struggle for Chicano-Mexican American liberation we can make an important contribution by helping to find the forms and the programs that will come together in a broad Chicano-Mexican American front that will have working relations with the trade unions and the organizations of the other racially and nationally oppressed peoples. The objective situation for such a front exists now.



NATIVE AMERICAN LIBERATION

A special resolution on Native American liberation to the convention states:

“A crisis exists for Native Americans. The American Indians and Alaska Native peoples and nationalities are fighting for their very survival. They are victimized by the wanton exploitation and destruction of their lands and energy resources by powerful multi-nationals, by the U.S. Government’s policy, by astronomical unemployment, extreme social and economic deprivation.”

I think the resolution correctly states the essence of the question.

The growing struggles of the Native American movements are, in the main, directed against the corporate monopolies such as Peabody Coal, Gulf and Shell Oil.

Because of the special role of the state in perpetuating genocidal programs based on concepts of government chattel, these movements and struggles have a sharp anti-government, anti-state focus.

The extreme poverty in the slums of the reservations forces increasing numbers of Native Americans into the new reservations of poverty in the urban centers.

The search for new sources of energy has opened a new war against Native Americans, a new brutal campaign through legal means and plain trickery to force the people off their lands and for corporate takeover.

This new war, this new campaign of genocide, must find a new response in the ranks of the people’s democratic movements. There is a crucial need for the trade union movement to take up the struggle, both as a human rights issue and because the struggle is in its own self-interests.

The struggle for Native American liberation is a many-sided and in many ways a complex one. One side of the struggle involves land rights and old treaties which the U.S. Government has violated and ignored. The struggles involve fishing and hunting rights. The land rights have become more critical because these lands are rich in minerals and sources of energy. The struggles are against the bureaucratic dictatorial rule on the reservations by government-appointed people who are steeped in corruption. The struggles also involve the fight against the policies of discrimination against Native Americans who have, in increasing numbers, become a part of the U.S. working class, and face severe discrimination in the industries.

The issues are complex. But the class forces are not. The enemy is state-monopoly capitalism. The struggle is against all forms of racial and national oppression.

The key forces increasingly are the Native Americans who are part of the U.S. working class.

If we are going to make an effective contribution in this struggle, we will be able to do so only if we keep in mind who the forces are and the relationship of these struggles to the class struggle.

Unity has become the key necessity of this movement. Unity, a mass approach to struggle and the seeking of allies are the main ingredients for victory.



PUERTO RICAN LIBERATION

It is one of those contradictions in life that less than 100 miles from our shores there is a thriving, independent country building socialism and another country suffering under the heel of U.S. colonial domination.

Socialist Cuba is in the midst of the most explosive building boom in its history. Without unemployment, without racism and at an unprecedented pace Cuba is eliminating slums and solving its housing problem. It is guaranteeing all its citizens free education, medical care, child care and old-age security. It is creating a new society which provides prosperity, security and happiness for its people from the cradle to the grave. Socialism in Cuba is but 20 years old. Twenty years ago Cuba was at the lowest level of economic and social development in the hemisphere. What a dramatic contrast.

Puerto Rico is staggering under the weight of colonial exploitation and domination—with the highest rate of inflation, with food stamps in place of wages on a large scale, rising unemployment and spreading slums. Medical care and education is now out of reach for the majority, while the U.S. corporations pile up huge profits as a result of low wages and poor working conditions. Without regard for the rights and welfare of the people or the ecology of the country, the monopoly monsters plunder and pollute the island.

The continuing bombardment of Vieques stands as a blatant example of the arrogance and inhumanity of U.S. foreign policy. It is a violation of the basic human rights of the Puerto Rican people.

U.S. imperialism has turned this beautiful island into one of the largest U.S. military bases in the world, including nuclear arms. Cuba in the Americas is a showcase for socialism, for national liberation. Puerto Rico is a showcase for capitalism, for colonial oppression.

Cuba is independent and free to build relationships with the rest of the world based on its self-interests. Puerto Rico is oppressed and tied to U.S. imperialism. The independence that Cuba has won remains the goal of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

At the moment the struggle is focused along the lines of the United Nations Resolution passed last year, and on the upcoming September world solidarity conference in Mexico to which we must give our full support.

Every year tens of thousands of Puerto Rican people, impoverished by colonialism, are forced to migrate to the United States in search of a livelihood. They are oppressed and exploited from all sides.

In Puerto Rico they faced colonial oppression and exploitation. Here in the United States they face racial and national oppression, as well as class exploitation. Here they are forced to accept lower wages, inadequate housing and education and high rates of unemployment. However, millions have also become an important component of our multiracial multinational U.S. working class. They have become the key section of the class in some industries and shops such as the garment industry of New York, or the National Steel Company plant in Lorain, Ohio.

The South Bronx in New York City is a dramatic example of the decay and dimension of the housing crisis, the hopelessness and poverty that the Puerto Rican community is forced to live in. The crisis of the cities, the crisis of education, medical and child care and mass transit all have special effects and meaning in terms of the suffering and impoverishment of the Puerto Rican community.

Big Business would like to return to the past, when the people from Puerto Rico were treated as a labor pool for temporary, cheap labor, without the benefits or social services. The struggles and movements are rejecting this concept. The rising struggles are for full equality—economic and social. The working class Puerto Ricans have become an important part of the U.S. working class.

There are growing movements around specific issues. There are growing movements and struggles for Puerto Rican representation in public office. They are

an important element in the development of the whole movement for political independence.

The questions of Puerto Rican independence and the struggle against racial and national oppression in the United States are very closely linked. They are struggles and issues that must be of deep concern to the people of the United States as a whole, and especially to the U.S. working class.

With the developments in Nicaragua, Jamaica, Grenada and other islands of the West Indies, the struggle for Puerto Rican independence is coming into sharper focus. Puerto Rico is part of the Caribbean new “arch of crisis.”

The movement for independence within Puerto Rico fights under very difficult conditions. The FBI functions there as a foreign para-military police force. The Communist Party of Puerto Rico, the Socialist Party and many others are the victims of constant harassment and provocation. The FBI uses groups as provocateurs under a left cover.

We must give greater priority to supporting and aiding the struggles that will turn the Caribbean “arch of crisis” into an arch of national liberation and socialism.

This day is especially important for the Black people of Detroit — indeed for Black people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asians and Pacific peoples, as well as Arabs all over this land. Those who put profits before people always press down most powerfully, most viciously upon the backs of racially and nationally oppressed people.

If we can say that there is one thing we are definitely determined to accomplish with this campaign to put people before profits, it is this: we will demonstrate to the bosses and to their governmental representatives that racism is not going to work very much longer.

From Angela Davis' speech at the Cobo Hall Rally, Detroit, Michigan, Aug. 26, 1979.



Demonstrating against budget cuts in New York

By ALBERTA FRISICA

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 17—Mayor Koch's budget ax went into full swing yesterday, as he proposed increased cuts in essential services, more taxes on working class households and the loss of at least 13,000 jobs over a four-year period.

At a press conference in the "blue room" at City Hall, the Mayor proposed cutbacks in fire, police, sanitation, the departments of health, environmental protection, parks and recreation, cultural affairs, libraries, the Board of Education and the City University.

Besides the cuts, workingclass residents of the city can expect to pay added and increased taxes in real estate, beer, water and sewage, leaded and unleaded

gasoline, liquor and cigars. The budget proposal must now be examined by the City Council and legislation must be enacted by the State Legislature for the cuts to go into effect.

Severe budget cuts

By his own admission, the Mayor termed the budget proposals the "most severe since 1975," when the city gave over its administration to the bondholders of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big MAC) and the Emergency Finance Control Board (EFCB), two non-governmental bodies set up to make the city "fiscally responsible" to the banks and big business.

The turning over of the city to these bodies represented one of the most backward reversals in democracy of the last decade and of the century.

The Workingclass Hub of the Nationalities Wheel

by James E. Jackson, National Education Director.
(Address to the 22nd Convention of CPUSA, Cobo Hall,
Detroit, Michigan, August 26-29, 1979)



One of the great personalities in our Party, Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, said: "We are the many and they are the few." And indeed this could well be the motto of this memorable convention because the silken curtain of isolation has been ripped apart and we are joined with our brother and sister parties, the vanguards of the world working class and the national liberation movements.

Welcome, dear Comrades from 31 countries!

Comrade Henry Winston, dear delegates and guests:

With characteristic prevision and unflinching revolutionary optimism, Comrade Gus Hall prepared the report of the Central Committee as a really great document worthy of this historic convention. This convention will long be a benchmark and will signal the turning point in the life of our Party and its effect on our nation. Its impact on world peace, on human liberation and progress, will be notable indeed.

History in the 20th Century has unfolded in consonance with the fundamental ideas of Marxist-Leninist science.

Marxism-Leninism wears no nation's cap but serves all nations and nationalities equally well. History in the 20th century has proven that Marxism-Leninism is the most profound scientifically generalized conception of social development. Its theories are being transformed into practice, vitalized by practice, adjusted by practice and tested by practice. Theory for us is a guide to effecting practice in the service of the liberation and social advancement of all peoples.

It was Lenin who said long ago, "every one knows that the position of Negroes in America in general is one unworthy of a civilized country. Capitalism cannot give either complete emancipation or complete equality." (Note: "Negro" was our name of choice then.-J.J.)

In this passage from Lenin's writings on "*The United States of America*," he noted that "whites are bound by the same rope that holds in captivity Blacks" and he observed that "The proportion of illiterates among the whites is twice as high in the slave holding area where Blacks live." Consequently, he pointed out, "It is not only the Negroes that show traces of slavery." Said Lenin: "Shame on America for the plight of the Black people!" This was Lenin's foresight that is still a deserving indictment of prevailing conditions. Indeed yes, and shame on the ruling class of the United States for its treatment of all the oppressed nationalities under the heel of racism and double exploitation! Shame on the ruling class of the United States for its national chauvinism, its racial discrimination and oppression vented against the Mexico-Americans and the Chicano peoples; against the Puerto Rican people; against the Native Indian people and against the Asian Pacific peoples!

The struggle for the solution of the nationality question in the United States is an integral aspect of the struggle for the triumph of the working class over imperialism and the reign of the monopolies. The strategic ally of the working class in the United States is, in the first instance, the extraordinarily oppressed, largely working class (class composition) Black Americans. The place of the Afro-American people in the sphere of the nationality question can be likened to that of the trunk on a tree of racism. In addition to the trunk, the tree of racism has many branches. These branches represent the several other oppressed nationalities.

Oppression of Blacks: the trunk of the tree of racism

If we would fell the tree of racism then we must lay the ax to the trunk. Therefore, it is not a diversion from the solution of the particular nationality question—the Chicano, the Puerto Rican, the Asian-Pacific, or the Native American Indian question—to address, in fraternal solidarity, **the prime question** of the national oppression of peoples in the United States which is the Black American question.

In the struggle for equality of peoples, the struggle against the racist oppression of Black Americans has been historically (especially throughout the 19th century and on to the present day in the 20th century) central to the solution of all other aspects of oppression in the sphere of the nationality question and of democracy in general. The struggle to free ones own nationality requires focusing in on, concentrating on the solution of the largest, the most decisive feature of the national question in the United States, that of Afro-American liberation.

If one is to know where one is, it is necessary to have a **fix** on at least two points: What class one belongs to, and what nation one belongs in. All of the nationalities in the United States who suffer special national oppression are identified especially by their large working class specific gravity, by the big component of the total population that belongs to, and is a vital segment of the working class. Therefore, there is a **joint relationship to the working class of all who would be free, who stand under their respective national banners.**

It is necessary to understand that in the United States, the nationalities are oppressed and deprived components of a **common nation**. Cuba is such a nation, that is bi-racial, multi-racial, but one solitary unitary nation. And what is the molding force of the nation? Despite its being a nation of different races, different cultural stresses, different ethnic personalities, it is a **unitary nation** because, at the hub of its wheel is the molding, decisive, pivoting impact of the working class.

Therefore, to see a way out for the solution of the nationality question, no matter how complex it is, one must examine the class aspect and approach it from the standpoint of **the basic harmony of interests between the working class** in its struggle for class emancipation and the **oppressed nationalities** in their struggle for equality and freedom.

Precisely because Afro-American equality, affirmative action, anti-racism is a major sentiment among the working class and the broad masses of U.S. people, we

must raise the level of deep understanding of the revolutionary import of the struggle for equality and against concepts and practices of white racial supremacy and national chauvinist egoism. In our Party, we must continually strive for a **true Communist level** of sensitivity, attitude and action to secure true equality and distinguish ourselves in the daily struggle to end racist divisions in the ranks of the class and the nation.

National injustice undermines class unity

Lenin wrote, in "*Critical Remarks on the National Question*:" "In one way or another, by one's attitude or by concessions it is necessary to compensate for the lack of trust, for the suspicion and the insults to which the government of the 'dominant' nation subjected them in the past. . . .

"Nothing holds up the development in strengthening of proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice. Offended nationals are not sensitive to anything so much as to the feeling of equality and violation of this equality. (If only through negligence or, jest) by their proletarian comrades. That is why it is better even to overdo rather than underdo the concession towards the national minorities." That is why we must say self-critically, we should have had operating at our Convention a broader nationality forum to encompass the opportunity for the Latino comrades to address the special and deepening problem of Chicano and other Latino peoples.

Similarly, our convention properly will resolve that our Party will give attention to the other national minorities among whom are the Asian-Pacific peoples who suffer oppression under the heel of U.S. monopolies' reign. This is elaborated and projected in the Main Political Report of Comrade Gus Hall.

We must analyze and be attentive to developments in respect to the diverse, distinctive nationalities in our country, their place and their relationship to the working class and its destiny. We must analyze them concretely and draw lessons. At the same time, as Lenin said, "*the demands of democracy*, including self-determination, are not absolute but *a part of the general democratic*—(now we read: and general socialist—J.J.) world movements." In individual concrete cases a given community may put forward demands that contradict the whole. If so, the working class (which is the wheel that moves the destiny of all nationalities) has precedence. The aspiration and the struggle for nationality freedom from all manner of discrimination, are not in conflict with the goals of the unfolding revolutionary energies of the working class.

Natural tendency of workers is toward class unity

Historically, in our country, the masses of working people constitute the great bulk of the population of all oppressed nationalities. It is especially so now in respect to Afro-Americans. The masses of working people of diverse nationalities, as they liberate themselves from the bourgeoisie yoke will gravitate irresistibly towards greater and greater association, union, integration, provided, as Lenin said, "yesterday's oppressors do not infringe on the long-oppressed nationalities highly developed democratic feelings of self-respect, and provided they are granted equality in everything, including state construction experience in organizing their own state affairs." Providing these things take place, the natural tendency of peoples is toward togetherness, towards one-ness. Already the future will represent itself now in the attitudes of class brothers, across all divisive lines, all lines of difference and distinction. And nationality differences are not a negative; nationality difference is the harmony of diversity which adds to the beauty of the peoples of a nation, and multiplies its genius because it taps many national, racial and ethnic streams.

What is decisive, comrades? What is decisive is the education and training of the working class in internationalism and inter-racial mutual respect, solidarity, fraternity. Who erected the wall separating brother from brother, on color lines, on language lines? The bourgeoisie, as part of its ancient line of *divisionism*, to divide and rule.

