

BLACK LIBERATION

A PRELIMINARY PERSPECTIVE

POTOMAC SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

OCTOBER, 1979

(DO NOT QUOTE OR CIRCULATE WITHOUT PERMISSION)

**DO NOT CIRCULATE
DRAFT
DO NOT QUOTE**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION 1

 A. Two Theses 2

 B. Party-Building and the United Front. 3

 C. Particular Duties Within the Alliance. 5

 D. Two Tendencies 5

 E. The Question of the Black Nation 7

 F. The Political Meaning of the Marxist-Leninist
 Position on the National Question. 10

 G. Why Should This Question Be Addressed Now?. 13

II. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT . 15

 A. Slavery and Abolition. 15

 B. The Civil War. 21

 C. Reconstruction and the Failure of Southern
 Populism 24

 D. Industrialization and the Growth of Working
 Class Organization and Militancy 30

 E. Black Liberation and the Communist Party 34

 F. Lessons of the 60's and 70's. 45

 G. Summary of History Section 53

III. PRESENT ANALYSIS. 56

 A. Black Liberation and Party-Building. 56

 B. Objective Conditions 59

 C. The United Front and Black Liberation. 76

IV. FOOTNOTES. 90

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY 95

DO NOT CIRCULATE
DRAFT
DO NOT QUOTE

I. INTRODUCTION

This report has two major theses: (1) There is a Black* liberation movement. (2) Historically, major gains of both the Black liberation movement and the workers' movement as a whole have been consolidated when these movements have recognized their common enemy and have achieved strategic alliances -- not necessarily political or organizational unity -- against that enemy.

We develop these two theses throughout the historical analysis presented in this paper. We have divided the history into six sections: (1) slavery and abolition; (2) the Civil War; (3) reconstruction and the failure of southern populism; (4) rapid industrialization in the last decade of the 1800's and the corresponding sharpening of the class struggle; (5) the role of the left -- particularly the Communist Party, USA -- within the growing labor and Black liberation movements during the 20's, 30's, and 40's; (6) the upsurge of the Black liberation movement in the 60's and the strategies of the monopoly capitalists to sidetrack it and prevent it from working with its natural allies within the labor movement.

Building on this framework, we analyze the Black liberation movement during the present period. The context for this analysis is our understanding that the lack of a revolutionary party -- a vanguard communist party which can lead the Black liberation movement and the labor movement in their strategic alliance -- is the principal contradiction facing the working class. Strengths and weaknesses of the various organizations and forms (particularly the united front) of struggles are discussed within this context -- both nationally and locally.

A Note on Our Focus

Throughout this report we limit our discussion to the Black liberation question. This imposes obvious limitations. The historical development of our settler colonial country had racism and genocide at its core. It was Columbus who initiated the cross-Atlantic slave trade, sending hundreds of American Indians to the slave markets of Seville. At the time of Columbus, there were over 1 million Indian people in what is now the United States, with over 600 distinct societies in North America. By the time of the Civil War, barely 300,000 Indian people survived in the U.S., almost all

* Traditionally the word "Black" has been capitalized based on the notion of national oppression. Though, as this paper should make clear, we do not hold that the special oppression of Black people is national oppression, we continue to capitalize the word because this special oppression has produced a Black community: a common, cross-class interest shared by all Black people in the United States.

West of the Mississippi . The genocide and the exploitation continue to this day. We are also acutely aware of the other minorities and nations which exist within the U.S. -- the Puerto Rican people, the Mexican people, and other Latinos, and Asian Americans who have not been "melted" in this so-called melting pot, but rather have been specially exploited (super-exploited) and oppressed by monopoly capital and have been subject of chauvinist institutions and practices which white workers and their organizations have often condoned and/or participated in. We have limited our discussion here to the Black liberation question for two reasons. First, both the experience of individuals in our organization and our limited organizational experience have been almost exclusively with the problem of fighting racism against Black people. Second, in our view, white chauvinism and racism against Black people is the central division in the working class and the primary obstacle to be overcome in building working class unity. We acknowledge that this view comes in part from the pressing need we feel to overcome this contradiction here in the Washington area, which has a large Black population and is heavily segregated. But we suggest that this view is objectively true. That racism in the U.S. has its origins in the exploitation of Black Africa, in the slave system, and the ideology created to justify it, has been adopted to justify other racist/imperialist exploitation.

