

TOWARD THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF THE

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

A RESPONSE TO CRITICISMS OF THE

A.L.S.C.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

ADOPTED AT FROGMORE,
SOUTH CAROLINA

JUNE - JULY, 1973



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TO CRITICISMS OF THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
ADOPTED AT FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA
JUNE-JULY, 1973

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION - - - - -	1
	A. THE CALL FOR IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE	
	B. TWO LINES	
II.	STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES: A SUMMARY - - - - -	7
	A. WORLD VIEW: AFRICA AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE	
	B. FINALLY GOT THE NEWS	
	C. TOWARDS THE UNITED FRONT	
	D. OPERATIONAL UNITY	
III.	DEFENSE OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES - - - - -	10
	A. ON UNITING OUR STRUGGLE WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS	
	B. OUR THEORETICAL POSITION MUST BE SCIENTIFIC	
	C. IMPERIALISM IS MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IN THE USA	
	D. BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD	
	E. ON THE UNITED FRONT	
IV.	THEORETICAL BASIS FOR THE DEFENSE - - - - -	25
	A. CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE MOTIVE FORCE OF HISTORY	
	B. WE ARE A RACIALLY OPPRESSED NATIONALITY, MOSTLY WAGE AND SALARIED WORKERS	
	C. WE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM FOR DEMOCRACY, AGAINST IMPERIALISM FOR DEVELOPMENT	
	D. WE STRUGGLE TO UNITE THE MANY TO DEFEAT THE FEW.	
V.	APPENDIX STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES - - - - -	60

I.

- (1) THE AFTERMATH OF OUR HISTORIC CONFERENCE AT PENN CENTER IN FROGMORE, S.C., HAS RESULTED IN THE SHARPENING OF OUR STRUGGLE TO DEVELOP A CLEARLY STATED CORRECT IDEOLOGICAL POSITION. IN FACT, THIS WAS CALLED FOR IN OUR GREAT DOCUMENT UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT THE CONFERENCE:

"Active criticism and ideological struggle are the weapons and the way of ensuring that brothers and sisters within ALSC build strong organizational unity. Non-antagonistic contradictions within the committee can only be resolved through active ideological and political struggle based on principle. The basis of such struggle will ensure us a higher unity. Such a unity based on 'unity, struggle, unity' will cement organiztional unity and correct our political direction. If errors are left by themselves, organizational unity, strength and direction will not be achieved." (ALSC Statement of Principles)

- (2) THIS STRUGGLE REACHED A HIGH POINT AT THE EXPANDED SECOND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SESSION CONVENED IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON OCTOBER 12, 1973. AFTER AN EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES SEVERAL CRITICISMS OF IT WERE LISTED AS MAJOR ROAD-BLOCKS TO IDEOLOGICAL UNITY. THIS PAPER WAS CALLED FOR BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO RESPOND TO THE CRITICISMS AND MOVE OUR IDEOLOGICAL UNITY TO A HIGHER LEVEL.

- (3) TWO LINES HAVE EMERGED IN ALSC: ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, IN THE REGIONS, AND ON THE LOCAL LEVEL. THEY REPRESENT TWO DIFFERENT THEORETICAL POSITIONS, TWO DIFFERENT SETS OF CONCRETE PROGRAMS AND ARE BASED ON TWO DIFFERENT CLASS REALITIES. ONE IS A PURE RACE THEORY. THE OTHER IS THE THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE WITH A CORRECT ANALYSIS OF RACIAL OPPRESSION, WITH A PROGRAM OF MASS INVOLVEMENT BASED ON THE NECESSARY LEADERSHIP OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS.

(4) RACE THEORY: THIS POSITION HOLDS THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE ARE THE SAME, AND RACE IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT FACT OF LIFE. SINCE HISTORY IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE STRUGGLE OF ONE RACE TO DOMINATE ANOTHER, THE RACIAL FACTOR IS THE BASIS OF HISTORICAL CHANGE. IF THERE ARE ANY IMPORTANT DISTINCTIONS THAT EXIST BETWEEN BLACK PEOPLE THEY ARE THE DEGREE TO WHICH BLACK PEOPLE ASSOCIATE WITH WHITE PEOPLE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ONLY IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A BLACK STEEL WORKER AND A BLACK CORPORATE ATTORNEY IS THAT THE ATTORNEY PROBABLY WENT TO AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL AND HAS BECOME MORE LIKE WHITE PEOPLE. ALL ATTEMPTS TO BASE AN ANALYSIS ON "OBJECTIVE" CLASS DIFFERENCES IS CONSIDERED DIVISIVE AND NOT IN THE INTEREST OF BLACK PEOPLE, ALTHOUGH IN FACT THE DIFFERENCES DO EXIST.

(5) ALSO, THIS POSITION BELIEVES THAT ALL WHITE PEOPLE ARE THE SAME, EQUATING THE ROCKEFELLERS, MELLONS, MORGANS, AND DUPONTS WITH THE AVERAGE WHITE WORKING CLASS. THE RECENT STRUGGLES AGAINST THE WAR, ON THE CAMPUS, IN THE PLANTS, AND THE TRUCK DRIVERS' HIGHWAY BLOCKADES, SUGGEST THAT SOME CONCRETE DIFFERENCES DO EXIST AND MUST BE UNDERSTOOD IF WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT IMPROVING THE LIVES OF BLACK PEOPLE BY FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGING THE STRUCTURE OF THIS SOCIETY.

(6) ON THE QUESTION OF IMPERIALISM: THIS RACE APPROACH ATTACKS THE FOREIGN EXTENSION OF IMPERIALISM WHILE IGNORING ITS PRIMARY BASE AS MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IN THE USA. SOME BLACK CONGRESSMEN WILL MAKE SPEECHES AGAINST THE ROLE OF U.S. CORPORATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT WILL REFUSE TO CONDEMN THEIR PRACTICES HERE AT HOME AND BE FRIENDLY BENEFICIARIES OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS FROM THOSE SAME CORPORATIONS. OUR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES SAYS:

"The world imperialist system festers in Africa and Asia and engulfs the Western Hemisphere as well. In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form."

(7) ACCORDING TO THIS RACE APPROACH THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IS A DIVISIVE DOCUMENT, FOR ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

1. BECAUSE IT SEPARATES BLACK PEOPLE INTO CLASSES,
2. BECAUSE IT EMPHASIZES IMPERIALISM MORE THAN RACISM,
3. BECAUSE IT USES LANGUAGE THAT WAS ORIGINATED BY SOMEONE ELSE AND NOT BY BLACK PEOPLE, AND
4. BECAUSE IT EMPHASIZES THE USA TOO MUCH AND AFRICA NOT ENOUGH.

(8) THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE: THIS LINE HOLDS THAT THE MOTIVE FORCE OF HISTORY IS THE CLASS STRUGGLE. CLASSES ARE LARGE GROUPS OF PEOPLE UNITED BY COMMON INTERESTS BASED UPON HAVING THE SAME RELATIONSHIP TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION--LAND AND TECHNOLOGY. SOME FOLKS OWN THE LAND AND TECHNOLOGY (CAPITALISTS) WHILE OTHERS MUST WORK FOR THEM IN ORDER TO GET WAGES TO LIVE (WORKERS). THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS BASED ON THE IRRECONCILABLE CONFLICT OF THE CAPITALISTS' EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKERS TO REAP PROFITS, WHILE WORKERS STRUGGLE TO INCREASE WAGES AND GET BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS. INDEED, THIS CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE BASIS OF ALL STRUGGLES IN THIS TYPE OF SOCIETY BECAUSE THE CAPITALISTS CONTROL ALL THE INSTITUTIONS (GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, THE CHURCH, MASS MEDIA, ETC.), AND THE WORKERS ARE OPPRESSED, MISTREATED, AND BRUTALIZED BY THESE SAME INSTITUTIONS.

(9) THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION HAS DEVELOPED FROM ITS EARLY STAGE OF COMPETITIVE CAPITALISM TO ITS MATURE STAGE OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. THIS IS THE TRANSITION FROM MANY SMALL CAPITALIST FIRMS TO A FEW LARGE FIRMS DOMINATING EACH INDUSTRY. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM IS THE DOMINANT CHARACTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE USA. FOR EXAMPLE, IN MANY INDUSTRIES THERE ARE FOUR GIANT CORPORATIONS WHICH PRODUCE MOST OF THE PRODUCTS: MOTOR VEHICLES--79%, RUBBER TIRES--71%, AIRCRAFT--67%, AND STEEL--64%. WHILE THERE ARE 12,000 OIL PRODUCERS IN THE USA, 8 FIRMS ACCOUNT FOR 51% OF ALL THE OIL PRODUCED.

(10) BLACK PEOPLE ARE ORGANIZED INTO CLASSES AS ARE ALL PEOPLE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY. THE SMALL MINORITY OF BLACK BUSINESSMEN CONSTITUTE THE CAPITALIST CLASS WHILE THE VAST MAJORITY OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE WAGE-SALARIED WORKERS. THE BLACK CAPITALIST IS USUALLY A COMPETITIVE CAPITALIST, AND MADE TO APPEAR INSIGNIFICANT DUE TO THE GIGANTIC SIZE OF THE MONOPOLY CORPORATIONS. HOWEVER, THE OBJECTIVE CONDITION IS THAT SOME BLACK PEOPLE HAVE LARGE ENOUGH BUSINESSES TO HIRE AND EXPLOIT FIVE TO SEVEN HUNDRED WORKERS. THESE WORKERS CREATE MORE WEALTH THAN THEY RECEIVE AS WAGES, THE DIFFERENCE IS THEN REALIZED AS PROFIT. BEING A LITTLE BLACK CAPITALIST DOES NOT ALTER THE SITUATION: THE PROFIT MOTIVE IS STILL THE DRIVING FORCE OF ANY CAPITALIST, ESPECIALLY SINCE INCREASING THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR IS THE BASIS FOR INCREASING PROFITS.

(11) MOREOVER, CLASS STRUGGLE TAKES ON DIFFERENT FORMS: CLASSES IN CONFLICT WITHIN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY, COLONIZED PEOPLES IN CONFLICT WITH A COLONIZING COUNTRY, AND OPPRESSED NATIONS IN CONFLICT WITH OPPRESSOR NATIONS. THE ESSENCE OF THESE CONFLICTS IS THE

STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATION, DUE TO THE FACT THAT RACIAL AND NATIONAL FACTORS ARE INSTRUMENTS OF CLASS EXPLOITATION. THE CRITICAL ISSUE HERE IS HOW THE CAPITALISTS, SPECIFICALLY THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS, ARE ABLE TO REAP SUPER-PROFITS BY COMPOUNDING THE EXPLOITATION OF BLACK WORKERS WITH RACISM. RACISM DOES TWO THINGS: (1) IT PITS THE WHITE MASSES AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE BECAUSE OF A PERCEIVED THREAT TO THEIR ECONOMIC SECURITY (AND, DUE TO WHITE SUPREMACIST PROPAGANDA, BECAUSE OF A PERCEIVED THREAT TO THEIR PERSON, CHILDREN, HOME, ETC.); (2) IT PITS THE BLACK MASSES AGAINST ALL WHITE PEOPLE BECAUSE RACISM HAD TAKEN AN ALMOST "APARTHEID" FORM UNTIL THE 1960'S, AND LINGERS TIL THIS DAY FOR THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, INCLUDING LESS WORK, LESS PAY FOR HARDER WORK, AND POORER LIVING CONDITIONS (EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, AND FOOD). SO RACISM PITS THE TWO BROAD MASSES OF WORKING PEOPLE AGAINST EACH OTHER; AND IN THE PROCESS THE RULING CLASS PROFITS EVEN MORE BY THIS AND GETS AWAY WITHOUT ANSWERING TO ANY CHARGES.

(12) SO OUR LINE OF CLASS STRUGGLE HOLDS THAT THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IS NOT A DIVISIVE DOCUMENT BUT IN FACT IS A DECISIVE HISTORICAL DOCUMENT. AS CONTRASTED WITH THE RACE THEORY OUTLINED ABOVE, OUR LINE IS CLEARLY AN ALTERNATIVE:

1. BECAUSE THE ONLY BASIS ON WHICH TO BUILD A UNITED FRONT IS BY RECOGNIZING THE OBJECTIVE DIFFERENCES THAT EXIST WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, AND DEVELOPING A COMMON PROGRAM THAT MOST BLACK PEOPLE CAN UNITE AROUND IN A PRINCIPLED WAY;

2. BECAUSE IT RECOGNIZES THAT IMPERIALISM IS THE BASIC ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF ADVANCED CAPITALIST SOCIETIES, (USA, CANADA, WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN, ISRAEL), AND IS THE CAUSE OF THEIR EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD AND THAT RACISM IS AN IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIETAL PATTERN BASED ON IMPERIALISM;
3. BECAUSE IT UTILIZES OBJECTIVE SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE THAT ANALYZES OBJECTIVE MATERIAL REALITY; AND
4. BECAUSE IT IS CLEAR THAT IMPERIALISM IS A WORLDWIDE SYSTEM HEADQUARTERED IN THE USA WITH ITS TENTACLES THROUGHOUT EVERY COUNTRY IN AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

(13) THESE TWO LINES REFLECT THE BASIC TENDENCIES OF THE TOTAL BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE AT THIS TIME, AND THEREFORE THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE IS LARGER THAN ALSC. THESE TWO LINES REFLECT A LONG HISTORICAL STRUGGLE THAT GOES BACK OVER TWO HUNDRED YEARS, AND INVOLVES ALL AREAS OF LIFE. THERE ARE MANIFESTATIONS OF THESE LINES IN ECONOMICS, POLITICS, EDUCATION, AFRICA, THE WORLD REVOLUTION, ETC. THEREFORE WE MUST UNDERSTAND EACH TENDENCY AND STRUGGLE TO UNITE ALL WHO CAN BE UNITED. THIS PAPER IS WRITTEN FROM A POSITION OF FULL SUPPORT OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF OUR UNITED FRONT. WE PRESENT THIS PAPER TO ALL ALSC MEMBERS FOR A FULL REVIEW IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE OUR UNITED FRONT AROUND CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD PRINCIPLES.

II.

(14) THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WAS DEVELOPED TO PRESENT A COMPREHENSIVE POSITION WHICH WOULD GUIDE OUR WORK AND ENABLE OUR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO HAVE COHERENCE, CONSISTENCY, AND CLARITY BASED ON A CORRECT ANALYSIS.. IT CAN BE SUMMED UP IN FOUR PARTS:

(15) 1. WORLD VIEW: AFRICA AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE: THIS SECTION IDENTIFIES THE MATERIAL HISTORICAL STRUCTURE OF EXPLOITATION THAT OUR STRUGGLE MUST DESTROY AS "THE WORLD IMPERIALIST SYSTEM."

"In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form."

THE DOCUMENT CONTRASTS THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY, AND CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS OF IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION OF BLACKS AND CORRECTLY SUMS UP THE CURRENT MOTION OF OUR STRUGGLE:

"Black people throughout the world are realizing that our freedom will only be won through a protracted struggle against two forces: racism and imperialism."

