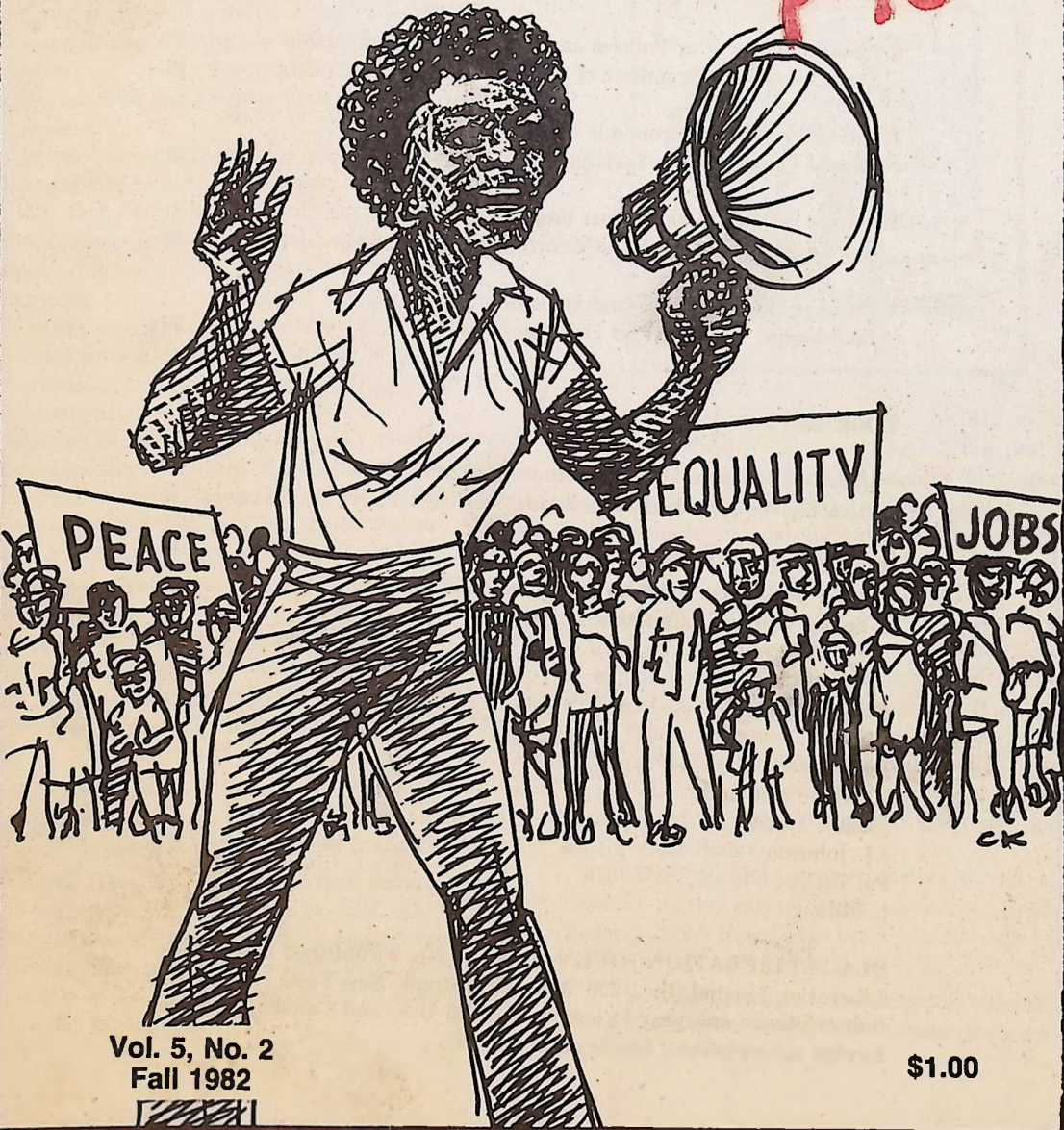


BLACK LIBERATION JOURNAL

FIGHT FOR PEACE
Linked To Equality
p. 16



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Now, more than ever

With this issue, the **Black Liberation Journal** returns after a year and a half absence. We're back now primarily because these are no ordinary times.

So severe is the crisis gripping the nation that in Milwaukee, last April 23 to 25, the Communist Party USA held its second extraordinary conference. The first took place nearly 50 years earlier during the throes of the Great Depression.

Today the nation is engulfed in another depression. And as it has been stated sardonically, when the nation catches a cold, the Black community contracts pneumonia. In many respects the situation for Afro-Americans is far more severe than it was during the Depression.

The gap between Black and white in the nation has increased dramatically. The Census Bureau reported in July that 34.2 percent of all Black people had incomes below the poverty level, and that the rate of impoverishment was greatest among Afro-Americans.

The 52 percent unemployment rate for Black youth provides further irrefutable evidence of the rapidly deteriorating conditions of our country's largest national minority.

Mindful of such facts, the CPUSA's extraordinary conference devoted much of its deliberations to and advanced numerous proposals on Black liberation. The conference reaffirmed that Afro-American equality is central to solving all the major political, economic and social questions confronting the nation today.

Among the mandates of the conference was the continuation of the **Black Liberation Journal**, which first made its appearance in the winter of 1976, the Bicentennial year. In that issue Henry Winston, chairman of the CPUSA, wrote:

This Journal will throw the searchlight of Marxism-Leninism on the class, national and racial oppression of Black people in the United States. This Journal will not only record this oppression, but will help to find solutions which can further the struggle against racism in the shops, in the unions, in the communities, and help speed the development of class solidarity in struggle.



Due to innumerable problems, the BLJ in early 1981 suspended publication. During the past two years we have been asked by readers, Communists and non-Communists alike, "Where is the Journal?" As the anger, militancy, outrage and willingness to fight has accelerated, the need for sound organization and political clarity has likewise increased proportionately.

In short, the Black Liberation Movement needs direction. It needs a forum to discuss and debate from a Marxist-Leninist point of view the path out of the crisis. The movement needs to understand and be able to articulate the relationship of Black Liberation to the struggle for peace, democracy, women's equality and the overall struggle of the working class for its emancipation.

Gus Hall, general secretary of the CPUSA, in his keynote to the extraordinary conference, defined Reaganomics—the current brand of monopoly rule—as:

... an offensive, state-monopoly weapon of policies to cut wages and increase the rate of

exploitation in the midst of economic crisis and in an era of decline. . . .

Reaganomics is a class weapon to maximize the corporate drive for profits with supply-side economics. . . .

In all these different levels of poverty, deprivation, desperation, despair and anger, there are the special and deeper wounds inflicted on the victims of racial oppression.

It is the task of the Journal to light the path towards the eradication of this suffering and lead Black Americans to their birthright of full economic, political and social equality. The Journal will open its pages to the discussion of all questions related to Afro-American liberation. It will clarify and debate, and hopefully inspire.

The Journal, the publication of the Black Liberation Commission of the CPUSA, represents the thinking of the Communist Party USA. It is published with the knowledge and confidence that the U.S. working class, multi-national and multi-racial, will some day rule this nation. We harbor no illusions that such a victory is possible without a united working class able to score major victories against monopoly-imposed racism.

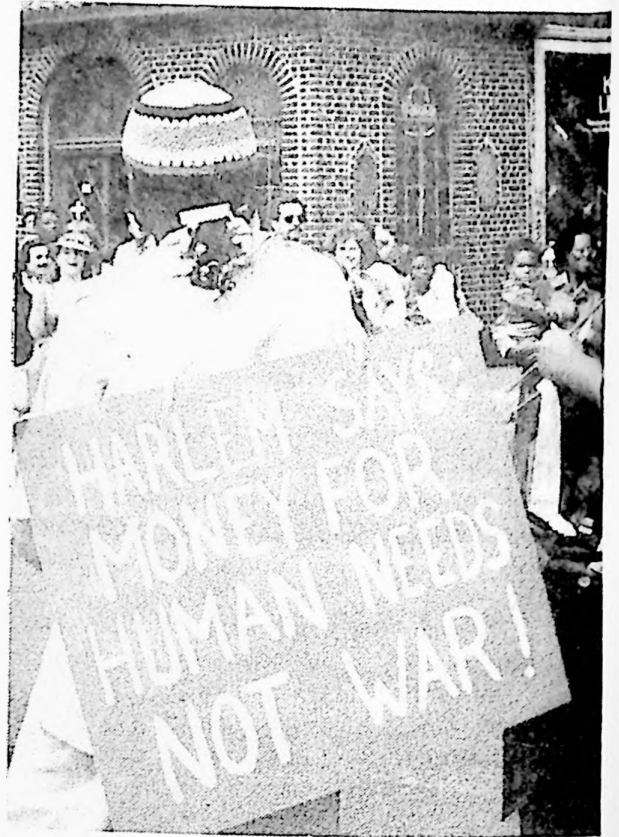
We are convinced that, as in the poetic vision of Langston Hughes, "America can be America" if we organize and struggle to make it so. Our task is to help facilitate that organization and direct that struggle.

So we say to the old readers of the Journal, we are happy to join you again. To new readers, welcome; read on. We think you will decide to join us regularly. We feel that you, too, will conclude that we are needed more than ever before.

Equality Needs Peace

Contrary to historical record and present-day reality, there are voices that argue Afro-Americans are now and have always been too enmeshed in day-to-day issues of survival to merit a legitimate voice in international affairs—especially as they relate to questions of war and peace.

Many of these voices are "well-intentioned" and consider themselves anti-racist. Yet, influenced by the all pervasiveness of the very ideology they seek to oppose, their visions are short-sighted. They are



blind to the utter necessity of the unity of Black and white in the battle for peace.

Contrary to our own true self-interest, there are also some Afro-American voices that argue we need not concern ourselves with issues of nuclear war, this is a "white man's problem."

Both approaches can be the source of satisfaction only for those corporations who are filling military orders. For they are the only ones to benefit from the self-destructive arms race the U.S. government is forcing upon the world. They are the only ones to reap vast profits from war.

No matter how one views the many issues of war and peace and especially the issue of nuclear arms—all are of the greatest concern for the Afro-American people. All deserve our careful consideration and examination. All demand our concerted action.

It is no accident that our great champions for Afro-American Liberation were champions of peace as well. The Rev. Martin Luther King's fight for justice and equality for Black folk compelled him to speak out against the U.S. government's criminal aggression in Vietnam. Robeson and Dr. Du Bois understood well that to secure our full freedom we

needed a world at peace and that there would be no peace until we were fully free.

This interrelationship of the struggle for peace and against racism on their part brought forth the most vicious attacks of the ruling class, for it also understood the decisive link.

That Afro-Americans must make the connection between these issues is more urgent today than a decade or two ago. It is urgent because our people need jobs and every billion-dollar increase in military spending causes the direct loss of 1,300 jobs for Black workers.

It is urgent because our youth, without jobs or job training or adequate educational opportunities, are

being herded into the armed services to serve as cannon fodder against the national liberation movements.

It is urgent because victory against Reagan and the military-industrial complex supporting him is impossible without the greatest unity of the American people — in the first place within our multi-national working class and with all nationally-oppressed peoples.

We, Afro-American people, have nothing to gain from war or the nuclear arms race. We've a future to secure in the fight against this criminally insane policy of our government.



Solidarity Day, September 19, 1981, Washington, D.C.

Afro-American equality vs. Reaganite racism

By Charlene Mitchell

Assessing the situation following 1905, Lenin addressed the arguments regarding struggle during periods of economic crisis when he said:

Undoubtedly the detailed study of the industrial crisis is one of the greatest importance. But it is also beyond doubt that no data about the crisis, even if they were ideally accurate, can in reality decide the question of whether a rise of the revolutionary tide is at hand or not...But if the general groundwork exists, that does not permit us to conclude whether the depression will for a time retard the mass struggle of the workers in general, or whether at a certain stage of events the same depression will not push new masses and fresh forces into the political struggle. To answer such a question there is only one way: to keep a careful finger on the pulse of the country's whole political life, and especially the state of the movement and of the mood of the mass of the proletariat. (V.I. Lenin, *Party Work in the Masses*, p. 57.)

In his report to the Central Committee, Comrade Hall made a similar observation when he said:

The reality and level of the mass upsurge is

not debatable. However, to this point it is taking place within the context of defensive struggles.

The concept of mass upsurge and militant fightback struggles in the context of defense is not a contradiction.