It is a revolutionary obligation and historic necessity to tear down these walls of division. Obviously, it is not perceivable that every nationality community will put forth the same slogan, be identical in its demands in concrete sense, as Lenin said—"in the great oppressor nations and in small oppressed nations, in annexing nations and in annexed nations, there are certain differences in the approach." Nevertheless, he pointed out "The way to the common goal, is inviolate." That is to say the common goal of complete community, the common goal of complete equality, the closest association and eventual amalgamation of peoples and nations. This obviously runs along different routes in each concrete case. As Lenin noted "The way to a point in the center of a page runs left from one edge and right from opposite edge." But the focus has to be unclouded and clear for removing all artificial barriers and walls between peoples.

On this national question, most complex and complicated, Lenin has written with enduring profundity. We live at a time when there are approximately 2,000

different nations and nationalities in distinctive national communities. And, as you know, there are not more than 150 states. So the national question will not lose its significance in our time. It is intensified as more and more countries abandon the capitalist system, kick the imperialists off their backs and enter into the path of independent development.

The nationality question today is a special area of neo-colonialist policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In its efforts to survive and to hold on to its ill-gotten riches they will seek to maneuver and to manipulate. Those imperialists who crush the independence of all peoples now come out as super-champions of "self-determination." Washington is now the great patron of all varieties of nationalism!

Further the class unity in the Alliance

The essence of our policy here is rooted in Lenin's teachings on this question. Lenin said: "*Policy on the national and colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletariat and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible.*"

We, of course, look with attention and voice our instant concern and see things from the point of departure of our own community. We peep from under our own national tent, so to speak, at the rest of the world. But, what is required is the vision to see that a strategic solution can only come out of the revolutionary initiative of the working class, for the basic solution of all democratic problems in our time, including that of the solution of the national question. Without this as our base and the point of departure in our orientation, our awakened interest in the cause of national independence, democracy and freedom from oppression can generate a divisionism which will have its expression sometimes ludicrously as a competition to see which nationality is number one in being worse off under the heels of the monopoly bourgeoisie. And the ruling class would be happy at such a competition in absurdity, that Blacks are no longer the number one oppressed and the up and coming number one abused and oppressed are the Chicanos, and they are being challenged for the bottom rail on the fence by the Native American Indians—and, look out, there come the "Asian-Pacific" peoples, who are abused and humiliated no less.

Of course, when you are on the receiving end of

abuse and humiliation, it colors and clouds every assessment. That is what you are concerned with. So we must be both concerned and clear-minded, that the way to the solution of the nationality question is not to abandon the struggle under one's own national flag for the solution of that problem, but to understand profoundly that it can be attained and realized only through linkage, like spokes into the hub of a wheel, to the working class. The working class is the big wheel of our time, and those movements which do not relate to it become diversions against the social-historic force which alone can bring liberation for our class and for all oppressed and deprived nationalities.

Comrades, we see already in these days a certain fulfillment of prophecies contained in the report of our General Secretary. He said, "some organizations which have been on the frontier of the struggle against discrimination in the sixties and lay fallow and unused will be quickening into life because we are in an active decade." The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, for example, is making front-page news, having broken with its isolation and inertia and displays an understanding of the linkage between the cause of liberation internationally, a linkage which is fitted into the general world revolutionary process.

Therefore, to ensure the fulfillment of the potential for democratic social progress of the revolutionary energy of struggle to solve the nationality question in its variety and in its central expression — (i.e., the condition of Black Americans) requires an approach that is based on a profound appreciation of the meaning of the high specific gravity of the working class composition of the oppressed nationalities. For example, 90 percent of the Black Americans are of the working class. This could be said of the Chicanos; also, the Native American Indians who are a people of urban workers and rural toilers. There is no monopoly bourgeoisie among them that is worthy of the name. They are more "state of mind" than "money in the bank" capitalists. And the significance of this is not to give praise to those who are not working class, but to recognize the potential of this class composition of the nationally oppressed people who make up an important part of the complex of the U.S. nation, that these people, each and every one of the oppressed nationalities, has the capacity for taking advanced democratic positions as the sturdy ally of the working class. There is no real contradiction between struggle for the solution of the nationality question and the advance of the working class. Indeed, future progress in solution of the National question is dependent upon

the development of the struggles of the working class.

Socialism is the beacon . . .

Today in a considerable area of the world the national question in all of its fundamentals has been solved. The fog of imperialist propaganda seeks to darken our vision and blur the truth about the great accomplishments of socialism in being real, existent socialism, as distinct from utopian fancies. In the *Soviet Union* the national question in its primary dimensions has been solved, and it stands as a model that friends and foe have to pay tribute to. Discrimination has been abolished and the liberation of peoples has brought new reserves and resources of power to the camp of advanced socialism. One of the by-products is that now the socialist community of states constitute a mighty reservoir of material aid, political enlightenment and inspiration to all the oppressed of the earth to "go thou and do likewise."

It is inevitable that in our time there will be no long time lag between the solution of the national question and the solution of the problem of imperialist-capitalist reign.

The national question can be solved only in conjunction with the struggle to realize what is dear to the vision of the workers of the whole world, that of putting an end once and forever to the class exploitative system of state monopoly capitalism, thereby opening the way to greater democracy, to socialism.

Racial and National Oppression

Racial and national oppression has been and is a built-in feature of world capitalism's drive for super-profits. It became an effective weapon especially in its operations of imperialist expansion.

Socialism marks the end not only of class exploitation but racial and national oppression and exploitation as well. It also marks the beginning of the end of racism as an ideological pattern of thought. In the capitalist world it is very much a fact of everyday life.

There is the brutal fascist oppression of the majority of Black people in South Africa. There is the oppression of the Irish, and now the oppression of the Black immigrants in Great Britain. There is the racist discrimination and policies of genocide against Indian populations in a number of South American countries and Canada. There is the brutal oppression of the two or more million Arab peoples and the dark-skinned immigrants in Israel.

In fact, to one extent or another, racial and national oppression is a phenomenon within most of the capitalist countries. But with the exception of South

Africa, Zimbabwe and a few other countries, nowhere is racial and national oppression practiced on the scale that it is in the United States.

Here in the United States racial and national oppression is an encrusted inner lining of corporate operations. Even as new nationalities arrive they are immediately classified on the ladder of national oppression, as the refugees from Vietnam are finding out. This mark will affect their employment, and their children's advancement, culture and social life.

In the United States we may not have the largest number of different nationalities. But there is no question there are more racially and nationally oppressed people here than in any other country. There are so many different nationalities that speakers and writers have difficulty determining how to deal with the total scope of the problem without always mentioning all of the racial and national groups who are victims of oppression.

I constantly receive letters listing the ones that I left out in an article or speech. I also believe many unjustly infer that the failure to mention a specific nationality or people is motivated by a lack of appreciation or sensitivity, or worse, that this omission reflects the influence of chauvinism. There are also objections to using such shortcut formulations as "and others," or "other oppressed people or "other nationality oppressed;" and there are objections to words like "Asians," "Latinos," "minorities," etc.

I hope someone will come up with a correct scientific and shorter way of presenting the total picture of racial and national discrimination in the United States.

In addition to the Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans there are many other national groups and millions of others who, to one extent or another, are victims of national and racial oppression. There are the Native Alaskans, who are now the victims of the fuel wars, the growing numbers of Spanish-speaking peoples and nationalities from the various countries of South and Central American. There are objections to the shortcut "Hispanics" also.

There are increasing numbers of Chinese, Vietnamese and Arab peoples, Phillipino, Japanese, Korean, Hawaiian and East Indian peoples. There are the millions of Jewish Americans who at this point do not sharply feel the cutting edge of economic discrimination, but anti-Semitism continues as a very active, reactionary force. And, as we know, there are some 115 different recognized Native American Indian peoples, nations and nationalities. And, as we also know, the total number of people who, to one extent or

another, are racially and nationally oppressed in this country add up to between 40 and 50 million. But the oppression is not the same in scope or intensity.

Many of the letters I receive reflect confusion and some also show different ideological influences—racism, great power chauvinism and petty bourgeois nationalism. These are influences of the class enemy.

It is very important for us to have a clear understanding and appreciation of different forces and their interrelationships. This deeper understanding is necessary in the struggle for working class unity, anti-monopoly unity and in the struggle for democracy.

First, we should be clear that the struggle against national oppression and racism is of necessity an integral feature of every struggle. The victories and advances in the struggle for economic and social progress are inextricably tied to the struggle against national oppression and racism. Without this struggle the struggle for democracy, the class struggle, the anti-monopoly struggle, and the electoral struggles will all have a built-in limitation.

Second, we should be clear that not all nationalities are oppressed, especially those who have become integrated with the exception of course of their members who have become part of the working class and are victims of class exploitation and oppression.

Third, these are different levels of oppression. Not all are of the same scope or intensity. There are differences in the level of chauvinism. Not all are discriminated against on the same level in the economic arena.

I received some letters, and even some resolutions, which refer to the questions of national oppression of some specific nationality and compare it with the oppression of Afro-Americans, using phrases such as, "it is the same as," or "there is no difference." This equating and comparing does not stand the test of reality, and it is unnecessary. Giving these expressions the benefit of the best of interpretations they reflect influences of racism.

There should be no confusion. The main root and the sharpest expression of racial and national oppression in the United States is that which is directed against Afro-Americans. All other forms and systems of racial and national oppression are related to and are fed by the racism directed against Black Americans. Any attempt to equate or to substitute this concept with another is a misrepresentation of reality and becomes a divisive concept.

Racism, white supremacy, adds a brutality, a deadly pervasive ideological poison, a scope and a depth to the oppression of Afro-Americans that cannot be com-



In Memory

Civil rights ‘adrift’

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights said Tuesday that the government’s commitment to equality for all people seems to be adrift.

In a 37-page report, “The State of Civil Rights; 1979,” issued on the birthday of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the commission said the overall government performance on the civil rights front was “one of drift, relieved somewhat by a number of initiatives in the courts, various federal agencies and on the part of Congress.”

“Yet the lack of enforcement by the executive branch of government, the weakening of good legislation by the Congress and the diminishing will and vision on the part of the American people, are discouraging,” the report said.

“In 1979 equal education opportunity for all children remained an unrealized goal,” the report said. In looking at the future, the commission called for efforts to decrease the “intolerably high” level of unemployment among minorities and women and called for efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

pared to any other section of the oppressed nationalities. That is why the main blow in the struggle against national oppression and racism must be struck where the root is. Victories on this front will result in victories on the other fronts. When racism against Black Americans abates, the national oppression and chauvinism against all other oppressed peoples will also abate.

Our task is to find the avenue, the issues that will unite the 50 million racially oppressed peoples in alliance with the working class.

These are political concepts. We should not play number games. How many—by itself—is never a determining factor in political assessments. Especially, we must not use numbers either to upgrade or downgrade some other oppressed national group. This serves no purpose except to divide.

Our task is to give our very best in the struggle against racism and national oppression in every arena of struggle and to find the forms and issues that will bring the struggle together into a single stream.

We must fight against the increasing, unceasing efforts of the ruling class in this moment of crisis to divide, to set one group against another. Unity must be our watchword.

A correct understanding about the relationship between the struggle against racial and national oppression and the class struggle is a most important question. This is one of the very special contributions our Party makes to this struggle.

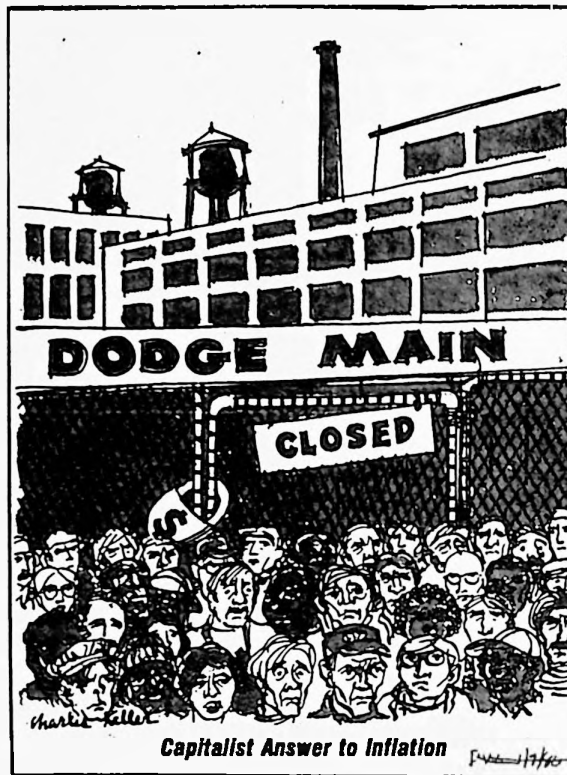
This understanding rests on a correct understanding of the class struggle, the role of the working class and the forces in the struggle for national liberation.

The class struggle is the controlling phenomenon of capitalist society. It determines the nature of all processes. Any attempt to bypass, to forget, to ignore this leads to floundering and going around in circles as if in the woods without a compass.

We must reject any and all attempts to replace or equate the centrality of the class struggle and the working class with any other movement, including the method of speaking about other movements while remaining silent about the relationship to the working class.

We must even reject all ideas that agree with the role of the working class in the period ahead, but do not see it now.

A proper relationship between the class struggle, the working class and the forces of national liberation provides a powerful base for the progressive movement in the United States.



SAVE DODGE MAIN

By a Dodge Worker

I AGREE WITH THE MAIN POLITICAL REPORT: THE CLOSING OF THE DODGE MAIN PLANT IS A CRIMINAL ACT.

THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT DODGE MAIN HAS BEEN SCHEDULED TO CLOSE. BACK BEFORE 1958 THEY SCHEDULED TO CLOSE IT, BUT THEY DID NOT TELL ANYONE EXCEPT THE UNION LEADERSHIP. THE LEADERSHIP WAS TOLD THE REASON THEY WERE GOING TO CLOSE IT WAS THAT IT HAD BEEN CONDEMNED.

When they told the union that, the Chrysler workers took a 10¢ wage cut. It was a part of the SUB Plan—the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit Plan. General Motors and Ford workers got a wage increase, and the wage increase the Chrysler workers got went into the SUB fund. After all this Chrysler introduced a new 1960 car. They did not shut it down. The Dodge Main Plant, the backbone of the Chrysler Corporation, where at that time the complete car was built with 35,000 workers, was back in business again.

I will remind you that today, when they are talking about closing Dodge Main again, the plant work force has changed. It has changed from white to Black. The majority of the Dodge Main workers are now Black and Arab workers.

The company started to get ready for today's show-down in 1978. They told the union then that they were going to renovate the plant, that there would not be a 1981 model, but that they were going to come out with a 1982 model.

Then came the shocker; the announcement that they were going to close the plant entirely. They told the public two hours before they told the union. We started mobilizing, we mobilized 4,000 workers, fathers and sons. We marched in Hamtramck to save Dodge Main. A committee was set up to "Save Dodge Main." That did not get results, except that the president of the local union, along with the Hamtramck branch of the NAACP, went to the national NAACP convention, and they got the Midwest Conference of the Convention to go on record calling for mass action against

Chrysler closing its Dodge Main plant. I think that this time that there has been any such action coming from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Some of us, when we came back from the convention, started the machine rolling. We had a demonstration in front of the Highland Park headquarters. Then the NAACP called a demonstration a week after that in front of the Dodge Main Plant. Then the steam on that began to die down.

The company took off another line, which laid off more than 1,500 people. This was an indication from the company, some of the workers were saying, that if the company was going to have to keep the plant open, they were going to keep it open with one line, where they had 4 lines operating before. The workers began to get very impatient.

A group of the workers discussed how to get some mass action into the struggle. We discussed it and decided we would try to invite Angela Davis into it. We went to the local union executive board. The board discussed it, went on record in a fifteen to one vote to bring Angela Davis to the local, have her talk with the leaders of the local, and see what kind of a fight that she could help arrange nationally to aid in keeping Dodge Main open.