(16) 2. FINALLY GOT THE NEWS: THE SECOND SECTION IDENTIFIES THE SIMULTANEOUS AND PARALLEL HISTORICAL TRENDS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN AFRICA AND THE USA. (MORE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO CANADA AND THE CARIBBEAN IF WE ARE TO HAVE A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF IMPERIALISM, AND AN IDEOLOGICAL POSITION THAT TRULY REPRESENTS ALL OF ALSC. THE NOVEMBER 1973 CONFERENCE ON THE CARIBBEAN HELD IN NASHVILLE, TN., IN WHICH A NUMBER OF ALSC EXECUTIVE MEMBERS SPOKE, WAS DESIGNED AS A STEP TOWARDS THIS END.) THE "NEWS" THAT BLACK PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD UNDERSTAND NOW CONCERNS THE

GENERAL CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM. THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF IMPERIALISM IS IN CRISIS, AND WITH THAT ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS ARE MORE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY PROGRESSIVE FORCES. THIS INCLUDES THE MULTI-ISSUED WATERGATE SCANDAL (AND THE GROWING CREDIBILITY GAP WITH THE GOVERNMENT), THE SO-CALLED "ENERGY CRISIS" (AND THE MASS AWARENESS OF THE SUPER-PROFITS OF THE OIL MONOPOLIES AND THEIR ROLE IN IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION), AND THE RISING RESISTANCE TO POLICE REPRESSION (BY COMMUNITY GROUPS DEMANDING CITIZENS REVIEW COMMITTEES AND OTHER MEASURES TO PLACE RESTRAINT ON THE EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE USED IN BLACK WORKING CLASS COMMUNITIES).

(17) IN SUM, THIS SECTION CONCLUDES BY STATING THAT:

"We here have the same duty as all progressive Black people--to fight imperialism in all its manifestations. To do this we must build an anti-racist, anti-imperialist United Front among Black people."

(18) 3. TOWARDS A UNITED FRONT: THIS SECTION COMBINES THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL GUIDELINES FOR OUR STRUGGLE. THERE ARE THREE SIGNIFICANT POINTS THAT MUST GUIDE OUR MOVEMENT:

- A. "REAL UNITY WILL COME ABOUT NOT BY IGNORING DIFFERENCES BUT BY AIRING THOSE DIFFERENCES AND STRUGGLING TO RESOLVE THEM."
- B. "BUILDING UNITY MEANS FINDING WAYS OF UTILIZING THE ABILITIES AND SKILLS OF EVERYONE WHO IS SERIOUS ABOUT STRUGGLING."
- C. "WE MUST ENGAGE IN PRINCIPLED WORK BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT; IN ADDITION WE MUST DEVELOP OUR ABILITY TO CARRY THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

AND IMPERIALISM TO DIFFERENT GROUPS OF PEOPLE AROUND DIFFERENT ISSUES, YET MAINTAIN OUR COURSE."

THESE THREE POINTS WILL HELP US COMBAT LIBERALISM, ALLOW FOR FULL DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION, AND LET OUR REASONED PRINCIPLES (NOT SPONTANEOUS EMOTIONS) GUIDE OUR PRACTICE.

- (19) MOREOVER, OUR MOVEMENT HAS THE DOUBLE TASK OF MOVING TO "MERGE THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE U.S. WITH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN AFRICA," AND OF MOVING TO "COORDINATE THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WITH THE OVER-ALL STRUGGLE OF PEOPLE OF COLOR." TOGETHER THIS CONTRIBUTES TO OUR MANDATE "TO MERGE THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT WITH THE PROCESS OF WORLD REVOLUTION."
- (20) OPERATIONAL UNITY: THE FINAL PART OF OUR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES PROVIDES A BASIS FOR OUR METHODS OF WORK. WE MUST COMBINE ACTIVE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITHIN ALSC (IN ORDER TO DEVELOP CLEARLY STATED CORRECT VIEWS) WITH THE BROAD PRINCIPLE OF STRUGGLE TO "UNITE THE MANY TO OPPOSE THE FEW." THUS, "OUR ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST, BLACK UNITED FRONT MUST ATTEMPT TO UNITE ALL SOCIAL GROUPS AND CLASS FORMATIONS WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN A COMMON STRUGGLE." FURTHER, WHAT IS SPECIFICALLY CALLED FOR IN THIS FRONT IS THAT "WE ENCOURAGE BLACK WORKERS TO TAKE THE LEAD."
- (21) OUR ANALYSIS IS CORRECT, OUR PROGRAM IS CLEAR, OUR TASK IS TO UNIFY OUR FORCES AND WAGE RELENTLESS STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT IMPERIALISM AND RACIAL OPPRESSION.

III.

(22) THE MINUTES OF THE EXPANDED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING (OCTOBER 12, 1973, WASHINGTON, D.C.), SUM UP THE DISCUSSION OF THE CRITICISMS OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. THEY INCLUDE A LIST OF SIX (6) BASIC AREAS OF CONCERN RAISED AS CRITICISMS OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES:

(23) 1. DE-EMPHASIS ON AFRICA AND A NEW EMPHASIS ON LOCAL AND NATIONAL PROBLEMS:

FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT THAT THERE IS NO "NEW EMPHASIS" OR "DE-EMPHASIS" CONTAINED IN THE DOCUMENT. THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA IS AS CENTRAL TO THE PRIMARY TASK OF ALSC AS IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN. MOREOVER, MOST PARTICIPANTS IN ALSC CONTINUE TO BE INVOLVED IN THE CONCRETE PROBLEMS OF THEIR LOCAL COMMUNITIES. IN FACT ALSC BEGAN AS A COMING TOGETHER OF LOCAL AND NATIONAL FORCES--GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS--WORKING IN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO BEGIN A UNITED CAMPAIGN FOCUSING ON THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA. THEREFORE, WHAT IS NEW IS NOT EMPHASIZING ONE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER, BUT THE UNITY OF OUR INDIVIDUAL LOCAL ORGANIZATIONAL WORK WITH OUR INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT WORK TOWARD AFRICA.

(24) THIS NEW UNITY IS NECESSARY BECAUSE PEOPLE WILL DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONALIST CONSCIOUSNESS ONLY WHEN THEY CAN MAKE AN ACTIVE CONNECTION BETWEEN LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. ALONG WITH THE INCREASE IN REPRESSIVE CONDITIONS (HIGH PRICES AND LOW WAGES, BAD HOUSING AND INADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, POLICE

BRUTALITY AND STARVATION LEVEL WELFARE PAYMENTS), THERE IS INCREASED INTEREST IN FIGHTING FOR BETTER CONDITIONS AT HOME. AND THIS IS AS IT SHOULD BE. SO OUR LOCAL WORK ON AFRICAN LIBERATION MUST BE RELATED TO THE DAY TO DAY STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE AND NOT JUST BASED ON AN ABSTRACTION OF BROTHERLY SOLIDARITY. PEOPLE FIGHT FOR CHANGES IN THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS OF THEIR LIVES AND NOT FOR ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES MAKE SENSE IN POINTING TO THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING CHANGES IN THE REAL WORLD.

(25)

THE SOLUTION TO THIS APPARENT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN LOCAL AND NATIONAL PROBLEMS IS RESOLVED BY UNDERSTANDING BOTH OF THEM AS ASPECTS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM. MONOPOLY CAPITAL IS THE BASIS FOR EXPLOITATION IN BLACK COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT THE USA, WHILE ITS PENETRATION INTO THE DEVELOPING AREAS OF THE WORLD (ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA) IS IMPERIALISM. THEREFORE, IT IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT AND NECESSARY THAT WE JOIN TOGETHER LOCAL ISSUES AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN A STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS IS THE CURRENT NATIONAL ALSC POSITION ON "OIL AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM" IN WHICH THE TWO ASPECTS OF LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES ARE CLEARLY SPELLED OUT:

"The so-called energy crisis is a general crisis of the imperialist system. This general crisis is manifested in the oil-energy industry as well as in most other areas of world trade, in the Middle East, as well as Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau, the Caribbean, Latin America, Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands; in the Watergates of the capitalist capitals as well as in the fascist feudalism of kings and military dictators."

THE ALSC DOCUMENT GOES ON TO TAKE POSITIONS ON MATTERS INTERNAL TO THE USA (PRICE CONTROLS ON FUEL, SUPPORT FOR ECOLOGY LEGISLATION, AND ABOLISHING TAX SUBSIDIES FOR THE MONOPOLIES), AS WELL AS POSITIONS ON AFRICAN LIBERATION (STOPPING THE Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique and the Cunene River Scheme in Angola, and stopping Gulf's presence in Angola).

(26) THE CORRECTNESS OF OUR POSITION IS PROVEN BY THE FACT THAT ALL OF THE LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS THAT ALSC HAS HAD CONTACT WITH HAVE TAKEN THE SAME POSITION ON THIS QUESTION. THE LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS HAVE SAID THAT OUR GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION IS TO MAKE A REVOLUTION HERE IN THE USA. OF COURSE THIS DOES NOT EXCLUDE EFFORTS WE MAKE IN DIRECT SUPPORT OF THEIR STRUGGLES (E.G., THE UNITED AFRICAN APPEAL, AND THE SOLIDARITY BUTTON WITH THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU), IT MERELY PUTS THEM IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. IF GULF IS AN OBSTACLE TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN ANGOLA, THEN WE MUST FIGHT GULF HERE WHERE WE CAN GET A DEATH GRIP ON ITS JUGULAR VEIN.

(27) THERE IS NO NEW EMPHASIS OR DE-EMPHASIS, BUT RATHER A NEW UNITY IN WHICH WE SEEK TO UNITE THE LOCAL ISSUES THAT BLACK PEOPLE FACE ON A DAILY BASIS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLES OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN ARMS ARE WAGING ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

(28) 2. THE DOCUMENT USES MARXIST OR "LEFT-WING" LANGUAGE:
THIS IS A CRITICISM THAT IS HARD TO DEAL WITH SINCE IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR WHAT SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IS BEING CHALLENGED, NOR EXACTLY FOR WHAT REASONS. HOWEVER, IT IS POSSIBLE TO

DEVELOP THE DISCUSSION IN A GENERAL WAY. THE ALSC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE HAS DEVELOPED A LIST OF CONCEPTS THAT REPRESENT THE BASIC CONTENT OF THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES:

(29)

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1. RACISM | 20. POLITICAL-POLICE-MILITARY REPRESSION |
| 2. IMPERIALISM | 21. CULTURAL AGGRESSION |
| 3. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM | 22. AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES |
| 4. COLONIALISM | 23. INDEPENDENT AFRICAN COUNTRIES |
| 5. NEO-COLONIALISM | 24. DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA |
| 6. PORTUGUESE OPPRESSION | 25. INTERNATIONAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM |
| 7. GUINEA-BISSAU | 26. CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT |
| 8. ANGOLA | 27. UNITED FRONT |
| 9. MOZAMBIQUE | 28. UNITY OF THEORY & PRACTICE |
| 10. NATO | 29. BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT |
| 11. POLICE STATE SOUTH AFRICA | 30. CRITICISM AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE |
| 12. NAMIBIA | 31. STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS |
| 13. ZIMBABWE | 32. ARMED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE |
| 14. MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATION | 33. BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD |
| 15. RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES | 34. BLACK MIDDLE STRATA |
| 16. RUN-AWAY SHOPS | 35. BLACK YOUTH |
| 17. EXPANSIONIST POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL | 36. PRINCIPLED |
| 18. PROBLEMS ON THE JOB | |
| 19. CUTBACKS IN SOCIAL SERVICES | |

(30)

THESE TERMS ARE PRECISE AND SCIENTIFIC. THEY CLEARLY SUM UP THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS LIVED BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA, CANADA, AFRICA, AND THE CARIBBEAN, IN SUCH A WAY THAT PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WOULD UNDERSTAND WITH NO DIFFICULTY. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT OUR LANGUAGE BE SCIENTIFIC AND NOT VAGUE, BECAUSE THE TRUTH CAN BE A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THE RIGHTEOUS BUT FALSE WORDS WILL ALWAYS BETRAY THOSE WHO BEAR THEM.

(31)

AGAIN, A MEASURE OF OUR LINE BEING CORRECT IS THE UNANIMOUS USE OF THIS LANGUAGE BY THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY. AMILCAR CABRAL IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS:

- (32) "The destruction of colonialism and the struggle against imperialism constitutes one of the outstanding characteristics of our times. The intensive development of capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, based on monopolies and the competition for raw materials, led to the first great partition of the globe at the turn of the century. Africa was divided among half a dozen European powers, principally England, France, and Germany. Having overcome the African peoples by force, they began to steal the material and human wealth of our continent through war and the technical superiority of their means of production.
- (33) But imperialism or the monopolistic stage of capitalism, could not escape its own contradictions, and after World War I, the victorious powers proceeded to a new division of the globe, characterized in particular by strengthening of the colonial positions of England and France and by the exclusion of Germany from direct exploitation of African peoples and countries. During the final phase of that global conflict, the victory of the October Revolution, leading to the final implantation of socialism over one-sixth of the world's land area, dealt the first great blow to imperialism.
- (34) Deprived of sources for raw materials and excess profits, German financiers devoted their capital, allied with that of Italy and Japan, to an effort to solve the problem the shortest way: by colonizing the European nations themselves. Although World War II was the result of that antagonism characterizing the development of imperialism it decisively influenced the destiny of peoples, principally of African peoples. Along with the strengthening in the socialist camp--another outstanding characteristic of our times--dependent peoples were awakened to the fight for liberation; the final phase in the liquidation of imperialism was thus begun. Since arriving at the final solution of this new conflict may take some time, there is no doubt that the outstanding characteristic--let us say, the principal motivating force--of the history being made now is something more than the class struggle in capitalist countries. That force is the fight for liberation being waged by colonial peoples; that fight, that conflict on three continents, integrates our struggle for national liberation against Portuguese colonialism." (General Report on the National Liberation Struggle, 1961)

- (35) THESE WORDS ARE BASED ON THE SAME SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE USED BY SUCH HEROES OF HUMANITY AS SEKOU TOURE, KWAME NKRUMAH, W.E.B. DuBois, FRANTZ FANON, JULIUS NYERERE, PATRICE LUMUMBA, LENIN, MAO, HO CHI MINH, FIDEL CASTRO, KIM IL SUNG, AND COUNTLESS OTHERS. THEY DO NOT ALL AGREE ON EVERY POINT, BUT CAN REACH HIGH LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING BASED ON A COMMON SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE.
- (36) THIS PROBLEM AREA FORCES US TO TURN THE QUESTION AROUND. IF WE DON'T USE THIS LANGUAGE:
- A. PROVEN SCIENTIFIC AND PRECISE;
 - B. USED BY ALL GREAT REVOLUTIONARIES OF THE 20TH CENTURY;
 - C. AND USED BY ALL OF THE AFRICAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN;
- THEN WHAT LANGUAGE DO WE USE?
- (37) 3. THERE IS AN INCORRECT DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM THAT BLACK PEOPLE FACE:
- THE CRITICAL QUESTION HERE IS: ARE THE CRITICS OF OUR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AGAINST THE EXPLOITATION AND EVILS THAT RESULT FROM THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION IN ITS MONOPOLY-IMPERIALIST STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. THE REASON IT MUST BE PUT THIS WAY RATHER THAN SIMPLY "RACISM IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN CLASS EXPLOITATION," AS SOME WOULD PUT IT, IS THAT THE STRUCTURE OF IMPERIALISM IS THE MATERIAL BASIS FOR RACISM AND ALL OTHER PROBLEMS PEOPLE FACE IN THIS SOCIETY. THEREFORE TO FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND NOT MONOPOLY CAPITALISM--IMPERIALISM,

IS TO DO NO MORE THAN TO ACCEPT THE USA GOVERNMENT'S ANALYSIS ISSUED AFTER THE URBAN INSURRECTIONS AND PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE RULING CLASS. THE SO-CALLED KERNER COMMISSION REPORT ISSUED IN 1968, DECLARED THAT THE SOCIETY WAS BECOMING TWO-- ONE WHITE, ONE BLACK--AND THAT RACISM WAS THE KEY ISSUE. THE PROBLEM WITH THIS APPROACH IS THAT THE LARGE CORPORATIONS THAT DETERMINE THE EVERYDAY CONCRETE ISSUES LIKE PRICES AND WAGES WERE NOT DEALT WITH, NOR WERE THE CORPORATE INTERESTS THAT ARE THE CAUSE OF EVERY WAR THAT THIS COUNTRY GETS INTO. THE RULING CLASS WOULD LIKE US TO BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE ARAB COUNTRIES THAT ARE MAKING THE PRICE OF GAS GO UP, AND IT IS THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM IN VIETNAM THAT RESULTED IN THE WAR.