In fact, in such a period as this it is inevitable that the upsurge begins from a position of defending and protecting past gains.

There will not be significant differences between us and many forces in the labor movement in our assessment of this period as one of defensive struggles.

However, the difference will emerge in drawing conclusions, in making projections and proposing tactics and program.

At this meeting we must come to a full understanding of the new forward movement in the historic role of our class and decide to take the necessary steps to play our special, unique role within our class to help the new to continue emerging and growing. (Gus Hall, *What the Reds Say Today*)

It is urgent that our Party come to realize that we must make a change in pace — an all-round, immediate change — in giving leadership in the fight for Afro-American equality. The struggle for the equality of Afro-Americans cuts across every aspect of the Reagan-monopoly offensive and includes the economic situation, peace, justice, pollution, agriculture, energy, etc.

Our whole Party, not just Black comrades, must strive for better understanding of the interconnections of these issues as the basis for struggle and



winning the All-Peoples Front against Reagan. Therefore, Communists must fight for clarity and project solutions.

Our Party has said for some time now, that the politicking scheme of balancing the budget was and is a sham. The fact is that we are looking toward a trillion-dollar budget at the same time that there are cuts in meaningful and needed social programs. Also, at the same time, more and more billions are being placed in the lap of the Pentagon. People, especially Afro-American and other oppressed people, are being sacrificed to a larger and ever more dangerous war machine.

Unemployment rate

According to the April 3 *New York Times*, the nation's unemployment rate rose to 9 per cent or nearly 10 million people out of work and according to the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, "one can expect the unemployment rate, if it behaves as it has in the past, to continue upward." As we know, the figures do not begin to tell the whole story. They do not include those who work part-time, those who have given up on finding a job or the many women and youth who do not look for a job because there are no jobs to find.

Nine percent unemployment is a crisis by any standard, but what about the worsening plight of Black workers, whose unemployment rate is double at 18 per cent for Black adults and 46 per cent for Black teenagers?

While Reagan, Haig and Weinberger scream for more missiles, neutron bombs and first-strike options, all building trades workers suffer 18 percent unemployment; it is at least double that for Afro-Americans, who, regardless of government compliance contracts, remain in unskilled construction jobs.

The closing of steel mills across the nation can be directly related to the needs of the military industrial complex. Much less steel is needed to build houses, schools, and hospitals. U.S. workers, especially Black steel workers, are affected even more by the fact that more than 20 per cent of the steel used in this country is imported from countries where the multinationals have found cheaper labor.

The closings of auto plants across the nation have also hit Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican workers hardest, since the mass production takes place on the assembly lines and in the paint shops. Thousands of Black youths, excluded from training for more highly technological jobs, will never again be able to look

forward to employment in the auto industry.

The fact is that if this trend continues, millions of Black youth will never hold a job. This means a new, bigger and more desperate army of the unemployed.

In every area of life Black workers, students and unemployed are faced with pending disaster. During a seminar on U.S. oppressed minorities held in Havana, Comrade Maurice Jackson wrote:



The Afro-American people of the U.S. — over 95 per cent working class with nearly 3 million of the over 9 million in the industrial core of basic industry — represent a potent force in the fight against monopoly rule in the U.S., a potent force in the growing anti-monopoly movement and for economic equality. Yet, justice has been denied and the centuries-old problem of the oppression and exploitation of Afro-American people remains.

Maurice further quoted Dr. Du Bois, who said:

"We will not be satisfied with one jot or tittle less that our full manhood rights... the battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans."

The Reaganite attacks on affirmative action and the Voting Rights Act are a treacherous design to con-

vince the U.S. people, and the working class in particular, that Black people have caught up.

Strengthening the Voting Rights Act

This is an extremely critical moment in the struggle to extend and strengthen the Voting Rights Act. Senate Bill 1992, which is a version of the bill passed in the House, is being stalled in committee by Senator Orrin Hatch. Clearly, the name of the game is to stall S. 1992 in committee until August, when the present Voting Rights Act will expire.

No communist, no one who fights for peace, jobs, and justice, no democratic-minded person can dare be complacent in the struggle to get 1992 passed in the Senate.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is currently engaged in a march and motorcade through the rural areas of the South to Washington, D.C. They expect to get to the Capitol in late June or early July. The demands of the march are centered around the Voting Rights Act and linked to jobs and peace. We must find ways of supporting this march. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repres-

sion, the only organization that is doing mass grassroots work around the Voting Rights Act, has already turned in more than 15,000 signatures to the Senate subcommittee of the Judiciary calling for extension and enforcement of S. 1992. The Alliance received more than 200 signatures from a sorority based in a college near Atlanta. That organization has taken the Voting Rights Act to conventions, schools, churches and elected officials, seeking their endorsement of and commitment to work for passage of S. 1992.

The expiration of the Voting Rights Act or the defeat of S. 1992 would dangerously jeopardize any decent present elected official—an attempt was recently made to unseat Rep. Gus Savage in Chicago—and would make it extremely difficult to elect progressive and independent candidates, let alone Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans to office. The results of this are all too obvious. The building of the broad front against Reagan would become much more difficult. In the struggle for Afro-American equality, the Voting Rights Act is a major vehicle.

The Fight For Affirmative Action

The attacks and out-and-out betrayal of affirmative action have been proceeding for some years. The argument, articulated by the representatives of monopoly, is that no special approaches to the special needs of Black people are needed. They argue: "if they (meaning Afro-Americans) and other oppressed nationalities will only work harder, they will make it." Such theories are not only stated by intellectuals in support of monopoly but are directly stated by scions of big business like Thomas Murphy, former chairman of General Motors Corporation. At a speech to the Fordham University commencement in 1977, Thomas Murphy sounded the alarm when he said, "business, as never before, needs conscientious men and women, young people with Christian commitment." I don't think it is a coincidence that this call for youth with a "Christian commitment" coincides with the call of the so-called Moral Majority.

Mr. Murphy continues:

"That is why I hope and pray that you graduates will involve yourselves in the work of our society. And I suggest you consider business as a challenging testing ground where you can put your most fundamental beliefs to work. Today, in business offices no less than in college



classrooms, many of our oldest beliefs, like individual freedom and individual opportunity, are being rethought and retested."

Murphy goes on:

"For example, a new interpretation is developing, a curious misapplication of the American fundamental that 'all men are created equal.' Professor Daniel Bell . . . calls it 'the revolution of rising entitlements'—not expectations, mind you, but entitlements. He explains that, for many, the goal is no longer equality of opportunity, but equality of results. An equal place at the starting line, sure—but now an equal place at the finish line as well.

"Under this philosophy, the fable of the hare and tortoise would have to be rewritten. No more payoff for the tortoise's perseverance. No more slow and steady wins the race. Aesop will have to come up with a new ending—a dead heat."

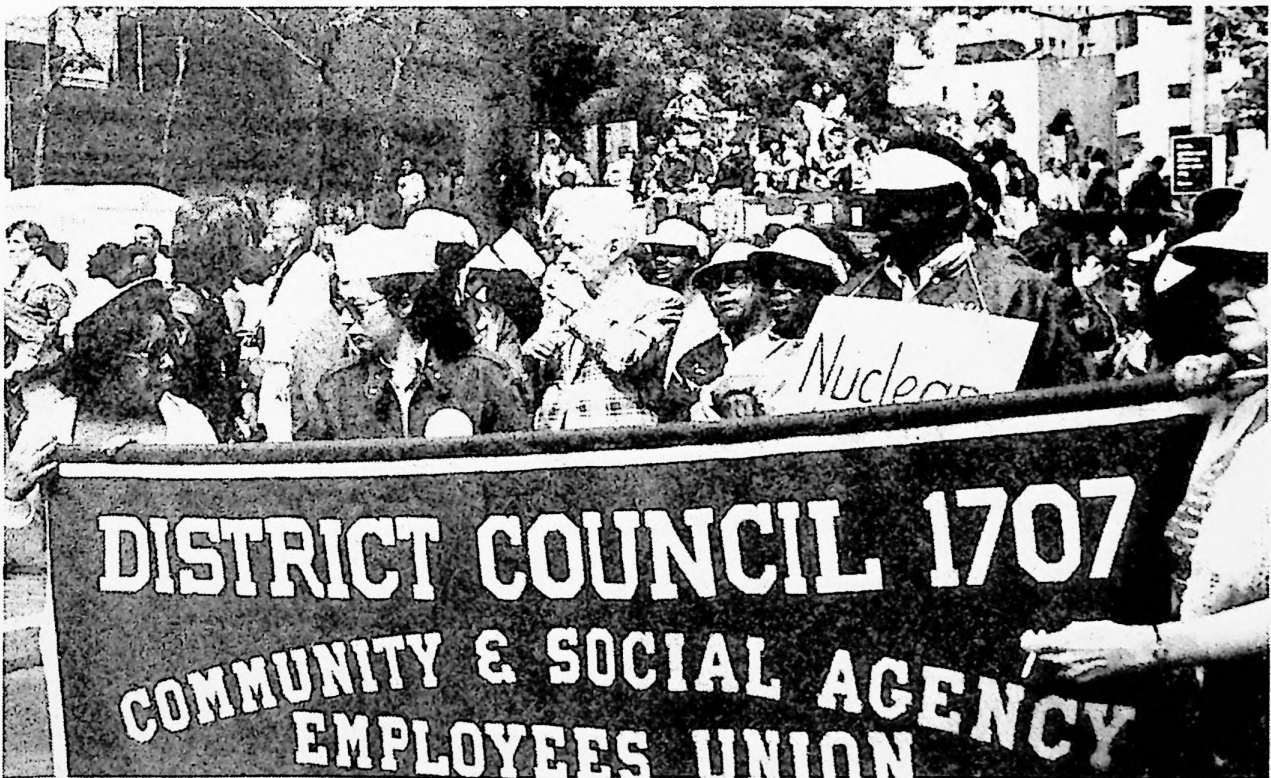
Thomas Murphy goes on to attack open enrollments, entitlement to jobs, "and on top of that a

minimum wage."

He says:

"Examples of the this twisted equalitarianism extend all the way from the United Nations to the Little League. It rationalizes the claim of a Third World country to another's resources as deftly as it supports a third stringer's claim to a starting position."

This speech by Murphy is not just rhetoric; it is a well thought out attack on affirmative action. It is racist to the core, anti-Communist, and it sets up a rationale for neo-colonialism. Murphy's talk of individual freedom and individual opportunity is an appeal to accept the most base characteristics of the ruling class, i.e., greed and "making it" for oneself irrespective of the cost to others. In a most direct way he attempts to create an acceptable rationale for profits before people. His not-so-subtle aim is to create competition among the working class. His is another well thought out theory to create divisions in the working class. He knows, as we do, that competition serves only to create such divisions. Murphy's is a call to destroy the United Nations; it is a call to deny any



aid to developing nations unless it brings maximum profits to U.S. monopoly.

We Communists know that Murphy is dead wrong. Not only is equality a right of a people; it is the duty of government to guarantee that equality. These fundamental rights and duties can only be guaranteed if they are zealously protected by the trade unions, religious organizations and all other democratic forces.

The All-People's Front

The Resolution on Afro-American Liberation adopted at our 22nd Convention states:

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

First, the Black population, being predominantly working class, comes under the impact of the universally valid laws governing the origin of class struggle and development of class consciousness; its basic class composition binds it in international ties

to workers in struggle against imperialism the world over.

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

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

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

The struggle for democratic rights in general, and for equality for Black Americans in particular, can not be received as a gift from the hands of the very monopolists who fashioned the undemocratic system



in the first place, and concessions which can be wrested from them through struggles, while important, will never measure up to either need or justice.

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

The struggle for Afro-American equality—economic, political and social—is part of and necessary to the struggle for working class unity, for the unity of all oppressed peoples and for the building of the All People's Front against Reagan.

In this period the resistance to and defeat of forces around the Reagan Administration have become an inescapable aspect of the strategic anti-monopoly goal. It follows, then, that the inescapable task before us at this point is to throw our maximum effort and resources into the building of the broadest possible all-people's front. . .

What is needed now are concrete initiatives — initiatives that are bold and creative, that capture people's imagination. (Gus Hall, *What the Reds Say Today.*)

Concretely, our Party needs to call for a crash economic plan for genuine equality.