A. Two Theses

1. There is a Black liberation movement. Slavery was a dying institution in Western Europe, until the "discovery" of the "New World" ushered in three centuries of slave trade. The Black liberation movement of which we write it, in one sense, as old as the first organized resistance to capture on the Western shores of Africa in the 1400's. Confronted with the awesome designs of the rising merchant capitalists of Europe, Black people, from the very beginning organized against their oppression in slavery. Throughout most of this paper we focus on the modern era of the Black liberation movement, which began with the end of slavery and the beginning of the Reconstruction period. But throughout its long history it has taken various forms, sought various allies, embraced various ideologies, and struggled in every basic arena: economic, political, social and cultural. It has waxed and waned, been suppressed, repressed, co-opted, and bribed. Its form, alliances, and ideologies have sometimes been revolutionary, sometimes not. But it is clear that the Black liberation movement -- an organized movement, not simply the collective aspirations of individual Black people -- has never died. Today, as always, it is still leading the Black community in resistance against the special oppression suffered by Black people. And, as always, it still searches for reliable allies.

2. Historically, in its search for reliable allies, the Black liberation movement has, to varying degrees forged alliances with segments of the leading class of the particular period. In much of the 19th century this was the petty bourgeoisie; throughout the era of monopoly capitalism, it has been the working class. Throughout this era, major gains of both the Black liberation movement and the workers' movement as a whole have been consolidated when these movements have recognized their common enemy and have achieved strategic alliances (not necessarily political or organizational unity) against that enemy.

B. Party-building and the United Front

Our analysis starts from the perspective that the principal contradiction facing our class is lack of an organized vanguard to lead it. Therefore, we characterize this period as the party-building period. The primary task of communists in the U.S. in this period is fusion of the communist and workers' movements. Fusion has four aspects: (1) recruiting the advanced to communism; (2) building a communist current in the working class; (3) developing workers' communist (revolutionary theory); (4) proletarianization of cadre. (See: "The Party Building Question, Position of the Socialist Union of Baltimore," June 1977, pp.10-11).

What does this mean in regard to the Black liberation movement? What kind of party are we going to form? How will it be fused with the two main organized sections of the objectively anti-imperialist forces -- the working class movement and the Black liberation movement? How will this fusion accomplish the defeat of dogmatism, which we have pinpointed as the main danger to party-building, and insure that the new party will be multi-racial from top to bottom?

These questions lead directly to an analysis of the working class itself -- its racial and class makeup, its geographical and social characteristics, its sexual makeup, and its degree of organization to resist the attacks on it by monopoly capital. We also analyze its ideological underpinnings and organization. This analysis is done on both national and local levels.

We emphasize the two most organized sectors of the objectively anti-imperialist forces -- the trade unions and the Black liberation movement. These sectors are the most prepared to resist. They are the logical sectors for starting to build communist currents and the new communist party. It is within these two relatively organized sectors where we can best fuse our beginning understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions and struggles of working people.

The Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee has written, "It is part of the ABC's of our political perspective that the core of the united front in the U.S. is the alliance of the multinational working class and the oppressed nationalities."^{1*}

The Guardian has written, "The cornerstone of the united front is the alliance between the multinational working class and the nationally oppressed peoples of the U.S., particularly the Afro-American and Latino peoples."²

How are we to view this theoretical position? Is this alliance -- which is to be the core (or cornerstone) of the united front against imperialism -- to remain an abstraction until the party exists?

No! The building of alliances is itself a question to be addressed and some practical and theoretical work accomplished during the party-building period because the contradiction of racism divides not only the working class as a whole, but also Black and white Marxist-Leninists from each other.

The alliance -- unity in action of two movements with different, but not antagonistic objectives: the working class as a whole in its most organized form (the trade union movement) on the one hand, and oppressed minorities in their most organized form (in this case the Black liberation movement) on the other -- must be built starting now.

The Black liberation position of the PSO must be viewed in conjunction with our Trade Union position (see More Than Patches). We believe that building the outlines of an alliance of trade unions whose members have been somewhat racially integrated at the workplace, and the organizations of the Black community whose members have been systematically excluded from normal capitalist development processes and socially segregated until very recently, is the correct strategy for mass work during this period.

We do not view the alliances we call for in this paper as the strategic united front. The united front will be built by the party of the future. Beginning to build alliances in the present period should be viewed as an important step on the road to building the party and the united front against imperialism.

Our tasks, therefore, are to unite with the advanced from within the trade unions and the Black liberation movement, to build a communist current in these two movements, and to begin the formation of alliances between them under working class leadership.

* Footnotes appear at the end of this report.