(38) THE NATURE OF THIS QUESTION REQUIRES THAT THE CRITICS PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO SUMMING UP THE PROBLEM. THIS IS RELATED TO WHAT LANGUAGE WE USE SINCE OUR CONCEPTS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK CONTAINED IN OUR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. THIS APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS FACING BLACK PEOPLE PUTS THE BLACK MASSES OF WORKING PEOPLE AT THE CENTER OF OUR CONCERN, AND REQUIRES THAT ALL PETTY BOURGEOIS ELITES SERVE THE MASSES AND NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

(39) 4. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT IS MEANT BY "BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD."

THIS IS THE CRUCIAL POINT OF OUR ENTIRE ANALYSIS OF IMPERIALISM AND IS ESSENTIAL FOR ALL FUTURE PROGRAMMATIC CONSIDERATIONS.

(40) BLACK PEOPLE ARE DIVIDED INTO CLASSES BASED UPON DIFFERENT

RELATIONSHIPS TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND CAPACITY TO EXPLOIT THE LABOR POWER OF OTHERS. BASED UPON OUR DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS, EITHER WE OWN THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND HAVE THE CAPACITY OF EXPLOITING THE LABOR POWER OF OTHERS (CAPITALISTS) OR WE ARE FORCED TO SELL OUR LABOR POWER TO THOSE WHO DO (PROLETARIAT). THE VAST MAJORITY OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE WAGE (OR SALARIED) WORKING PEOPLE WITH A PROLETARIAN (OR PETTY BOURGEOIS) CLASS POSITION. AND WITH CERTAIN PETTY BOURGEOIS POSITIONS, LIKE TEACHERS OR SOCIAL WORKERS, THERE IS A DECIDED PROLETARIAN CHARACTER TO ONES WORK AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION INTO UNIONS.

(41)

THE CLASS THAT CREATES THE WEALTH IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS THE WORKING CLASS. WITHOUT THE WORKING CLASS AND THE FARMERS, NOTHING COULD HAPPEN BECAUSE THERE WOULD BE NO GOODS AND SERVICES PROVIDED IN ORDER FOR PEOPLE TO BE ABLE TO LIVE. THEREFORE, THE ULTIMATE POWER IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS HELD BY THE WORKING CLASS, AND NOT THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE WHO MANAGES THE AFFAIRS OF THE BOURGEOISIE BY GIVING ORDERS AND "PUSHING PAPER" ALL DAY.

(42)

OUR MOVEMENT MUST FOCUS ON THE BLACK WORKING CLASS SINCE THIS IS THE GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE MOST POWER IN OUR COMMUNITY. WE OFTEN THINK OF THE POLITICIAN AND THE MINISTER AS THE ONES WITH POWER BECAUSE THEY HAVE ACCESS TO RULING CLASS LEADERSHIP OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. HOWEVER, THIS IS OPPOSITE OF THE TRUTH. CLOSER TO THE TRUTH IS THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON WHICH WAS A GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENT STARTED BY WORK-

ING MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT BLACK COMMUNITIES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THIS REPRESENTED SO MUCH POWER, AND THEREFORE SUCH A THREAT, THAT THE "ELITE" LEADERSHIP OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT JOINED WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN COOPTING THE MASS MOTION AND STAGING WHAT THEY CONSIDERED TO BE AN ORDERLY DEMONSTRATION. WHAT THEY DID WAS TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE POWER IS ALWAYS WITH THE PEOPLE, WORKING PEOPLE. OUR TASK IS TO MOBILIZE THIS POWER, ORGANIZE IT INTO THE CENTER FORCE OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND KEEP IT THERE SO THAT WE CAN CHANGE THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF THIS COUNTRY.

(43)

OF COURSE, WE ARE NOT SO NAIVE AS TO THINK THAT THIS CAN HAPPEN OVERNIGHT. OUR CONCERN IS FIRST THAT WE CONSOLIDATE ALSC AND UNIFY AROUND A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES THAT PUTS THE BLACK WORKING CLASS AT THE CENTER OF OUR MOVEMENT. THEN, ON THIS BASIS WE CAN PROJECT PROGRAMS THAT WILL LINK UP OUR CURRENT PARTICIPANTS WITH WORKERS ENGAGED IN A STRUGGLE INSIDE OF THE VERY CORPORATIONS THAT ARE OPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA. RECENT EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE OF MOTION INCLUDE THE LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS IN THE AUTO PLANTS OF DETROIT, POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S ASSOCIATION, AND OIL, CHEMICAL, AND ATOMIC WORKERS.

(44)

WE ARE CONCERNED WITH WHO CAN MAKE THE REVOLUTION, WHO WILL NOT WAVER AND VACILLATE, WHO WILL CARRY THE ACTION THROUGH TIL THE END. THE WORKING CLASS IS THE ONLY CLASS CAPABLE OF DOING THIS. BLACK WORKERS ARE THE BACKBONE OF

OUR COMMUNITY, THEY ARE THE MOTHERS AND FATHERS WHOSE LABOR POWER IS CONSUMED BY THE CAPITALISTS TO FILL THE CORPORATE BANKS FULL OF PROFITS. AND THEY ARE THE ONES WHO CAN BE ORGANIZED TO SYSTEMATICALLY CHALLENGE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM-- IMPERIALISM AT ITS VERY CENTER. STUDENTS CAN'T DO IT. THE LUMPEN-PROLETARIAT CAN'T DO IT. IT CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE CONSISTENT REVOLUTIONARY MILITANT STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, AROUND WHICH ALL THE OTHERS MUST JOIN FORCES.

(45) IT MUST BE MADE CLEAR THAT THIS IN NO WAY IS AN EXCLUSIVE VIEW OF PUTTING THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST THE OTHER CLASS ELEMENTS. RATHER, WHAT WE ARE DISCUSSING IS HOW DO WE ORGANIZE A CENTER FOR OUR UNITED FRONT. ALL OF THE CLASS FORMATIONS AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY ARE NEEDED TO UNITE IN A PRINCIPLED MANNER IN ORDER THAT OUR UNITED FRONT CAN BE AS STRONG AS POSSIBLE. ONLY IN THIS WAY WILL WE BE SUCCESSFUL.

(46) 5. WHAT DOES ALSC STAND FOR: "ANTI" LEAVES ROOM FOR OTHER PEOPLE TO DEFINE FOR US WHAT WE ARE FOR.

(47) 6. THERE IS AMBIGUITY ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF A UNITED FRONT.

(48) BOTH OF THESE QUESTIONS SPEAK TO THE SAME ISSUE OF THE BASIS OF OUR UNITY. SIMPLY PUT, THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS WE FACE DEFINE THE CONTEXT OF OUR STRUGGLE, IF IT WERE OTHERWISE WE WOULD BE HOPELESS IDEALISTS CREATING MOVEMENTS IN THE SKY AND NOT CONCRETE HISTORICAL MOTION WITHIN THE WORLD OF CONCRETE REALITIES. THEREFORE, EVERYONE IN THE USA, CANADA, THE

CARIBBEAN, AND ALL PARTS OF AFRICA MUST TAKE A POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF IMPERIALISM. THIS IS THE STARTING POINT OF OUR ANALYSIS.

(49) THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES DETAILS WHY WE ARE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-RACIST BASED UPON THE CONCRETE ISSUES THAT PEOPLE FACE AND ARE STRUGGLING OVER. IT IS CLEAR THAT BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THIS COUNTRY CAN UNITE OVER COMMON ENEMIES. THIS IS TRUE IN AFRICA AS WELL. THE FIGHT AGAINST SEGREGATION UNITED THE BLACK MASSES. THE FIGHT AGAINST LYNCHING UNITED THE BLACK MASSES. THE FIGHT AGAINST COLONIAL DOMINATION UNITED THE AFRICAN MASSES ESPECIALLY SINCE WORLD WAR II. WE HAVE BEEN KEPT UNITED IN OUR CONDITION OF OPPRESSION, AND WE HAVE CONTINUED THIS UNITY IN STRUGGLING AGAINST IT AS WELL. THIS SAME POSITION WAS ARTICULATED BY AMILCAR CABRAL FOR PAIGC:

"Imperialism is one, therefore the struggle against it is one, and our people are aware of this, even the children.

We do not speak only of the common struggle of the peoples of Guinea, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, but all of Africa in general against imperialism, that of the Latin American patriots, of the people of Viet Nam, of the other peoples of Indochina, of all African peoples against colonialism and neocolonialism, of the exploited classes and foremost, those of Portugal, all are part of our own struggle.

We want all the world to be aware of this, so that all fronts of the struggle become stronger every day and so we all work together for the active unity of the anti-imperialist forces, since the imperialist enemy knows how to maintain his unity in confronting all those who want to free themselves." (Black Scholar, July-August, 1973)

- (50) BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS, "WHY CAN'T WE BE UNITED AROUND WHAT WE ARE FOR?" THIS MUST NOT BE APPROACHED AS AN ABSTRACT QUESTION. IF WE COULD APPROACH IT THAT WAY THEN WE WOULD ALL AGREE, THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS MIGHT BE FOR ALL THE MASSES TO HAVE THE SAME IDEA OF WHAT KIND OF WORLD WE SHOULD BUILD. HOWEVER, WE MUST EXAMINE THE DIVERSE VIEWS THAT INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS ACTUALLY HOLD IN ORDER TO GET A FIRM GRASP ON WHY WE CANNOT AT THIS TIME BE UNITED AROUND POSITIVE PROGRAMS CONCERNING THE SOCIETY WE AIM TO BUILD. THERE ARE MANY POSITIONS WITHIN OUR BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT:
- (51) A. THE BLACK NATION THESIS HOLDS THAT WE SHOULD STRUGGLE TO ORGANIZE A MIGRATION TO FIVE SOUTHERN STATES WITH A LONG HISTORY OF A DENSE CONCENTRATION OF BLACK PEOPLE. BLACK PEOPLE WOULD CONSTITUTE A NATION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES AND STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.
- (52) B. THE INTEGRATION-ASSIMILATION THESIS IS BASED ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROPOSITION THAT ASSOCIATION LEADS TO BOTH ACCULTURATION AND AMALGAMATION. THUS TO INTEGRATE THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOCIETY IS TO SET IN MOTION THE PROCESS LEADING TO ASSIMILATION, AND THE END OF OUR "RACE PROBLEM."
- (53) C. THE BACK-TO-AFRICA POSITION HOLDS THAT WHETHER THE MAJORITY OF BLACK PEOPLE STAY HERE IN THE USA OR NOT, OUR REAL CONCERN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BE BACK ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THE THESIS IS

THAT ONLY IF BLACK PEOPLE HAVE A CONSOLIDATED LAND BASE WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS, AND AN ARMY TO DEFEND THEM WILL BLACK PEOPLE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF FREEDOM.

(54)

D. THE BLACK CITIES LINE HOLDS THAT THE CITY IS THE BLACK MAN'S LAND, EVEN IF WE HAVE TO CREATE BLACK CITIES FROM THE GROUND UP (E.G., SOUL CITY IS BEING BUILT WITH \$14 MILLION IN FEDERAL FUNDS ON A FORMER PLANTATION IN NORTH CAROLINA). THIS THESIS IS BASED ON THE FACT THAT THE GREAT MIGRATIONS HAVE RESULTED IN BLACK PEOPLE BEING AN URBAN PEOPLE, IN MANY CASES CLOSE TO A MAJORITY IN THE URBAN INDUSTRIAL NORTH. POLITICAL POWER USED TO ELECT BLACK MAYORS AND CITY OFFICIALS WILL ENABLE BLACK PEOPLE TO ESTABLISH BETTER CONDITIONS FOR LIFE AND BEGIN TO BUILD THIS COUNTRY OVER AGAIN.

(55)

E. BLACK LIBERATION AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS A POSITION THAT THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE MUST BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE MASS MOVEMENT FOR A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WITHIN THIS COUNTRY. THE BASIC THESIS IS THAT BLACK AND OTHER OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF COLOR (NATIONALITIES) ARE THE CUTTING EDGE FOR THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MASSES AND MUST THEREFORE GIVE LEADERSHIP TO THE MILITANT STRUGGLE THAT WILL BE NECESSARY.

(56)

THESE DIVERSE POSITIONS REPRESENT THE CURRENT COMPLEXITY OF THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE. IT APPEARS OBVIOUS, THEREFORE, THAT IF WE WILL BE UNITED IT WILL BE AROUND THOSE COM-

MON ENEMIES EVERYONE CAN AGREE UPON. THE CRITICAL QUESTION IS: IF YOU AREN'T AGAINST MONOPOLY CAPITALISM THEN WHAT IS YOUR RELATIONSHIP TO IT? THE KEY ISSUE IS THE FIGHT AGAINST OUR COMMON ENEMIES, TO LINK UP WITH THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES AND FIGHT COMMON ENEMIES.

(57) THIS IS IN FACT THE ESSENCE OF A UNITED FRONT. THE BLACK UNITED FRONT WILL BE THE UNITY OF MANY DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS UNITED AROUND THREE FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS:

1. THAT OUR COMMON EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION REQUIRES THAT WE UNITE IN AN ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT;
2. THAT OUR FRONT MUST HAVE AT ITS CENTER, THE BLACK WORKING CLASS ON WHOSE CONCRETE CONDITION THE IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTION IS BASED AND FROM WHOM LEADERSHIP IS DEVELOPED; AND
3. THAT OUR FRONT BE UNIFIED ACCORDING TO BINDING PRINCIPLES THAT UNITE ALL OF OUR DIVERSE FORCES INTO A CONTEXT FOR DIRECT IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN ORDER TO UNIFY AND REPUDIATE THE COWARDLY PRACTICES OF GOSSIP, PASSING RUMORS, AND MAKING CHARACTER ASSASSINATIONS.