Afro-American Equality

Today, 1982, and beyond, Afro Americans, especially youth, face an extraordinary crisis. According to the most recent data, more than 22 percent of the Afro-American work force is unemployed. These are more than figures, they represent disaster for literally millions of Black people in our country.

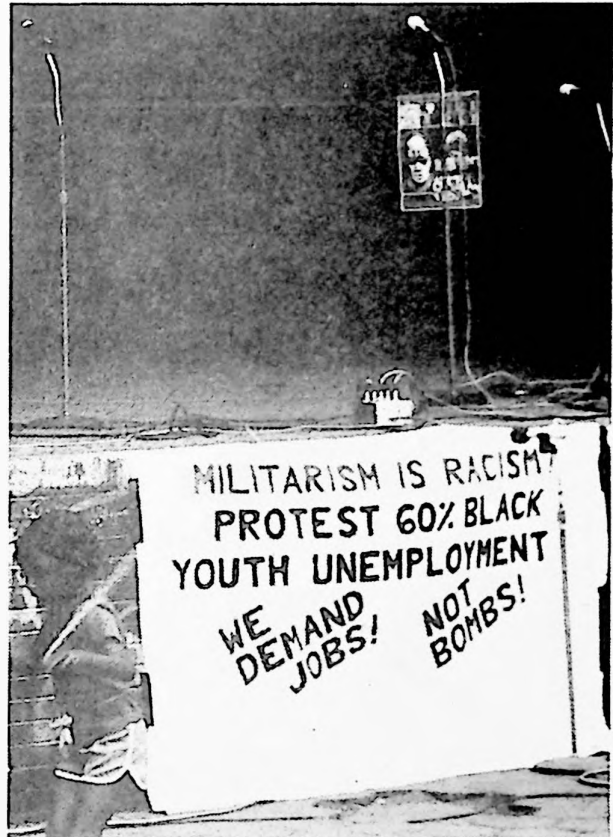
It is more than ironic, indeed it is cynical, when a government can give \$209 billion to the Pentagon, additional billions in tax relief to corporations and at the same time slash all social programs that would create jobs in the building of hospitals, housing, bridges and roads.

Such cynicism on the part of the Reagan Administration is tantamount to preventing flood and other disasters from receiving special emergency funds to deal with the particular disaster area.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., at its Extraordinary Conference held in Milwaukee in April 1982 presented to the nation an Economic Bill of Rights. The

CPUSA proposed that \$650 billion would be "transfer payments from the swollen corporate profits and bloated military budget. . . ."

That Extraordinary Conference, recognizing the special impact of the economic crisis on Afro Americans and other oppressed minorities, spelled out a program of real affirmative action. Calling for a minimum of \$100 billion for the special needs of Afro-Americans, the CPUSA projected an 11-Point Crash Economic Program for Black Equality.



1. Every industry and service should be required to have a number of Afro-Americans at the workplace at least proportionate to the population of the area.

2. Special funds should be allocated for the training and upgrading of Afro-Americans in every field where they are presently employed.

3. Educational opportunities with special funding should be made available to every Afro-American youth who wants a higher education.

4. Immediate funding for special training in the new technology. Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian and Pacific youth should be the first recipients of such training.

5. Affirmative action based on quotas to be strictly enforced.

6. Remodeling and building quality low-cost housing in Black communities across the country. And, in keeping with Comrade Hall's keynote, these jobs should be filled by the people who live in those communities. A majority of all aspects of construction in the Afro-American communities should be guaranteed to Afro-American workers — especially Black youth, from crane operators to skilled carpenters to painters to laborers, from forepersons to maintenance persons.

7. Guaranteed high-quality education for every child irrespective of the community in which the family lives.

8. Quality public health and hospital care accessible to the community.

9. Loans at no interest to small rural dwellers to save and cultivate their land. Low interest loans should be made to small businesses owned by Afro-Americans.

10. Citizen police control boards to stop the illegal, often deadly, abuse of police power.

11. Increase at least proportionately Black elected and appointed officials. The latest census shows 11.7 percent of the nation is Afro-American.

These are not revolutionary demands but they are necessary democratic demands to curtail the disaster facing Afro-American people and eventually the nation.

The struggle for these demands will enhance the building of the all people's fight against Reagan. This struggle will help build the unity of our class. This struggle will strengthen in concrete terms the fight against racism. This struggle will help us play our role as Communists — our vanguard role.

Impact of the economic crisis

By Pat Barile

A deep, long-term economic crisis engulfs the U.S. and world capitalist system. This crisis comes at the same time that U.S. monopoly corporations have increased the fury of their drive for maximum profits.

This insatiable drive utilizes every means to secure those profits. But, the time-tested method is to divide the masses of working people against each other so as to be better able to achieve the profit goal.

The main weapon of the U.S. monopoly corporations is the use of racism; in all forms and with maximum intensity.

Taking the lead of the corporations, racism in U.S. life today is propagated on the very steps of the White House, from the mouth of President Reagan. It is echoed by his henchmen in all parts of government.

The racist attack is total, it is economic — every means possible is used to underpay, overcharge, deny and deprive Black people of their entitled rights. Of particular concern is the fact that unemployment among Black youth is admittedly more than double that of white youth. In Gary, Indiana, and Harlem, N. Y., for example, it is well over 80 percent.

The racist attack is also physical, social, cultural, political and legislative. Police brutality and police crime are the accepted norms by the government and civic leaders. The use of KKK, gangs and goons is on the rise. The killing of Black youth by both police and thugs mounts.

Fightback

There is a growing awareness of the seriousness of this all-around racist attack and its human toll. Leading the fight for mass understanding of the source and reason for the racist upsurge, and therefore; for mass struggle against it are the Communist Party, USA, and the Young Workers Liberation League.

In a report to the Central Committee of the CPUSA in December 1981, Gus Hall, the party's general secretary, said of the latest stepped up attack:

"More and more the reactionary Reagan policies have directed repercussions in increasing specific acts of racism, anti-Semitism and repression.

"The racist Reaganite policies on the official level have removed whatever restrictions there were on patterns of racism and discrimination in shops, fac-

tories, offices, housing, education, social services, etc."

Hall said further: "The racism that stems from the Reaganite policies penetrates all sectors and all processes. It sanctions corporate practices of racism. It encourages every two-bit boss to harass, the bankers to redline, the landlords to discriminate, raise rents and evict, the real estate operators to gentrify and practice urban removal, the supermarkets to jack up prices and school administrators to turn back the clock on quality integrated education." He added: "Every racist practice that adds to corporate profits is being intensified."

On April 23-25, 1982, the CPUSA convened a national Extraordinary Party Conference in Milwaukee. Attended by 1,000 delegates and guests, the conference discussed the nature, causes and solutions to the crisis as it effects the working people of this country.

A special economic program to deal with the Reagan-monopoly attack was adopted. The Reaganite racist attack was the focus of two special workshops at the conference. One was on the problems of youth — with special emphasis on Black youth; the other was on the Struggle for Afro-American Equality and Against Racism and National Oppression.

The conference called for a full program to achieve genuine equality for Black people. The keystone of that program rests on the demand made by Gus Hall at the conference that Congress immediately place \$650 billion into the federal budget for the social needs of the people. That budget is to contain a specific provision built into it that would guarantee the special needs of Afro-Americans.

In a report to the Young Workers Liberation League in January 1982, James Steele, its national chairman, said of the Reagan-monopoly attacks: "The profound economic crisis which is bringing hunger and hardship to additional millions of youth adds tinder to the powder keg of youth's mass resentment and anger over the administration's unprecedented anti-people, anti-peace offensive." He said further that budget cuts aimed at youth are like "throwing a match into a closet full of gasoline rags."

Steel called for an **Emergency Action Program** for youth economic recovery. It included:

1. Declare the conditions of youth a national emergency.
2. Use executive authority and urgent congressional action to guarantee full employment or full unemployment insurance benefits for the length of



unemployment for all youth; pass the Weiss youth jobs bill.

3. Guarantee a decent standard of living for all working youth. Prohibit sub-minimum wage schemes.

4. Minimum wage to be raised to \$6.70 per hour to correspond with the government's guidelines for a "modest" standard of living.

5. Restore all cuts in youth programs, especially education and training.

6. Comprehensive affirmative action measures to meet the special needs of the hardest hit — Black youth in the first place, and other minority youth.

7. Public ownership under democratic control of all closed-down plants to make jobs for youth; scrap plans to have young people make war for the corporations.

While addressing the more general concerns of working people, the Milwaukee Conference and the Emergency Action Program of the YWLL both gave special consideration to the conditions of Black youth. For it is among Black youth that the greatest effects of the racist upsurge are witnessed, this is especially true in the areas of jobs and education.

Black Youth Unemployment

Unemployment among Black youth is long term. It has erased from the labor market— and thus, from the economic mainstream of life— a whole generation. In 1973, Black youth unemployment stood at 29.1 percent; in May 1982, it was 52.6 percent. The deepening crisis, clothed in government and employer racism, guarantees another lost generation of Black youth from the economic infrastructure of U.S. life.

The special impact of Black youth unemployment is compounded by the long-term economic impact of racism on Black families as such.

When unemployment hits any family, it does serious economic harm; it means less food, lower quality food, less medical care, inadequate clothing, etc.

When unemployment hits a Black family, the results are more serious, even devastating. This stems from the racist hiring patterns over the years. Last hired, first laid off means fewer months worked and less ability to build any financial reserves. In addition, Black workers on the whole are paid 60 percent as much as white workers. In 1980 alone, U.S. corporations underpaid minority workers to the tune of \$35 billion. Thus, Black youth cannot get from their families the basic sustenance for life.

The conference called for a full program to achieve by the Reaganites is military service and being used as cannon fodder. Even that alternative is now being attacked in a vicious racist manner and the loyalty potential of Black servicemen and women put into question and doubt.

The crisis of the inner cities, brought about by budget income starvation from the federal and state governments, has brought with it the crumbling of the educational system.

The heaviest burden falls again on Black youth. Black youth are not being educationally prepared for life. Without education, Black youth are relegated to the few sub-standard jobs available to them.

Black youth are shut out of training for the professions of today and the high science and technological jobs now in process of development in the economy. Without the training and education in the new science and technology field, the impact of the racism will grow immeasurably.

The long-term impact of denial of education opportunities to Black youth becomes apparent from the following examples: Though 12 percent of the population is Afro-American, only two percent of all dentists, doctors and lawyers are Black; less than one percent are Certified Public Accountants; only a trace are chemists, physicists or engineers.

To reverse that course, the state and federal governments must be compelled to pour the billions necessary for fully integrated quality education starting from the first grade through the college level.

Training and education

The racist attempt to allow tax credits to private schools must be militantly opposed. Those monies belong to those who have already been denied educational opportunity. Only 4.6 percent of Black youth attend private schools.

Loans and grants to prepare Black youth for jobs in today's economic job structure must be fought for.

The threat to deprive Black colleges of millions in student aid loan funds must be lifted. This is aimed at crippling Black education processes.

In the field of science and technology, there are very specific areas where the demand for trained personnel is growing and which will grow in the future. Any affirmative action program to create equality must include special provisions to include Black youth in such numbers as will overcome past racist exclusions. This includes the necessary financial assistance to complete education.



Federal workers marched to the White House in July to protest Reagan Administration cuts in social services which threaten to eliminate thousands of federal jobs.