The International Union found out about this later. Their storm troopers came out to stop it. But that didn't stop the workers. Last Sunday fifteen workers who, as the elected officials of the local union represented five thousand workers, met outside the local and appealed to Angela Davis. They asked her to do whatever was in her power to do, nationally or internationally, to keep the Dodge Main Plant open.

This is a challenge to the entire Communist Party with your long history of helping to win big working class victories. The workers are looking for something come out of that meeting. You must guarantee that we don't let the workers down.

The talk now is to save the Chrysler Corporation. The workers at Dodge Main want to guarantee that Dodge Main is included. They are getting out a petition to the President of the United States and the Congress, telling them:

"While you are guaranteeing that the banks will get their money back, we want a guarantee that the Dodge Main workers will have their jobs when the banks get their money."

President Carter was out at the gate of the Dodge Main Plant during the last Presidential campaign. He was passing out peanuts. The workers want him to get

back there now, while they are in struggle. They want him to come and save the jobs of the Dodge Main workers. So they are sending him this appeal.

This convention should see and accept the appeal that these workers made to Angela Davis. They know who she is and they know where she is coming from. She told them she was a member of the Communist Party. So therefore I am telling you: Don't let the workers down!

LABOR BEFORE CAPITAL

(Cont. from p. 2)

Labor is faced by a major job killer—plant closings and runaway plants.

The employers claim that the private enterprise system gives them the right to do as they wish with their private property—factories and capital.

Labor says that is the trouble with the private enterprise system; it lets big business get away with murder, in fact. Plant closings mean abandoned lives and empty dreams, as the United Auto Workers charge.

But what about the right to a job? The right to live? That is a basic right that should be guaranteed, but isn't.

Abraham Lincoln, who played an important role in the fight against slavery, said: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and man deserves much the higher consideration."

Translated into the modern idiom, that means: Put people ahead of profits! Make the corporation shoulder its responsibility to the worker, the community and the nation!

It can be done by labor developing a stronger voice in government at every level, instead of letting big business do the governing through its people in local, state and federal government.

There is nothing sacred about private property. Congress did away with private property in slaves by the 13th and 14th amendments. It is time to guarantee workers their right to a livelihood.

DAILY WORLD, DECEMBER 13, 1979

Stopping the plant shutdowns— —A pro-labor solution



Laid-off steelworkers in Youngstown distribute leaflets at the U.S. Steel McDonald Works discussing what must be done to save jobs for thousands threatened by permanent layoffs.

Plant closings and discarding millions of workers should be branded a high crime—and treated as such.

This is the platform that will be advanced vigorously in the 1980 election campaign by Gus Hall and Angela Davis, Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President, respectively.

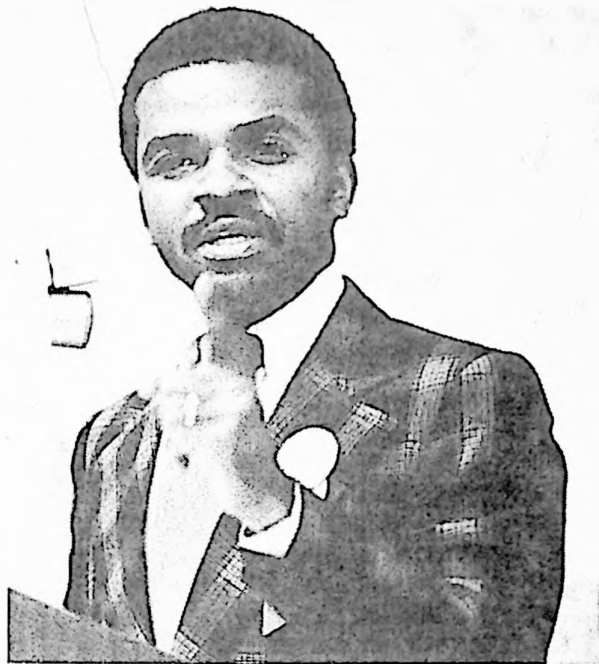
Hall and Davis will support bills now pending in Congress designed to alleviate the situation of workers made jobless by plant closings. But the Communist candidates' proposals go beyond the bills in the legislative hopper.

In a speech to a Cobo Hall, Detroit, rally last August, Hall proposed to block the closing of the Chrysler Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck by a law that would set up a "plant saving emergency fund" built up by federal payroll taxes paid by Chrysler workers. These monies would be used to maintain operations at the plant. The emergency fund would be administered and controlled by the workers.

Where plants are closed despite all efforts to keep them open, the Communist candidates will support legislation along the following lines:

1. Compelling plant owners to give two years notice of a proposed closing.
2. Guaranteeing workers not only severance pay, but complete unemployment insurance, hospitalization, medical and all other benefits until they obtain new jobs. Mortgage moratoriums and other debt moratoriums to be arranged by the employer.
3. Retraining for new types of work to be paid for at union scale by the employer.
4. Payment to the municipality of three years advance taxes upon closing.
5. Where companies refuse to continue running a plant, it should be run by the government, under strict democratic controls, particularly controls that guarantee workers a decisive voice in decision-making affecting their welfare.

Unity: Vital for Progress



By James Steele

National Chairman of the Young
Workers Liberation League

what relevance are these questions to the West Philadelphia high school student who as a matter of everyday life must deal with police terror, poor facilities, overcrowded classrooms, and a vacant, hopeless future. What does the Black youth who is without a job and without hope of getting one think when he or she sees or hears the big words and confusing assessments in the newspapers and mass media about some distant places bearing the names Israel, West Bank, Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt . . . or the so-called "breakdown of the traditional alliance" of Blacks and Jews? Certainly the Black or Puerto Rican youth living in a segregated neighborhood, going to a segregated school all their lives must be asking him or herself where has the "traditional alliance" that is now "breaking down" been for the last decade or more.

I had to ask myself and now ask you to consider what thoughts must be crossing the mind of the white youngster who in a matter of days, if he or she is 18 or older, must make a decision about whether or not there is such a thing as the "white vote." Imagine the confusion and difficulty confronting that youth in regard to whether he or she should pull the lever for William Green or Marston who have done and will do nothing good for them but who are, to be sure white, (white as the purest snow to hear them tell it, unless one looks at their hands which have been indelibly stained from the filth of racism and wealth). Or should he or she pull the lever for the very Black Lucien Blackwell whose program could bring them genuine progress and prosperity.

At such moments one is compelled to ask—is what we are discussing tonight relevant to this reality? Probably if you asked the "average" youth here in Philadelphia, "what does the crisis in the Middle East have to do with you?" or "what's your assessment of its effect on Black-Jewish unity?" Or, "By the way, brother . . . sister, what do you think of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty? And what's the outlook on the 1980 elections?"

Friends and comrades:

I have been asked to deal with the questions of the Mideast crisis, its effect on Black-Jewish unity, the SALT II ratification struggle, and 1980 elections.

The question therefore is how do these or any other questions affect the factory workers, those men and women up on the scaffold laying bricks, or unloading ships down on the docks? How do these questions affect the Black Community struggling for equality? And especially, how do they affect the youth who want for themselves a decent start in life; the right to a job, the right to a trade and to be unionists; the right to an education that qualifies them to productively and creatively participate in society; the right to live in dignity and equality; the right to a secure, and peaceful future. Any discussion about any issues acquires relevances only to the extent that it relates to the concrete main questions affecting the people in a given city, community, factory or industry.

Preparing for tonight's talk set me to thinking deeply about the situation in Philadelphia and our country. As National Chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League, my primary focus is on the young generation and its struggle for a better life. I had to ask myself of

Probably, they would look at you and say: "Say what!? Nothing!!" Frankly, I think that such a response is at the same time 100 percent right and 100 percent wrong. Nevertheless, it is a justified response because most youth and most people are too concerned (maybe overwhelmed is a better word) with the sheer weight of the questions deriving from the crisis of everyday living to deal with such issues in the abstract. Nevertheless in about two months when the cold weather—or the "Hawk" as they call winter in Chicago sets in, when it is a question of heat or eat, all of these questions will be very relevant. A year from now, when all of the candidates have been declared, when the voters have made their decision, when the new President prepares to take office, and policy positions supersede promises and personalities in determining how much meat is going to be on the table, heat in the home, gas in the car, job opportunities for youth—these questions will clearly be very relevant. But unless we consider them now, "then" will be too late. There can be no deciding then when the decisions have already been made.

The people of this country and of Philadelphia have come to a crossroads—one leads to progress, the other continues down the path of crisis and chaos. To take the first requires building a special kind of vehicle—no group, people or class can walk up the road of progress by itself. That vehicle is called working class and people's unity. It includes a special seat for youth and student unity. Without such a vehicle progress is impossible. The struggle for equality is the ignition switch for an effective, fighting, militant unity. Without equality there can be no unity; without unity there can be no progress.

The media in recent weeks has been filled with stories and commentary about the deterioration of Black-Jewish unity. In the past several days a new wrinkle has been added—the so-called split in the family, in the ranks of Black leadership.

In the youth and student movement I always stress the need for a class standpoint in evaluating anything and to especially beware of the so-called "impartiality" "objectivity" and "neutrality" of the various social institutions, particularly the media and the courts. One should not permit them to formulate issues or questions.

For example, I think that Black-Jewish unity is incorrectly put. To discuss it in the terms it's discussed in the press is entrapment out of which no answers or solutions are possible. For example, in respect to the splits and differences among Black leadership on the

question of the Middle East and recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization the media is attempting to program the response by limiting the options. They want the people's thinking and decisions to be limited to: who's right, Jesse Jackson, Vernon Jordan or Benjamin Hooks. It is possible that none of them are. It is also possible that all of them have valid points.

In other words, it is necessary to have an independent policy, independent stance. And from that perspective, to make one's own assessment. I am for unity. But one could read the editorials in the *New York Times* and other monopoly controlled papers and conclude that they are also for unity. In this case Black-Jewish unity. But do the editors of the *Times* and James Steele have the same kind of unity in mind? There's unity and then there's unity. In regard to the question we are discussing tonight it is necessary, in fact, vital to ask: Unity for what? Unity under what conditions and under whose leadership?

It would be self-defeating for one not to see the class factor, the class differentiation that exists for instance among Black people and Jewish people. It would be sheer folly to ignore or worse, to refuse to recognize that as between the different classes within each people, and as between the same classes within and between each people there are conflicting as well as common aims and interests. There is a Black bourgeoisie within the Black people. There is a Jewish bourgeoisie within the Jewish people. Because of racial discrimination and national oppression the Black capitalist strata is very small (less than one percent of the Black people) and non-monopoly. That is, they have been excluded by and large from the corporate state-monopoly setup from the standpoint of their share of profits and participation in the market. The Black bourgeoisie does not own the steel mills and auto plants. It does not own the energy complex, or control transit systems. This is not true of the capitalist class strata with the Jewish people, while there are small and medium strata more or less "independent" (non-monopoly) Jewish capitalists, there is also heavy interpenetration with monopoly capital as a whole.

The addition of Blacks to the board of directors of monopoly corporations does not change this fact of life of the position of the Black bourgeoisie. Objectively speaking, it has not and cannot aid or speed up the liberation process. If anything, life has proved that it's the other way around. Yet one is compelled on the general democratic issue of the struggle for equality to support the fight of Black business against the discriminatory pro-monopoly policies of the banks and

government. One can understand the Black bourgeoisie's wish that its narrow class concerns should be the total focus of the Black people's movement. One can understand it, but one should not support it.

We have to be mindful of the interests and needs of the overwhelming majority of Black people who in terms of class status are workers. Even if one's starting point is only a formal, simple democratic perspective, one has to decide whose interest should be primary, the majority or the minority even though because Black people as a whole face racism and national oppression there are issues and struggles requiring the broadest unity of the whole people. It is essential to recognize that the different classes among Black people attach different content to the concept of unity, Black unity, and also the notion of Black-Jewish unity.

The old time-tested notion is relevant: the bourgeoisie finds its nationalism in the quest for the market. Any exploiting strata among any people finds it necessary to put a people's banner over its class aims because in today's world no one can go out and say, "what I'm about is exploitation; I want the equal right to exploit my own people; I want to plunder the labor and resources of Africa and the Middle East." In their quest for a share of the market the bourgeoisie has to disguise it with a broad "people's" slogan.

Now before going further let me make one thing crystal clear. My personal experience, and on this I think that the history of class and people's struggle bears me out, it is next to impossible to achieve unity of

broad forces if one is looking for agreement on every single point or principle. Virtually all of the leaders or organizations I may speak of or be critical of in relation to the matters we are discussing tonight nevertheless have made, are making, and hopefully will continue to make significant contributions to the struggle for peace equality and democratic rights. Each in his or her own way, in general, are important factors for the struggle for human progress. *The unity I speak of is a unity of action on common problems against the common oppressor and exploiter of working people, the poor, the youth and the old.*

For example, it is necessary to take a close look at the disagreement between sections of Black leadership. Some say it is personality, ego tripping. And that element may be there.

Others say it's deeper. They contend that the Black-Jewish alliance should not be jeopardized by overtures to the PLO. They attempt to justify this position by saying that the PLO is a terrorist organization while the Black movement has traditionally been non-violent. Therefore there can be nothing in common between Afro-Americans and the PLO.

But who has been or is more of a terrorist than Menachim Begin? Than the Israeli ruling class, which resorts to state terrorism in pursuing its expansionist aims?

Bayard Rustin even goes to the extent of likening the PLO to the Ku Klux Klan. But I would like to take this opportunity to remind Rustin that he most likely would not recognize the Imperial Wizard of the Klan if he

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were not wearing robes. He could be anybody, maybe even the man Rustin was sitting across the table from when he was making this inflammatory statement in Tel Aviv.

There are also inferences that Jesse Jackson and SCLC are really just making a pitch for Arab oil money. To me this is a vicious slander. And even if they were, the critical question before all of the people of the United States is not Arab oil money, but U.S. monopoly oil money, U.S. oil imperialism, especially the Pentagon. In assessing the so-called "dispute in the family," one should ask whose family are we talking about? Which is why one also cannot be unmindful of the fact that many of the Black leaders who are critical of recognition of the PLO, that pledge blind support for the Israeli ruling class, belong to more than just the Black family. Vernon Jordan sits on the Board of Directors of Manufacturers Hanover Bank, IBM, Xerox and several other giant monopoly corporations. Margaret Bush Wilson chairwoman of the Board of the NAACP is on the Board of Monsanto. While the NAACP took a position in favor of deregulation of domestic oil prices two years ago from which it still has not fully retreated. Philadelphia's own Reverend Leon Sullivan is on the board of General Motors. Gulf also has made substantial contributions to SCLC.

Bayard Rustin has long been the spokesman for the anti-Soviet, pro-Zionist policies of right wing social democracy. He is conveniently hauled out for any occasion when they need a Black face to demonstrate "where the Black community really stands." This month he went to Israel. Last spring he was hauled out to support Muzorewa and Smith in Zimbabwe. For all the ranting and raving, in my opinion, no one can organize a meeting in any Black community in this country that will get a mass, grass roots response in support of Israeli occupation of Arab lands. But the reverse—support for recognition of the PLO as the key ingredient to a just Mideast solution—has already gotten a different response—a response of mass support.

There are many factors in the "dispute." In my opinion, none of the leaders are 100% right. Jesse Jackson, Rev. Joseph Lowery and others are absolutely correct in refusing to accept the arrogant, white supremacist concept that Black people should be concerned with "civil rights, survival issues" and let the big white folks take care of foreign policy. I also think it right that Black people should have an independent policy on all questions. But is Jesse Jackson's line of approach really independent?