(58) OF COURSE THE UNITED FRONT TYPE OF ORGANIZATIONAL FORM IS SUBJECT TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE STAGE OF STRUGGLE. IT IS CONTINGENT UPON AN ANALYSIS OF THE TIME, PLACE AND CONDITION IN QUESTION. THIS IS THE RIPE TIME FOR A UNITED FRONT BECAUSE THE CONTRADICTIONS OF IMPERIALISM ARE GROWING SHARPER,

AND THE MASSES WILL RESPOND TO A BROAD-BASED LEADERSHIP GUIDING THE MOTION AGAINST RACISM AND IMPERIALISM. THIS IS THE LESSON WE HAVE ALREADY LEARNED FROM ALD-1972 AND 1973.

- (59) THESE RESPONSES ARE BEING SUBMITTED TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE ISSUES OF CONCERN RAISED AT THE 2ND SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL RESULT IN CONSIDERABLE DEBATE AND DISCUSSION. THIS WILL BE A GOOD DEVELOPMENT. IN THE END, WE ARE WORKING FOR THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF ALSC AROUND AN ANALYSIS, A PROGRAM, AND A SET OF PRINCIPLES THAT ALLOWS DIVERSE GROUPS TO WORK TOGETHER IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTAL RESPECT AND TOLERANCE AS WE WORK IN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION TO SERVE THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE.

IV.

(60) THIS PAPER IS AN INITIAL STATEMENT ON THESE QUESTIONS AND SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR CONTINUING STUDY AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. THE IMPORTANT PROCESS IS UNITY-STRUGGLE-UNITY. THEREFORE, THIS PAPER AIMS TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A NEW UNITY SEVEN MONTHS REMOVED FROM OUR HISTORIC FROGMORE CONFERENCE.

(61) THE ABOVE SIX CONCERNS REFLECT FOUR BASIC QUESTIONS THAT MUST BE THE FOCUS OF OUR ONGOING DISCUSSIONS:

- A. WHY ARE WE HERE IN THE USA, CANADA, AND CARIBBEAN?
- B. WHO ARE WE?
- C. WHAT ARE WE STRUGGLING FOR? (IN AFRICA?) (IN THE WEST?)
- D. HOW SHOULD WE STRUGGLE?

THESE ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS THAT A SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY MUST ANSWER IF IT IS TO LEAD BLACK PEOPLE IN A SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM AND IMPERIALISM. THEREFORE, IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE FOR US TO SPELL OUT THE WORLD VIEW WITHIN WHICH THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WAS DEVELOPED SO THAT ALSC PARTICIPANTS CAN ALSO DISCUSS THE VITAL THEORETICAL ISSUES OF OUR POSITION.

(62) A. WHY ARE WE HERE IN THE USA, CANADA, AND CARIBBEAN?

THIS QUESTION REQUIRES US TO FORMULATE A BASIC CONCEPT OF HISTORY THAT CORRECTLY SUMS UP THE INTERPLAY OF HISTORICAL FORCES. WE MUST ANALYZE THE CONDITIONS OF OUR PAST AND DEVELOP A POSITION THAT ACCOUNTS FOR ALL OF THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE AND NOT ONLY THOSE FACTS THAT "FIT" OUR PRECONCEIVED THEORIES. LAST, THIS HISTORICAL ANALYSIS MUST BE APPLICABLE TO THE ENTIRE WORLD AT ALL TIMES, AND NOT BE LIMITED TO ONLY

ONE PARTICULAR CASE OF ONE PEOPLE AT ONE HISTORICAL TIME.

- (63) OUR CONCEPT OF HISTORY IS DEPENDENT UPON OUR GRASP OF THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND THE NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE. AS MARX SAID,

"It is not men's consciousness that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."

THIS MEANS THAT HISTORICAL ANALYSIS MUST FOCUS ON MATERIAL CONDITIONS AND EXPOUND ON THE REAL PROCESS OF PRODUCTION,

"that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as has hitherto been the case."

- (64) SO IN THIS WAY, HISTORY REFLECTS THE SUM TOTAL OF DIFFERENT MODES OF PRODUCTION, POLITICAL STRUCTURES, PATTERNS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, AND STYLES OF CULTURAL BEHAVIOR. THESE COMPONENTS OF HUMAN SOCIETY DEVELOP IN HISTORICAL STAGES, AND THESE STAGES ARE BASED ON HOW SOCIETY IS ORGANIZED TO PRODUCE THE MATERIAL GOODS NECESSARY FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL. THE ETERNAL STRUGGLE OF MAN AND HIS NATURAL ENVIRONMENT IS PARALLELED BY MAN'S STRUGGLE WITH MAN. IT IS THE RELATIONSHIP OF THESE TWO STRUGGLES THAT CONSTITUTES THE MOTIVE FORCE OF HISTORY. HISTORY, THEREFORE, IS THE SUM TOTAL OF HUMAN EXPERIENCES AS DEVELOPED IN STAGES BASED ON MAN'S MATERIAL RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE AND HIS FELLOW MAN.

- (65) HUMANITY MUST HAVE A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE TO SURVIVE. SO, SIGNIFICANTLY, HUMANS INVENT TOOLS (TECHNOLOGY) TO ASSIST IN MAKING THIS POSSIBLE. TECHNOLOGY REPRESENTS THE MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIETY. IT IS MAN'S QUALITATIVE CONTROL OVER NATURE, AND ALL QUANTITATIVE ACCUMULATION OF GOODS USEFUL FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL IS BASED ON IT. IT IS THE BASIS FOR ARTISTIC CREATION (BENIN BRONZES REFLECT A HIGH STAGE OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIAN HISTORY, WHILE THE BEAD WORK OF PRESENT DAY SOUTH AFRICAN BANTUSTANS REFLECTS A LOW LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.) IT IS THE BASIS FOR SOCIAL REPRODUCTION BECAUSE IT HELPS TO DETERMINE INFANT MORTALITY RATES AND LIFE SPANS (SCHOOLS, HOUSING, FOOD, HEALTH CARE, AND CLOTHING ARE ALL DEPENDENT ON THE AVAILABLE TECHNOLOGY IN A SOCIETY.
- (66) TECHNOLOGY, ALONG WITH THE AVAILABLE NATURAL RESOURCES, REPRESENTS THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IS THE KEY TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.
- (67) AS OUR FALLEN LEADER AMILCAR CABRAL WROTE:
- (68) "We are not reluctant to admit that this factor in the history of each human group is the method of production (the level of productive forces and the regime of ownership) which characterizes that group. Besides, as we have seen, the definition of class and class struggle are themselves a result of the development of the productive forces combined with the regime of ownership of the means of production. It therefore seems to us correct to conclude that the level of productive forces, the essential determinant of the character and form of the class struggle, is the real and permanent moving force of history."
- (69) ALSO, MAN LIVES IN INTERDEPENDENT SOCIETIES IN WHICH EVERYONE IS PART OF A COLLECTIVE RELATIONSHIP TO THE MEANS OF

PRODUCTION. SOME PEOPLE OWN THE MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE SOCIETY, WHILE THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE WORK FOR THOSE WHO OWN THE MATERIAL RESOURCES. THESE COLLECTIVES ARE CLASSES, BECAUSE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION DETERMINES WHO IS THE RULING CLASS, AND EVERYONE FORCED TO SELL THEIR LABOR TO THIS RULING CLASS IS THEREFORE, THE WORKING CLASS. THIS HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN THE CASE, BUT IT IS NOW ALMOST EVERYWHERE ON THE PLANET. THE FUNDAMENTAL PROCESS OF HISTORY CONSISTS OF A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES, A STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER LIFE IN WHICH THE FRUIT OF A MAN'S LABOR IS NOT SERVED UP TO SATISFY THE APPETITE OF THE RULING CLASS BUT SERVES THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL MEN. MOREOVER, CLASS DOMINATION LEADS TO CONTROL OF THE STATE (GOVERNMENT) AND IDEOLOGICAL HEGEMONY OVER THE SOCIETY AT LARGE (SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, MASS MEDIA, ETC.) THIS COMPOUNDS THE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION BECAUSE THESE INSTITUTIONS CARRY OUT POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL OPPRESSION.

(70) THE STAGES OF BLACK PEOPLE'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES CONSISTS OF AN INTENSE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CLASSES AND HISTORICAL FORCES.

(71) 1. THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE WAS A RESULT OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF EUROPE (ESPECIALLY ENGLAND) BEING EXPLOITED BY THE EMERGING CAPITALIST CLASS IN ORDER TO BUILD UP THE ECONOMIC SURPLUS THAT FINANCED THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. ERIC WILLIAMS IN CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY MAKES IT PLAIN:

(72) "In this triangular trade England--France and Colonial America equally--supplied the exports and

the ships, Africa the human merchandise; the plantations the colonial raw materials. The slave ship sailed from the home country with a cargo of manufactured goods. These were exchanged at a profit on the coast of Africa for Negroes, who were traded on the plantations, at another profit, in exchange for a cargo of colonial produce to be taken back to the home country. As the volume of trade increased, the triangular trade was supplemented, but never supplanted, by a direct trade between home country and the West Indies, exchanging home manufactures directly for colonial produce.

(73)

The triangular trade thereby gave a triple stimulus to British manufacturers; transported to the plantations, they produced sugar, cotton, indigo, molasses and other tropical products, the processing of which created new industries in England; while the maintenance of the Negroes and their owners on the plantations provided another market for British industry, New England agriculture and the Newfoundland fisheries. By 1760 there was hardly a trading or manufacturing town in England which was not in some way connected with the triangular or direct colonial trade. The profits obtained provided one of the main streams of that accumulation of capital in England which financed the Industrial Revolution."

(74)

2. CHATTEL SLAVERY IN THE ANTI-BELLUM SOUTH WAS GREATLY INCREASED AND INTENSIFIED BY THE BOURBON ARISTOCRACY UTILIZING THE COTTON GIN TO FEED THE GROWING TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, IN BLACK BOURGEOISIE, POINTS THIS OUT:

(75)

"During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the importation of Negroes gradually increased to meet the growing need for laborers in the production of tobacco, rice, and indigo. But with the invention of the cotton gin, which enabled American producers to supply the increased demands of English manufacturers, the importation of Negro slaves was accelerated. As a result, the agitation against slavery, which had found expression along with the idealism respecting liberty during the American Revolution, died down when the declining productivity of slave labor on tobacco plantations was followed by a period of unprecedented profits in cotton production." (pp. 15-16)

- (76) 3. THE MIGRATION OF BLACK RURAL WORKERS (SHARECROPPERS) TO THE NORTHERN CITIES SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL RULING CLASS BY PROVIDING A SURPLUS LABOR RESERVE FOR THEIR FACTORIES DURING THE TWO WORLD WARS. AGAIN, E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER SUMMARIZES THIS HISTORICAL PROCESS IN HIS MAJOR WORK, THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES:

(77) "In fact, the growth and distribution of the Negro population during the first half of the twentieth century have been determined by the economic and social forces which have shaped the growth of the nation. The Negro population has been concentrated, on the whole, in those areas where there was a demand for the type of labor which the Negro could provide. Negroes were first concentrated in the South because a commercial system of agriculture without machinery required a large supply of cheap, unskilled labor. Even after Emancipation and during the turbulent days of Reconstruction and the years of violence which followed, the majority of Negroes remained in the plantation South because there they could find a means of subsistence. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, they began to migrate to the cities and towns of the South, the urbanization of the Negro closely paralleled that of the whites. Then, when during and following World War I there was a demand for unskilled labor in the heavy industries of the North, masses of southern Negroes migrated to northern industrial centers from the cotton plantations ravaged by the boll weevil. The migration of Negroes from the rural South was again accelerated during World War II. Because of the presence of defense industries on the West coast, a large proportion of the Negro migration from the South took a westward direction for the first time. It is estimated that 250,000 Negroes migrated to the cities on the Pacific coast where defense industries were located. As the result of the westerly migration, large communities have grown in the West as well as in the North." (p. 196)

- (78) IT IS IN THIS WAY THAT WE CAN CLEARLY SEE THE ROLE PLAYED BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE THREE HISTORICAL STAGES OF

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT: (1) INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, (2) RISE OF MONOPOLY, AND (3) IMPERIALISM AND WARS OF PLUNDER. WE HAVE BEEN THE BEASTS OF BURDEN FROM WHOSE LABOR THE WEALTH OF THE WEST WAS ACCUMULATED, AND FROM WHOSE WOMBS THE SERVANTS FOR THE RULING CLASS WERE RAISED, (INCLUDING DIPLOMATS, MAIDS, SOLDIERS, AND STOOL-PIGEONS). IN SUM, WE ARE HERE IN THE WEST BECAUSE WITHOUT US WESTERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY WOULD NOT BE IN EXISTENCE AS IT IS TODAY.

(79) B. WHO ARE WE?

THIS QUESTION REQUIRES THAT WE GRASP WHAT MAKES UP THE HISTORICAL IDENTITY OF A PEOPLE, AND ARE ABLE TO ISOLATE AND FOCUS IN ON ITS MAJOR COMPONENT PARTS. THIS APPROACH ASSUMES THAT IN ORDER TO STUDY A PEOPLES HISTORICAL IDENTITY AND DEVELOP A PROGRAMMATIC STRATEGY, IT IS NECESSARY TO ANALYZE ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS. OUR METHOD IS TO ESTABLISH THE CONTENT OF OUR IDENTITY AND TO GRASP ITS DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORICAL STAGES. ONLY BY BEING SELF CONSCIOUS (AND HAVING AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF OUR PEOPLE) CAN WE MOVE IN THE REAL MATERIAL INTERESTS OF ALL OF OUR PEOPLE AND NOT BE MISLEAD TO SERVE A PRIVILEGED FEW.

(80) THE FORMATION OF OUR IDENTITY IS THE RESULT OF TWO CONTRADICTIONS, BOTH ANTAGONISTIC, BUT TO A GREAT EXTENT INVOLVING THE SAME CAST OF CHARACTERS:

1. EUROPEAN RACIST (NATIONAL) OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND THEIR DECENDANTS; AND

2. CLASS CONTRADICTION; THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

IN THE LONG RUN, THESE TWO CONTRADICTIONS MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS TWO SEPARATE THOUGH INTERDEPENDENT HISTORICAL FORCES, WHILE IN THIS PERIOD THEY OFTEN APPEAR AS IF THEY WERE THE SAME PHENOMENON.

(81) THE PRINCIPLE CONTRADICTION OF THE USA, CANADA, AND THE CARIBBEAN IS THE CLASS CONTRADICTION. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT EVERYONE IN THE SOCIETY THAT IS STRUGGLING WITH A PROBLEM IS IN FACT STRUGGLING AGAINST THE OBJECTIVE INTERESTS OF THE RULING CLASS. THIS IS TRUE ON THE ISSUE OF "THE ENERGY CRISIS," FOOD PRICES, INADEQUATE HOUSING, POLICE REPRESSION, THE IMPORTATION OF RHODESIAN CHROME, WATERGATE AND NIXON, US SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE WARS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, THE FASCIST REGIMES OF CHILE, URUGUAY, AND BRAZIL, AND THE CUT-BACKS IN SOCIAL SERVICES AND UNEMPLOYMENT. THE RULING CLASS IS THE ENEMY OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE, DOUBLY SO FOR BLACK AND OTHER OPPRESSED THIRD WORLD PEOPLE (EXCLUDING JAPAN BUT INCLUDING OKINAWA, FOR EXAMPLE).