Among the key sciences are:

- Electronic computers
- Semi-conductors
- Photographic equipment
- Optical instruments
- Surgical and medical instruments
- Instruments and meters
- Biological products
- Radio & TV equipment
- Medicines
- Industrial and environmental controls
- Computer programming
- Electronic information and communications systems
- Fiber optics
- Satellite communications
- New materials development
- Genetic engineering
- Robotics and automation

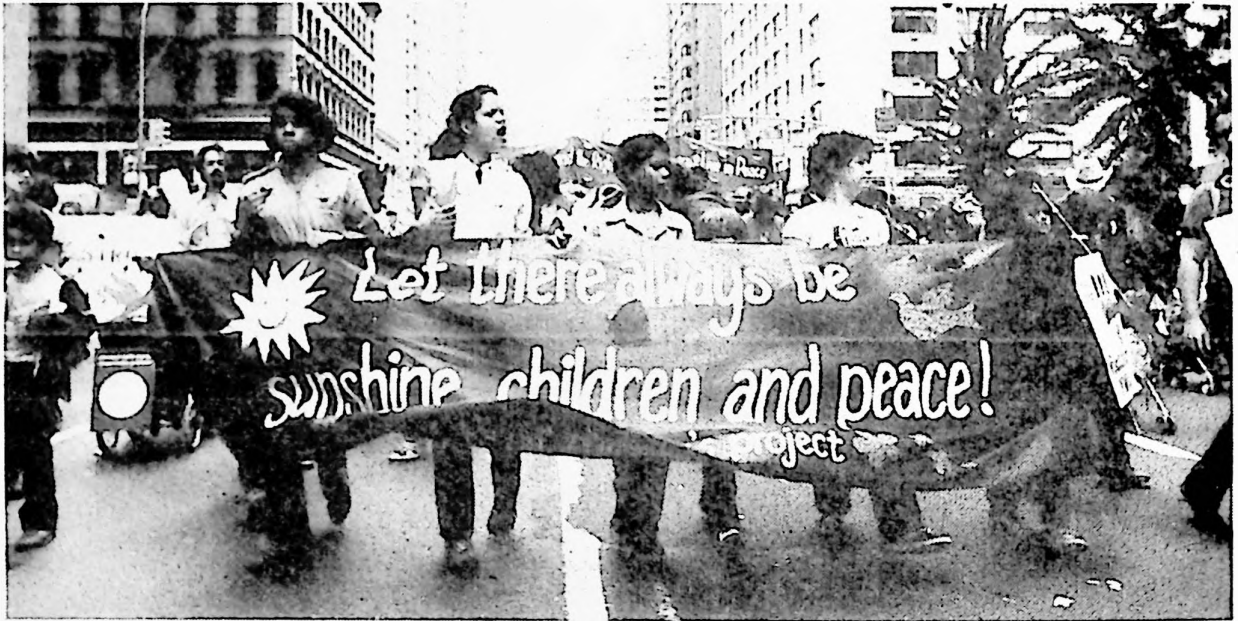
In a shrinking job market where machinery re-

places people, these are the jobs of the future, with a future.

The demand for special affirmative action to overcome the super-exploitation of Afro-Americans, especially Black youth, is a basic demand of the YWLL and the CPUSA. It is the foundation upon which the unity of those forces fighting the Reagan-monopoly offensive must be built. Without a full struggle for and acceptance of affirmative action on all levels, there can be no unity. It is a pre-condition for unity.

Affirmative action means minimum goals. It means special arrangements. It means bringing up to parity...in hiring, layoffs, wage and job condition levels, housing, education, and all phases of life. It means abolishing all differentials and disparities imposed on Afro-Americans and other specially oppressed minorities.

On such a basis of unity, the multi-national, multi-racial working class of this nation could deal a death blow to Reaganism!



Peace and Equality

By Kevin Mercadel

Shaking the Reagan Administration's policy of militarism at its very roots, the movement for a nuclear freeze and disarmament is steadily growing and involving ever broader sectors of the population. As should be expected in any movement of such wide dimensions, varying, often conflicting tendencies are present.

To maintain the unity of this emerging people's front, differences on issues of secondary importance are put aside. Mistakenly, some of the peace forces see the struggle for equality and against racism as such a secondary matter. It is not.

Fighting racism is not a narrow question of self-interest, of concern only for the Black community and other nationally oppressed communities. Rather, as racism is one of the fundamental pillars upon which Reagan and U.S. monopoly capital bases all foreign and domestic policies, fighting racism must be the concern of all.

Racism is an integral feature of imperialism's efforts to tie the newly independent and developing nations to its economic wagon as raw material appendages. Racism is a key aspect of Reagan's branding the national liberation movements as international terrorists and threatening them with nuclear col-

onialism. It is racism that plays a principle role in such hotbeds of tension as the Middle East and southern Africa — hotbeds that at any moment can become the spark to the very world confrontation that peace forces want to avoid.

Closer to home, who can deny that the military program of Reagan which necessitates huge budget cuts in social services is already killing, indeed murdering, our own citizens — in the first place in the Black community and other nationally oppressed communities of this land?

Further, it is a fact that the record high unemployment levels forced down the throats of our working class by the monopoly corporations rises proportionately with increases in military spending. It is also a fact that this same record unemployment disproportionately affects nationally oppressed peoples — take, for example, the rate for Black youth.

Militarism and racism

One could cite endless examples of the relationships between militarism and racism. However, the main point is that militarism and racism walk (more appropriately, trample) hand in hand.

With this in mind, is there any wonder that the Black community raises its collective eyebrow in sus-

pcion when told that it must fight only the danger of a nuclear holocaust — for raising the issue of racism will only divide us?

Rightly so, the Black community says look at our "war-torn" communities — abandoned buildings, closed hospitals and schools, poverty on every corner. Look at our brothers and sisters dying in South African prisoner of war camps. How can you be silent about this! How can we be expected to "put this aside!"

That the Black community has always been an active fighter for world peace is amply testified to by history. Examine the life and work of Paul Robeson, of W.E.B. Du Bois, of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

That the Black community is already an active part of the worldwide drive for disarmament today is demonstrated by the resounding endorsement of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists at its recent convention of the nuclear freeze proposal and the June 12th demonstration; by the work of PUSH, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change to bring tens of thousands of people from the Black community to

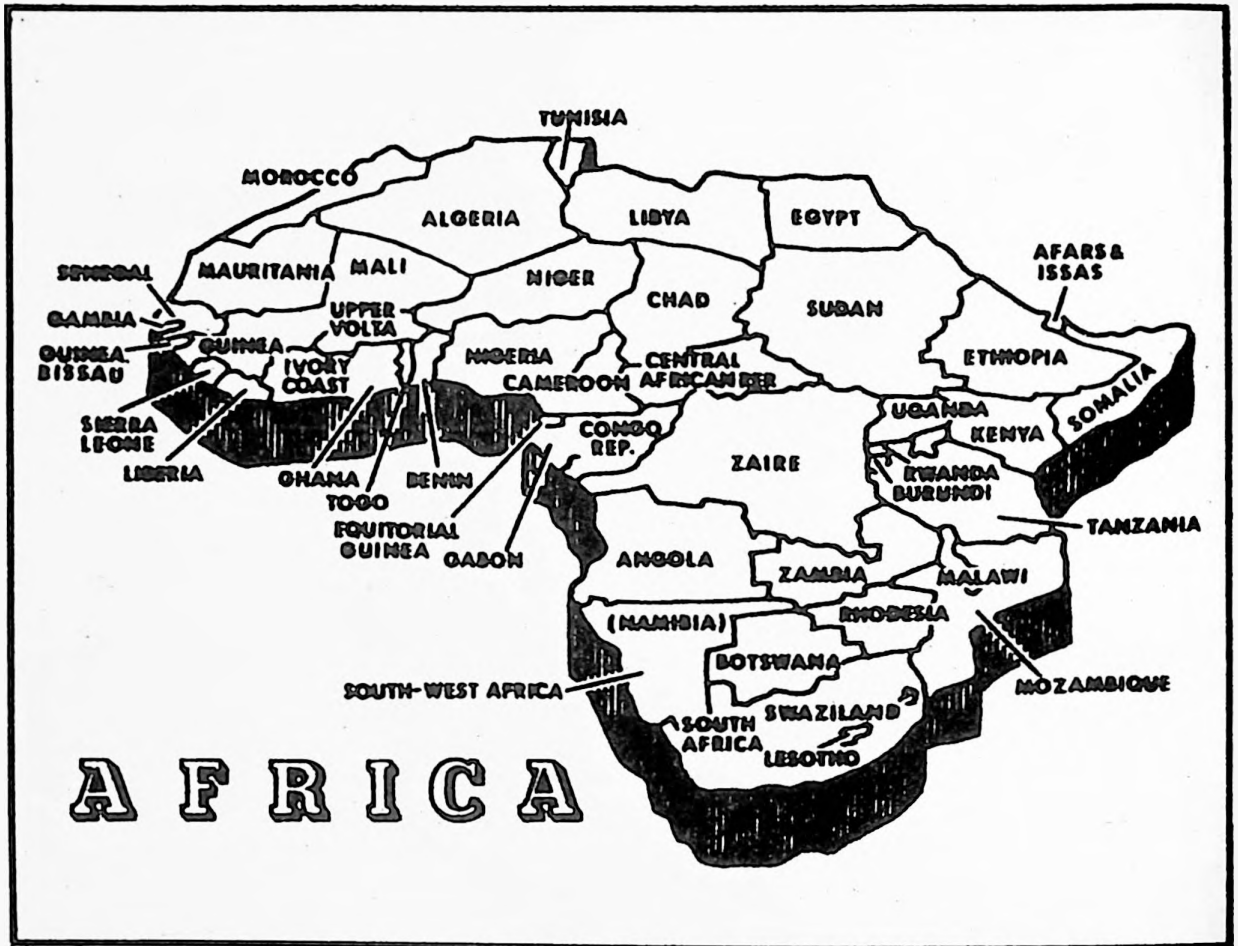
New York to demonstrate for peace; by the dozens of community meetings and town hall meetings in communities like Harlem to discuss and debate our nation's arms program and its effect on the Black community.

But experience has also taught us that if issues of concern to Black people are put aside from the beginning, they will be put aside in the end.

Therefore, to cement the unity of the peace movement in America, to make it the most powerful and effective movement that it can possibly be, racism must be challenged wherever it rears its ugly head. And in the first place, it must be challenged by conscious, progressive and democratic white peace activists.

It is not the fight against racism and racist ideas that promotes disunity and weakens the entire movement for peace. Let us learn from the experiences of WWII when the slogan was "Double V" — victory over fascism abroad and segregation at home. Today our battle cry must be for an end to Reagan's nuclear-war policies, for equality.





The road to African economic independence

By Ronald Tyson

Less than one percent of the world's industrial output in 1981 came from the African continent (excluding the Republic of South Africa). UN statistics indicate that 16 of the 25 least economically developed countries in the world are in Africa. Clearly, no area of the world is in greater need of rapid, balanced industrial development as part of the basis for economic growth.

The major question that arises in this context has to do with how this necessary development will come about. Should Black Africa open its doors to imperialist investment?

In the wider arena, the question becomes: Just what strategies for economic growth will—over the long term—give the developing countries the means

to reduce their debts to Western banks and governments, reduce the Western transnational corporate exploitation of their mineral resources and labor power, and accelerate the establishment of more equitable economic and political relationships with the imperialist powers?

Bourgeois theorists may argue that the reasons for Africa's economic plight have to do with adverse climate, lack of a "Protestant ethic," intertribal strife, intellectual inferiority, or whatever, but the truth is that the European colonial powers underdeveloped Africa. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois wrote that the slave trade robbed Africa of 100 million inhabitants; those who were taken away on the ships and those who never made it to the ships. The millions of Africans

murdered by King Leopold's agents in the "Belgian Congo," the peoples of Southern Africa murdered by the Germans, the Boers and the British, the Ethiopians killed by Mussolini's soldiers, and the other Africans killed during the period of imperialist expansion, barbarous plunder, and inter-imperialist rivalry on the continent (1876 to World War II) added to the decimation of the productive forces.

In the period of classic colonialism and imperialist reign in Africa, the continent's economic development was tailored to suit the needs of the colonizers. One-crop or two-crop economies were fostered to provide food for European tables, while previously self-sufficient African communities were forced to stop growing the crops they needed for survival.

Europeans set up mines and plantations to provide materials for industrial development in their respective countries, and Africans were forced to buy finished goods from abroad: Ghana, the world's leading producer of cocoa beans, imports chocolate from Europe, and groundnuts have been a staple of the Senegalese economy, but that country imports groundnut oil from Europe. Africans were forced under slave-labor conditions to build railroads, roads, and ports to facilitate the transport of raw materials to European manufacturing centers.

In short, Africa's economic development was stifled to accelerate the growth of European capitalism and imperialism.