In trying to complete the formula of corporate con-

nections of some brothers and sisters in the Black family with the family of state-monopoly capital, one also cannot fail to note a factor in Jesse Jackson's flirtation with the Republican Party or that now he is being courted by Stuart Eisenstat and Jimmy Carter, particularly since the Camp David summit last July. It does not seem to me possible that his trip to the Mideast could have been conducted without at least the tacit approval of and coordination with the Carter administration. This is also true of his trip to South Africa.

The administration has but one motive in mind—to weaken the anti-imperialist alliance in the Arab and African countries; to strengthen the position of the multi-national corporations through neo-colonialism. This is true independent of anyone's "good intentions."

The oil monopolies invest in progressive countries as well as reactionary countries. And they also contribute to progressive organizations as well as reactionary organizations in this country. They play two sides, but for their own purposes. In this they are aided by the weaknesses, limitations, or conscious participation of this or that organization or personality. The closer they are in common class position and outlook, the better. That is why, while we condemn the racism involved in the forced resignation of Andy Young, we must also at the same time be critical of brother Young. For example, his appeal in evaluating the world scene after the 32nd General Assembly of the United Nations to the leaders of the developing countries to "be like Sadat." What does "be like Sadat" mean? It means compromising with imperialism. The same must be said of Young's contention that the corporations are a "force for peaceful social change" in Southern Africa.

In the same vein, Jesse Jackson and others should be supported in calling for recognition of the PLO. On that it is not solely a question of speculating as to what his real motives are. The objective significance of his actions in helping to galvanize the mass support for the PLO is what is important and must be utilized to further the process. This development represents a historic breakthrough in the development of Black people's class independence on foreign policy questions. Historic in its significance not only for Black people, but I believe life will prove also for the working class and broad democratic masses, including the Jewish masses. However, sharp criticism is in order when Jesse Jackson says, as he did in his speech at the Congressional Black Caucus' Legislative Weekend, that Black people should play "an evenhanded role in the Arab-Israeli conflict," and should attempt "to reconcile the

Israelis and the PLO." Can such a position be supported by Black masses? By the Youth? By the working class of our country as a whole?

The Mideast crisis stems from the attempt of imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, the Pentagon in the first place, to blunt and undermine the struggle for national liberation of the Arab peoples, using the state of Israel as its gendarme. The ideological justification for this is Zionism. The focal point of the struggle for national liberation in the Mideast today is the right to self-determination of the Palestinian-Arab people expressed in the demand for independent statehood. Virtually everybody in the world, except for Israel and the United States and a few other, sundry countries like South Africa and Chile, recognizes this, irrespective of social system or political view. The resignation of Foreign Minister Dayan, took place in this context and represents not a strategic but a tactical difference arising out of a growing concern that the ruling class of Israel is going too far with its tactical inflexibility and is reaching a point of no-return, jeopardizing the security and future of the state of Israel itself.

It needs to be pointed out to brother Jackson that in this conflict somebody is right and somebody is wrong. One cause is just, whatever the forms of struggle. And one cause is unjust, using any form of struggle. The Zionist-Israeli ruling class, with the backing of the Pentagon, is illegally and immorally occupying Arab lands. It is guilty of suppressing the national right-the right to independent statehood-of the Palestinian people. The Zionist cause is unjust. Evenhandedness, reconciliation between oppressor and oppressed, and prevention of the realization of the just national rights of the Palestinian people is out of the question. The interests of Black people do not lie in supporting Israeli expansionism and occupation of Arab lands. And to put it bluntly, neither do the objective interests of Jewish masses, here or in Israel. The "split" between Begin and Dayan is expressive of the pressure the struggle of the peace forces in Israel—Arab and Jewish, and the Arab peoples is putting on the Israeli ruling class. Of course, this struggle within Israel received no media coverage in this country.

Support for Israeli Zionist expansionism support the aims of the Pentagon and oil monopolies who want to militarily intervene with a quick strike occupation force. Support for Zionism also reinforces the costly, dangerous anti-Soviet foreign policy of U.S. ruling circles. Supporting Zionism and therefore U.S. imperialism is to support the racist robbery of needed funds for jobs, quality education, affirmative action

and social progress generally, that are ripped off through the military budget. No one should be misled in dealing with Zionism. It is a tool of imperialism. The Israeli ruling class could not occupy an acre of Arab land for a week without the Pentagon.

Support for the policies of U.S. imperialism will not make oil any more available or cheaper in this country. On the contrary, it will exact high prices in the lives of our young men who will be forced to do the fighting, Black youth in the first place, who constitute a disproportionately high percentage of ground troops of U.S. armed forces. It will exact a high price in the continuing growth of militarism and the arms race. Today's world demands that the Mideast be transformed into a peace zone.

I think it is significant and instructive that this whole debate about Black-Jewish unity, in respect to the Mideast leaves white masses as a whole out of consideration. There is no discussion of the role of white masses. But, can anything of significance or progress be accomplished without the active participation of white masses, white workers in the first place.

The media's treatment of this matter is a diversion and divides the class and social forces necessary to compel U.S. imperialism to pursue a policy of peace and justice in the Middle East. It also diverts attention of Jew and gentile, Black and white, from the main question before the whole country, indeed the whole world. And that is ratification of the SALT II treaty and prevention of a new round of the arms race.

The differences can prevail. They can be resolved later. But at this moment the total energy of the whole of the people's forces, despite differences among some sectors on the Mideast, should be focused on mobilizing that kind of mass pressure that can force 67 Senators at the very minimum to vote for SALT II. The urgency of the SALT II ratification struggle requires that all forces in the Black community, all forces among the Jewish people, the labor movement, the women's movement, the seniors movement, the youth and student movement bring their pressure to bear compelling the Senate to ratify this agreement.

It is necessary to sound an alarm over the danger signs that have emerged during the battle for ratification. An all-out campaign is being waged by the anti-

'justice will roll down like waters from a mighty stream.' (The King quote is from the *Freedomways Magazine Dinner in Honor of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois* speech he delivered on February 23, 1968)

detente coalition of warhawks, right-wingers, racists and reactionaries—in an outside of Congress—to defeat the SALT II treaty at all costs. It is a primitive vile anti-Soviet campaign. It is a campaign of gross, vulgar war-mongering aimed at triggering the most backward, base ideas existing on the insecurity and fears of fairly widespread sections of the population.

What is clear is that the main opponents of SALT II are not for any kind of treaty with the Soviet Union other than one abolishing socialism and abdicating support for national liberation.

The opponents of SALT II have not been able to defeat SALT II on its merits. First they tried the issue of verification and that was rendered ludicrous. They would have had the American people believe that snooper satellites that could tell the color and number of stripes on the bathing suit of a person lying by a swimming pool from 100 miles up in the air could not tell whether the Soviet Union was deploying a missile several stories high. They then wanted the U.S. people to believe that the Soviet Union would invest millions of dollars in building a missile inside a building and then deploy it without testing it.

Next they tried the tactic that the treaty favored the USSR. Yet the facts show that the majority of concessions were made by the Soviet Union. Then SALT II's opponents raised the phony issue of Soviet combat troops in Cuba. After 10 years of spending more than 100 billion dollars per year on militarism they would now have us believe that 3,000 military training personnel that had been there for 17 years posed a threat to the security of this country. If that is the case, the people should ask: What the hell have they spent all that money on?

And what can one say about personalities like Frank Church, who betrayed the peace movement, who opted to compromise with the right-wing in order to win votes when he could have, had he the courage, mobilized the people of Idaho for peace. Or about Jimmy Carter, who in his typically comey corn pone manner tells the American people that we should not play games with world peace. But who other than the Carter Administration was playing the games? And what a dangerous game.

There is also the role of personalities like Henry Kissinger, Henry Jackson and Sam Nunn, who is supposed to be "the expert" on military spending (although no one says what makes him an "expert"). These characters initiated and led the drive to have the Senate impose a requirement on the Administration of an increase in military spending of 3% (although they

wanted an even higher percentage increase) per year above the inflationary rates. At the present rate of inflation, that would be an increase of 18-20%.

Congressman Ronald Dellums estimates that this requirement will result in the government spending \$2.8-\$3.2 trillion on the arms race in the decade of the 1980's alone. He concluded that the result of such unprecedented militarism would be twofold: 1) The bottom will drop out of the economy 2) An uncontrolled arms race will be initiated because no social or scientific mechanisms exist that can control this kind of enormous rapid expansion in military spending, and technology.

Representative Dellums exposed the tactic of opponents of SALT II and of the Carter Administration of attempting to ransom or "buy" votes in return for new weapons systems and increased military spending. This trade-off has new dangers. He pointed out that the President's decision to develop and deploy the MX missile constitutes a radical departure from the U.S. military doctrine. It is a first-strike weapon and together with the Cruise and Pershing II missiles which the Administration and the Pentagon are demanding be deployed in Western Europe, are not verifiable. Thus they constitute weapons of actual preparation for an anti-Soviet war.

We have arrived—and this is part of the historic fork in the road—at a situation in which war is not inevitable to one in which it can become inevitable. One has to view with extraordinary alarm President Carter's flat-out rejection of the unilateral initiative of the Soviet Union of withdrawing 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks from the German Democratic Republic and the offer to substantially reduce its nuclear arsenal positioned in the western part of the USSR if no new missile systems are deployed in the NATO countries of Western Europe.

The thread running through every argument of SALT II and shared by the Administration is the "need" to respond to the "Soviet military build-up." The challenge of ratification of SALT II is the challenge of rejecting the notion of the existence of a "Soviet menace," "Soviet aggression." This is the Big Lie upon which United States foreign and military policy is based. If this concept is accepted then one has to accept the necessity for "first strike" capability, for military superiority over the "aggressor," the "menace."

SALT II's fundamental premise is recognition of the military strategic balance or equality between the USA and the USSR. That is, that the two countries are

roughly equal in nuclear capability and will remain so. *This is the chief breakthrough.* It repudiates the motive force of the arms race—the U.S. drive for military superiority. It recognizes that superiority cannot be permanently achieved or maintained. That is why the treaty can be the foundation on which genuine arms reduction and disarmament can be achieved in *SALT III*, in continuing the *SALT* process.

The warmongers from Brzezinski to Kissinger, Jackson, Nunn, Garn, Glenn, et. al. want to have their cake and eat it too. They want the Soviets to disarm while the U.S. arms.

U.S. imperialism is now attempting to impose a new, even more dangerous and volatile round of the arms race on Europe. Suicidal illusions are harbored by the warmongers which have become the deciding force in this country's leadership. There is above all the "judgement day" mentality of the Pentagon and Brzezinski about whom Carter said, "his are the eyes through which I see much of the world." The danger of this moment in human history lies in the fact that the lunatic fringe is not on the fringe anymore. The lunatic fringe is in the center of the Carter Administration and Congress. A substantial percentage of politicians and media have lined up behind the absolutely belicose course pursued by the military-industrial corporate clique that is now dominant in the foreign and military policy establishment.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party is absolutely right in warning of the rise of a military junta inside of the United States. The military brass, active or retired, heading the Pentagon or more and more diverse monopoly corporations and social institutions are, in effect, attempting a takeover of government and public policy.

This militarist, cold war, pro-facist grouping apparently believes that the United States can win in a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. They are rapidly deepening war preparations and moving plans for new interventions into the operational stage. They believe like the Maoists believe: that the entire national economy be subordinated to an anti-Soviet military and foreign policy effort. And that US imperialism, like the Maoists think China, can foment or initiate nuclear war from the territory of Europe or Asia, sit back on the sidelines, while western Europe, Japan and China take the "heat" of Soviet retaliation and survive to dominate the remnants of the world. Recently declassified documents show that an anti-Soviet nuclear war has been in the plans, including up to the operational level, of the Pentagon to one extent or other since 1946. But

this is sheer insanity.

Congressman Ronald Dellums appealed to Black people "not to be a part of this madness." "Nuclear bombs," he said, "will not be racist bombs. They will fall regardless of race, creed, color, sex, age or national origin."

Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party, was brilliant in his closing remarks at its 22nd Convention, in calling for a people's crusade for ratification of *SALT II*. It is necessary, he said, to impose peace on the U.S. ruling circles!

The peace movement has the obligation of doing to the warmongers what the ultra-right tries to do to peace and progressive candidates—kick them out of office. Do not let them rest even for a minute. The people and youth and students must wage a campaign to defeat the warmongering politicians. In the next month every conceivable form of mass pressure must be utilized in the fight for ratification of *SALT II* and against the deployment of the Euro-strategic missiles.

In this context, where do Pennsylvania's Senators stand? How can they not have a position? Look at the squalor that exists in the city of Philadelphia. Look at the closed-down steel mills in western Pennsylvania. How can they dare not have a position on a treaty that presents the possibilities of cutting military spending and using it to open up factories and rebuilding the cities, the crisis of which in the first place is due to the fact that the U.S. has spent over \$3 trillion on militarism and the arms race since 1945. The U.S. has been the munitions factory of the world. No other country shouldered or shoulders the arms burden that the U.S. ruling class imposes on its people.

In the time left I'd like to say a few more words about the question of unity and express a few more thoughts about what it has to do with the youth I spoke of earlier. It seems to me that the older generation in the trade union movement, the leadership of all political orientations of the various organizations and forces within the racial and national communities, the leadership of the various religious denominations, the main mass democratic organizations of the people must, at least for a moment, pause and consider what is the heritage that's being left to the future. And by the future I mean, above all, the youth and the rising generation. The youth are the future.

The young generation entering the 1980's represents the first young generation in the history of the U.S. that is not even being offered the illusion of a meaningful life. Today's teenagers are being told, in effect, to vegetate for the next 50 years because life, a life of

productive, creative labor is out of the question. Today's Black youth are the first young generation of Black people in 116 years to whom their parents cannot say with confidence, "you will have it better than we did."

If the older generations of the working class and the people undertake to achieve a new level of unity for peace and progress, for a change in national priorities, only for the sake of the youth, if for no other reason, then let it be done! Let the older generations together with the youth, for sake of the future, impose peace, jobs and equality!

Pope John Paul II raised the question: is the burden of the arms race the only legacy we are to leave to future generations? The lack of sufficient unity in the youth and student movement and in the working class and people's movement enables the warmongers to bestow a legacy of unemployment, social and material squalor, ignorance, poverty, militarism, racism and hopelessness upon today's young people. Nowhere do increasing numbers of youth see the possibility for a decent start in life. Only the rising fightback movement of the working class, of the oppressed national minorities, for an end of the arms race, for affirmative action, for jobs, for economic security, through independent mass and class political action, offers the young people hope. Hope arises out of struggle. That is one of the reasons why in the city of Philadelphia we see the awakening, so to speak, the activation of the youth, especially Black youth.

Young people here played and are playing a unique and I think we can say an indispensable role, first in the struggle against charter change, and now in the campaign to elect Lucien Blackwell as Mayor. Think about the tremendous courage of the youth who are actively participating in this campaign, including at leadership levels. Think of the sophistication and confidence they have acquired knowing that they are fulfilling their historic obligation to their people and to their class.

One of the unique features of the entire campaign is that the youth see in Lucien Blackwell the possibility of a public official who will defend their interests, who will have that kind of administration under which the young people can think about the future and can attach some value, some hope to the future. The Blackwell campaign is laying a legacy of unity. It is from this standpoint that much needs to be examined. There are lessons not only for Philadelphia but for the country as well. What are the factors promoting or retarding unity, what positions sustain, deepen and build people's unity through the Blackwell candidacy.