(82) IN 1926, MAO WROTE:

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies . . . to distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution.

What is the condition of each of the classes in Chinese society?" (Mao Tse-Tung, Selected Works, Vol. I)

- (83) WE MUST ASK OURSELVES WHAT IS THE CONDITION OF EACH CLASS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY.
- (84) THE HISTORICAL STAGES OF BLACK PEOPLES IDENTITY HAVE BEEN BASED ON WHAT KIND OF WORK WE HAVE DONE, THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY. THIS IS THE KEY FACTOR BECAUSE IT INCLUDES OUR RELATIONSHIP TO TECHNOLOGY AND THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF THE SOCIETY, AND REFLECTS THE MATERIAL INTEREST THE RULING CLASS HAS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. THERE ARE FOUR CLASS FORMATIONS THAT MAKE UP THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY: THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE, THE BLACK PETTY BOURGEOISIE, THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, AND THE BLACK LUMPEN-PROLETARIAT.
- (85) 1. BLACK BOURGEOISIE: THIS IS A CLASS COMING INTO BEING, BASED ON THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL, THE FORMATION OF BUSINESSES THAT GROW IN SIZE SO THAT A RELATIVELY LARGE NUMBER OF WORKERS ARE EXPLOITED IN THE PROCESS OF SELLING THEIR LABOR POWER AT A PRICE (WAGES) MUCH LESS THAN WHAT THEY CREATE DURING THEIR WORKING DAY (VALUE). THIS BLACK BOURGEOISIE HAS LONG BEEN IN THE MAKING, WITH THE PERIOD OF THE LATTER PART OF THE 19TH CENTURY, EARLY 1900'S AND THAT OF THE 1960'S BEING HIGH POINTS. HOWEVER, THE THIRTIES AND THE APPARENT TREND OF THE 1970'S HAS HAD A DEPRESSING EFFECT ON THIS PROCESS. THIS IS INDICATED BY THE RISE AND FALL OF BLACK BANKING ENTERPRISES. FROM 1888 TO 1934 THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE OPENED 134 BANKS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. AFTER FORMING

THE NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE IN 1900, IN 1910,
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON WAS ABLE TO SAY,

"Before the starting of the Negro Business League there was not a single Negro bank in the State of Mississippi. At the present time, Mississippi has eleven Negro banks. When this Business League was organized in Boston 10 years ago there were only four Negro banks in the United States; at the present time there are fifty-six Negro banks."

HOWEVER, BY 1934, AFTER THE STOCK CRASH AND THE WORLD DEPRESSION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM THERE WERE ONLY 12 BANKS IN EXISTENCE. SINCE 1960 25 BANKS (OR 67%) WERE CREATED OUT OF THE 37 THAT EXIST TODAY.

(86)

THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 112,500 (1969) BUSINESSES OWNED AND RUN BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA TODAY (CONSTITUTING 2.25% OF OVER 5 MILLION BUSINESSES IN THE USA). THIS REFLECTS THE BOOM IN BLACK BUSINESS RESULTING FROM THE BLACK ADVANCE DURING THE 1960'S AND THE PAY-OFF ATTEMPTED BRIBE PLAN OF NIXON'S BLACK CAPITALIST PROGRAM. THIS CLASS FORMATION HAS TWO QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT AND DISTINCT SECTORS, ONE IS BASED UPON THE FORMATION OF CAPITAL WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND MAKES UP THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE THAT IS NATIONAL IN CHARACTER; THE OTHER IS BASED UPON CAPITAL INVESTMENT FROM MAJOR (WHITE) CORPORATIONS AND MAKES UP THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE THAT IS COMPRADOR IN CHARACTER.

(87)

OF THE LARGEST 100 BLACK BUSINESSES ONLY 30% HAVE A COMPRADOR CHARACTER INDICATING THAT EVEN FOR THE LARGEST LEVEL MOST OF THE BUSINESSES HAVE A NATIONAL CHAR-

ACTER, WHILE THE MAJORITY OF OTHERS MOST CERTAINLY DO (I.E., THE CORNER GROCERY STORES, BEAUTY PARLORS, ETC.). BUT THE HISTORICAL TREND IS TURNING INTO ITS OPPOSITE WITH THE LARGEST BLACK BUSINESSES MORE AND MORE REFLECTING THE PENETRATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY BY CAPITAL FROM THE LARGE (WHITE) CORPORATIONS. THE FOLLOWING TABLE INDICATES THIS:

DATE FOUNDED	% OF LARGEST BLACK BUSINESSES WITH A COMPRADOR CHARACTER
UP TO 1959	17.4
1960's	26.5
1970's	46.4

(88) MOST BLACK BUSINESSES ARE IN SERVICES (1969):

INDUSTRY	% OF TOTAL OWNED BY BLACKS
PERSONAL SERVICES	8.4
OTHER SERVICES	1.4
CONSTRUCTION	2.6
MANUFACTURING	1.2
RETAIL TRADE	1.9
OTHER INDUSTRIES	1.4
TOTAL	22.5

(89) AND MOST ARE SMALL. IN 1969, OVER 95% OF ALL BLACK BUSINESSES EMPLOYED LESS THAN 10 PEOPLE. AND 64% HAD GROSS RECEIPTS LESS THAN \$50,000.

(90) HOWEVER, AMONG THE TOP ONE HUNDRED BLACK BUSINESSES WE HAVE THIS PATTERN:

TYPE OF BUSINESS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	AVERAGE ANNUAL SALES (MILLIONS)
COMPRADOR	48.20	5.20
NATIONAL	11.72	4.59
TOTAL	92.67	4.78

- (91) SO ON THIS LEVEL THE AVERAGE IS CLOSE TO 100 EMPLOYEES WITH ANNUAL SALES OF \$5 MILLION. THE NATIONAL BUSINESS IS LARGER BUT THE COMPRADOR BUSINESS HAS GREATER SALES. MOST OF THE COMPRADOR BUSINESSES ARE AUTOMOBILE DEALERSHIPS (16), LIQUOR DISTRIBUTORS (4), AND SERVICES (6).
- (92) 2. BLACK PETTY BOURGEOISIE: THIS CLASS FORMATION IS A MIDDLE STRATA SPLIT BETWEEN THOSE LOYAL TO THE RULING CLASS VERSUS THOSE WHO LEAN MORE TO THE PROLETARIAT. IT CONSISTS OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT HOURLY WAGE WORKERS (BLUE COLLAR OR CLERICAL WHITE COLLAR), AND WHO ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO EXPLOIT THE LABOR OF OTHERS. SO THE 31% OF BLACK BUSINESSES WHO DO NOT HAVE PAID EMPLOYEES ACTUALLY FIT INTO THIS CLASS RATHER THAN THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE. WE HAVE DISCERNED 4 MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THIS MIDDLE STRATA:
- A. THE TWO FACES OF THE BLACK PROFESSIONAL: APPROXIMATELY 9.1% OF ALL EMPLOYED BLACK PEOPLE HAVE PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, OR KINDRED OCCUPATIONS. OF THESE OVER ONE-THIRD OF ALL MALES ARE EITHER TEACHERS OR MINISTERS, AND FOR FEMALES OVER 50% ARE TEACHERS. THE KEY DISTINCTION HERE IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY OPERATE WITH THEIR JOB SECURITY BEING TIED TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WOULD BE A GENERAL PRACTITIONER THAT SEES PATIENTS IN HIS OWN OFFICE IN THE COMMUNITY, AS OPPOSED TO A PHYSICIAN WHO IS RETAINED BY A COMPANY

TO SEE ITS WORKERS WHEN THEY ARE INJURED. THE MAJORITY OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS ARE EITHER BEING FORCED INTO A SEMI-WORKING CLASS CONDITION WHERE THEIR REMUNERATION IS OFTEN INSECURE AND THEY MUST UNIONIZE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES (PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS ARE A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS).

(93)

B. THE COMPRADOR ELITE: THERE ARE FOUR MAJOR GROUPS OF PETTY BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS THAT HAVE A DEFINITE COMPRADOR CHARACTER AND REFLECT THE PECULIAR FORM OF NEO-COLONIAL TYPE OF ORGANIZATION THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THE USA HAS HAD TO ENDURE.

(94)

1. BLACKS ON CORPORATE BOARDS: WHILE TEN YEARS AGO THERE WERE NO BLACKS ON THE BOARDS OF MAJOR CORPORATIONS IN THIS COUNTRY, A RECENT SURVEY FOUND 72 ON THE BOARDS OF APPROXIMATELY 100 COMPANIES.

(95)

"Although four of the top ten among the Fortune 500 industrial corporations have black directors, black representation is strongest on the boards of banks, life insurance firms, and utilities, possibly because their boards are generally larger than in industry. Six of the ten leading banks have at least one black director, while Chase Manhattan, the second-largest bank in the nation, and Metropolitan Life, the largest insurer, have two black directors each. Chase's 24-member board includes Patricia Roberts Harris, attorney and prominent officeholder of the Democratic party, and Thomas A. Wood, president of TAW International Leasing in New York. Among Metropolitan's 30 directors are George E. Johnson, president of Johnson Products, the Chicago-based cosmetics company, and Robert C. Weaver, formerly Secretary of Housing and Urban Develop-

ment and now a professor at Hunter College in New York City." (Black Enterprise, September, 1972, pp. 24-26).

(96)

THESE 72 PEOPLE ARE IN DIRECT COMMUNITATION WITH THE RULING CLASS AND SERVE THE INTERESTS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. THIS MAY NOT ALWAYS BE THEIR SUBJECTIVE INTENTION, THE OBJECTIVE POSITION THAT THEY OCCUPY PLACES THEM WITH THE ROCKEFELLERS, MORGANS, MELLONS, DUPONTS, RATHER THAN ON THE SIDE OF BLACK PEOPLE.

(97)

2. BLACK OFFICERS IN THE USA MILITARY: IT HAS ONLY BEEN SINCE EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981 ISSUED BY HARRY TRUMAN IN 1948 THAT THE USA ARMED SERVICES HAVE BEEN "DESEGREGATED" ALTHOUGH THE RECENT INCIDENTS ON THE KITTY HAWK, IN THE BASES IN WEST GERMANY, AND IN THE "NAM" HAVE PROVED THIS PROCLAMATION TO BE BOMBASTIC BULLSHIT. HOWEVER, TODAY THERE ARE NINE BLACK ARMY GENERALS, TWO BLACK AIR FORCE GENERALS, AND ONE BLACK NAVY ADMIRAL. THE BLACK PERCENTAGE OF ALL OFFICERS IN EACH BRANCH OF THE SERVICE INCLUDES FOR THE ARMY 3.9% (15.1% BLACK IN THE TOTAL ARMY), THE AIR FORCE 1.7% (10.8% BLACK OF THE TOTAL AIR FORCE), MARINES 1.5% (12.5% BLACK OF THE TOTAL MARINES), AND THE NAVY 0.9% (5.7% BLACK OF THE TOTAL NAVY). THESE MEN ARE THE TOP RANKING MERCENARIES WHO OFTEN WILLFULLY

SERVE THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS IN WARS OF PLUNDER LIKE IN VIETNAM, OR IN MILITARY OCCUPATION OF BLACK WORKING CLASS AREAS DURING PERIODS OF MILITANT STRUGGLE LIKE DETROIT, NEWARK, AND WATTS. AND AFRICA MIGHT BE NEXT!

(98)

3. BLACK POLITICIANS: THIS CLASS ELEMENT FALLS INTO TWO GROUPS:

(99)

A. PRESIDENTIALLY APPOINTED BLACK GOVERNMENTAL BUREAUCRATS: THERE HAS BEEN A RAPID INCREASE IN THE PARTICIPATION OF BLACK APPOINTEES AT THE TOP LEVEL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE PRECEDENT FOR THIS PERIOD IS THE FDR "BLACK CABINET" ADVISORY COMMITTEE LED BY SUCH DEMOCRATIC STALWARTS AS MARY McCLEOD BETHUNE AND ROBERT WEAVER. THERE HAS BEEN ONE BLACK APPOINTEE TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CABINET, ONE BLACK SUPREME COURT JUSTICE, (THURGOOD MARSHALL WAS APPOINTED IN 1967), ONE GOVERNOR OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, AND CURRENTLY THERE ARE 194 BLACKS AT THE TOP CIVIL SERVICE LEVEL OF GS-16 AND OVER. THIS INCLUDES THE ABOVE MENTIONED GENERALS, AND 4 AMBASSADORS. MOST BLACKS AT THIS LEVEL ARE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF TRANSPORTATION, HEW, HUD, AND STATE. INDEED, THESE BLACKS SERVE ON THE STAFF OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THAT MANAGES THE AFFAIRS OF THE ENTIRE

RULING CLASS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS IN THIS COUNTRY.

(100)

B. BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS: THE LEADING ELEMENT HERE IS THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS WITH ITS 13 MEMBERS (ONE IN THE SENATE AND 12 IN THE HOUSE). ALSO, THERE ARE 2,264 ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING MAYORS, 212 IN STATE LEGISLATURES, AND OVER 40% OF THE TOTAL IN THE SOUTH.

(101)

C. THE INTELLECTUALS: THIS CLASS FORMATION IS CONCERNED WITH THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE, AND LEADS IN SHAPING THE OPINIONS OF THE MASSES. HERE ARE FOUND STUDENTS, JOURNALISTS, SOME TEACHERS, AND WRITERS. THERE ARE NEARLY 500,000 BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THE USA, A GROUP WHICH HAS A SPECIAL ROLE BASED UPON THE SINGULAR IMPORTANCE GIVEN IT BY THE RULING CLASS IN ORDER TO HAVE A CONSTANT SUPPLY OF RECRUITS WILLING TO SERVE CAPITALISM FOR PERSONAL GAIN TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE BLACK MASSES. THIS CLASS FORMATION HAS WITHIN IT A CONSTANT STRUGGLE TO SERVE THE MASSES OF BLACK PEOPLE OR TO SERVE THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS.

(102)

D. FARMERS: WE USED TO BE ON THE LAND, BUT THE DICTATES OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM CHANGED THIS DRAS- TICALLY.

"In 1940, over three-fourths of all blacks lived in the South, close to two-thirds lived in rural areas there, and just under half were still engaged in agriculture. By 1969, almost as many blacks lived outside the South as still resided in that region, and only 4% of the Black laborers remained in agriculture, as they had left the farms at a much more rapid rate than whites. Today, only about a fifth of the total Black population live in the rural areas and small towns of the South. (The Demand For Black Labor, Harold Baron, Radical America, p. 32)

ONE OF THE BASIC REASONS FOR THIS IS THE INCREASED MECHANIZATION OF COMMERCIAL FARMING: E.G., IN 1940 THERE WERE 9,000 TRACTORS IN GEORGIA, AND BY 1950 THERE WERE 60,000.