Penetration of Transnationals

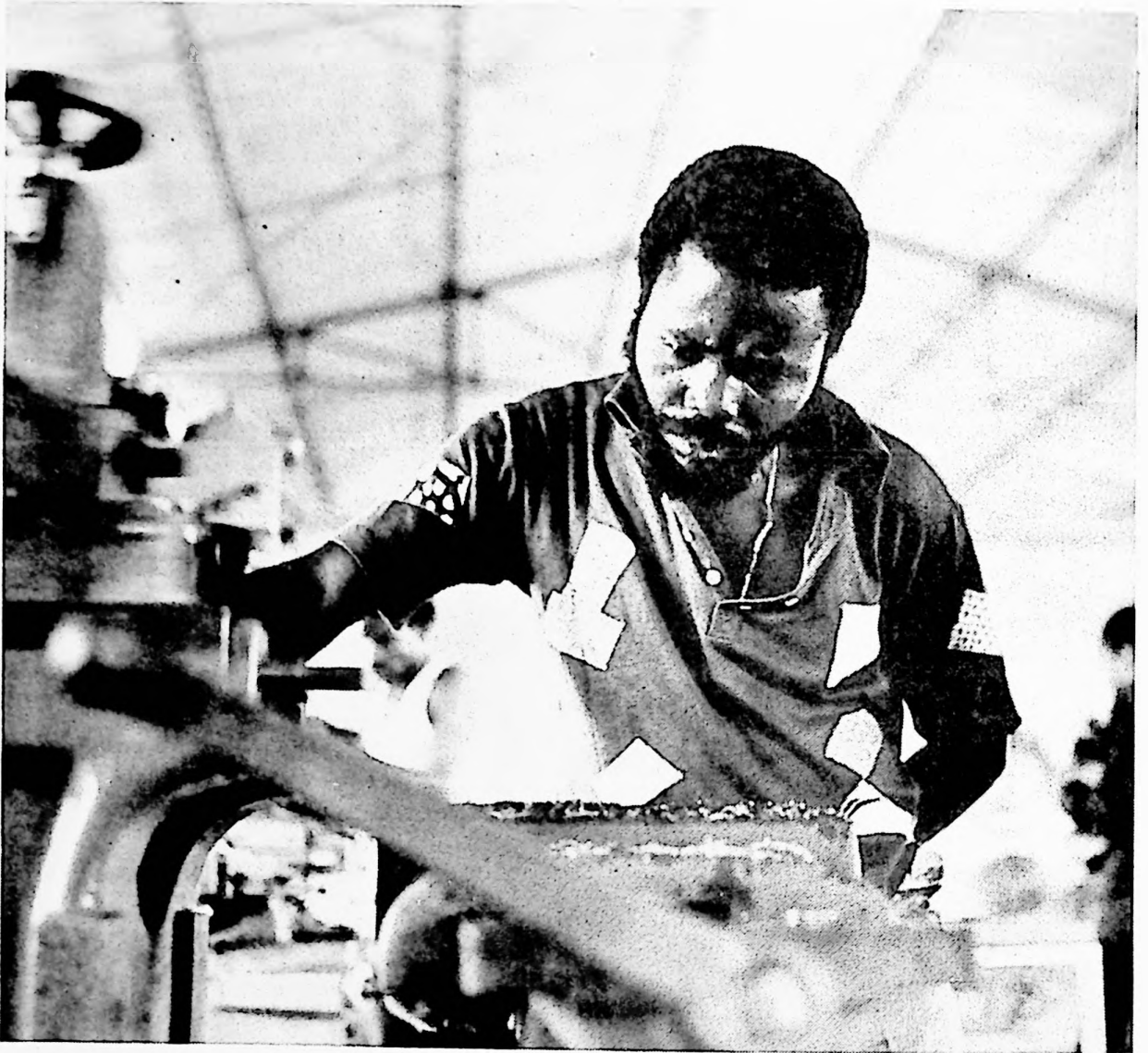
To get an idea of the power of the transnational corporations, consider the following: Six Western

firms control 85 to 90 percent of the world sugar sales, three firms control 70 to 75 percent of world banana sales, five capitalist enterprises control 75 percent of the cocoa bean sales, and 15 firms (two West European, eight U.S., five Japanese) control virtually all the cotton produced in the non-socialist world.. Eighty-five of the top 500 most powerful international monopolies control 70 percent of all foreign investments in the world. Five hundred firms control 80 percent of all electronic and chemical products, 95 percent of pharmaceutical production, and 76 percent of machine and electric engineering. Two-thirds of the labor power, assets, and profits in the non-socialist world are controlled by 370 capitalist enterprises; this means that 67 percent of the economic activity of the nonsocialist world is controlled by only 0.002 percent of the firms in the capitalist world.

Western transnational corporate penetration of Africa can be appreciated by way of the following: In 1970, with the inclusion of the Republic of South Africa, 82 Italian, 87 West German, 157 Belgian, 361 U.S., 467 French, and 823 British companies had affiliates or subsidiaries in Africa. This concentration of power, built by the ruthless exploitation of the labor power in the home countries and in developing countries, is part of what Africa must deal with in the effort to solve her pressing economic and political difficulties.

While the current economic and political difficulties of independent Africa are the result of the policies of the builders of the old colonial empires and the transnational corporations and banking concerns (the governments of the imperialist countries are guilty par-





Industrial worker in Angola

ties as well), special attention must be paid to the role of the U.S. component.

The Second World War precipitated the collapse of the classic colonial system in Africa. In the post-war boom experienced by U.S. corporations, there was capital available for investment in Africa, where the U.S. had previously deferred to West Europe (to this day, Africa ranks last among the areas of the world where U.S. capital is concentrated; behind West Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Canada, in that order). The doors for U.S. capital investment in Africa were opened by the economic problems of Britain and France, in the main. The corporations were

also able to penetrate Africa under the cloak of "friendship" because they falsely claimed their capital wasn't stained with the blood of colonialism. The statistics speak for themselves. In 1950, direct U.S. capital investment in Africa (excluding the RSA) amounted to about \$155 million; the total was some \$3.2 billion by 1972, and by the end of 1975, the total was over \$4 billion.

The fact that capital investment in Africa brings back the highest rate of return in the world is no small reason why U.S. corporations rushed in. By the end of the 1960s, every \$100 of direct U.S. capital investment in Africa (the RSA included; all sectors of the

economies of the affected countries included) brought back a profit of \$31.

While the economic crises experienced by the U.S. and other imperialist countries over the past decade and the labor struggles of the African working class have cut into that profit margin, the rate of return is still higher than that extracted from either Latin America or Asia. An understanding of the relationship between surplus value and the exploitation of labor power in this regard demonstrates how the extraction of superprofits from Africa means modern-day slavery for African workers.

Capital investment in Africa has been and continues to be geographically uneven. The 16 least developed countries in Africa (Benin, Botswana, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, and Upper Volta) accounted for six percent of all Western investments in Africa in 1975. The total value of direct foreign investment in these countries added up to less than the capital investment in Zaire alone in that year. U.S.-based transnationals will not of their own volition alter this pattern of investment because the raw materials that are of strategic importance for the U.S. corporations are not readily available in those countries. The recent U.S. interest in the Republic of Guinea is partly due — no doubt — to its newly discovered bauxite reserves. In fact, two of the largest recent U.S. corporate schemes in independent Africa — \$1.5 billion in Algeria and \$1.2 billion in Nigeria — were undertaken to explore for natural gas. The vast bulk of U.S. direct capital investment in independent Africa is in the oil-producing industry of Nigeria, mining in Zaire, and the aforementioned natural gas resources of Nigeria and Algeria.

U.S. capital continues to pour into the Republic of South Africa, and the book value of those investments now stands at over \$2.3 billion. It is generally known that those investments help to sustain the apartheid regime, but another aspect of the concentration of transnational capital in the RSA is that it purposely undermines the economies and independence of the neighboring states by increasing their economic dependence on South Africa. The UN General Assembly has called for international assistance to be given to the free countries of southern Africa to enable them to detach themselves from the ties colonialism created between them and RSA, and while the USSR, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries are making sin-

cere efforts toward that end, the Western transnationals are doing the opposite.

Perhaps the best example of transnational strengthening of the apartheid state is the nuclear collaboration between the U.S., the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and South Africa, which under the guise of developing nuclear-power capabilities has given the RSA the means to produce nuclear weapons. Add to this the activities of the U.S.-based Fluor Corporation, which is presently engaged in the largest industrial project in the capitalist world — helping South Africa to construct SASOL 11, a coal-to-oil conversion facility that will further enable the RSA to resist an international oil embargo — and it is quite evident that the transnationals are working against the interests of independent Africa; not only with regard to their economic needs, but with regard to their sovereignty as well.

Washington's strategy

Washington's worldwide military strategy is an important factor in the problems of independent Africa. In addition to being the location of huge U.S. and West European capital investment, the RSA is the southern anchor for U.S. "gunboat diplomacy" in the region. In violation of UN General Assembly resolutions and worldwide public opinion, the U.S. (and the Western imperialist states as well) have armed the RSA to the point where it poses a serious military threat to the whole of Africa. "Fortress South Africa" points a loaded gun at the heart of the national-democratic and socialist-oriented movements in Africa.

This latter reality was recently spelled out by Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Testifying before a legislative subcommittee on security and terrorism last spring, he said: "I think it is important that we understand that in southern Africa, the world faces a dangerous conjunction of factors, vital Western interests are involved, vital American interests are involved. The Soviet Union is involved. The region itself is severely troubled by problems that inevitably carry with them general instability. But, the momentum of events in the area — whether it be toward independence for Namibia, national unity and peace in Angola, or toward change within South Africa itself — is also strong and vital. We believe that the diplomacy that the United States is pursuing in southern Africa can be a key factor in the outcome of these developments

and that our diplomacy is, in fact, essential if hope for a peaceful solution of southern Africa's problems is to remain alive."

In essence, U.S. diplomacy in southern Africa involves stalling on Namibian independence and allowing South Africa to continue its invasions of neighboring African states. That policy also includes trade and other relations with the apartheid government while the white-minority rulers carry out barbarous aggression against African workers, activists, and revolutionaries in South Africa.

It is also important to appreciate Israel's role as the northern anchor for imperialism's schemes in Africa. While Israeli capital investment in Africa is negligible compared to the U.S., Great Britain, France, and the FRG, the Israelis have trained military personnel in a number of African states friendly to the West, and have armed many of those countries as well. Israel's intent in Africa became quite clear when Tel Aviv backed the imperialist-instigated "Biafran" separatist movement in Nigeria. The growing collaboration between Israel, the RSA, and the U.S. with regard to overall imperialist strategy is directed against the anti-imperialists in independent Africa. There are many parallels between the repeated South African invasions of neighboring states and Israel's recent invasion of southern Lebanon.

Inter-imperialist rivalries have brought death and despair to Africa. More fundamental to today's situation than those lovers' quarrels, so to speak, is the imperialists' generally unified effort to subvert true independence in the developing countries and to check the growth of national-democratic movements that are opting for non-capitalist paths of socioeconomic development.

Setbacks to imperialism

Imperialism in Africa suffered a series of setbacks which began in the 1960s and reached a higher level during the 1970s. The combined strength of the labor movement in Portugal and the national liberation movements in its African colonial possessions overturned the fascist Caetano regime and liberated Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde. The victorious national liberation movements in Zimbabwe represented another setback. The development of the national democratic movement in Ethiopia overthrew centuries of feudal rule.

The desire to reverse the gains in these countries and to prevent further setbacks has become the dom-

inant factor in imperialist activity in Africa, particularly in light of the initiation by developing countries of the so-called North-South dialogue on world economics.

Nearly all (96 percent) of the West's "economic assistance" to the developing countries has historically been channeled through the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). For instance, the bulk of what has been called "foreign aid" by the U.S. has been disseminated in the developing world through this committee. A new feature of relations between the developing countries and the imperialist powers has been the gradual commercialization of such assistance; in other words, there is an accelerating trend toward rendering so-called economic assistance to developing countries by encouraging transnational capital investment in various areas of the world and by extending export credits. Statistical projections suggest that more and more of the West's contribution to economic growth in developing countries will be in the form of capital investment, as opposed to direct "government assistance."

The fact that the U.S. is turning away from "foreign aid" as an alleged means to assist developing countries and is instead recruiting corporate investors for Africa has less to do with the budget balancing policies of Reaganism than it has to do with Washington's efforts to assert greater neocolonial control over Africa. This is evident in the overall trends in the imperialist countries. In the mid-1970s, about 17.9 percent of the "development assistance" rendered by the imperialist powers went to the countries where 58 percent of the population of the developing world was found. Slightly less than 16 percent of the "development assistance" went to the countries where seven percent of the developing world's population was located. The countries where the raw materials are located are the countries worth assisting — and controlling — in the imperialist strategy.