The questions I put earlier I want to put again. Unity for what? With whom? For whom? Under whose leadership? Against what? It is in this context that everyone correctly expresses alarm at the widening breach between the Black and Jewish communities. Black-Jewish unity is an important ingredient in the overall Black-white unity relationship. It is necessary to examine why the strains. One can say that it is not without reason that the Black community and most of its leadership express concern about the alignment of prominent Jewish organizations and personalities against affirmative action, particularly the use of quotas. And it is not that Blacks are insensitive to what quotas have meant historically for Jewish masses. But every oppressed people including the Afro-American people, has the right to define and to formulate its demands.

The quotas that Blacks are talking about are not exclusionary, but inclusionary. They are not ceilings, but floors upon which to build an edifice of equality.

Working class masses in the Black community are also concerned about the alliance of sections of the Jewish people and leadership with class collaborationism which, if it is anything, it is a racist force within the labor movement that connives with the monopoly corporations in locking Black workers in the dungeon of the racist division of labor, of the last-hired, first-fired.

Many also speak about the influences of Zionism on Jewish masses. I think this a correct concern. In this regard it is necessary to consider not only the influence of racism in general but also of the specific variety—Zionism, in the ranks of the Jewish people. This applies particularly to the discussion about the recognition of the PLO and frictions between the two communities and within the Black community. Some Black leaders like Vernon Jordan as well as many Jewish leaders have referred to the "traditional alliance," to the great progressive traditions of the Jewish people in the civil rights movement, the trade union movement, etc. But one has to recall the lead phrase of a song Lou Rawls popularized, "they don't give medals to yesterday's heroes." The role of given sections of the population is evaluated not only in terms of the past but most importantly in the present and for purposes of the future.

There is likewise great concern over the rise of anti-Semitism in this country. There is a relationship between the cross burnings and defacing synagogues with swastikas. Yet it is necessary to say bluntly that to be anti-Zionist is not to be anti-Semitic. There are great

numbers of Jews who resolutely oppose Zionism yet staunchly struggle against discrimination against the Jewish people or any other people. Surely they cannot be called anti-Semitic. Neither the multi-racial, multi-national fighters against racism, for equality and democracy. I firmly reject any notion that anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism.

Through Zionism, the monopoly ruling class of this country is, I fear, setting up the Jewish masses and the people as a whole for a dangerous anti-Semitic provocation. The historical result of Zionism is a colossal distortion of history and of the position of the Jewish people in the making of history. This is creating a very dangerous situation in our country. Zionism has imposed a garrison mentality on substantial sections of the Jewish people. To hear the Zionists and the media in this country tell it, one would think that only Jews perished in World War II. Why? This is an important question.

To suggest that Hitler was only anti-Semitic, that the Nazis only committed genocide against Jews, is to distort and cover-up the anti-people, anti-democratic, anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, capitalist class-character, content and role of fascism. It is also to suggest that the world—influenced by anti-Semitism—stood by and let it happen.

Zionism's distortion of the history of World War II omits and in fact denies the role and composition of the anti-fascist coalition which in fact was led by the Soviet Union. This helps prevent the masses—Jew and Gentile—from drawing the proper lesson from the world's worst and most bitter historical experience, as to what forces, what kind of unity, what type of domestic and foreign policy is needed to prevent the rise of another Hitler in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Zionism is not only useful to imperialism in regard to using Israel as its gendarme against the Arab peoples and guardian of the northern gate to Africa. It is also a weapon against working class and popular unity within the United States itself.

The monopoly bourgeoisie recognizes that discrimination against the Jewish people now is largely non-economic. But the practical effect of Zionism is a view that the struggle for other national minorities for economic equality is aimed at undermining the economic gains of the Jewish masses. Although, to be sure, *it is aimed* at sections of the Jewish bourgeoisie not because they are Jewish but because they are an integral part of the state-corporate monopoly set-up that exploits and oppresses not only the oppressed

national minorities but also the multi-racial, multi-national working class as a whole.

It is in this context that monopoly is striving to use the influence, the hold of Zionism on the Jewish masses to transform them into a buffer against the advances of the Black liberation movement. Monopoly is trying to use its pro-Zionist lieutenants in the labor movement and Jewish workers influenced by Zionism to sidetrack the working class movement into compromises and accommodation with Pentagon policy.

Zionism needs anti-Semitism; it provokes and encourages it. In concrete situations it serves to demobilize the Jewish people from forthright, frontline active participation in the new stage of struggle for peace, equality, democracy and progress.

In several cities, Philadelphia for example, the process of desegregation of the public schools could—if Zionism and racism is not rejected by Jewish masses and white masses generally—sharply pit the Black community against the Jewish community. We have to admit that progressives in the Jewish community and among the youth and students, particularly, have also been influenced or demobilized by racist propaganda and by a certain "better them than us" mentality that Zionist concepts inevitably lead to. It is now necessary that the debate about Black-Jewish unity focus on the question of how to play a greater role in the struggles for equality and social progress. You see Zionism, as with all forms of nationalism, distorts class differentiation. To see the effect upon Jewish working masses it is perhaps helpful to see its effect on workers of other nationality groups.

Some of the League members and I were having an interesting conversation this afternoon. We were talking about the father of one of the League comrades who apparently has had his conscience pricked by the Blackwell campaign. He is in a dilemma. He finds it difficult to reconcile the fact that Blackwell is a worker like himself and has the thought patterns, the mind set of workers, has the pattern of temper of workers.

He knows that Blackwell is for real. And that because of his working class character Blackwell handles the question of racism much differently than say many middle class Black leaders. For him racism fits into a class unity mold. The Blackwell campaign, the struggle against racism is part and parcel of the struggle for people's unity against big business, corruption and reaction. The white worker's problem is: how does he reconcile this with the fact that Blackwell is Black.

When this comrade's father hears Blackwell he somehow feels that he is really hearing himself. When

he hears Green or Marston his intuitive reaction is that he is really hearing the boss. But Blackwell is Black; Green and Marston are white.

Even if this worker votes for skin color with its inherent but increasingly unrealizable promise of skin privilege instead of for common class interests come Tuesday, he will never be the same. Especially if the forces of the Blackwell campaign continue their work—educationally, politically and organizationally. Two months from now, six months from now the people's activists must be there to help this worker, when after seeing the new administration—if Blackwell does not win—in practice, he will know that he missed an opportunity to vote for himself, to vote for workers through Black representation.

The Blackwell campaign offers profound lessons as to how racism operates in the working class and people's movement to prevent or to split united action. It has a special relationship to the main questions we have been discussing. Fear of so-called Black anti-Semitism has pushed substantial sections of Philadelphia's Jewish community into the Green-Marston-Rizzo camp. The fear of a so-called "Black machine" does the same with large numbers in the various ethnic communities among white workers and masses in the city.

And so the same question keeps coming up, unity on what terms? This is the most urgent question for the youth and students be they Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian, Asian-Pacific, Arab, Jewish, Irish, Polish, Italian, German, Hungarian, Russian, Greek, etc. It is the most urgent question because the youth are the future. What kind of future, and will they get to the future is still very much in doubt. Unity is the way of the youth to a better life today and a secure, meaningful future tomorrow.

For the youth at West Philly High or down on the docks, in the unemployment line on the Southside, being recycled out on the Northside, or priced out of an education by high tuition at Temple University, working class unity is a most important concept. It enables youth to fight for genuine Black-Jewish, Black-white, Black-Latino-white unity. Working class unity sees "Them and Us," the workers versus the bosses, the people versus big business, peace versus war and the war-monger. The concept, the perspective of working class unity leads to an understanding that in every city in this country, including Philadelphia, there are in Mike Gold's words: "Jews without money." This provides the material basis for unity.

Jewish working class and middle strata masses need

peace and want peace. They will decisively benefit from advances in the struggle of Black people for full equality through affirmative action. But Black-Jewish unity as a component part of Black-white and multi-racial, multi-national working class and people's unity must be based on equality. I would have to agree with Kenneth Clark when he said in apparent reference to Vernon Jordan's call for "interdependence," "that interdependence based on intimidation and coercion sounds like dependence . . ."

Unity can be achieved through sound working class positions on concrete issues. What is of benefit to workers is of benefit to all. Jewish workers have more in common with Black workers than they do with the House of Morgan. The youth and student movement has more in common with the trade union movement than it does with the corporations. The national origin or racial background of the monopoly bourgeoisie is irrelevant. It as a class operates against the interests of every nationality, race and ethnic group and against the interests of the nation as a whole.

The breakdown in the "traditional alliance," in my opinion, represents inner-class conflicts between Jewish capital that is wedded to monopoly and imperialism in general, Zionist expansionism in particular, and the budding Black bourgeoisie that can not get a "fair share" of that market. Therefore it pursues another—the Arab and African market. In this they (both Jewish and Black capital) are actively supported by the banks, corporations and government in an attempt to play both sides of the street—classical colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In trying to decide who is right, one must go back to these banks and corporations, the Carter Administration and the Pentagon. If the position of any of the personalities involved in the "dispute in the family" or in the "breakdown of the traditional alliance" advances the policy or is an integral part of the policy of the multinational corporations and the United States government which functions to protect corporate interests, then the youth—all the youth—must say that these people are wrong. The youth must not be a part of this. A secure future does not lay in supporting Zionism, occupation or expansionism, nor in "interdependence" on foreign policy for the purpose of the "right" to exploit the African and Arab peoples through neo-colonialism and "Black" capitalism. Independence has meaning only if it is class independence; independence from monopoly and imperialist policy. This is the way for workers, for Blacks, for Jews, for whites in general, for unity of the people for

peace, equality, jobs, democracy and progress.

Now, one final thought in closing. I saw a bus carrying a Blackwell poster. It said, "Lucien Blackwell Has The Solution." I would suggest we think in broader, historical terms. If we did then the slogan for now and the future would be. "Lucien Blackwell IS THE SOLUTION." That is, Lucien Blackwell, not the personality and an exceptional, brilliant candidate. But his personality develops and flowers as a function of his being a class-conscious worker. So the solution I am suggesting for the people and especially the youth—not only of Philadelphia, but the entire nation—is, class-conscious workers pursuing an independent class policy *is the solution* to the nation's crisis.

The meaning of a worker as mayor of Philadelphia or any other city, or public office is profound. One could ask, for example, would Green or Marston speak at the founding conference of the United States Peace Council? Will they stand for peace, disarmament and cutting the military budget as a prime means of solving the city's financial, housing, educational, employment and social services crisis?

That Blackwell is a worker with impeccable credentials in the class struggle, that he is also an Afro-American with equally outstanding credentials in the struggle for equality has enormous implications for democracy.

Take the question of Rizzo's police-state terrorism machine. For reasons of class background and experience together with nationality and racial background and experience, would Blackwell maintain it? I should think the answer is quite clear. Blackwell stands in the forefront of the struggle against Rizzo and Rizzoism.

Under the administration of Coleman Young, the Detroit police force, as a result of affirmative action, has gone from 14% Black in 1974 to nearly 50% Black today. Fundamental changes in composition also are taking place in the police department's leadership. Now this has not changed the fundamental role of the police in Detroit because GM, Ford and Chrysler still dominate that city. That question has not come up fully on the people's agenda yet. Nevertheless the atmosphere for struggle in Detroit has been democratized. Black youth are a little safer. Police brutality is declining. Strikers don't get their heads whipped. Communists aren't thrown in jail for distributing their newspaper.

Such a development in Philadelphia would help facilitate and widen a tremendous democratic upsurge. Black-white unity would not be punishable by a billy-

club. The police-state atmosphere of intimidation, division and polarization could be done away with.

At any rate, friends, I think that Lucien Blackwell is already the winner. He has emerged as truly the people's candidate. His candidacy has opened the Pandora's Box of political independence, of anti-racist, anti-monopoly people's, working class trade union candidates. Every thing must be done in the next ten days by all who stand for peace, equality and progress to help insure that Lucien Blackwell's political victory is matched by an electoral victory.

On behalf of the Philadelphia YWLL and Philadelphia's young people, I urge you to talk with co-workers, fellow students, relatives, neighbors, friends; to raise in your union, mass organization, block club, student council, fraternity, sorority, church, synagogue, mosque, the meaning of a Blackwell victory.

Please volunteer and encourage others to volunteer for service as poll-watchers, canvassers, literature distributors, drivers, etc. Help get out the vote for the people's candidates.

I also urge you to waste no time—not even a minute—after election day to begin to consolidate the gains of the Blackwell and other independent campaigns. If I can make a suggestion, I think emphasis must now be placed on the building of an independent electoral-political action apparatus in the wards, precincts, neighborhoods, shops. Such will be the cradle for a new-found liberty that can make Philadelphia the City of Brotherly and Sisterly Love.

HAVE YOU URGED YOUR SENATORS TO VOTE FOR SALT II?



Political Independence

By Elsie Dickerson

(At the Cobo Hall CPUSA 22nd Convention)

Eight years of the Rizzo big business bank cronies has given our city higher inflation, higher unemployment, and the highest local tax rate on the working people anywhere in the nation.

Deteriorating neighborhoods and withdrawals of services badly needed by all working people have literally put us in a pressure cooker. The absence of subsidized housing coupled with 10% plus bank interest has put home purchases out of reach for Black, Hispanic and white working class families. Our public school system, 70% Black and Hispanic, suffers steady deterioration because of bank interest which is an astronomical percentage of the school budget. Constant cutbacks in teaching staff and programs deprive Black and white children of a chance to turn learnings into earnings. Recycling of inner city neighborhoods has increased real estate speculation. Increased real estate taxes and high rents are driving Black and Hispanic and white working class, mostly elderly, out of the homes in which they have lived most of their lives.

The Rizzo big business administration has used racist division as its principal tactic to carry out the strategy which gives banks and big business a death grip on us and the public institutions that we depend on to live. It has openly sanctioned racism. It has used racist tactics to drive a wedge in the membership of our trade unions. This wedge gives the employers an open hand for further layoffs and for wage cuts.

Police brutality is an everyday occurrence for working people and the poor in Philadelphia. The irresponsible attitude of Mayor Frank Rizzo and police Commissioner Joseph O'Neil in refusing to discipline police officers who abuse citizens has made it totally impossible for the community to feel secure with the Philadelphia Police Department. This has placed Philadelphia in an explosive situation.

Fed up with the "curb-side" justice practiced by the Police Dept., Black leaders have been calling for federal intervention. The Federal suit against the Philadelphia Police Department is an action that has been gaining momentum for years. It was sparked by long standing violations of the human and civil rights of a large segment of the city's population and the quiet acceptance of these violations by large sections of the white community.



It has also been sparked by the racist poison that has been the trade mark of the present administration and its policy of "containment" of the Black and poor communities. Lastly, the explosive situation was sparked by Rizzo's placing in the minds of many whites, the concept that the Black community is a reservoir of crime. He uses this as a pretext for police abuse. Black people—poor people are openly brutalized and even die in the process of arrest.

Rizzo dismisses the Federal law suit as "hog-wash", boasting that only he can keep Philadelphia safe. *But safe from whom and what?*



July 15, 1978 meeting attended by 100 concerned parents, students and teachers, in front of Rizzo's home.

We should not take a negative view of this law suit. The suit charged that the Mayor and other top officials of the city and police dept. condone police abuse and have created a municipal policy of accepting it. The suit brings national attention to a situation which many in Philadelphia see as a reality.

There are some who say the suit was political motivated, and that in January when the mayor will be replaced, the problem will be gone. *Not so.*

Whether the Justice Dept. suit is politically motivated or not is really unimportant. Until this abuse question is dealt with in an even-handed manner the problem will not go away. Changing a commissioner or mayor will not make it go away. The policies and the practices must be changed, along with racist top ranking leaders.

One thing is certain, the suit should prove to those diehard police supporters that abuse does exist in Philadelphia and must be dealt with.