(103)

THE SAME PATTERN HOLDS FOR BLACK FARMERS. THE PERCENTAGES OF BLACKS OF ALL FARMERS HAS BEEN 30% IN 1940 AND 10% IN 1964. IN 1969 THERE WERE LESS THAN ONE MILLION. IN THE SOUTH THERE ARE ABOUT 185,000 BLACK FARMERS, OVER HALF OWNER-RUN SINCE THE SHARECROPPERS HAVE BEEN DRIVEN INTO THE CITIES.

(104)

3. THE WORKING CLASS: BLACK PEOPLE WERE BROUGHT TO THIS COUNTRY IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE LABOR POWER FOR DEVELOPING A NEW SOCIETY. WE WERE BROUGHT HERE AS SLAVES, AND WERE FULLY EMPLOYED BECAUSE SLAVE LABOR HAS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EXPLOITATION OF ALL FORMS OF LABOR. THE BLACK WORKER HAS BEEN AT THE VERY KEY POINT OF THE PRODUCTION PROCESS, ESPECIALLY WHERE THE WORK IS THE HARDEST, MOST DANGEROUS AND WHERE THE GREATEST VALUE IS

CREATED BY TRANSFORMING NATURAL RESOURCES INTO USEFUL COMMODITIES. WE HAVE BEEN THE BEASTS OF BURDEN FOR THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY, AS THEY HAVE REAPED SUPER-PROFITS FROM OUR LABOR POWER.

(105)

BLACK LABOR REFLECTS OUR PRECARIOUS POSITION AS THE RESERVE ARMY FOR THE CAPITALISTS. THIS MEANS THAT WHILE WE HAVE BEEN, AND ARE THE LAST HIRED AND FIRST FIRED THE CAPITALISTS KEEP US IN RESERVE TO FIGHT ALL OTHER WORKERS WITH THE THREAT THAT "IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE TERMS (IN WAGES, CONDITIONS OR BENEFITS) THEN WE CAN ALWAYS HIRE THE 'NIGGERS' AND THEY WILL JUMP AT THE CHANCE." THE CATEGORIES ARE (A) THE EMPLOYED WORKERS, (B) THE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS AND (C) THE DISPLACED WORKERS.

(106)

A. THE EMPLOYED BLACK WORKERS BLACK WORKERS ARE CONCENTRATED IN SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS. OVER 75% OF BLACK MALES HAVE JOBS CLASSIFIED BY THE U.S. CENSUS AS CRAFTS, OPERATIVES, UNSKILLED LABOR, AND SERVICE. ON THE OTHER HAND, OVER 82% OF BLACK FEMALES ARE IN JOBS CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL, OPERATIVE, SERVICE, AND DOMESTIC. THE LARGEST CATEGORY OF MALES IS OPERATIVES, FOR FEMALES ITS SERVICE.

(107)

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY: 1970

OCCUPATIONS	MALE	FEMALE
WHITE COLLAR	18.9	29.9
PROFESSIONAL	6.0	9.0
MANAGERIAL	3.5	1.5
SALES	1.9	2.0
CLERICAL	7.5	17.4
SKILLED LABOR	47.4	18.4
CRAFTS	16.6	1.8
OPERATIVES	30.8	16.6
LABOR, FARM, SERVICE	33.7	51.6
LABORERS	14.7	1.6
FARMERS	1.0	0.2
FARM LABORERS	3.2	1.1
SERVICE	14.4	28.8
PRIVATE, DOMESTIC	0.3	19.9

(108)

IT SHOULD BE NOTED HOWEVER, THAT THE COMPOSITION OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS IS UNEVENLY DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY (A BY-PRODUCT OF THE ANARCHY OF THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION). THE FOLLOWING TABLE INDICATES THE TWO AREAS OF WORK THAT VARY MOST; MANUFACTURING OF DURABLE (LIKE AUTO-

MOBILES) AND NON-DURABLE (LIKE FOOD) GOODS, COMPARED WITH PERSONAL (LIKE HAIR WORK), PROFESSIONAL (LIKE LAWYER) AND RELATED SERVICE.

(109)

COMPOSITION OF BLACK LABOR IN SELECTED AREAS WITH ALSO LOCALS

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS	MANUFACTURING	SERVICES	%BLACK
NORTH DETROIT NEWARK	39.2 34.9	26.4 16.7	43.7 54.2
CAPITAL WASHINGTON	5.3	31.5	71.1
SOUTH ATLANTA NEW ORLEANS	18.2 13.2	34.4 36.6	51.3 45.0

(110)

THIS COMPOSITION IS EVEN FURTHER CLARIFIED BY THESE NATIONAL FIGURES:

"The latest figures from the building trades show that Black workers compose: 23.8 per cent of all furnacemen, smelters and mixers; 25 per cent of metal moulders; 12.3 per cent of the masons, tile setters, and stove cutters; and 22.8 per cent of the plasterers, lathers, and cement finishers. Notwithstanding the fact that whites make up the bulk of the foremen and skilled craftsmen, there would be no building trade without the jobs that large numbers of Blacks perform." (Black World, October, 1973, p. 44)

(111)

FURTHER,

"In cities like Chicago, Detroit, New York, Atlanta, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, Blacks

make up the majority of the mass transit operators. They form a significant minority in mining (15-20%), longshoring (25%), steel (13%) and auto (20% : in some Chrysler factories in Detroit Black workers are the majority, 70%).

(112)

SPECIFIC TO EACH OF THESE INDUSTRIES OF BLACK CONCENTRATION ARE PARTICULAR JOBS THAT BLACKS HOLD. THE FOLLOWING TABLE LISTS 25 OCCUPATIONS MADE UP OF AT LEAST 10% BLACK.

(113)

OCCUPATION	BLACK MEN AS A % OF ALL MEN
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD WORKERS	44.7
JANITORS AND PORTERS	37.2
LONGSHOREMEN AND STEVEDORES	34.5
LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANING OPERATIVES	33.3
LUMBERMEN, RAFTSMEN AND WOODCHOPPERS	30.8
LABORERS, CHEMICALS AND ALLIED PRODUCTS	30.2
" TRANSPORTATION, EQUIPMENT MFG.	27.9
" RAILROADS, RAILWAY EXPRESS	27.8
" PRIMARY METAL MFG.	26.4
" CONSTRUCTION	25.9
FURNACEMEN, SMELTERMEN AND POURERS	22.8
LABORERS, TEXTILE MILL PRODUCTS & APPAREL MFG.	22.7
MOLDERS, METAL	22.3
PLASTERERS AND CEMENT FINISHERS	21.7
COOKS, EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	21.5
ELEVATOR OPERATORS	21.4
LABORERS, STONE, CLAY, & GLASS PRODUCTS	19.7
OPERATIVES, SAW & PLANING MILLS, MISC. WOOD PROD.	18.8
TAXICAB DRIVERS AND CHAUFFEURS	18.3
OPERATIVES, PRIMARY METAL MFG.	15.0
" FOOD & KINDRED PRODUCTS MFG.	14.7
" MISC. NONMFG. INDUSTRIES	14.7
" MOTOR VEHICLES AND MOTOR VEHICLES EQUIP. MFG.	14.0
SHOEMAKERS AND REPAIRMEN, EXC. FACTORY	12.1
MAIL CARRIERS	10.4
BUS DRIVERS	10.1

(The American Negro Reference Book, 1966, p. 211)

(114) THE BLACK LABOR FORCE (EXCLUDING PROFESSIONALS AND INTELLECTUALS) IS MADE UP OF 43% INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, (MINING, CONSTRUCTION, AND UTILITIES). THESE WORKERS ARE THE HEARTBEAT AND BACKBONE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

(115) B. UNEMPLOYED BLACK WORKERS: THIS CLASS FORMATION FLUCTUATES AS WE ARE PUSHED OUT AND PULLED INTO PLANTS AND OFFICES BY THE CAPITALISTS. THE RATE OF BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT HAS BEEN TWICE THAT OF WHITES SINCE THE KOREAN WAR.

(116)

DATE	% BLACK WORKERS UNEMPLOYED
1950	9.0
1955	8.7
1960	10.2
1965	8.1
1970	8.2
1973	9.4

(117) AGAIN, BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT IS NOT EVENLY DISTRIBUTED. BLACK URBAN YOUTH ARE HARDEST HIT WITH OVER 35% OF THOSE AGED 16 TO 19 UNEMPLOYED IN 1970. BLACK WOMEN ARE USUALLY 2-3% POINTS MORE UNEMPLOYED THAN MEN. AND UNEMPLOYMENT IS AN URBAN PHENOMENON.

(118) C. DISPLACED WORKERS: THERE ARE MANY BLACK WORKING CLASS PEOPLE REMOVED FROM THE PRODUCTION PROCESS. THESE ARE PRIMARILY WELFARE RECIPIENTS AND A CERTAIN SEGMENT OF PRISON INMATES. THE WELFARE ROLLS HAVE INCREASED DRAMATICALLY. THE MONOPOLISTS

HAVE SOUGHT GREATER SURPLUS BY INCREASING PRODUCTIVITY PER HOUR AND CUTTING DOWN THE SIZE OF THE WORK FORCE. THE OVERALL WELFARE ROLLS HAVE INCREASED AS FOLLOWS (IN MILLIONS):

(119)

1950	2.9
1960	4.7
1970	10.8

AND BLACKS MAKE UP OVER 40% OF THESE FIGURES (4 TIMES OUR PERCENTAGE OF THE GENERAL POPULATION):

BLACKS RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN 1969

TOTAL POPULATION	25.1 MILLION
RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	4.3 MILLION
PERCENT ON WELFARE	17%

THERE IS A GENERATIONAL EFFECT HERE, SO WE NOW HAVE 2ND AND 3RD GENERATIONS ON WELFARE WHICH BEGINS TO PUSH FOLKS INTO THE LUMPEN ELEMENT WHOLLY DIVORCED FROM THE OBJECTIVE POTENTIAL AND SUBJECTIVE DESIRE FOR GAINFUL PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

(120)

PRISONS ARE CAGES TO PUT WHOEVER THREATENS PRIVATE PROPERTY; THE STATE ACTIVELY SERVES THE RULING CLASS BY OPERATING PRISONS. THE AVERAGE DAILY NUMBER OF ACTUAL INMATES INSIDE OF SO-CALLED CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS IS 500,000. THE 1960 DATA FOR LONG TERM INMATES BY AGE IS:

1960 BLACK PRISON POPULATION

AGE	NUMBER
UNDER 15	324
15-19	11,197
20-24	24,019
25-39	67,469
TOTAL	133,249

THE PRISON BREEDS A WARRIOR'S CURSE INSIDE A MAN,
A CURSE WHEN GUIDED BY A CORRECT POLITICAL IDEOLOGY
CAN BE A CONTRIBUTION TO REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUG-
GLE.

- (121) 4. THE BLACK LUMPEN PROLETARIAT: THIS IS A CLASS FOR-
MATION THAT HAS BEEN GREATLY MISUNDERSTOOD BY UNSCIENTI-
FIC APPROACHES TO THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE BLACK COM-
MUNITY. THE MASS APPROACH LUMPS TOGETHER PEOPLE IN SUCH
CATEGORIES LIKE "STREET PEOPLE," "THE COMMUNITY," "THE
GRASS ROOTS," ETC. ALL OF THESE ARE MASSES OF PEOPLE
WHO REPRESENT DIFFERENT CLASS FORMATIONS.

- (122) WHAT DOES SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM SAY ABOUT THE LUMPEN
PROLETARIAT:

"In bourgeois society there exists yet another stratum, the declassed elements--the lumpen proletarians --the "dregs" of capitalist society, consisting of bandits, thieves, beggars, prostitutes, and so on. This stratum is constantly being reinforced by individuals from various classes who have been thrown into the "dregs" by the conditions of capitalism."

- (123) IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WE HAVE ALL THESE PEOPLE--AND WE
HAVE DRUG PUSHERS, GAMBLERS, AND CONFIDENCE MEN. WE HAVE
LEARNED THAT THIS IS A VULTURISTIC UNPREDICTABLE GROUP
OF PEOPLE WITH PLENTY OF LARCENY IN THEIR HEARTS--THEY
HAVE BEEN VICTIMIZED BY CAPITALISM. AND .

THE VENOM OF CAPITALISM HAS CREATED
MORE BLOOD SUCKERS, MORE VAMPIRES IN OUR OWN COMMUNITY.
WE MUST KEEP THESE WORDS IN MIND:

"The dangerous class, the social scum, that
passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest

layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue."

THERE IS NO SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE THAT THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT HAS EVER MADE A SUSTAINED CONTRIBUTION TO THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, WHILE ON THE OTHER HAND THERE IS PLENTY OF EVIDENCE THAT IT CAN BE BRIBED BY THE POLICE AND USED AGAINST THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE. THIS IS A LESSON FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

(124) IN SUM, WE ARE A WORKING PEOPLE, 96% OF US ARE WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS. HOWEVER, THERE ARE OBJECTIVE DIFFERENCES IN WHAT KIND OF WORK WE DO, WHAT KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WE HAVE WITH THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

(125) ALSO, THERE IS A NATIONAL (RACIAL) CHARACTER TO OUR OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION IN THIS COUNTRY. WE ARE THE VICTIMS OF THE MOST HEINOUS SYSTEM ANY PEOPLE UNDER CAPITALISM HAVE HAD TO ENDURE. WE ARE THE BEASTS OF BURDEN THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY HAVE FED TO MACHINE-FILLED FACTORIES AND THE EXPANSIVE FIELDS OF THE SOUTH AND WEST. WE ARE THE BASIC RESOURCE THAT HAS MADE THIS COUNTRY GREAT. WE ARE THE BACKBONE OF THE USA.

(126) ONE OF THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS THAT WE FACE IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY IS THE RELATIONSHIP OF NATIONAL (RACIAL) OPPRESSION TO CLASS EXPLOITATION. OUR POSITION MUST BE BASED ON A SCIENTIFIC CONCEPTION OF SOCIETY AND HISTORICAL CHANGE, AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE DIAGRAM BELOW:

(127)

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

CONDITION OF BLACK PEOPLE
IN USASOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF
SOCIETY

RACISM

1. IDEAS, BELIEFS
2. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

1. PREJUDICE
2. DISCRIMINATION

MATERIAL BASIS OF
SOCIETY

CLASS EXPLOITATION

(128)

THERE ARE TWO FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT LEVELS OF THE STRUCTURE OF A SOCIETY. THE MATERIAL BASIS OF A SOCIETY INCLUDES THE MEANS OF PRODUCING GOODS AND SERVICES, AND THE ORGANIZATION OF PEOPLE INTO CLASSES. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH, ALL GOODS, EVERYTHING NECESSARY FOR SOCIAL LIFE.

"Classes are large groups of people which differ in their positions in the historical system of social production, in their relation to the means of production, in their role in the social organization of labor, and consequently in the size of the share of social wealth they obtain and in their way of getting it."

(129)

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY BRINGS IDEOLOGICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS INTO PLAY. AND FOR BLACK PEOPLE THIS MEANS RACISM, NATIONAL OPPRESSION AS PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION WHICH TOGETHER MAKES UP OUR "SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP." BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA CONSTITUTE AN OPPRESSED NATIONALITY.