By carefully selecting the sectors of the economy where the transnationals choose to invest capital, they can assert greater control over a developing country than with "government aid." The construction of assembly facilities for automobiles, tractors, and trucks in Africa is a profit-making venture for the transnationals (as they take advantage of cheap labor power), and it serves to give them greater leverage for neocolonial control in the victim-countries, which are vulnerable to supply cutoffs. More, the transnationals purposely don't construct machine-making

facilities in developing countries. Without the ability to produce the machines that make other machines, developing countries are at a loss.

Among other recent investment trends has been an increased willingness by the transnationals to construct facilities in the developing countries for processing of raw materials related to energy and metallurgical needs. This not only takes advantage of cheap labor power in the developing countries, but also spares the imperialist countries the environmental regulations they face at home (to varying degrees); the transnationals have no problem with polluting the environment in the developing countries.

Fragmenting production

The moves toward nationalization by certain developing countries has led to another transnational investment trend; building industrial interdependence between countries by fragmenting the production process. The raw materials are obtained in one country, the semifinished goods are manufactured in a second neighboring state, and the finished product is produced in a third. The interdependence between states makes nationalization difficult in any one country. This is especially important in the high-technology production of today, as "vertical



monopolization" increases the profits for the transnationals.

We cannot overlook the reality that the worldwide imperialist economic crisis of the past decade has been a factor in the move from "foreign aid" to direct capital investment and portfolio investment, the lat-

ter being the private buying of shares in firms located in the developing states. We should also be clear that "foreign aid" usually wound up in the hands of the local bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie, resulting in corruption that further hampered the economic growth of developing states. (The export of capital has also served historically to build a local bourgeoisie and to precipitate class and national contradictions within the various recipient countries, as is the nature of capitalism.)

Another aspect of the imperialist economic crisis is that in their efforts to salvage the profits and calm the troubled waters, the imperialist powers have squeezed Africa and other developing states even more. The protectionist measures that the U.S., West Europe, and Japan have utilized to protect their individual markets have meant a significant reduction in Western markets for African goods; not that the West was previously a willing buyer of African agricultural and light-manufactured goods. Tariffs and import quotas hit the African states particularly hard. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has increasingly moved to limit the purposes for which loans are provided and imposed harsher terms of repayment.

The subject-matter involved herein is far too involved to be adequately discussed in such a short paper. Nonetheless, we have attempted to outline some of the trends and problems. The solutions are just as involved. The inequities between the West and the developing countries of Africa have been built over hundreds of years, so the solutions are long-term. The UN group working on the problems of the developing world speaks in terms of goals for the year 2000, and underlines the word "goals."

National democratic movements

The national-democratic movements in the developing states will play a major role toward overcoming the economic difficulties. An example of this can be seen in Algeria, where the conscious choice of a non-capitalist path of development and state control of the energy-production sector of the economy have given that country the means to force concessions from the West. Moreover, as the countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Benin, Congo-Brazzaville, and Guinea-Bissau grow stronger and assume a wider role in continental and international affairs, this will mean an overall strengthening of Africa's ability to fight imperialism on the political front. Political unity of Africa in the anti-imperialist

struggle will make it that much more difficult for the transnationals to work their schemes.

That unity will begin to erode imperialism's footholds in the neocolonialist countries of Africa. Zaire, a favored stomping ground for foreign capital because of its abundance of raw materials and its corrupt, pro-Western government, was forced to amend its recent decision to re-open relations with Israel. Similar pressures on other client-states of imperialism can turn the tide over time, by neutralizing local collaborationist entrepreneurs, officials, and Western-trained technicians. This process is vital to assuring development of short-term and long-range economic agendas that will carry out re-organization of debts, local agrarian reforms, and restructuring of trade relations with the West.

Anti-imperialist unity will bring with it a better environment for wider continental economic cooperation. A vital part of Africa's rise from Western-imposed underdevelopment is the utilization of continental resources for mutual benefit.

Algeria, which has all of the resources necessary for production of top-quality steel, could well become a continental supplier of that necessary commodity. Between the so-called frontline states of southern Africa — Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique — exists great potential for cooperative production of top-quality steel. The emergence of Nigeria as an industrialized state with a progressive government holds great continental significance.

The petroleum and natural gas reserves of the continent can meet the energy needs of Africa for years to come. Joint ventures to build roads and railroads would facilitate commerce between African states. Zaire, a storehouse of mineral wealth, is a country whose resources would greatly aid in a continental development scheme.

Collectively, Africa can force favorable changes in her agricultural-trade relations with members of the European Economic Community.

Wider trade and economic relations with the socialist countries is a boon to Africa that cannot be overstated. The Soviet Union has growing trade relations with Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Ghana, Angola, and Ethiopia, and has undertaken industrial and agricultural development projects in those and other African states. Industrial and agricultural projects initiated jointly between the Soviet Union and African states today employ more than 100,000 Africans—without the exploitation of African labor power, as the Soviet Union does not have any

capital investment on the continent.

With the assistance of the Soviet Union and other member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), iron and steel enterprises have been constructed in Algeria and Nigeria. Large-scale power enterprises have been built in Guinea and elsewhere. Tanzania, Mali, Congo-Brazzaville, Algeria, and Tunisia are benefiting from agricultural expertise of CMEA countries. The scientific and technological experience of CMEA states is available to a widening array of African states. The UN group working on the problems of the developing states has recommended broader trade economic relations between the socialist states and the least-developed countries.

An important transformation that will facilitate the growth of industry and agriculture in Africa is the final overthrow of the apartheid regime in the Republic of South Africa. Already the most industrially advanced state on the continent, a free South Africa would be a source of raw materials and development capital. Freed from the need to defend their borders from the South African military, the states of southern Africa will be able to turn their attention to the development of their resources as well. Majority-rule in South Africa will weaken the ability of imperialism to dominate continental affairs.

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The case for sanctions against South Africa

By Ronald H. Stevenson

"The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardships for Africans. We do not doubt that. But it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed; the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case we suffer already, our children are often undernourished and on a small scale (so far) we are at the whim of a policeman."

Chief Albert Luthuli
Nobel Peace Laureate
1898-1967

It was an area of the South African township where tourists had never set foot. A row of flimsy one-room houses lined both sides of the street. An ancient Volkswagen rolled to a stop in front of the corner house on the driver's side. Two men in uniforms got out and approached the house. One approached the front of the house and other the back. They were a team from the special squads of police that conduct nightly raids, searching for illegal residents.

"They come in the night between half-past one and four o'clock," one resident said.

"They knock on the front door and when it is opened, one walks to the back door and lets the one there in. Then they order everybody out of bed and check all passbooks (documents) against the lists they have from their superintendent's office. If you are not on the list they put the handcuffs on you and you must walk with them while they raid the other houses on the block until the sun comes up."

Failure to produce the passbook usually results in immediate arrest. The absence of the correct date or stamp in his or her passbook turns the person into an outlaw. Never again can he or she legally work or live in that area. Such is the daily experience and the constant repression facing black workers and their families in South Africa today.

In a 12-month period ending in June 1975, 386,414 persons were prosecuted under the pass laws. Hundreds of thousands more were stopped to have their books inspected. On July 23, 1977 a Johannesburg newspaper reported that in an article in *The New York Times*, a representative of the International League

for Human Rights, who attended a pass-laws court session, described the court procedure he witnessed:

3,320 cases processed at more than one a minute, without a single defense lawyer or one plea of not guilty and with a prosecutor who doubled as interpreter.

On conviction, the Africans are fined or imprisoned and removed from the area, only to return "illegally" in search of work.

Today every African over the age of 16 is required to carry a passbook at all times. It contains among other things, his or her photograph, race identity card, registration number, particulars of tribal connections, ethnic classification, the official permit to be in the area, current tax receipt, the permit from the labor bureau to seek work or be employed, employment record, and the name, address and signature of present employer.

These pass laws have been described as the tightest permit control system in the world. A computerized record system in Pretoria is connected to all the main centers in the country. The racist authorities are able to exercise control over the lives of more than 19 million Africans. The fingerprints of each African are taken when the passbook is issued and are filed in a central registry in Pretoria.

The pass laws are the key to apartheid. Africans want the key thrown away and apartheid demolished. They want laws that protect the privacy of their homes from police raids. They want the laws of their country to guarantee to all, the freedom to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad; Africans want all laws restricting their freedom abolished.

Homelands

The racist apartheid government agreed to "modernize" the pass laws. The "Bantustans," which are reserves of cheap black labor, are now in the process of being transformed into "self-governing" and eventually "Independent Homelands."

The theory is that these "Homelands" will no longer be a part of South Africa. Where this theory is practiced, Africans, by apartheid law, have become foreigners in the land of their forefathers, the land of their birth. The new law makes black South Africans citizens of one "Bantustan" or the other. Passbooks are replaced with "travel documents" that turn out to be no different than the passbook.

To obtain the travel document, Africans must sign

away any claim to South African citizenship. The holder is still subject to the same influx control laws and must produce the travel document on demand.

The white racist regime of South Africa intends to consolidate the "Bantustans" or "Homelands" into "Independent States" by the end of this year. The creation of "Homelands" not only continues to provide black slave labor, which is essential for the racist economy, but it also saves apartheid the expense of maintaining the workers on pensions or with other social benefits. "Homelands" rob Africans of all political rights in their own country.

Every year, 500,000 Africans are arrested and imprisoned in accordance with the pass laws and 100,000 prisoners are permanently detained in prisons throughout the country. Two hangings take place weekly.

Struggle vs. terrorism

On June 26, 1980 Alfred Nzo, the Secretary General of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa stated:

...the reality of the South African situation is characterised not by arrest or police brutality, the characteristic feature of our situation is the struggle of our people.

The ANC is the sole legitimate liberation movement of the majority of Africans in South Africa.

African workers have a long history of militant struggle against apartheid oppression and exploitation that stretches back to the early 1900s. The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was founded in 1955 to organize African workers and further the ideals of non-segregated and militant trade unionism. The founders of SACTU realized that trade union rights, improved pay and better working conditions could not be won in a vacuum. From the beginning, African trade unionist rejected the slogan of the white trade unionists of "no politics in the trade union movement." This slogan bore no relationship to the realities of life for Africans in their struggle for political and social rights and freedom. At its inaugural conference, SACTU stated:

The workers of South Africa need a united trade union movement in which all sections of the working classes can play their part, unhindered by prejudice or racial discrimination.

This creed, fundamental to all trade union activity throughout the world, encounters fierce resistance from the fascist apartheid regime.



Many hundreds of SACTU officials have been terrorized, tortured, persecuted and banned from their country by the racists. Many more are still in prison. Still more have been murdered. All have been labeled terrorist. This is fascist apartheid's punishment that African workers face for taking part in trade union activity. The white trade unions retain their racist practices of white supremacy and are tools in the hands of the apartheid employers and transnational corporations, including U.S. transnationals.

Despite this persecution, SACTU survives and continues its trade union activities underground, helping to organize mass strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and protests. SACTU maintains:

...A struggle for the economic rights of the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers.

Permanent unemployment

Unemployment in South Africa is currently higher than at any time in its history — officially around 2.3 million (22 percent) and growing by 470 a day. In the Ciskei's (the newest homeland) main industrial town of Dimbaza, 1,500 persons out of the town's adult population of 6,300 were recently reported as applying for one advertised job.

In South Africa, since WW II, and particularly since the the early 1960s, economic growth has meant mechanization. This has meant the destruction of more jobs than are created. Thus, gradual relative decline in employment opportunities has resulted.

The fact that economic growth has meant the decline in number of workers employed is important to emphasize, because foreign investors argue that they are increasing employment by investing in apartheid South Africa.

The South African Department of Labor regards as unemployed only those working less than five hours a week. Those who have worked for, say, only six hours in a week will be classified as fully employed workers. As a result of such falsification, the apartheid regime was able to claim an official African unemployment figure of 554,000 for April 1978. The regime's statistics will become increasingly more misleading as more "Bantustans" become "Independent States." Already the Transkei and Bophutatswana, so-called "Independent States," are excluded from the official South African unemployment figures.

One economist, Charles Simkins, from the University of Natal, has demonstrated the enormity of African unemployment. Simkins calculated that Africans made up "...over 89 percent of the total unemployment in 1970 and 1975 in South Africa. Mass unemployment in South Africa is far from being a cyclical phenomenon, showing itself in times of recession and dwindling when the economy is in boom. Unemployment in South Africa is a permanent product of apartheid."