Because of the acute polarization of the city, the oppressed communities, which face the butt of police power cannot wait for the outcome of a legal suit. The Communist Party calls for pressure to be exerted on District Attorney Edward Rendell to assign his best attorney to try cases such as the Cornell Warren case, in which a police officer, held his gun to the head of the Black handcuffed youth, shot and killed him. The officer was acquitted. They called it an accident. There was something wrong with his gun.

The Communist Party calls it genocide as a result of the greatest crime in this nation — racism.

The Party calls for support of a broad-based community group that must immediately seize upon a mechanism to secure police accountability and reform. The community must have input at a significant level. If it should be an advisory board, it must have teeth and power.

It must be free from the police pressure and should be empowered to order any appropriate disciplinary measure.

At the same time—the Party must support the movements such as Neighborhoods United Against Police Abuse, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. A strong Alliance is one of the top priorities. This is the big weakness of the struggle in Philadelphia. Without it there cannot be continuity in the struggle. Nor will the other organizations bring the working class approach to the struggle against abuse and expose the role of state monopoly in it.

Independent Movement

The deepening economic crisis and the escalated racist activities have aroused deep anger which has sparked the growth of an independent and vigorous Black-led political force.

These developments have brought us to a particular moment in the struggle in Philadelphia, a moment which our entire Party must examine in order to understand the struggles of our class, so as to improve the conditions we now face, and to continue to move forward.

The present moment in the struggle began with the recall petition, in which we saw 3,000 workers go out on the street and gather 200,000 signatures for the recall of the racist Rizzo. Rizzo's commissioners invalidated the petitions. He then tried to change the city charter in order that he might seek a third term. The result—he was soundly thrashed by a two to one vote in the primaries.

This was a crushing blow for Rizzo and the Rizoites. The primary saw 96 percent of the eligible Black voters go to the polls and give racism their answer.

Prior to the primary, Philadelphia witnessed a tremendous voters registration drive, the rise of the recycling movement that tied the economic question to its struggle around housing. The most democratic and logical task for Philadelphia coming out of these struggles was to elect a Black mayor.

The phony primary election that took place in May, made the so called elections in Rhodesia look democratic.

The candidacies of William J. Green, Jr., William Klenk and Albert Gaudiosi came out of a deep appreciation and a sense of fear of the mass movement that has developed in Philadelphia. It was a reflection of a fear among the monopolies that their rule was being seriously challenged.

This movement which centered in the Black community around the candidacy of Bowser saw the development of the unity of the most militant, the most outspoken, anti-monopoly forces in the city. Trade Union leaders, political leaders, rank and file forces and progressives made up this movement.

The ruling class candidates were frightened. More than one million dollars was raised by the Green forces. The other two Democratic candidates withdrew. This was done in order to throw votes to William Green, the chosen candidate of monopolies.

Primary day in '79 saw 87 percent of Black voters turn out — an unusual phenomena for the primary. Ten

percent of the white vote, in a city racially divided, went to Bowser.

Sham and wide-spread fraud were evident. Never was there such a display of vote stealing, broken machines and changing of polling places with no prior notification.

This led to an important event. The Fair elections Committee was established. Saturday after Saturday, thousands of Philadelphians turned out to meetings called by the Bowser forces. The feelings of most Blacks was about Bowser's defeat in the Primaries was "we were not defeated," "we were cheated." This spurred the call for actions against the racist and undemocratic practices. This fight not only had an impact on the city, but on the entire nation. Philadelphia became the focal point. Black leaders all over the country took an interest, and some participated in the action.

The leadership of this movement responding to the masses, channelled their indignation into the direction of political independence. Black leaders called for white support. Every meeting, every statement was a plea for unity. They correctly knew the crisis would not be solved alone by a movement that leads only one section of the population.

Some of these leaders saw that a new mass party was necessary. Others saw the need for new forms independent of the two old party machines. At the same time, they did not necessarily reject the possible need to use the two old party electoral system.

It is necessary for us to understand that in this movement there were different levels of advancement in the leadership. Some are far advanced and take a class approach. Their main target is monopoly. They call for class unity as key. They place the blame for inflation on the greed for maximum profits, on state monopoly capitalism and its stooges in Congress. They openly attack big business, multi-national corporations and call for nationalization of the oil industries.

There is another level, a level of leaders who feel they could still bring pressure to bear on the two old parties and in this way make things better. Some of them have accepted the propaganda of monopoly and the mass media that only William Green can unite the city.

But the grass roots forces are not confused. They saw through the broken campaign promises, the false polls taken by CBS-TV in favor of Green, and call for independence.

After Bowser lost the count battle for a new election, he retired from public life. I must say that the mass

media—TV, radio, press—unleashed a tremendous racist attack upon Bowser during the campaign.

Labor, liberal and peace forces did not support his campaign. I refer specifically to white labor leaders, white liberals, etc.

Bowser's leaving represented a setback. What the ruling class forces could not achieve before the May 25 primary, they were to some extent able to achieve after Bowser's retirement. They split the unity that was present prior to and directly after the primary. Some of those forces then endorsed Green. Bowser himself was scheduled to endorse Green, but the sentiment of the grass roots forces stopped him from doing so.

Despite the setbacks, the movement continued. At the Black Political Convention recently held in Philadelphia, Lucien Blackwell, President of International Longshoremen Union and member of the City Council, was drafted to run for mayor.

The Consumer Party, for reasons of its own offered to withdraw its mayoralty candidate and offer Blackwell the slot. At the time, Blackwell was away at a conference of the International Longshoreman's Union (ILU) in Florida.

Some Black leaders who had endorsed Green after Bowser left, did not want Blackwell to run. They wanted to wait until 1983. They fell prey to the ruling class propaganda that a Black cannot become the mayor of Philadelphia. Others felt Blackwell might lose in his seat in City Council which he was holding. Still others cited a lack of funds or ability to raise funds.

However, Blackwell decided to run for mayor and simultaneously for councilman-at-large. The Green forces talked about challenging him, but soon dropped that idea.

Blackwell felt that he could win, because Green, in his campaign against Bowser during the primary had spent, around \$135,000, yet Bowser who spent even less, almost won (losing by 37,000 votes). Blackwell also announced that he was not a Consumer Party candidate but was running on a coalition ticket — a people's ticket.

People's Ticket

Speaking from his union headquarters Blackwell called for unity of the working class. He said he was a candidate for all the working and poor people of the city, Black, white and Hispanic. With Blackwell as the candidate the movement took on a more advanced level. This was because of:

- 1) the class and social character of the movement;

- 2) the consistent class consciousness that raises the question of Black and white unity;
- 3) the very core of the movement which is grass roots in its activities and developments;
- 4) the continuous leadership by a candidate who is a class conscious trade unionist;
- 5) A coalition of labor, Blacks and Hispanics forms the basis of Blackwell's campaign.

It will be hard for white trade unionists to ignore a candidate who is a union brother, although some trade unions have endorsed Green.

* * *

Postscript

The mayoralty campaign and election in November election was unique. For the first time, a major candidate, a class conscious trade unionist, running on an independent ticket — polled over 110,000 votes.

What was new in the Lucien Blackwell campaign:

1. The theme of his campaign was that of unity of the working class.
2. It focused in on human rights and it tied the struggle of not only Black Liberation, but liberation of all oppressed people in this country and in the world.
3. It strengthened the movement toward independent Black politics in Philadelphia.
4. The campaign was composed totally of grass roots volunteers.
5. It established a city-wide identity for this working class son.
6. The campaign has caused some serious thinking among circles of some white trade union leadership as well as in the entire working class.
7. It brought about the beginning of unity between Blacks and Hispanics.



Rev. Ben Chavis

NEW YORK, Jan. 14— The Rev. Ben Chavis rose and stepped up to the pulpit and raised his right hand in a clenched fist. The cheers and applause in the packed church on the edge of Harlem went on and on.

"It feels good to be back home," he said. Then a sudden grin. "Home for me is where oppressed people are struggling for freedom. My house is in New York and Detroit and Los Angeles and Wilmington, North Carolina. My home is in Zimbabwe and Angola and Chile. It is obvious to me tonight that the base for a solidified, unified freedom movement is still evident."

Chavis' appearance at the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Manhattan Saturday night was his first in New York since he was released on early parole from prison in North Carolina, where he had spent the last four years of his life. Framed for his leadership of the civil rights movement in North Carolina and sentenced to 34 years in jail, he had been freed by one of the broadest struggles since the case of Angela Davis.

Terry Cannon

D.W. Jan. 15, 1980

In loving memory of three trailblazers

LEON LOVE
BILL STANLEY
CYRIL PHILLIP

*Your spirits and unselfishness continues as a
beacon for Black Liberation and for unity and
friendship of peoples and staff.*

—Editor of Black Liberation Journal

THE VOUCHER— Plot Against Free Public Schools

By a California Committee of Teachers

Free universal public education won through many years of struggle in which labor played an historic role is in grave danger. U.S. monopoly capital has unleashed multiple attacks on our public schools. We shall address ourselves to one of these attacks—the so called “voucher plan.”

Voucher Initiative

One such voucher plan for “the funding of public education” will be on the June 1980 ballot in the State of California. It calls for amending the State Constitution to permit the use of public funds to bring about the death of universal free public education.

It is to be noted that the destruction of public education which could not be achieved through the control and manipulation of the curriculum, would be achieved by altering the form. Demagogically this is being done in the interest of improving the schools’ ability to reach the people’s expectations for a system of free universal public education.

The plan is simple in concept, deceptively so. Public funds in the form of a voucher would be given to each child’s family to buy that child’s education in the “open market.”

Voucher plans have been proposed from time to time as a solution to the continuing capitalist created crisis in education. They have always been rejected as being antithetical to free public education, violating the principle of separation of Church and State and because they would further institutionalize segregation by class, race, national origin, sex, etc.

The federal government spent 12 million dollars in the early 70’s trying to sell a voucher system with no success. Only one school district tried it.¹ Why then, is it being put forward now?

The first reason has to do with the role education plays in our society. The control of the care and education of its youth is an important tool for the perpetuation of the ruling class in power. It is more important as a tool for change. It is dramatically demonstrated in the U.S.A. The economy of U.S. imperialism has been in a state of continuing crisis for many years and so, therefore, have its schools.

During the period of intense civil rights struggles, gains were made in the schools. But these gains were either not fully realized or frustrated early in their development. Shortsightedness kept whites from recognizing that racism in the school system was aimed to undermine the entire system of free universal public education. Suburban schools to which whites fled are deteriorating, with few exceptions, as are the urban schools whose student populations are predominantly Black, Hispanic and working class whites.

Masses of youth are not being educated. The Urban League refers to Black youth as “the endangered species” —a staggering disproportion of the miseducated are children of nationally oppressed people. In ever greater numbers white working class youth enter the ranks of the functional illiterates. Youth unemployment is becoming institutionalized, again with staggering disproportion of Blacks, Hispanics and other nationally oppressed youth.

The needs of monopoly capital have changed. It no longer needs masses of literate workers. Indeed, monopoly fears literate workers. The demands for trained technicians are easily obtained from the same inadequate schools that are producing masses of functional illiterates.

Twenty years ago Dr. James Conant observed that we should concern ourselves with guaranteeing quality education with the setting of high achievement standards for but 15% of our public school students. How much lower would he make the figure today? But what about the rest of the students? They “may be given passing grades . . . whether or not a certain level of achievement has been reached,” said Conant.

There is a spurious notion being nurtured that it is wrong to spend tax money on educating everyone because not everyone is educable and that the future in our society can only provide employment for a limited number of excellently educated adults.

It is patently clear that this notion must be rejected. It is inhuman, undemocratic as well as unscientific.

In his excellent work entitled “who can be educated” Dr. Milton Schwebel observes:

"Whenever the voice of the people was throttled and the subjects of the realm were passive, only an elite were believed to possess God-given talents for education that enabled them to understand and control the environment, and also to heighten their appreciation of man's cultural heritage. When the common people were sufficiently powerful to demand an improvement in their conditions of life, one or another theory of educability emerged that left open-ended the possibility of mass education. Up to now, the third stage has always been a counterreaction that succeeds in halting if not temporarily reversing the forward trend."

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling of 1954 that separate education is inherently unequal still stands and many communities are still struggling with the requirement to guarantee equal access to quality education. The opponents of busing have used every emotional, racist trick to frustrate these struggles but they have not been completely successful.

The voucher plan would provide a mechanism for self-segregation and for busing to resegregate where desegregation has been initiated. To call the voucher plan "The Family Choice Initiative" is a carefully planned deception.

A further reason for the emergence of a voucher measure in California at this time is the enactment of Proposition 13 last year.

The authors of the Voucher Initiative, Stephen Sugarman and John Coons, exploited the fact that education was the public service hardest hit by Proposition 13. They, therefore, dug up their voucher proposal, dormant since the early 70's, brushed it off and revised it. The revisions attempt to address the many obstacles the plan has met since its initial appearance.

Sugarman and Coons have tried to give their revised plan a liberal image, claiming that there is something in it for everyone and describing it as a "revolutionary" approach to the funding of public education.

Coons and Sugarman, in fact, earned some liberal credentials which will enhance the proposal and serve to mask its real nature. It was they who took the "Serrano vs. Priest" case to the California Supreme Court. This is the landmark decision that held that money spent on education could not be a function of the wealth of the district in which the child lived. Coons and Sugarman are now saying that the voucher plan is the only proper way to meet this constitutional requirement. They contend further that the main purpose of their plan is to "improve public education and to increase the authority of parents and teachers."

This Initiative measure would set up three classes of common schools: (1) public schools, as we know them, (2) independent public schools certified to redeem educational vouchers, and (3) family choice schools, privately owned and organized and certified to redeem vouchers.

The independent public schools would be established by the existing school districts, community colleges and public universities. They would be organized as separate public, non-profit corporations. This would make it possible for any corporation to use this as a front to run an "alternative" school of their choice.

The family choice schools "shall organize under California law as either a public benefit or mutual benefit corporation and may be neither a religious corporation nor a corporation sole." To overcome this prohibition, such schools would declare themselves "mutual benefit corporations."

That this prohibition would in no way protect the principle of the separation of Church and State is quite clear. The law states that "No school shall be ineligible to redeem certificates because it teaches moral or social values, philosophy or religion." Coons candidly admits that the Ku Klux Klan or the John Birch Society would be permitted to organize a "Family Choice School."

In fact the only legal requirements for the school to be certified were established by law in July 1, 1979. They are minimal—a list of subjects to be taught, but nothing about content; teachers do not have to be certified nor have tenure; no limits on class size; no audits called for; nor any compliance with earthquake standards for the buildings.

The value of each voucher issued to each child is supposedly computed to include transportation, special needs and handicaps, bilingualism or "need to encourage desegregation." On the other hand, the vouchers are limited in total amount to 90% of the cost of the public schools.² When you combine the fragmentation of the schools with a rigid spending ceiling and an open enrollment policy, you have a guarantee that bilingualism, education for the handicapped and desegregation will vanish.

There are other limits on spending. The total public cost of education in all common schools is not to exceed that spent in 1979-80 with minor adjustments. Further, "appropriations for administration of the State Department of Education shall not exceed one half of one per cent of the total public cost of education." Proponents claim this will cut down measurably the overall school bureaucracy.

On the other hand, many new bureaucracies will be required just to certify schools, issue vouchers and verify transportation needs. An entire new bureaucracy will be set up under the provision for counsellors to provide families with information about schools available to them.

As for the section on employee rights, in the spirit of "something for everyone," the measure guarantees collective bargaining rights in all three common schools. But this is taken away by the phrase, "But the bargaining unit shall not be larger than the school corporation."