C. Particular Duties Within the Alliance

At times within this alliance the contradictions between the two allies may seem antagonistic. This is because imperialism will do everything in its power to play up and exacerbate these contradictions. One of the main tasks of communists is to expose these divisive tactics.

Within the workers' movement, the task of communist cadre is to develop strong programs for equalizing education, employment, and housing conditions for Black workers. Within the Black community struggles, the task of communist cadre is to provide consistent working class leadership, and to show that alliances within the workers' movement must and can be built.

The issue of what concrete organizational form such alliances should take is a tactical one. At this stage, our view is that the tactical decisions about mass work in addition to trade union work must be made taking into consideration particularities of local areas and forces available to carry this work.

D. Two Tendencies

Within the Black liberation movement there have always been two different and sometimes contradictory tendencies: revolutionary and reformist. Since the Spanish-Portuguese began the slave trade in 1442, capturing slaves from Guinea and kidnapping them to Lisbon, the European rulers found it necessary, in addition to the basic strategy of terror, to play off the more developed sector of the Black community against the Black masses by trying to buy off and co-opt a Black administrative stratum to help with the control of the masses through dead-end reformist programs. For example, Juan DeValladolid, a Black man, was made the Spanish judge of all the Negroes and slaves in Spain in 1474. As the plantation system developed in the new Southern colonies, house slaves and Black overseers were given special favors to carry out some of the most repressive work of the slaveowners. Recently, we have seen this strategy become subtler, through the use of foundation grants, poverty war funds, and other special favors thrown to well-trained members of the Black community to become a "native administrative stratum" in exchange for gradual regulated programs of "growth". This strategy has always promoted the alliance of the Black liberation movement with the "liberal" ruling class -- the Boss-Black alliance as it used to be called in the South.

By combining mass terror and selected assassinations with the strategy of reinforcing the petit bourgeois illusions of the rising Black administrative stratum, U.S. imperialism has

thus far been successful in the past two decades in preventing mass reform movements from making the qualitative change to revolutionary movements.

The capitalist ideas and programs these "administrators" espouse, and the increasing attention paid to Black-owned businesses and Black political figures like Andrew Young, perpetuate the myth that economic and political power is obtainable for the masses of Black people within the capitalist system, and that there is a growing Black bourgeoisie. In fact, there is no Black bourgeoisie, despite the ease with which many people (even on the left) and the bourgeois media have come to use the term. Certainly, there are some Black capitalists, and a number of successful businesses to which one can point, and some "growth" as well. But there is no larger Black enterprise than Motown Industries, a company in the peripheral entertainment sector. And the total 1978 revenues of the top 100 Black-owned businesses were dwarfed by the revenues of a single corporation like AT&T, whose income was over 47 times greater than the one billion mark reached by the top 100. Rather than manufacturing Fords or Chevrolets, 39 of these businesses were dealers for the sale of automobiles.

Well over 90% of all black people in the U.S. are in the working class, with the rest essentially being part of the petit bourgeoisie. It has been the mass struggle by Black working people that has allowed some growth in Black business and the personal advancement of figures like Andrew Young who serve, but are not part of the bourgeoisie.

From a Marxist dialectical perspective, we can say that there are revolutionary (working class) Black leaders and tendencies within the Black liberation movement which are always there -- since that is the class basis of the movement. These Black working class leaders have no illusions about the nature of this society and its institutions.

On the other hand, the reformist tendencies within the Black liberation movement have been susceptible to strategies for cooptation and its spokespersons have, at least implicitly, condoned suppression of the revolutionary tendencies of the movement. Sometimes they have overshadowed the revolutionary tendencies (especially in the minds of white workers who are socially segregated from the Black community) with the help of the heavy publicity which the "corporate media" has given to reformist personalities and ideas.

These two tendencies are always there. The ruling class has always tried to promote the reformist tendency, while the interest of the masses of Black people has always been to promote the revolutionary tendency.

E. The Question of the Black Nation

There has been much demographic, some economic, and little political and historical research done by some of the new organizations and parties who have come to Marxism-Leninism over the past few years about whether there is a Black nation in the South. Much of the research has been quantitative to try to determine if certain criteria for a nation (as formulated by Stalin) are met by the Black community.

There has been relatively little investigation and summing up of the quality of the Black liberation struggles and most of this, recently, has been confined to the Black intellectual community. (see bibliography) We have only begun to grasp the qualitative (here we refer to the change in consciousness and organization forms) meanings of the civil rights and Black power movements of the 50's and 60's -- and their relationship to the labor movement.