A 1977 manpower survey reveals the effectiveness of race discrimination in controlling openings to the skilled trades. Of all artisans and apprentices in employment, 79 percent were white. In the metal and engineering trades the proportion was as high as 91.5 percent, in the electrical trades 96 percent, and in the motor trades 86 percent. Only 2.1 percent of all apprentices were African, yet Africans make up more than 71 percent of the total working force. (emphasis R.S.) The Financial Mail (*Wall Street Journal* of South Africa) stated:

The view that more and more Africans are occupying skilled technical and managerial positions is a myth...The opposite is the case. (Feb. 17, 1978)

African workers in South Africa have been robbed of their citizenship and of all the most fundamental labor rights. The majority have no

choice whatsoever as to how, where, for whom or for what wages they will work. Apartheid for African workers not only makes normal trade union activity and collective bargaining impossible, but destroys normal family and social life.

For decades, the African people and workers have been sending the message around the world by their chosen leaders that "...there is no possibility of our ever accepting the status quo and acquiescing to our own exploitation and oppression."

There should be no doubt that nothing can deter the South Africans from continuing the liberation struggle until victory is won. They have said, "To achieve this objective no sacrifice is too great, no price too high."

Sanctions—a weapon in the struggle

More than 20 years have passed since the call for sanctions was initiated from inside South Africa. The liberation movement, ANC, and the All African People's Conference appealed to the world for sanctions against South Africa to help maximize worldwide support for the struggle inside the country. Pretoria had embarked on a massive military buildup and a reign of fascist terror, leaving the oppressed people with no choice but to surrender to the fascist rule of apartheid or to organize underground resistance, including armed struggle, in order to attain their freedom and gain control of their heritage, the vast mineral and other natural resources of their country.

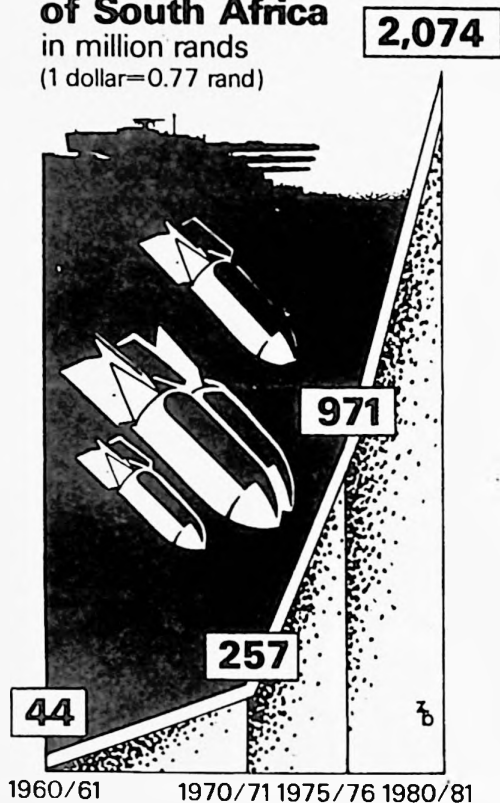
The so-called Union of South Africa was created as an imperialist outpost and is today an agent of imperialist design. Always its role is to dominate and control the economies of the southern half of the African continent. Its function is to ensure that the vast natural resources of the area are protected and reserved for exploitation by apartheid from within and foreign transnational corporations, led by the United States of America.

Today, apartheid South Africa is assigned the responsibility of acting as NATO's "super-cop" in the Indian and South Atlantic oceans and must itself be protected by its imperialist masters.

Any doubts about this have been dispelled by the Reagan Administration. The President of the United States has publicly described apar-

Military expenditures of South Africa

in million rands
(1 dollar=0.77 rand)



theid South Africa as a friendly country, a war-time ally and a partner in the defense of U.S. strategic interests.

Oliver R. Tambo, the President of the ANC, recently commented:

We are astonished at the conscious distortion of historical fact to justify embracing the Botha regime. Far from being a wartime ally, Botha and the party he leads allied themselves to the Nazis and opposed South Africa's entry into the war. The Nationalist Party shares with the Nazis a common ideology and brutality, and has taken upon itself the mantle of Hitler. It has become a fountain of that ideology and maintains close links with fascist and racist groups in many countries, including in the United States.

Since Botha and Reagan have proclaimed themselves as allies we must consider what are their common objectives in Southern Africa. What interests and most importantly whose interest will this alliance promote?

U.S. investments serve only the interests of its multi-national corporations and apartheid, not the interests of the African people and surely not the welfare of the black workers of South Africa. Tambo was explicit about this. He said:

For the imperialist and the racist South African alike, the ultimate objectives are: to regain economic, political and military control over the entire southern African region and to perpetuate the plunder of the region's mineral resources.

The arrogant assumption of the paramountcy of outside interests above those of Africans is but one aspect of the ideology that unites Pretoria and Washington.

The inevitable victory of the liberation struggle will teach them that it is the interests of sovereign governments and of the majority of the people that need to be taken into account when considering our countries, our future and need I emphasize it, our minerals and wealth.

On the question of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the last bastion of racism in Africa, Tambo had this to say:

... We are dealing with an outcast, one who continues to follow policies that have been declared a crime against humanity, a regime that has repeatedly acted in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

Sanctions are not to be seen as a way of reforming apartheid, nor as merely a gesture of disapproval. Sanctions are a weapon that the international community can and must use against the racist regime—a weapon that can weaken Pretoria's capacity to maintain its aggressive posture.

Sanctions are a way of cutting off support for racist South Africa, and denying the regime the means through which it can sustain and perpetuate itself. (emphasis R.S.)

Sanctions will not and cannot be expected in themselves to bring down the apartheid system. They are not an alternative to struggle by the South African and Namibian people, but an important complement to it.

The effects of sanctions, properly implemented, will be to limit the scope, scale and duration of the war that is now raging in

Southern Africa. *Unless the international community can do this, the repercussions of the conflict will certainly engulf us all.* (emphasis R.S.)

Since the opposition to sanctions is based upon a determination to preserve the apartheid system, the ANC president pointed out that:

...we must expect that every device will be used to make sanctions ineffective. Let us remember that if it is inevitable that sanctions won't work and are ineffective, there would have been no need to cast vetoes. The veto was used precisely because sanctions can be made effective and can have an impact.

From October 9-11 last year, a historic gathering of citizens of the USA of all colors and ages assembled at the Riverside Church, in New York City. They assembled at the Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the People's of Southern Africa.

The Conference adopted a broad and comprehensive program of action designed to reach and mobilize the widest sections of the people of the United States for the following aims:

1. The total isolation of South Africa by the implementation of a program of comprehensive and mandatory economic, military, diplomatic, sports and cultural sanctions including an effective oil embargo.
2. Solidarity with and unconditional support for the liberation struggles led by the ANC and SWAPO.
3. Solidarity with and support for the Frontline States.
4. Material aid for the refugees from and the victims of the apartheid regime.

The heroic people of the ANC and SWAPO are destroying apartheid from within. The people of the USA can end the Reagan Administration's pact with the racist and fascist South African regime and contribute to bringing majority rule to South Africa's struggling peoples. This is the challenge before us. Let us make new haste to answer it in the affirmative. In the words of the great Afro-American freedom fighter, Frederick Douglass, let us also remember: "Power concedes nothing without a struggle; it never has and it never will."

ANC APPEAL TO SAVE THE LIVES OF MOTAUNG, MOSOLOLI AND MOGOERANE

Dear Friends,

1. In a trial which ended on 6 August 1982 at the Pretoria Supreme Court, the racist regime once again condemned to death three other members of the African National Congress: Thelle Simon Mogoerane (23); Jerry Semano Mosololi (25) and Marcus Thabo Motaung (27).

2. The three have not appealed to the Highest Court against the sentences, but instead have petitioned the South African State President for clemency and are presently sitting in the death row awaiting his decision. The ANC is gravely concerned that unless urgent actions and measures are taken, the State President will confirm the sentences and the regime will proceed with their immediate execution. This calls on all men and women of conscience the world over, to urgently undertake vigorous actions to save the lives of Motaung, Mogoerane and Mosololi.

3. To this end, we call on the international community to:—

—write letters of protest to the South African State President and Prime Minister, Union Building, Pretoria, South Africa;

—urge all governments to condemn these sentences and to demand for their immediate release;

—exert pressure on the racist regime to accord Prisoner-of-War status to the captured Freedom Fighters as provided for by the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the additional Protocol of 1977;

—undertake all possible actions with the objective of saving the lives of these three young patriots of our country;

—make the racist regime feel the indignation of the international community at these murderous actions by intensifying the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

Once again, the ANC wishes to put on record its deep gratitude to all men and women, youth and students, and many others who contributed, in many and varied ways, to the campaign to save the lives of Bobby Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, and David Moise, whose death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment following the intervention of the international community.

Black Workers on the March in Ohio

By Rick Nagin, chair of the Ohio district of the CPUSA

Unity and militancy is on the rise among Black people in Northeastern Ohio as part of the general fightback by all working people against the Reaganite assault.

Thousands of Black workers signed petitions calling on the state AFL-CIO to hold a mass rally for jobs in Columbus. The acute crisis of unemployment and plant closings, especially in the steel, auto and rubber industries, spurred the Cleveland Federation of Labor to call for a militant Labor Day march.

The Labor Day march, the first called by the CFL in decades, drew more than 3,000 workers, including the Cleveland Jobs Committee and a community-based unemployed group. It was seen as a key aspect of the mobilization of the people to deliver the Reaganites a sharp setback in the November elections.

Some of the most important issues in these elections were resolved in the June primaries and in a positive way. Efforts to carve up the district of Congressman Louis Stokes, Ohio's most progressive and only Black representative in Washington, failed. In fact, the district was strengthened, assuring his re-election.

The other major event, which assumed national importance, was the defeat of incumbent Democrat Congressman Ron Mottl, a rabid Reaganite racist and sponsor of a Constitutional amendment to outlaw busing for purposes of school desegregation.

Under redistricting, Mottl ran in a predominantly white suburban area, which included a number of heavily working-class cities. He was narrowly beaten by an anti-Reagan liberal who had the strong backing of the labor movement.

The outlook now is for a solid belt of anti-Reagan Congressmen running from Lorain on the west, through Cleveland and Akron to Youngstown on the

east. It is further likely that Richard Celeste, a liberal Democrat, will succeed the right-wing Republican James Rhodes as governor.

Congressman Stokes and other Black officials and community leaders are working to mobilize the Black community to guarantee the strongest anti-Reagan vote.

Aside from the economic issues, the question of peace has emerged in a new way, with Black officials playing a leading role. Outstanding in this respect has been Cleveland City Council President George Forbes, who has succeeded in placing on the ballot a proposed ordinance banning the use of any city funds for civil defense against a nuclear attack.

Forbes has blasted Reagan's calls for construction of bomb shelters and other measures as a dangerous illusion and has stated that disarmament is the only safeguard against nuclear attack.

This action was adopted unanimously by the City Council, as were previous resolutions introduced by Forbes calling for a nuclear freeze and endorsing the June 12 peace demonstration.

Forbes also went out of his way to welcome a recent group of Soviet visitors who were introduced to the entire City Council. Forbes voiced a desire for greatly expanding such contacts and ending the cold-war barriers separating the American and Soviet people.



A Look at Women, Race and Class

By Alva Buxenbaum

Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race & Class*, Random House, New York, 1981, \$13.50.

Angela Davis is a doctoral candidate; she teaches courses on philosophy, esthetics and women's studies; she is a co-chair of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA. The influence of this unique and varied experience is evident in her recent *Women, Race and Class*, a pioneering work on women, the women's movement (historical and contemporary) and the interrelationship of racism, class bias and male supremacy.

The 1980s are unfolding as a period in U.S. history that shall one day be recognized as a time of resurgence, a period of sharp battles between monopoly capital and an ever-growing movement that brings together various sections of the whole population. The developing picture is of labor and the Black community in the front ranks of an increasingly militant fightback.

Women and women's organizations are vital to coalition building. The degree to which women unite as women and together with others around the vital economic issues will affect the solidity and depth of popular coalitions. The development of the tendency to coalesce in the women's movement is at a critical stage.

Women, Race and Class opens for discussion questions of immediate goals for women's equality and questions of basic alliances needed to achieve these goals. The shift in class and racial composition of the women's movement, from a predominantly middle-class base of white women in the early 1970s to today's multi-racial, multi-national base of mainly working-class women has profoundly changed the demands and direction of this struggle.