Open enrollment to guarantee integration is frustrated at the outset by giving top priority to siblings already enrolled as well as well as to children of full time employees.³ This suggests the establishment of a new gentry.

There is a provision for discipline. A student who "derives no substantial educational benefit or seriously misbehaves" may be removed. It does not say where that student is to go. It is fair to assume that the remaining public schools will receive him/her, thus students will be threatened with return to the public schools "if they don't shape up," creating a "dumping ground" image of the public schools.

Towards the very end of the measure we read, "Article IX Section 5 is hereby repealed." This refers to the section that guarantees free public education.

One of the few advantages of the current California school system is that the governing bodies consist of elected officials. The proposed measure places almost all of the power in the hands of the State legislature, further fracturing what's left of local control.

The fight to save public education means fighting to provide equal access to quality education for all children who can then learn from and be enriched by the association with children of many backgrounds and gifted talents. Only through this struggle will it be

possible for white youth, most particularly white working class youth, to learn from their nationally oppressed peers and to experience the solidarity necessary for tomorrow.

This fight will be, in great measure, won or lost depending upon the ability of the people to unite and mobilize against the voucher system and to develop an entirely new approach to the funding of public education.

All who are determined to bring about quality education and equal access of Afro-Americans to it must unite to demand that the federal government assume its responsibility to guarantee free universal public education from the Kindergarten through the university. The federal government is in the best position to raise the necessary funds. The federal government must be made to reorder its priorities to shift the expenditures of the people's hard earned monies from the death dealing arms budget to schools to meet the people's basic human needs. Let the trade unions assume once again their historic responsibility to guarantee mass public education. A coalition of trade unionists, parents, teachers and students can win the demand that the federal government subsidize 50% of all state public school. In that way we can help guarantee that all children will be given the opportunity to develop to their highest potential.

Footnotes

¹ The plan failed in the Alum Rock District in San Jose, Cal.

² The amount of money remaining in the public schools will be diluted in direct proportion to the number of students who move from the former private schools to the newly supported private schools.

³ The so-called competition in the "open market" will encourage selective recruiting.



Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda opened the 22nd Summit of the 41-member Commonwealth in Lusaka Wednesday. Seated at left center is Joshua Nkomo, co-leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front.

Lusaka Conference

By Ronald Stevenson
National Coordinator NAIMSAL

Clean white clouds resembling huge snow banks racing across a pastel blue sky had been touched by the blazing African sun and turned to bright silver. It was the morning of April 10, 1979. The people of Lusaka, Zambia had completed the final arrangements for the opening of The International Conference in Support of the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa and in Solidarity with the Frontline States.

One moment there was a peace in the country and in the next moment peace in Zambia was raped. Rhodesian aircraft flying low and fast, crossed their border and violated Zambian airspace, striking three areas of the country killing one person and injuring seven others.

One strike was within 16 kilometers of Mulungushi Hall-Lusaka where the conference took place. At one point during the conference Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia announced that 136 refugees had been killed and 200 persons seriously injured by Rhodesian jets dropping napalm bombs on a refugee camp in Salwezi. The acts of aggression continued throughout the conference. On Friday, April 13, at 3:45 in the morning a specialized Rhodesian Task Force attacked and destroyed most of the buildings of Joshua Nkomos' headquarters less than six kilometers from the hotel where most of the Conference delegates were staying.

The Conference was attended by 207 participants

representing 83 National and Internal organizations, governments, governmental and non-governmental bodies, political parties, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and anti-apartheid movements and prominent personalities.

In concluding his welcoming speech to the conference President Kaunda said he thought that the position of his country was well known all over the world. "My country is sitting on the edge of an active volcano whose lava spills beyond its crater destroying valuable human lives of Zambian people as well as the nation's economy, material wealth and causing havoc in the social and political life of the young nation." He added. "Any machinations to divide us will never work. Our task is one."

Both Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe were at the open-session of the conference. But it was Nkomo who said, "The rebel forces of Rhodesia are to be condemned for their attacks on Zambia and the Patriotic Front Forces will over-run the Smith regime within the next three months."

"The rebel attack of the Smith regime on Zambia is one of the acts to demoralise the fighting cadres," Nkomo said. He charged, the Smith regime with not only bombing neighboring countries, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Botswana but also liberated areas within Zimbabwe itself. He stated that this was being carried out under the guise that the racist Rhodesians were bombing freedom fighters. In a humorous manner Nkomo concluded by adding that during a recent raid on a fuel depot in Salisbury, ZIPRA forces found that the fascists had removed the fuel, but added, "I must assure you that no matter how deep the rebels try to hide the fuel which they are using to mobilise their racist army against our forces, we shall look for it and destroy it."

The conference came at a time when the world imperialists are trying to hijack the struggle from the Liberation Movements. It gave the Liberation Movements an opportunity to explain to the progressive forces of the world their position, on some important questions.

For the first time since the armed struggle began, progressive forces converged on the doorstep of these racist regimes to express their solidarity.

The presence of Nkomo and Mugabe sitting together at the conference could mean, some thought, that the two movements are coming closer and closer together. This is important, if racism is to be overcome and eliminated in the area of Zimbabwe.

The support of the Liberation Movements was dem-

onstrated at the Conference, even by some ambivalent and sometime reactionary forces present and not present in the conference. This demonstrates the great level that this struggle has achieved. There is now a universal consensus in favor of the cause of the Peoples in the Southern African Liberation Movements.

There was a point in the Conference when a controversy arose. The Vietnamese delegation proposed an amendment to a paragraph of the final declaration of the Conference. The amendment was to "include China as one of the nations who are in violation of the United Nations and OAU resolutions—maintains close relations with the racist regimes of Salisbury and Pretoria."

The Indian, Angolan, Soviet, Syrian and Cuban delegates intervened in favor of the Vietnamese amendment.

The Zambian, Tanzanian, Romanian, Yugoslavian and Sudanese delegates, intervened against the amendment of the Vietnamese.

After much discussion there was a recess. AAPSO wanted to seek an accord to save the unity of the Conference and the unanimous approval of the final declaration. There was a long meeting of a Commission composed of members of the delegations mentioned. After this meeting the Conference was resumed—the Vietnamese once again explained their position and said: "That for the unity of the Conference and for the unanimous approval of the Final Declaration" they were in the spirit to retire the amendment and to accept the paragraph, that they wanted amended, in its original form.

The Soviet delegation expressed the same, and in this way the amendment proposed was retired. The paragraph received the unanimous approval of the Conference.

The paragraph in question:

"The Conference categorically declares that any co-operation with the racist regime constitutes a blow against the national liberation movements and the front-line states and betrayal to peace loving humanity. It strongly condemns all imperialist powers which, in violation of the UN resolutions, maintain close relations with the colonial racist regimes, against national liberation movements, the revolutionary countries and the progressive forces and aids the anti-revolutionary and mercenary forces."

There is no doubt that something new has developed in Southern Africa. It could be felt in Lusaka. The Frontline States have analyzed the social and political

dynamics of the region and have begun to relate the theory of their regional development to practice. Bonds of unity were developing. One delegate summed it up like this:

“The time will come when all the progressive forces will struggle together—very closely—on every and all parts of the earth, against national and social oppression and for human dignity and full equality. Today Africa and Asia are the principal stages for this struggle for economic and social progress.

“Tomorrow the stage will move to the American Hemisphere where the struggle against national and social oppression is increasing slowly but steadily . . . where Cuba is a guiding beacon and the shining symbol of the determination of our American People to change their material conditions forever.

“The time will come when African countries and liberation movements will struggle together—very closely—with the liberation movements of Latin America and the Carribean . . . against the worst enemy of the whole world and its own people, U.S. Imperialism.”



RESOLUTION OF CONFERENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA

The International Conference in Support of Liberation Movements and in Solidarity with Frontline States meeting in Lusaka from 10 to 13 April 1979 hails the struggling people of South Africa who, under the leadership of the African National Congress, are consistently demonstrating increased combat capacity and heightened militancy in their determination to overthrow the Apartheid—colonial regime and seize power.

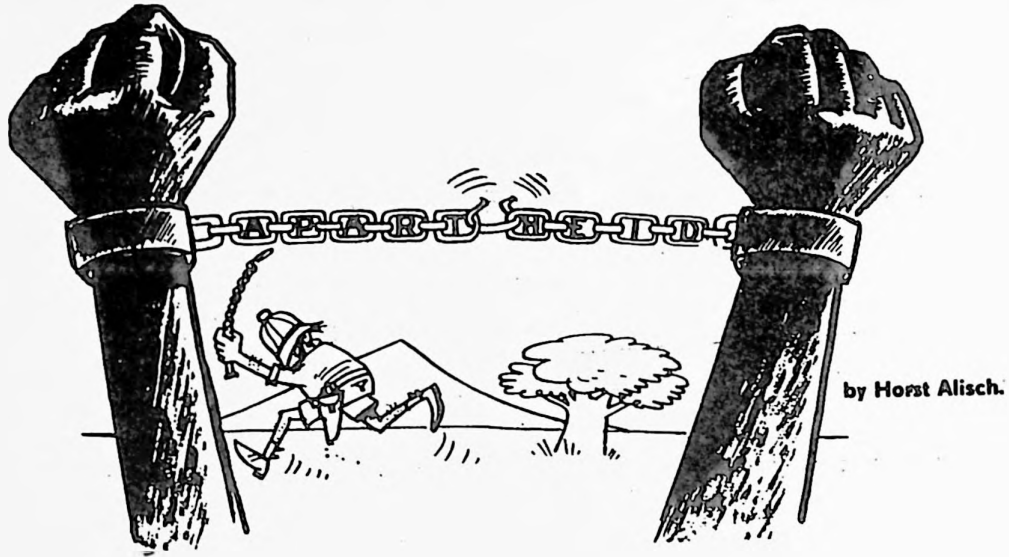
The Conference noting with concern that confronted by the challenge of the advancing liberation struggle inside South Africa and mounting international pressure, the Apartheid regime has intensified its repressive measures against the broad masses of the people, continued its support and sustenance of the illegal Smith regime and engaged in deliberate acts of aggression against neighbouring states, vehemently condemns these criminal actions.

The Conference strongly condemns the imperialist power, the NATO State and their allies for the support which they continue to render the Apartheid regime in the military, economic, political and other fields. This support whose main force of attraction for the Western powers and multinational corporations is the rich mineral resources and enforced cheap labour of the Black majority has served to prop up the Pretoria regime and encouraged it to pursue its inhuman policies and barbarous actions in defiance of the international community. It has enabled the Apartheid regime to increase its already monstrous military arsenal and given it the capacity for producing nuclear weapons.

The Conference is convinced that the Apartheid regime has become the bastion of reaction in Southern Africa. Consequently, given the criminal policies and actions of the regime, its frantic military build-up and acquisition of nuclear weapons constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

The Conference therefore:

1. Calls upon all the progressive peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces of the world to undertake campaigns of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and for increased material and moral support to the ANC and its allies in order to strengthen its striking capacity against the racist-fascist regime.



2. Appeals to governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations to increase their support for the total isolation of the Apartheid regime so as to weaken it and thereby facilitate the advance of the struggle for national liberation.
3. Calls for full support for ICOSA (International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa) which, in close collaboration with the National Liberation Movement in Southern Africa, actively campaigns for greater international solidarity with the fighting peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.
4. Calls upon world public opinion, especially solidarity and trade union organizations through campaigns actions, to exert pressure on their respective governments notably the United States of America, France, Britain and West Germany to cease their economic, financial, technological, commercial and sporting relations with the Apartheid regime.
5. Urges campaigns to end all security, military and nuclear collaboration and for a full enforcement of a strict and comprehensive arms embargo against South Africa.
6. Calls for organization of campaigns for mandatory economic sanctions in all countries which maintain economic and trade relations with South Africa, including actions for national legislation to make such relations illegal.
7. Appeals for mobilization of public opinion against the actions of the three Western permanent members of the United Nations Security Council in their vetoing of resolutions calling for economic sanctions against South Africa.
8. Reiterates the urgent need for specific campaigns aimed at the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa including prohibition of other petroleum products, and hails the action taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran to break diplomatic relations with and stop the supply of oil to South Africa.
9. Appeals for active campaigns for the non-recognition of Bantustans, for the non-reception of Bantustan puppet leaders abroad by governments and organizations and against investments in the Bantustans.
10. Recognizing the growing collaboration between the Apartheid regime and the Israeli-Zionist and expansionist rulers, calls upon all states, peoples and organizations to isolate in every field the aggressive regimes of Israel and South Africa.
11. Calls for campaigns aimed at ending the growing collaboration between South Africa and the reactionary regimes in Latin America, especially Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia. Actions should be directed particularly at attempts to establish the South Atlantic Treaty Organization in which NATO and racist South Africa are expected to play an important role, and whose purpose would be to commit aggression against independent African States and the liberation movements.

Speech of Alfred Nzo, General Secretary African National Congress of South Africa; Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization to the 22nd National Convention, CP, USA

(abridged)

On behalf of the African National Congress, all the fighting people and progressive forces of South Africa, on behalf of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization and indeed all the progressive forces in the Afro-Asian region and in Southern Africa in particular, we bring to the 22nd Convention of the Communist Party of the USA warm fraternal and fighting greetings.

The 22nd Convention of your great Party is an important and historic event, not only for the United States of America but also for the whole international Communist and workers' movement, for the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples. . . .

The progressive movement in our part of the world counts the Communist Party of the USA amongst its most reliable allies and friends outside the Afro-Asian region. This is borne out by the fact that of late, no important international event has taken place without the representatives of your great Party. Among the most recent of these events are the International Anti-Imperialist Conference in support of the African and Arab peoples, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in September, 1978, and more recently, the April 1979 AAPSO-sponsored international conference in support of the national liberation movements of Southern Africa and in solidarity with the frontline African states, held in Lusaka, Zambia. . . .

Comrades, it goes without saying that the activities of your great Party in support of and in solidarity with the progressive movement in our region has sharply brought to the consciousness of our fighting peoples that America is not alone synonymous with imperialist aggression but that inside this country there are forces that are genuinely opposed to the criminal and aggressive path of American imperialism. These forces fight for a bright and happy future against the U.S. ruling class and its military-industrial complex.

The heroic struggle of the oppressed Black people of our country is known and is receiving growing support in your great country through your efforts; we deeply appreciate this.

All this, comrades, is consistent with the loyalty of your Party to the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism, a reliable compass and the cornerstone of the international activities of all the advanced detachments of the international anti-imperialist movement.

Long live the Communist Party of the U.S.A.!

Long live the fraternal friendship between the oppressed people of South Africa and the American people!



**Speech of Jorge Enrique Mendoza, Director of *Gamma*,
Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba
to the 22nd National Convention, CP, USA**
(abridged)

It is with great pleasure that we extend the fraternal greetings of Comrade Castro, of all the Communists and the Cuban people, on the occasion of the 22nd National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S., which also coincides with the year of its 60th Anniversary.

We extend special greetings and wishes for a quick recovery to our dear Comrade Gus Hall. The Communist Party of Cuba appreciates your invitation and would like to express once more its solidarity with those who these past six decades have raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banners of the proletariat under very difficult conditions in their own country.

The Cuban Communists highly appreciate and express solidarity with the work being carried out by the Communist Party of the United States in organizing a mass movement that struggles day to day so that jobs are guaranteed for everyone, the decrease in the workers' standard of living is halted, the continuing increases in the military budget are stopped, and that there be instead an increase in spending allotted to social needs such as education and health.