James Foreman, Stokely Carmichael, Charles Hamilton, Cleveland Sellers, Immanu Baraka, James Boggs, Malcolm X, Bobby Seale, George Jackson, Huey Newton, Robert Allen, Martin Luther King, Jr., Amari Abubakari Obadele, and Muhamed Ahmed (Max Stanford), and other individuals, and organizations have all drawn slightly different lessons from the experiences of SNCC and the Black Panthers, and the Black Power movement in general. But these important analyses and the theoretical summations have not been seriously analyzed by the great majority of white people in the left over the past few years (and limited to the formal interchange of books, polemics, and large conferences even in the past two years). There has been little give-and-take debate between the Black leaders of the struggles of the 50's and 60's and the predominantly white Marxist-Leninist organizations which have developed in the early 70's.

The PSO holds that clarification of the question which is usually referred to as the "Black National question" is central to the revolutionary and party-building processes in the United States. We hold that the new communist forces which have evolved since the 60's, and which have engaged in some struggle over this question, have barely touched the surface of understanding it.

For us the most important questions are:

- How can Black liberation -- the end of the special forms of oppression suffered by Black people -- be achieved in the revolutionary struggle?
- How can we help organize the struggle against the central division in the working class -- racism -- so classwide struggle and consciousness can advance?

- What is the correct strategic formulation and mass line of our conclusion of the centrality of racism?
- How can we work creatively to set up situations where white workers can see their objective interests in struggling against racism more clearly?

We agree with the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC) that dogmatism on the question must be combatted. But PWOC's own combat has been incomplete. In "Black Liberation Today - Against Dogmatism on the National Question," PWOC successfully presents important economic and demographic data, showing that there is no Black nation in the South. But PWOC begins with the criteria for a nation put forth by Josef Stalin in "Marxism and the National Question". We contend that it is dogmatic to begin with that framework and to attempt to fit the experience and conditions of Black people in the U.S. to it.

In formulating his criteria, Stalin was addressing the European experience, with the evolution of the feudal economy into a capitalist one, and the emergence of nations in that context. The United States was never a feudal economy that evolved into a capitalist one. It grew from a settler colony based on the systematic genocide of the native peoples and the importation of chattel slavery. Moreover, slavery was synonymous with color; a Black person was a slave, a white person was a free worker.

Not only do we maintain there is no Black nation today, but we note (almost in passing) our tentatively-held view that there never was a Black nation. The dogmatists (we of course do not refer to the previously mentioned anti-dogmatist forces like PWOC) who currently dominate the Marxist-Leninist movement, like nothing better than to debate these very points, ad infinitum, as a matter of ecclesiastic doctrine, without ever taking the trouble to develop a scientific understanding of the historical and present conditions of Black people. Dogmatism on the national question, not surprisingly, goes hand-in-hand with dogmatism on international line, party building and a host of other matters. All are based on ahistorical, rigid attempts to force an unwilling reality to fit into preconceived formulas. We cannot accept the notion that such debates are of central importance. For us, the first questions are not: "Is there a nation?" or "Was there a nation?" but, "What is the economic, political, cultural and psychological nature of racism, and what are the special demands of all Black people that communists (and our organizations) need to fight for?"

What has been correct within the Black nation thesis, has been the understanding that there is a special oppression of Black people. There are multi-class interests that unite Black people into what we call the "Black community," which was forged

by the objective economic development of the capitalist/imperialist system of social production, in which Black people were singled out for special exploitation and oppression which were essential to the development of that system. Thus, we realize how important the COMINTERN resolutions of 1928 and 1930 on the "Negro Question" were in recognizing this special oppression and in waking up the CPUSA to its role in leading the Black struggle and the fight within the working class against racism and for unity (struggling with white workers to take up the fight against racial oppression and the super-exploitation of Black people).

Still, we believe the CPUSA was incorrect to put the question in "nation" terms. We hold there is a deeper political essence to the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question. We argue that today all the forces within the Marxist-Leninist movement must deepen the struggle against dogmatism on this central question.

For example, PWOC says, "Forty acres and a mule, even given the most modern expression, has little to do with the real needs of the Black masses, and for that matter little to do with the 'agrarian question' which in the U.S. will be solved by collectivization of large-scale capitalist farms and not by division of the land among a non-existent peasantry."³

The "land question" is not equal to "forty acres and a mule". Of course, the answer to the "agrarian question" in the U.S. will be collectivization. We need to understand the special significance for millions of Black people of having been systematically pushed off the land they once owned in the South, and of their having been denied access to the kind of land ownership (through credit discrimination) which has given some white workers the ability to accumulate some savings and security through home ownership.