Working-class women have significantly raised the concept of equal rights for women, pinpointing the essential need for actual economic, social and political equality.

Foremost in the list of demands is the struggle to end the wage differential through implementation of

the principle of "jobs at equal pay for comparable work." This is accompanied by demands for affirmative action, which is essential to achieve equal pay and equal opportunity for minorities, women and youth.

Publicly funded, comprehensive child care continues to emerge as a key economic as well as social demand for working women. The question is also being taken up by the labor movement in general.

There is now a more influential trend in the women's movement that sees fighting for peace and combatting racism and economic exploitation as basic issues for joint struggle to ensure equality for all.

None of these crucial demands can be won without deeper understanding of and commitment to alliances based on unity. Therein lies the significance of Angela Davis' book. As its title indicates, this book tackles the major ideological divisions which have historically proven to be obstacles to political unity.

In the 13 chapters of *Women, Race and Class*, the reader journeys from slavery to the anti-slavery movement; from the early women's suffrage movement to emancipation. We are given an "inside" view of what emancipation, education and liberation meant to the freed slave. And, we are brought to contemporary history. The author examines the early club movement among Black women; Communist women and the struggle for social change; racism and reproductive rights and birth control; the myth of the Black rapist; and the approaching obsolescence of housework.

Historical parallels

The parallels between the influence of race, male supremacy and class bias in the early '70s, when the women's movement was dominated by a middle-class base of white women, and the women's suffrage movement of the mid-1800s is drawn quite clearly. One could almost change the names and dates and just slightly rearrange the issues, leaving the ideological divisions of class and race intact.

Angela Davis' perspective is clearly Marxist-Leninist. She examines and exposes the source of exploitation as the system of capitalism which gave birth to the slaveocracy, with its anti-human theories to justify the most shameful, brutal system of exploitation in modern history. Her analysis culminates in drawing conclusions that promote understanding of the tremendous necessity for solidarity and unity of purpose and action against exploitation for profit the aim and purpose of capitalism.



The first chapter of *Women, Race and Class* makes a major contribution to a clear understanding of the economic source and status of Black women's oppression in this society. It provides an accurate analysis of the economic position of Black women as workers in the first place.

The myth of the Black woman as "matriarch" has been contrived and developed by racist ideologists and apologists through much of our history and continues today. Here that myth is refuted. Matriarch, as Angela Davis describes, was not the actual structure of the slave family; neither was the patriarch characteristic of the bourgeois or slaveholding family. The point is made that male supremacy, i.e., the promotion of the man to the position of "head of the family," was not even an advantageous trait to foster in the male slave, since submission — in the eyes of the oppressors — was the important quality to reinforce for male and female.

One cannot read the first chapters of this pioneering work without gaining a clear insight into the evolving strength of human character necessary for the survival of a people under extreme suffering. It was this collective strength which laid the basis for slave revolts and insurrections and which produced Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and the multitude of other known and unknown courageous fighters for freedom. These heroic people were symbols of Black leadership, whose courage and fortitude have influenced the struggle of Black people through history, in every generation. This strength sparked the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s and influences the militancy of Black working-class men and women today.

Angela Davis' carefully developed account of the birth — out of the anti-slavery movement — of the women's rights movement is another outstanding fea-

ture of this book. As one follows the historical development outlined, there are inescapable parallels between the class and social base and the ideological trends of weakness and strength of the suffragists of the 1800s and the women's liberation movement of the 1970s. One can not help but see the relationship between the civil rights struggles of the 1960s, the peace (anti-Vietnam War) movement and the rebirth of women's equality demands and struggles in the '70s.

The interrelationship between racism and male supremacy — ideologies and practices fostered and perpetuated by an exploitative class system to pit one against the other — is the thread that runs throughout the entire book. In the 1800s, women's rights were pitted against voting rights and the resulting division between the abolitionists and suffragists disrupted the unity of two movements whose alliance was essential for further advancement and victory against the very source of inequality of both — the economic system of capitalism. Reformism as an ideology of the middle class came into play to prevent basic challenge to the economic base of the system itself.

The differences in the strategies epitomized by Frederick Douglass and the Grimke sisters, on the one hand, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony on the other hand, were due to different class perspectives. The latter had a position comparable to the trend of the '70s which focused on male supremacy vis-a-vis all men, and which focused particularly on the male supremacy of Black men to prove that male supremacy was more potent, more in operation, than racism. In the 1840s and 1970s this capitulation to racism is made quite clear as the dividing line between a working-class perspective and middle-class "reformism."

The latter had a position comparable to the trend of the '70s which focused on male supremacy vis-a-vis all men, and which focused particularly on the male supremacy of Black men to prove that male supremacy was more potent, more in operation, than racism. In the 1840s and 1970s this capitulation to racism is made quite clear as the dividing line between a working-class perspective and middle-class "reformism."

The point is made that even militant abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison came to the forefront against the working class whenever the issue of organizing labor or the right to strike emerged. One example of this is a quote from the first issue of the *Liberator* which decried the attempt of Boston workers to form a political party. The quote is accompanied by the following commentary:

As a rule, abolitionists either defended the industrial capitalists or expressed no class loyalty at all. This unquestioning acceptance of the capitalist economic system was evident in the program of the women's rights movement as well.

The contrasts between Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott as symbols of this dilemma of middle-class women, on the one hand, and the consistency of women of vision like the Grimke sisters, Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman are contrasts of class and race consciousness. The quote from Angelina Grimke's "Address to the Soldiers of Our Second Revolution" at the founding convention of the Women's Loyal League is a most clear cut example of working-class political consciousness, which projected the basis for alliance between labor, Black people and women. Angelina Grimke characterized the Civil War as one "upon the working classes, whether white or Black. In this war, the Black man was the first victim, the working man of whatever color the next; and now all who contend for the rights of labor, for free speech, free schools, free suffrage and a free government."

Thus, within the fabric of those ideas which divide and defeat, we witness the constant appearance of working-class forces — working-class women in particular — with a clearly evolving perspective as to the economic system and its class base from which slavery, racism and inequality flow.

Acts of unity and solidarity with the anti-slavery movement give testimony to the contributions of working women in the industrial North. The strikes by women textile workers in the 1820s against the industrial capitalists dramatized the militant and ad-

vanced role of these women workers and assumed a very significant place in the struggles of the period.

Role of labor

Most historical books on the women's rights movement omit the vital role and perspective of labor and the militant role that women have always played in the labor and trade union movement of our country. One finds this perspective only in a Marxist analysis. It is within this perspective also that projections for necessary alliances are possible to foresee.

While it is not possible to deal in depth with all of the significant features in this book, the reader is struck throughout by the careful attention given to disproving many of the most discussed and widespread misunderstandings and distortions which have limited the scope and potential base of alliances for the women's movement.

The feminist perspective of suffragists who viewed "woman" as the priority and dominant test of all times never really accepted the concept of strategic and tactical alliances with labor and the Black population. This class blindness seriously limited their understanding of unity and class solidarity, making them more and more prey to racist influences and eventually leading to isolation and exclusion of Black women suffragists. *Women, Race and Class*, in tracing the relationship between working women and Black women in the suffrage movement, treats the role of Stanton and Anthony in objective terms. Pointing to their strengths, steadfastness and contributions, including those to the cause of working women, it is also made clear that they never accepted the principle of trade unionism, as they could not accept that Black liberation might take a tactical priority at a given moment over their careers as women. Indeed, their narrow interests as white women not only excluded men. Black women and white working-class women were also excluded. The source of women's plight was seen as a hierarchy in which all men were supreme and all women their subjects.

Anti-working-class, racist and male supremacist myths have influenced every progressive struggle. They have been a prime source of disunity limiting the scope of the movements and preventing support of key sectors. In the women's movement, demands such as for abortion rights, against rape and other forms of violence against women, and those demands attempting to eliminate the double burden imposed by household tasks are vivid examples.

Chapter 11, on "Rape, Racism and the Myth of the Black Rapist," examines, among other things, the historical use of rape charges in the United States against Black males and its effect on those who accepted it as true. Its use as a racist weapon is traced from its origins in slavery to its effects on the thinking of some feminists of the '70s — epitomized in Susan Brownmiller's book *Against Our Will*. Analyzing Brownmiller's book, Angela Davis shows how these false characterizations of Black men have wreaked havoc and division within progressive struggles like the women's movement. The author argues that an effective struggle against rape must be waged in a context of the fight to eliminate racism, requiring defense of the many Black men victimized by falsified rape charges. Proliferation of sexual violence, through pornography, etc., is part of the master plan by monopoly capital to intensify racism and sexism while it deliberately seeks to worsen conditions of women workers.

Capitalism seeks to take away gains of working women and to widen the wage differential.

Unifying the struggle

Birth control — individual choice, safe contraceptive methods as well as abortions when necessary — is a fundamental prerequisite for the emancipation of women.

This clearly stated hypothesis begins the chapter of *Women, Race and Class* that tackles the major problem of how to bring together women of different social backgrounds into unified struggle around common issues. Why, for example, has the abortion rights campaign had such difficulty attracting substantial numbers of minority women? The ideological weaknesses of both the "voluntary motherhood" campaign by some feminists in the 1870s and the abortion rights campaign of the 1970s are examined, as well as the pronounced separation of the questions of abortion rights and sterilization abuse. Fortunately, new trends in the late '70s and early '80s have begun to link these two questions and to place them in the broader framework of health and safety rights necessary for all women.

This chapter's thesis is being proven as more and more people — women and men — accept the concept of the right to choose abortion.

The final chapter argues a vision for the future — the approaching obsolescence of housework — recognizing the predicament of housewives and of



women as a whole, who are locked into ongoing, unrewarding housework. The author projects the need and demand of women for decent and equal wages for the jobs they are already doing or seek. In the long range, women will continue to seek jobs, outside the home, at higher wages. Eventually, housework must be socialized, but as the author put forward, this presupposes a new society — socialism.

Readers will come away from this outstanding treatise with a much clearer perspective of the inter-relationship of the struggles of women, the working class and Blacks and the need for unity in struggle to guarantee victory for all. *Women, Race and Class* is the most important book on this subject to date. Its timeliness for today's movement and today's requirements makes it imperative reading for activists of women's organizations and trade unions, historians, educators, Black media and major newspapers and journals in the country. Its impact and influence can be a significant aid in forging unity in today's developing struggles to curb and defeat monopoly.

Ode to U.S. Workers

We have hard hands
that ache and hurt
with the weight of hours
spent in the labor towers

We have implacable hearts
holding bold red rivers
of our planet

Ah, and have you heard
the latest word
the majesty of how
they pulse and hammer
in our breasts
pulling in the red, red coal
furnacing ores of the soul
producing genuine ingots
more precious than gold
much too hot
for greedy snots
eyes to behold
banks to roll
much too heavy
for empty hearts
to hold

Black workers
Brown Workers
Red workers
Yellow workers
white workers, too
women workers
young workers
gentile and Jew
Protestant and Catholic
Muslim and Orthodox
ol Beebo and quick Bro'Nick
Sister Sassy and Momma McNasty

We have such hands
we built this land
we harnessed the hydro
turned rivers of snow
into electric dynamo

We tamed the steel
laid the rail
made mother earth yield

Huge crystal jewels
of carbon and iron
and unlocked the solar
song of the sun
we set the pace
we made and remake our case
sons and daughters
of the human

Black workers
Brown workers
Red workers
Yellow workers
white workers, too
women workers
young workers
gentile and Jew
Protestant and Catholic
Muslim and Orthodox
Ol Peebo and quick Bro' Nick
Sister Sassy and Momma McNasty

Antar Sudan Katara Mberi
Moscow, 8/22/81



Sojourner Truth

AIN'T I A WOMAN

That man over there say
a woman needs to be helped into carriages
and lifted over ditches
and to have the best place everywhere.
Nobody ever helped me into carriages
or over mud puddles
or gives me a best place. . . .

And ain't I a woman?

Look at me
Look at my arm!
I have plowed and planted
and gathered into barns
and no man could head me. . . .

And ain't I a woman?

I could work as much
and eat as much as a man—
when I could get to it—
and bear the lash as well

And ain't I a woman?

I have born 13 children
and seen most all sold into slavery
and when I cried out a mother's grief
none but Jesus heard me. . . .

Sojourner Truth

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