"A nation is historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

THIS DOES NOT DESCRIBE BLACKS IN THE USA. HOWEVER, WE DEFINITELY HAVE A DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ENTIRE SOCIETY, AND ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY SEPARATE AND SIMILAR ON EACH OF THE FIVE POINTS.

- (130) 1. WE ARE AN HISTORICALLY CONSTITUTED, STABLE COMMUNITY PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF OUR COMMON CONDITION AS EXPLOITED WORKERS AND PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF BLACK INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONS;
- (131) 2. WE SHARE A COMMON LANGUAGE WITH EVERYBODY ELSE (EXCEPT THE REGIONALLY BASED ASIAN LANGUAGES AND SPANISH), ALTHOUGH SLANG (AS ELUSIVE AND EXPRESSIVE COLLOQUILISMS) AND GULLA HAVE REGIONAL VARIATIONS;
- (132) 3. WE SHARE A COMMON TERRITORY OF THE USA, BUT IT IS NOT FUNCTIONALLY CONTIGUOUS WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS OR EVEN FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES--IT IS AS IF WE WERE ON A SERIES OF URBAN AND RURAL GHETTOES (RESERVATIONS LIKE THE SOUTH AFRICAN BANTUSTANS);
- (133) 4. WE SHARE A COMMON ECONOMIC LIFE ALTHOUGH IT HAS MORE TO DO WITH OUR EXPLOITATION AS WAGE-SALARY WORKERS RATHER THAN A NATIONAL MARKET ORGANIZED BY THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE;
- (134) 5. WE HAVE A PSYCHOLOGICAL MAKE-UP MANIFESTED IN A COMMON CULTURE, BASED ON OUR CREATIVE RESPONSE TO OUR CONDITION BUT MOSTLY ORGANIZED, CONTROLLED, AND DEFINED BY OUR OPPRESSORS (E.G., BLACK RADIO STATIONS).

(135) BLACK PEOPLE AS A NATIONALITY ARE UNITED BY NATIONAL CHARACTER AND MOULDED BY A COMMON HISTORY OF SLAVERY, SHARE-CROPPING, GREAT MIGRATIONS TO THE CITY AND WAGE SLAVERY IN THE PLANTS. HOWEVER, THE DOMINANT CHARACTER OF RACISM IS HOW WE ARE SOCIALLY OPPRESSED. THERE IS ALMOST NO ASPECT OF SOCIAL LIFE THAT DOES NOT CLEARLY SHOW THE DEBILITATING IMPACT OF RACISM--NATIONAL OPPRESSION. BLACK PEOPLE HAVE BEEN BRUTALIZED BEYOND THE LIMITS OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY, AND REPRESENT THE CLEAREST EXAMPLE OF THE DEMONIC ABUSE GERMANE TO THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION IN ITS IMPERIALIST STAGE.

(136) THE DIFFERENCES (AS REPORTED BY THE BUREAU OF CENSUS, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES) IN THE CONDITION OF BLACKS AND WHITES IS APPARENT IN THE FOLLOWING TABLE:

(137) SOCIAL INDICATORS	BLACK	WHITE
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME (1969)	5,999	9,794
% PERSONS BELOW POVERTY LINE (1969)	32	10
% MOTHERS OF INFANTS IN LABOR FORCE (1969)	45	28
% ENROLLED IN SCHOOL FOR AGES 20-24 (1968)	12	22
% OF 25-34 YEARS OLD WHO HAVE COMPLETED COLLEGE (1969)	6.6	16.2
% IN BAD HOUSING (1968) (LACK OF PLUMBING AND/OR DILAPIDATED)	24	6
INFANT MORTALITY RATES (1967) (1 MONTH - 1 YEAR)	12.1 (per 1000)	4.7 (per 1000)
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (1973)	9.4	4.8

- (138) ALL OF THESE SOCIAL INDICATIONS OF OUR NATIONAL OPPRESSION HAVE A CLASS CONTENT. THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE DOES NOT LEAD THE PRECARIOUS LIFE THAT WORKERS LEAD. THERE IS NO COMPARISON OF FOOD, HEALTH CARE, HOUSING, AND EDUCATION AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE LIVING IN BALDWIN HILLS COMPARED TO WATTS (LOS ANGELES), HYDE PARK-KENWOOD COMPARED TO LAWNSDALE (CHICAGO), MOUNT AIRY COMPARED TO SOUTH PHILLY (PHILADELPHIA), SILVERTON COMPARED TO WESTEND (CINCINNATI), AND CASCADE COMPARED TO BUTTERMILK BOTTOM (ATLANTA).
- (139) IT IS ONLY BY UNDERSTANDING THIS DUAL CHARACTER OF OUR IDENTITY THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO CORRECTLY PLAN A STRATEGIC PROGRAM FOR LIBERATION.
- (140) C. WHAT ARE WE STRUGGLING FOR? (IN AFRICA?) (IN THE WEST?)
THIS IS THE AGE OF IMPERIALIST PLUNDER, AND THEREFORE OUR MOVEMENT MUST BE ANTI-IMPERIALIST IN CHARACTER. ALSO, THE RULING CLASS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS FEEDS ON THE SUPER-EXPLOITATION OF BLACK (AND THIRD WORLD PEOPLES OF COLOR) AND THEREFORE OUR MOVEMENT MUST BE ANTI-RACIST. THIS DEFINES OUR RESPONSE TO AN HISTORICAL ERA IN WHICH THERE IS THE HIGHEST CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND POWER UNDER CAPITALISM, AND THIS UNITES THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO SHARE THIS COMMON CONDITION.
- (141) HOWEVER, IT IS BY REVEALING THE ESSENCE OF THESE TWO POSITIONS THAT THE GREATEST CLARITY, AND THEREFORE UNITY, CAN BE ACHIEVED. WE HAVE ANALYZED THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF

THE VULTURISTIC IMPERIALISM AND SATANIC RACISM. NOW WE MUST
DEFINE THE GOALS OF OUR STRUGGLE:

(142)

A. THE ANTI-RACIST STRUGGLE IS A STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF USA HISTORY HAS THREE MAJOR HIGH POINTS: THE COLONIAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR, THE CIVIL WAR--RECONSTRUCTION, AND THE HIGH TIDE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MASS MOVEMENT IN THE 1960's. THESE PERIODS REPRESENT STRUGGLE FOR THE SORT OF EQUALITARIAN RIGHTS EXPRESSED IN THE CONSTITUTIONS OF ALL OF THE BOURGEOIS CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (ESPECIALLY ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE USA). SUCH THINGS AS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, THE RIGHT TO A FAIR TRIAL AND BEING JUDGED BY A JURY OF ONES PEERS, AND UNINHIBITED ACCESS TO ALL PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ARE THE SORT OF THING THAT BLACK PEOPLE HAVE SOUGHT FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS, AND WHICH HAVE NEVER BEEN FULLY AVAILABLE FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE USA. ALMOST ALL OF THE GREAT MOVEMENTS OF STRUGGLE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAVE BEEN INSPIRED BY THE IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY OF GREAT DEMOCRATS. THIS INCLUDED FREDERICK DOUGLASS, W.E.B. DuBOIS, AND MARTIN LUTHER KING. THIS IS THE TRADITION THAT HAS ACTUALLY LED OUR PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE, PITCHED BATTLE TO BE FREE. THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE MASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF BLACK PEOPLE, AND MUST BE KEPT AS THE RALLYING CRY OF OUR MOVEMENT IF WE ARE TO BE THE CENTER OF BLACK PEOPLES STRUGGLE. TYPICAL STRUG-

GLS TODAY ARE THE MOVEMENTS FOR A CITIZENS REVIEW BOARD TO DEMOCRATIZE THE POLICE (E.G. ATLANTA, CHICAGO, NASHVILLE, AND NEWARK); TO STOP CAPITAL PUNISHMENT (NORTH CAROLINA); TO FIGHT THE NIXON CUTBACKS IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS (WELFARE, VETERANS BENEFITS, EDUCATIONAL FUNDS, ETC.); AND THE RIGHT TO WORK AND ORGANIZE. THESE ARE THE STRUGGLES WE MUST LEAD IF WE ARE TO LEAD THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

(143)

B. THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE IS A STRUGGLE FOR DEVELOPMENT. THIS IS A STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE, A STRUGGLE TO ALTER THE FUNDAMENTAL PRODUCTION RELATIONSHIPS IN THIS SOCIETY SO THAT THE FRUIT OF A MAN'S LABOR WILL BE SHARED BETWEEN HIM AND THE GENERAL WELFARE OF THE SOCIETY. THIS IS A STRUGGLE THAT BLACKS HAVE ENGAGED IN SINCE THE DAYS OF SLAVERY, (DUBOIS DISCUSSES THE ROLE OF A GENERAL STRIKE BY SLAVES DURING THE CIVIL WAR), AND REACHED A HIGH POINT IN MILITANT LABOR STRUGGLES IN THE 20TH CENTURY. IN THIS CURRENT PERIOD, THERE IS A STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE RACE THEORY AND THE THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE. THE RACE THEORY CONTENDS THAT WE MUST DEVELOP THE BLACK COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, LIKE A COLONIAL COUNTRY. THIS PROGRAM CONCEALS THE FACT THAT IT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE, BECAUSE IT ATTEMPTS TO SET UP A MARKET FOR A FEW LARGE BLACK BUSINESSES TO MONOPOLIZE (NOTE THE HISTORY OF BLACK INSURANCE COMPANIES, MORTICIANS, AND REALTORS). THE CLASS ANALYSIS OF THE

BLACK COMMUNITY DEVELOPED ABOVE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATES THAT A PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY THAT IS WORTHY OF OUR STRUGGLE MUST BE FOCUSED ON WORKING CLASS FORMATIONS. IT IS BLACK WORKERS THAT PRODUCE THE NECESSARY GOODS AND SERVICES FOR THIS SOCIETY, AND IT IS THE BLACK WORKER WHO IS MOST EXPLOITED AND OPPRESSED. SO DEVELOPMENT FOR BLACK PEOPLE REQUIRES CHANGING THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, CHANGING THE CORPORATIONS THAT WE WORK FOR. IT REQUIRES THAT WE TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR OWN HANDS AND DRIVE THE WRONG DOERS INTO THE SEA.

(144) IN SUM, ONLY A PROGRAM OF CONSISTENT DEMOCRACY BASED UPON MILITANT STRUGGLE WILL PREVENT THE DECADENT WOUNDED PAPER-TIGER OF USA IMPERIALISM FROM DEVELOPING INTO ITS FASCIST FORM. CONSISTENT DEMOCRACY MEANS THAT WE MUST FIGHT NEGATIVE THINKING (BLACK PEOPLE AIN'T SHIT, OR IF WE MARCH THE PIGS WILL SHOOT US DOWN), INVOLVE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE, AND FIGHT COURAGEOUSLY TO ADVANCE THE CORRECT IDEOLOGY. IN THIS WAY, THE FOCUS OF OUR STRUGGLE WILL BE LIKE A LASER BEAM TO CUT THROUGH THE ARMOUR OF OPPRESSION. OUR DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM MUST FURTHER OUR PEOPLES ANALYSIS AND HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS.

(145) D. HOW SHOULD WE STRUGGLE?

OUR STRUGGLE MUST BE WAGED IN A MILITANT MANNER, ORGANIZED IN AS DISCIPLINED A PROCESS AS POSSIBLE. THE KEY PROBLEM OF OUR STRUGGLE IS THE NECESSITY TO CLARIFY THE DIFFER-

ENCES BETWEEN THE RACE APPROACH AND A CLASS ANALYSIS, AND EMBRACE THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS OF BLACK WORKERS AS OUR BASE AMONG THE MASSES OF BLACK PEOPLE.

(146) THE RACE APPROACH, WHILE HOLDING THAT IT IS DEVISIVE FOR ALSC TO MAKE AN ANALYSIS OF CLASS FORMATIONS BASED ON RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, IS IN FACT BASED IN THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE, WITH LEADERSHIP AND THE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT GROUNDED IN THE FUNDAMENTAL STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT. THE RACE APPROACH IS A REFORMIST TREND THAT CAN ONLY RETARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR STRUGGLE. THERE IS NO SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IMPERIALISM IS AND HOW TO CHANGE IT.

(147) A CLASS ANALYSIS IS THE TOOL WE HAVE THAT IDENTIFIES THE HEROIC ROLE THE WORKING CLASS MUST PLAY IF WE ARE TO DESTROY CAPITALISM AND BUILD A BETTER SOCIETY BASED ON THE WORKING CLASS OWNING AND CONTROLLING THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

(148) WE SAY BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD.

1. THIS IS THE RESULT OF OUR CLASS ANALYSIS THAT ONLY THE WORKING CLASS IS IN AN OBJECTIVE POSITION TO FUNDAMENTALLY DESTROY CAPITALIST RELATIONS, DEFEAT RACISM, AND BUILD A DIFFERENT SOCIETY;

(149) 2. THIS IS THE NECESSARY SLOGAN TO DEFEAT THE INCORRECT VIEW THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS FORMATION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IS EITHER THE LUMPEN PROLETARIAT, STUDENTS, INTELLECTUALS, THE LITERATI OR THE ELECTED POLITICIANS;

(150) 3. THIS SLOGAN GUIDES OUR CURRENT STRUGGLE THAT MUST DEVELOP IN STAGES SUCH AS:

- A. STRUGGLE TO CONSOLIDATE OUR ALSC IDEOLOGICAL POSITION AND ACHIEVE A HIGHER LEVEL OF UNITY;
- B. STRUGGLE TO DIRECT OUR PROGRAM TO THE BLACK WORKING CLASS, FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SHOPS AND COMMUNITIES WHERE THEY WORK AND LIVE, AND RAISING THEIR LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS TO SEE THEIR UNITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;
- C. STRUGGLE TO DEVELOP CONCRETE WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP FOR ALSC SO THAT THE MOST INTENSE STRUGGLES WILL GO ON IN THE PLANTS, IN THE COMMUNITIES, IN THE SCHOOL, PRISONS, AND BASES.

(151)

THIS HISTORIC MEETING IN GREENSBORO MUST MAKE A SIGNIFICANT LEAP TOWARDS THE IDEOLOGICAL UNITY REQUIRED FOR ALSC TO CONTINUE GIVING CRITICAL LEADERSHIP TO THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

(152)

WE WERE CHARGED IN WASHINGTON TO RESPOND TO THE CRITICISM OF OUR GREAT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED AT FROGMORE, S.C. THIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY WE ACCEPTED WITH JOY BECAUSE IT PROVIDED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CLEARLY DEFINE AND DEFEND THE CORRECT LINE OF ALSC.