As another example, we suggest that PWOC's earlier preoccupation with the "national question" somewhat sidetracked them from developing theoretical and strategic clarity on the revolutionary implications today of the Black people's struggle against special oppression. This may be the root of the incorrect position against super-seniority, which they no longer hold.

This paper is only the beginning in what the PSO hopes will be a continuing series of analyses of the national question and the nature of racism, which will be at the heart of the process of developing sufficient national political unity to form a revolutionary communist party.

F. The Political Meaning of the Marxist-Leninist Position
on the National Question

Because of the predominantly quantitative (economic, demographic and statistical) approach to the national question which has characterized much of the polemics of the young Marxist-Leninist forces, the qualitative (political and historical) richness of the communist position on the nationally oppressed peoples has sometimes been lost. We cite, therefore, two statements by Lenin which seem to make clear the political meanings of the right of nations to self-determination:

I. "The national question (Lenin wrote in 1921) as a part, has been merged with the general question of the emancipation of the colonies as a whole. In the era of the Second International it was usual to confine the national question to a narrow circle of questions relating exclusively to the 'civilized nations'. The Irish, the Czechs, the Poles, the Finns, the Serbs, the Armenians, the Jews, and a few other European nationalities -- such was the circle of non-sovereign peoples whose fates interested the Second International. The tens and hundreds of millions of the Asiatic and African peoples suffering from national oppression in its crudest and most brutal form did not as a rule enter the field of vision of the 'Socialists'. They did not venture to place white peoples and coloured peoples, the 'uncultured' Negroes and the 'civilized' Irish, the 'backward' Indians and the 'enlightened' Poles on one and the same footing. It was tacitly assumed that although it might be necessary to strive for the emancipation of the European non-sovereign nationalities, it was entirely unbecoming for 'respectable Socialists' to speak seriously of the emancipation of the colonies, which were 'necessary' for the 'preservation' of 'civilization.' . . . It was the Communists who first revealed the connection between the national question and the question of the colonies, who proved it theoretically and made it the basis of their practical revolutionary work. (Our emphasis) This broke down the wall between the white peoples and the coloured peoples, between the 'civilized' and the 'uncivilized' slaves of imperialism. This considerably facilitated the coordination of the struggle of the backward colonies with the struggle of the advanced proletariat against the common enemy, imperialism."⁴

II. "In my writings on the national question I (Lenin wrote in December 1922) have already said that an abstract presentation of the question of

nationalism in general is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a big nation and that of a small nation.

In respect of the second kind of nationalism we, nationals of a big nation, have nearly always been guilty, in historic practice, of an infinite number of cases of violence; furthermore, we commit violence and insult an infinite number of times without noticing it. . . .

That is why internationalism on the part of oppressors of 'great' nations, as they are called, (though they are great only in their violence, only great as bullies), must consist not only in observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question; he is still essentially petit bourgeois in his point of view and is, therefore, sure of descent to the bourgeois point of view.

What is important for the proletarian? For the proletarian it is not only important, it is absolutely essential, that he should be assured that the non-Russians place the greatest possible trust in the proletarian class struggle. What is needed to insure this? Not merely formal equality. In one way or another, by one's attitude or by concessions, it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, for the suspicion and the insults to which the government of the 'dominant' nation subjected them in the past.

. . .for nothing holds up the development and strengthening of the proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice; 'offended' nationals are not sensitive to anything so much as to the feeling of equality and the violation of this equality, if only through negligence or jest -- to the violation of that equality by their proletarian comrades. That is why in this case it is better to overdo rather than underdo the concessions and leniency toward the national minorities. That is why, in this case, the fundamental interests of proletarian solidarity, and consequently of the proletarian class struggle, requires that we never adopt a formal attitude to the national question, but always take into account the specific attitude of the proletarian of the oppressed (or small) nation toward the oppressor (or great) nation."⁵

We have quoted at length from Lenin to make two points. First, we hold that the study of the Black people's struggles against racism and capitalism in this country cannot be undertaken in isolation from the study of African liberation struggles against racism and imperialism. The national and colonial questions are one. The raging armed struggles in southern Africa today will increasingly become the sharpest point of contradiction for imperialism's "neocolonialist" policies abroad and at home.

Secondly, the question of the development of trust and confidence of the oppressed people in the working class organizations and leadership is at the heart of the more formal position of the "right of nations to self-determination". Lenin wrote over and over about the difference between coercion and voluntary association. It was the communists' defense of the right of secession that strengthened the proletarian internationalism between oppressed and oppressor nations.