We understand that it will be a long and hard struggle which will have to face monopoly's resistance, but like you comrades of the CPUSA, we are sure that much progress will be made on that path and that the working and exploited masses will increasingly develop their class consciousness.

We clearly recognize the work that you have carried out in defending the rights of Black and other oppressed minorities in the U.S., which are the main victims of unemployment, of the lowest wages and of the hardest working conditions in the U.S.

We would like to refer especially to the contribution made by the CPUSA and particularly by its leaders, Comrades Henry Winston, Gus Hall, to the struggle for world peace, detente and security. We know of their continuing statements and activities in support of the measures to consolidate the process of detente and to guarantee world peace, of the strong support you are giving to the SALT II treaty, and to the principled policy of the Soviet Union to avoid the danger of a world confrontation which could only be imagined in the feverish minds of desperate reactionaries.

Comrades, your Convention is being held at a time of advance and new victories of the revolutionary forces, at a time of development of the struggle against imperialism, the struggle against the vestiges of colonialism and the time of a new awareness of the peoples in confronting its contemporary form, neo-colonialism.

Just over a month ago the heroic people of Nicaragua, led by the Sandanist National Liberation Front, put an end to the Somoza dynasty, which for almost 45 years exploited and oppressed it. Today the Nicaraguan people need everyone's help to emerge from destruction, the misery, the illiteracy and the awful living conditions to which the genocidal Somoza regime subjected them.

Previously, in such distant places as the small island of Grenada in the Caribbean, tyrant servants of imperialism were also overthrown. And their peoples are starting on the march towards a new stage of independent development. A year ago, the same thing happened in Afghanistan. In Africa, in Angola, in Ethiopia, Mozambique and other countries, the revolutionary processes are being consolidated.

China was crushingly defeated in its aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam. And with regard to this we would like to congratulate the Central Committee of the CPUSA for its clear and well documented denunciation of Peking's betrayal of the world Communist and revolutionary movement. In *Gamma*, the official organ of our Party, we published this brilliant document in its entirety for the information and orientation of our people.

The situation in the Middle East continues to jeopardize peace. The Israeli and Egyptian separate agreements under the patronage of imperialism have been treason to the Arab peoples and particularly to the people of Palestine. They have been an obstacle to the possibility of finding a negotiable solution to this conflict within the only possible framework: recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its own state.

In southern Africa the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa are continuing the struggle for independence and liberty, while imperialism and the reactionary forces, with the objective of defending

their criminal interests in the area, continue to maneuver to maintain the odious apartheid regime in Southern Africa, and to apply neo-colonial solutions in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

A great victory was obtained in recent days by the peoples who cherish independence and peace when the United Nations' Special Committee on Decolonization reaffirmed the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence.

In a few days, solidarity with the peoples will be expressed in Havana with the opening of the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. We expect this conference, the first one to take place in Latin America, and despite the violent campaign conducted against it by the imperialists and Maoists, to consolidate the strength and unity of the non-aligned movement, as well as the fundamental principles which gave birth to it: that is, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, fascism, racism including Zionism and apartheid.

Comrades, the Cuban Revolution has reached its 20th Anniversary. Its accomplishments, its success, its achievements have been many, but as Comrade Fidel has said, "the future is lengthier than the past." Today's happiness and optimism will not lead us to make the mistake of underestimating the struggle ahead. Our difficulties will still be enormous but we will be able to overcome them. Once again we expose the economic

blockade imposed by U.S. imperialism against Cuba as an arbitrary, discriminatory, hostile and aggressive practice. Likewise, Cuba demands the return of the territory occupied by force, and against the will of our people, the Guantanamo naval base.

We deeply appreciate and will always remember the solidarity of the North American Communists with the Cuban Revolution, in your condemnation of the acts of aggression launched against Cuba and the continued demand to end the illegal economic blockade against Cuba. Likewise, we would like to express our gratitude for the strengthening of the fraternal bonds between our two parties over these 20 years. . . .

We have confidence in the North American Communists, in the progressive people of the United States, in its workers, in its suppressed minorities, in the honest intellectuals and students because they are the best in North American society.

We wish the North American Communists success in the implementation of the decisions of the 22nd National Convention and in the struggle they are waging for freedom, justice and equality for all the North American people. . . .

Long live the friendship and solidarity between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist Party of Cuba.

Long live Marxism-Leninism.

Long live proletarian internationalism.



RESOLUTION FROM RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE, 22nd NATIONAL CONVENTION, CP, USA

No. 2—Resolution on Solidarity

WHEREAS, our Party dearly embraces the Communist precept of workingclass internationalism, believing as we do that the working people of the world have more in common with one another than they do with the oppressors of their own nations; and

WHEREAS, anti-imperialist solidarity is in the deepest and best traditions of our country which was born in struggle against colonialism, a struggle which enjoyed the solidarity of peoples of many lands; and

WHEREAS, we, the Communist Party, USA, living as we do in the heartland of the most powerful and most violent imperialism in history, recognize our special responsibility to the world's peoples who are victimized by U.S. imperialism; and

WHEREAS, we recognize that imperialism is a world system, that each defeat inflicted upon it in any arena is a victory for all peoples, not least of all our own people; and

WHEREAS, the peoples of the world, using varied and many forms of struggle, including when necessary, armed struggle, have risen to overthrow their national and international oppressors to establish systems of national independence and social emancipation;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that our Party, the Communist Party, USA, reaffirms its solidarity

with the peoples in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in the first place U.S. imperialism; and

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED that we extend our special thanks and unqualified solidarity with the valiant, heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea facing the wrath of imperialism in league with Maoist treachery, even as they launch the arduous task of socialist construction; with the comrades, sisters and brothers of the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, in battle against the monstrous fascism of apartheid and imperialism; with the Communist parties, Marxist-Leninist formations and the Palestine resistance, fighting Zionist expansionism and racism, and reaction at the service of the transnational oil monopolies; with the people of noble Cuba, led by its great Communist Party, with the sister people of newly and finally liberated Nicaragua, with the peoples of Puerto Rico, Chile and Latin America in struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and fascism in imperialism's backyard; and last but far from least, with the comrades of the fraternal Communist Parties the world over, in the forefront the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the best guarantor of peace, justice, security and the very future of humanity.

Prepare Yourself for the . . .

Gus
HALL / Angela
DAVIS
FOR PRESIDENT / FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

1980 Election Campaign

GUS HALL on AFGHANISTAN

The propaganda blitzkrieg, orchestrated and personally led by President Carter from the White House, has reached an unprecedented, hysterical level. It is so irrational and unbalanced as to reach levels of insanity — of madness.

The aim of this frenzied barrage is to whip the American people into a state of hysterical nationalism and anti-Sovietism — into a pro-war, military psychosis.

The propaganda blitzkrieg is based on complete fabrication. No one is preparing to attack the United States, in the first place not the Soviet Union. No one is preparing to take over the sea lanes or the oil routes. No one is after the oil fields *except* Exxon and Shell. And no one is “pushing the United States around.”

As U.S. imperialism loses its grip on the world, it is also losing its grip on sanity. The loss of Iran as a cheap source of oil was a blow, but the events in Afghanistan sent them reeling over the precipice of reason.

U.S. imperialism now stands before the world nakedly and brazenly brandishing the Big Stick and the Big Lie, in a desperate attempt to hold back the tide of revolution and national liberation. But it is a lost cause. The clock of history cannot be turned back.

Still, every hour on the hour we are subjected to new horror stories ground out by the White House. The mass media, serving as the pipeline for this mad frenzy, admits that reports from Afghanistan cannot be verified, that there is no evidence to sustain them. Nevertheless, they make daily headlines. And our President, who promised he “would never lie to the American people,” has turned into a President who lives by the Big Lie.

It is true that this brew of slander and lies has created confusion. There is a rising tide of nationalism. But the people have not been swept up into the hysterical headlines.

On the international level, the Carter Administration has also failed in its frantic efforts to gain support from its allies for its actions against the Soviet Union, or the economic sanctions against Iran. The time has long past when U.S. imperialism can command the whole capitalist world to obey its orders. It is no longer a winning game, and the U.S. allies are refusing to play a losing game.

But the Carter Administration, refusing to live in the real world, continues to play the classical imperialist game. The Carter Administration has been talking about detente and SALT II, but in practice has been and still is hell-bent on making it possible for the U.S. to strike first with nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union.

U.S. Policy of Encirclement

Carter sets up a hue and cry about Soviet “aggression,” while U.S. imperialism actually speeds up its 60-year policy of encircling the Soviet Union.

Giving China and Pakistan modern weapons and war technology is an aggressive act of encirclement. Pushing Japan to re-arm and to form a U.S.-China-Japan, anti-Soviet axis is nothing but a further move toward encircling the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is completely surrounded by U.S. nuclear missiles and submarines, but the Carter Administration is seeking new military bases in Egypt, Israel, Somalia and Oman, to supply and service the 100,000-man “rapid deployment force,” to be used for intervention in the Middle East and Indian Ocean areas. Can this be anything but acts of encirclement and aggression?

“Carter Doctrine”—Same Old Policy

The President’s State of the Union message to Congress was billed as the new “Carter Doctrine,” a so-called “Framework for Regional Cooperation.” But the content and tone of his speech and the recent actions of his administration clearly show that there is *no new policy*. It is more open and stopped-up, but it is a continuation of the same old policy that led to the years of aggression against Vietnam; that overthrew democratically elected governments in Iran, Guatemala and Chile. It is the same old policy that brought on the cold war. And it is the same policy of undermining and destabilizing the socialist countries, of holding back and reversing the national liberation movements around the world. It is the same policy that holds Puerto Rico in colonial bondage. It is the policy of Guantanamo, the Bay of Pigs and the invasion of the Dominican Republic. The crises in Iran and Afghanistan are a direct response to this same long-term policy of intervention, adventurism, interference, subversion and aggression.

It is the same policy of aggressive anti-communism that sustains the 60-year, selective economic blockade against the Soviet Union, the 21-year blockade against Cuba, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries.

What Really Happened in Afghanistan?

In Afghanistan, this very same policy of actively undermining and destabilizing has been in effect for years, and especially since April 1978. It is a policy of subverting, infiltrating, recruiting, training, financing and arming of counterrevolutionary insurgents — feudal landlords and their hirelings — in gross violation of the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan. It is flagrant interference in Afghanistan’s internal affairs.

Is their proof of these activities? Before the blanket of

secrecy was clamped on them, reporters for the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *Christian Science Monitor* wrote openly about these activities. They reported what they saw and witnessed.

The infiltration, the training and the arming of counter-revolutionary forces and the acts of betrayal by Amin reached a point of crisis.

The Afghan Revolutionary Council had to make a choice: Either permit total defeat of the people's democratic revolution, the loss of independence and being turned into another anti-Soviet base, or, call for help. They chose to fight and asked the Soviet Union for aid, based on the Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighborliness between the two countries.

Crucial Question: Intent and Motive

The intent of the actions of U.S. imperialism has three specific interests in Afghanistan:

- 1) To reverse the people's democratic revolution and bring back the old feudal society of landlords and oppression;
- 2) To turn Afghanistan into an anti-Soviet military staging area;
- 3) To build a base of operations against Iran and some of the other OPEC countries, in order to secure the oil interests of Exxon, Gulf and Shell.

The Soviet Union, because it is a socialist society, has the very opposite interests and intent:

- 1) It is to prevent Afghanistan from losing its independence, and being turned into an imperialist military staging area on the USSR's southern border, and,
- 2) To assist Afghanistan in repulsing aggression from outside and to save the Afghan people's revolution.

One is a reactionary policy of enslavement and imperialist oppression. The other supports a progressive policy of national liberation and socialism.

Anti-Sovietism Serves as Smokescreen

The Carter Administration's feverishly stepped-up anti-Soviet crusade serves the purpose of a smokescreen for pushing policies of aggression, to build up military forces and bases for intervention in the Indian Ocean and Middle East regions.

Anti-Sovietism serves as a smokescreen to deflect the rising anger and militant fightback of the people against the twin monsters—the unprecedented military budgets and unconscionable corporate profits—the real enemies of the American people. It serves as a smokescreen to persuade the people they must accept more sacrifices, more austerity, more belt-tightening and to create the image that to reject this assault on their stand-

ard of living would be anti-American, unpatriotic and against national interests and national security.

Anti-Sovietism also serves to divert the American people from policies and practices of increased racism and oppression at home. And, at the same time, it serves to whip up prejudice, bigotry, nationalism and false patriotism aimed at the Iranian and other oppressed peoples.

Fanning the flames of racism and chauvinism serves the overall class purpose of pitting one group against another—the capitalist weapon of divide and rule—to prevent the people from uniting to fight the common enemy, monopoly capital.

Real Danger is Internal

Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism provides a smokescreen for stepped up attacks against liberals, progressives, Communists and the democratic rights of all the people, when the only real threat to our national security and national interests—as well as to our very survival—is an *internal* one. The threat is coming from the born-again hawks and cold warriors in the White House and Pentagon who are working to turn the clock back to the cold war era. The threat to world peace does not come from Kabul or Teheran. The danger emanates from Washington.

What's Behind the Smokescreens

The real meaning of Carter's State of the Union speech was to get across the message that: the people must silently and passively accept the ever-increasing taxes, the escalating prices of meat and gas, the \$1 per gallon heating oil, the skyrocketing rents, the continuing decline in real wages, the huge corporate profits, the decay of our cities, the cuts in social services, the closing of hospitals, day care centers, schools and plants, the growing unemployment, the 200-billion-dollar military budgets, a renewal of the military draft and a new cold war, cuts in state and city budgets, racism and discrimination, attacks on trade unions and the labor movement. Carter talked about sacrifices, but not one word about sacrifices by the fat cats.

In other words, we are asked to tolerate a drastic deterioration in our standard of living and overall quality of life because the Soviet Union sent military forces to help the people of Afghanistan.

Yes, our country is in grave danger, but it is not coming from the Soviet Union. The threat to our nation is right here in our own country, in the White House and the Pentagon. And now we are being asked to re-elect this peanut vendor to another term so he can carry out these policies.

LABOR UP-FRONT

In the People's Fight Against the Crisis by Gus Hall

The report by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA to its 22nd National Convention, August 23, 1979, at Cobo Hall, Detroit, Michigan. It analyzes the problems facing the people of the USA, especially the working class, and sets forth the proposals of the CPUSA for their solution.

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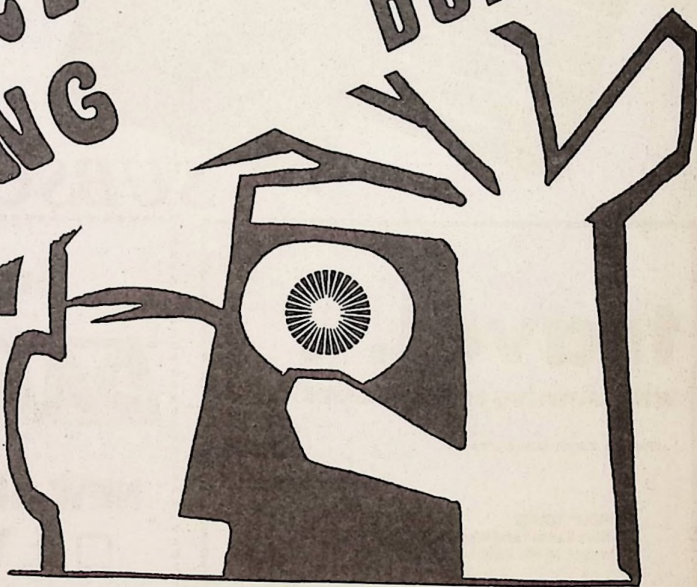
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