(153)

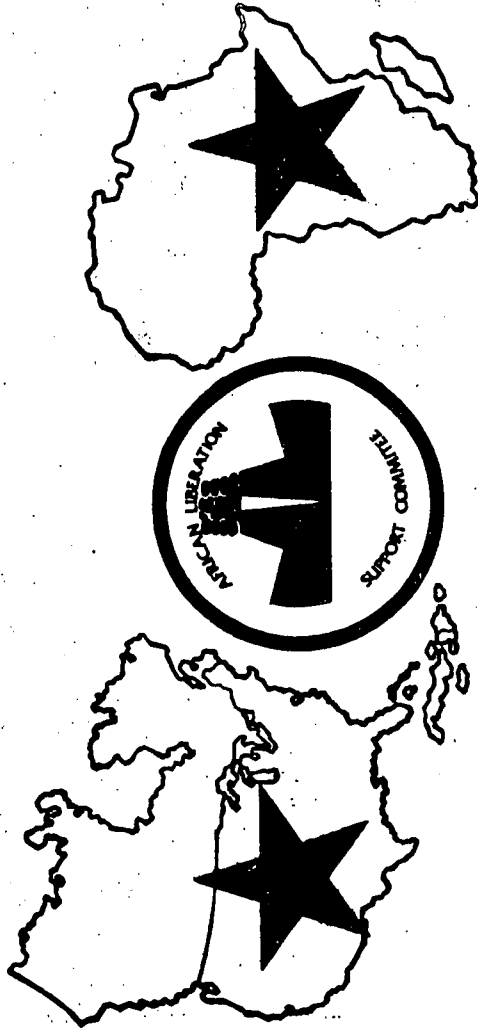
THIS DOCUMENT IS SUBMITTED AS A WORKING PAPER FOR ALSC MILITANTS TO FURTHER THEIR ANALYSIS. IT IS SUBMITTED TO DEFEAT THE REFORMIST LINE OF THE RACE APPROACH, THAT ARGUES IN FAVOR OF NO CLASSES, OR AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS. WE MUST DEFEAT THIS TENDENCY WITHIN ALSC, SO THAT THERE CAN BE A UNITED FRONT OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES, UNITED IN ANTI-RACIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY FIGHTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE.

(153)

WAGE RELENTLESS STRUGGLE TO UNIFY ON A HIGHER LEVEL!
DEFEND THE ALSC STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES!
DEFEAT THE RACE APPROACH! FORGE A CLASS ANALYSIS!
BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD!
BUILD ALSC!

AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE

P.O. BOX 14093, HOUSTON, TEXAS 77021



STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

of

African Liberation Support Committee

WORLD VIEW

"If there is no struggle, there can be no progress....."

Black people throughout the world are realizing that our freedom will only be won through a protracted struggle against two forces - racism and imperialism. The world imperialist system festers in Africa and Asia and engulfs the Western Hemisphere as well. In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial or neo-colonial form. Wherever it appears, its cornerstone is the white ruling class of the United States of America.

Imperialism is neither invincible nor invulnerable. As the blows against it increase, the crisis of imperialism heightens and leads to new levels of exploitation of Black People in the Western Hemisphere, Africa and the rest of the world.

AFRICA

In Africa, the remains of classical European colonialism is held together by Portugal (in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique). The United States government has been a constant supporter and ally of Portuguese oppression through direct aid (such as the \$430 million Azores agreement) and gifts of planes, arms, and military training (at Fort Bragg, North Carolina) through NATO. White settler rule is based in police state South Africa, and extends to Namibia (South-West Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) as well. There is hardly a single major U.S. or multinational Corporation, or bank that does not have investments in Southern Africa. Chase Manhattan Bank, Firestone Rubber and tires, Gulf Oil, Holiday Inn, General Motors and some 300 other firms have investments totalling over 1 billion dollars. Several major problems face the people of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau as a result of the present crisis:

1. Resettlement schemes to absorb unemployed European workers as new colonists in Africa; They will be expected to fight against liberation forces. An example is the Cahora Bassa Dam project in the Tete province of Mozambique, where over 1,000,000 European workers are expected to settle.
2. Increased levels of exploitation caused by the relocation of factories from advanced capitalist countries - "run'away shops." The conditions that generally accompany this new investment are no-strike laws, forced labor, slave-wages, no right-to-organize laws, and neo-fascist policies of political repression against all dissent.
3. Militaristic and aggressive expansionist policies of South Africa and Israel to recolonize "independent" Africa using capital invested by multinational corporations based in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

WESTERN HEMISPHERE (U.S., Canada and the Caribbean)

Black people in the Western Hemisphere equally caught in the racist imperialist net, also face major problems in the present state of our struggle:

1. Problems on the job-unemployment, low wages, job insecurity, racism by management and union leadership discrimination in hiring and promotions (especially in skilled crafts), and super-exploitation in the shops (speed-up, compulsory overtime, etc.)
2. Continued neglect, and indeed cutbacks in the area of social services; public welfare, transportation, housing sanitation, health facilities, and education, etc.
3. Political-police-military repression with fascist-type hit squads (like the STRESS squad was in Detroit), increased use of electronic surveillance and informers, a rising rate of Black Youth in prisons, and systematic introduction of heroin (or heroin substitutes) into the Black Communities.
4. Continued onslaughts on efforts to preserve and develop revolutionary culture among Black people, including the use of distorted fragments of Black history and the accomplishments of "distinguished Black Americans." These onslaughts are in fact cultural aggression. Cultural aggression, like all other forms of racism, seeks to impose the way of life, values and institutions of one culture on another culture. Culture here defined as a way of life, values, and those institutions set up to maintain and develop that way of life and its values.

FINALLY GOT THE NEWS

Black people throughout the world have finally got the news - the news that racism and imperialism the two headed monster - are our enemies. The major historical trends of the moment in Southern Africa can be summed up as:

1. The heightened struggle and increasing success of the liberation movements, which win new victories every day. Their struggle has been aided by the support of the Socialist countries, and by other anti-imperialist forces, especially the increasing support of progressive Black people in the United States.
 2. The increasing support for the liberation movements by independent African countries, even conservative ones, through the OAU Liberation Committee and by direct aid.
 3. The rising desperation of the Portuguese governments in the face of liberation groups marching towards total victories in the "colonies". This desperation is reflected by the cowardly assassination of Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, on the streets of Conakry by Portuguese agents.
 4. Increased co-operation between colonial and imperialist governments especially Rhodesia, South Africa, Portugal, Israel, and the United States in these areas; first, collective military arrangements; second, the wooing of governments of certain African countries in an attempt to seduce them into "dialogue" with South Africa or otherwise breach the anti-colonial unity of Africa; third, the development of schemes to hand the Portuguese colonies over the phoney "independent" Black governments - in reality puppets for the Portuguese.
 5. The increasing awareness of Black workers in Southern Africa who are mounting demonstrations and strikes to prove that the system of internal oppression under which they suffer can be overthrown.
- The major historical trends at the present time in the United States may be

summed up as follows:

1. The international crisis of capitalism has produced effects - rising market price of gold, falling value of the dollar - that have put the U.S. economy on very shaky ground; unemployment, high food prices, run away shops are a few indications of the instability of the domestic market.
 2. The increasing manifestations of frustrations and anger of people in the U.S. especially Black people-battered back and forth by forces which they do not understand.
 3. The exposure of corruption in government from Nixon and Halderman to Mayors Daly and Addonizio, down to the cop on the corner. People increasingly realize that this corruption is linked to control of government by large corporations and the rich in their own interests.
 4. The increasing attempts by the white ruling class of the USA and their apologists, to blame many social problems on Black People: (high taxes, welfare, unemployment for white workers; inflation)
- We can clearly see that the Imperialist monster has two heads - in the Western Hemisphere and elsewhere in the world. We here have the same duty as all progressive Black people - to fight imperialism in all its manifestations. To do this we must build an anti-racist, anti-imperialist United Front among Black people.

TOWARDS A UNITED FRONT

"If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each others throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes....."
Kwame Nkrumah

Black people throughout the world face a future of struggle to put together a movement with the theoretical and organizational tools and the practical experiences necessary to defeat enemies and build a new world.

Theory

We must learn from the experience of other movements and other struggles experience which teaches that "there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory." We have learned rich lessons from struggles with no theory at all. These lessons teach us two important things about unity and theory:

1. We cannot be dogmatic. Once we have rooted ourselves in certain principles, we must direct our struggle according to the concrete, changing conditions around us.
2. Real unity will come about not by ignoring differences but by airing those differences and struggling to resolve them. It is through the interplay of ideas and the testing of those ideas in practice that a correct position will be hammered out.

Organization

We must struggle to improve our organization work. Building unity means finding ways of utilizing the abilities and skills of everyone who is serious about struggling.

Practice

The real test of our united front work is, of course, in practice. We must engage in principled work both inside and outside of the anti-imperialist front; in addition we must develop our ability to carry the fight against racism and imperialism to different groups of people around different issues, yet maintain our course.

The principle task of our movement at this time has two aspects. We must merge the Black Liberation struggles in the U.S. with the National Liberation struggles in Africa, because a victory anywhere in the fight against U.S. imperialism is a victory everywhere. We must coordinate the Black Liberation struggles in the Western Hemisphere with the overall struggle of People of Color to change the fundamental nature of this society, because we have a responsibility to the world to fight exploitation and oppression in this very stronghold.

The time is ripe to develop a United Black people's struggle against the Black Liberation movement with the process of World Revolution.
The question is: HOW?

OPERATIONAL UNITY

"The whole argument about whether unity is achieved through a step by step process, or through a political decision is in fact a futile one. Ultimately a political decision is necessary, without it unity cannot be achieved. But in the meantime, do we merely wait and hope for a miracle, leaving our development and independence forever in jeopardy, or do we make what progress we can?"
Julius K. Nyerere

The struggle we are engaged in must be a broad one - it must be capable of encompassing a diversity of ideological positions, class formations, and social groups. And it must be operational; it cannot be so broad that it cannot function. But unity cannot be ordered or willed into being, it must be built in the conditions develop. We do not expect Black nationalists, elected Black public officials, Black scientists, Black ministers, and Black union leaders to unite around a common program merely by their attendance at a meeting, no matter how spectacular. In fact, we feel that this is an incorrect approach at the present time. "Great" men and women do not make history - the people make history.

There are some who say that all of "the leaders" should come together so that Black people can come together. We believe that, to the contrary, it is the struggles of everyday Black people - it is their emerging unity that will make the "leaders" come together, and not the other way around. Those who are caught about struggle against racism and imperialism must involve themselves in the struggle of Black people, only such a cause will bring about the unity we all desire so much.

The development of a lasting Black anti-imperialist united front requires a struggle for unity on two levels, internal and external.

Internal

"Dust will accumulate in a room if not cleaned regularly"

Mao Tse Tung

In order for the Black Liberation Struggle to advance there must be a dynamic and direct struggle to unite forces, and develop correct views. This unity in struggle will develop militants with experience, committed to correct views and unified with other individuals and organizations proven in the fight against imperialism. Active criticism and ideological struggle are the weapons and the way of securing that Brothers and Sisters within the ALSC build strong organizational unity. Non-ambiguous contradictions within the committee can only be resolved through active ideological and political struggle based on principle. The basis of such struggle will ensure us a higher unity. Such a unity based on unity-struggle, unity, will cement organizational unity and correct our political direction. If errors are left by themselves, organizational unity, strength and direction will not be achieved.

External

Our unity with other political tendencies in the Black Community must be based on a commitment to eliminate racism and defeat monopoly capitalism in the Western Hemisphere and imperialism throughout the rest of the world. For example, our view is that African people must control Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau and the only way to really do this is by armed revolutionary struggle. Recognizing the present condition, we also support the struggles for democratic rights; for instance the right of Black workers to organize in Durham, N.C., South Africa or Detroit, Michigan. In this way we must begin to involve people of various ideological positions - ministers, elected officials, civil rights groups, etc., around the program of ALSC, not on their terms but on commonly agreed terms - on terms of the front which we can all support. This process will not happen immediately, it will have to be done step by step. Part of its success or failure will be in our ability to scientifically identify different classes and social groupings in the Black Community so that we can deal with them collectively. The success of "unite the many to oppose the few" in any society involves knowing exactly who comprises "the many" and determining what they can be united around.

Program (or Manifesto)

Our anti-racist, anti-imperialist, Black united front must attempt to unite all social groups and class formations within the Black community in a common struggle. Thus our struggle must mobilize the masses but this can only be done when the specific character of this exploitation is clearly understood.

Most Black adults work in production or service jobs. It is this sector of the Black community that has the most to gain by the victory of our struggles and yet they have been the most ignored by the movement. We also consider unemployed workers, most brothers and sisters incarcerated in prisons and welfare recipients or displaced workers. We must give the highest priority to mobilizing Black workers because they have demonstrated the power to do many things, such as stopping illegal chrome shipments from Rhodesia, exposing repressive use of Pollard identification systems and stop production of cars, not only in solidarity with the liberation movement, but also as a part of the fight against their own oppression. Therefore we encourage Black workers to

take the lead. It is in this area that the ALSC - the anti-racist, anti-imperialist Black United Front, must meet the challenge of showing the interrelationship of the oppression of the people of Southern Africa and the exploitation of the Black people in the Western Hemisphere.

The post World War II rise of Blacks in clerical and professional jobs provided the basis for leadership, organizational skills, and ideology during the Civil Rights Era. In turn, this struggle opened up new opportunities in government work, business opportunities, educational institutions, etc. As the crisis of imperialism causes the society to contract and cut back, the Black middle strata will be cut back. This is especially true of those jobs created by the poverty program and similar agencies in the past nine years. In addition to the radicalization of these people, occupants of traditional middle strata "professional" jobs are increasingly feeling the squeeze of monopoly capital. Teachers, social workers, and government workers, to name a few can and must be shown the true nature of the society of the Western Hemisphere. Their struggle will ultimately not be that of saving their professional status, but rather in joining with the masses of people to defeat racism and imperialism decisively and finally.

Short life expectancy and high birth rates result in the Black community being young. Youth is also a time of struggle. We must gather together Black Youth from the plants, from the campuses, the streets, penal institutions, military reservations, and wherever else they are, to create a mass mobilization of these youth in the anti-racist, anti-imperialist struggle.

Summation

In summary we have presented three major points:

1. The new unity of the Black Liberation struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist in character.
2. The struggle to unify Black anti-racist, anti-imperialist forces is our source of strength in building an ideologically advanced movement.
3. Our unity must involve all Black social groups and class formations and we propose that **Black workers take the lead.**

Basic Program for African Liberation Support Committee

1. Raise money for liberation groups in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau through the **United African Appeal.**
2. Conduct educational seminars and programs on racism, feudalism, imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism and its effect on the continent of Africa, especially South Africa and Guinea-Bissau.
3. Develop and distribute literature, films, and other educational materials on racism, feudalism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and its effect on the continent of Africa, especially South Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

4. Participate in and aid Black community and Black workers in the struggles against oppression in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean.....

5. Engage in efforts to influence and transform U.S. policy as regards to it's imperialist role in the world.

6. Engage in mass actions against governments, products, and companies that are involved in or are supportive of racist, illegitimate regimes in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

7. Support and spearhead annual ALD demonstrations in conjunction with the International African Solidarity Day.

THE ALSC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN

Gene Locke, Houston, Texas

Brenda Paris, Montreal, Canada

John Warfield, Austin, Texas

Abdul Alkalimat, Nashville, Tenn.

Nelson Johnson, Greensboro, NC

Kwadwo Akpan, Detroit, Mich.

Owusu Sadaukai, Greensboro, NC

Imamu Baraka, New Ark. NJ

Don Lee, Chicago, Ill.

Several additional persons will be added to the executive committee in the near future.

UNITY

STRUGGLE

UNITY