In our era a theoretical grasp of the Black liberation question, correct analysis of objective conditions, and unswerving commitment to the struggle against racism are indispensable, but still not enough.

As Lenin says, the "feeling of equality" is the heart of the matter. This "feeling" can only be developed through years of respect, years of investigation, years of listening. Most important, the feeling of equality will come through years of fighting side-by-side against the common enemy -- imperialism.

This does not mean that white communists cannot or should not criticize and make suggestions to Black revolutionaries in this period. On the contrary, this must be done. It does not mean that white communists cannot and should not present ideas and strategies for Black liberation. The PSO is attempting to do that here, and will continue to do so, since it is in the interests of all the working class to develop the correct strategies and tactics on this question.

What is does mean is that the perception that white people in general are the enemy and the feelings of resentment and distrust Black people have which stem from this perception are legitimate and worthy of the deepest respect. These perceptions and feelings will not be overcome in a year or two of common practice. Nor by publishing a position paper saying there is a nation in the Black Belt, or a nation of a "new type." Nor will these perceptions and feelings be overcome simply by forming alliances, even if the terms of the alliances are spelled out clearly. But, we argue, alliances in action are the first step.

We do not believe that Black people constitute a nation in North America. This does not mean, however, that we do not

uphold special demands of Black people. We believe that the Leninist position on the question of minority oppression is:

In the age of imperialism the strategic rallying cry of the communist movement is no longer "Workers of the world unite." It must be "Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite."

That unity can only be built by the communist movement and the working class as a whole raising the special demands of oppressed peoples as our own. Those demands have an objective importance to the class: to compensate for the systematic exclusion of Black people from the capitalist development process and to thereby overcome the deepest division in our class. By most of its practice in the 1930's and 40's, the CPUSA showed that that was the essential understanding they took from the COMINTERN resolutions.

The history of oppression and repression of colored people on this earth by white people runs so deep, for so long, that it will be a long time before the "collective unconscious" is changed. The way to begin to change it is to change the objective (material) conditions on which resentment and distrust are based. Common practice and respect for the integrity of the Black liberation movement within this common practice are the two essentials in this process.

G. Why Should This Question Be Addressed Now?

Black liberation and the liberation of all oppressed peoples is on today's agenda. Within the borders of our own country and within the boundaries of our own generation, the Black and Vietnamese liberation movements have led many of us to Marxism-Leninism and a class analysis of our society and the world. Although the Black liberation movement has been victimized by the murderous machinations of imperialism in the past fifteen years, it is finding its bearings again. A temporary dogmatic swing to the "left" (right) on the part of some Black militants who were finding their way into the science of Marxism-Leninism has momentarily left the Black liberation movement almost totally in the hands of reformist leadership -- the same leadership which has gone along with CIA neo-colonialism in the world and who have seen as their main allies the "liberal" wing of the imperialist class.

Today, the only forces who are effectively building any alliances between the Black liberation movement and the labor movement are social democrats, such as Joseph Rauh, Bayard Rustin, and other staunch anti-communists and Democratic Party faithfuls. The

other alliances already proven to be very shaky -- which Black leaders are still talking about are between Black people and "people of good will," or the (unscientific terms) "poor white people," or "poor white communities."

Our analysis is that the Black liberation movement has many of the same problems facing the labor movement. These problems stem from the twists and turns which the Black community has had to make to deal with the imperialists' shifts in tactics from outright repression to cooptation and buying off the upper strata of its leadership -- similar to the experience of the labor movement.

The Marxist-Leninist trend has exposed the dogmatic errors of "jamming the unions" and treating all "union bureaucrats" as the main enemy. Our work within one organized sector of the workers' movement is more fruitful and effective than starting from scratch in unorganized settings. Each situation and organization must be analyzed carefully. The building of a communist current, and generally, the formation of a united front between left and center forces within the unions is our trade union strategy.

Similarly, we argue against the dogmatic error of many "leftists" to "jam" the large Black liberation organizations. Our immediate heritage is SNCC and the Black Panthers -- organizations which chose to remain independent of the larger and older civil rights organizations, and thereby raised the stakes because of their independent, militant leadership.

But, at the same time, these organizations always tried to analyze the religious and fraternal organizations within the Black community, treated them with respect, and tried, successfully at times, to form united fronts with them.

The time has come for a re-evaluation of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the largest organizations within the Black community -- the churches, fraternal organizations, neighborhood organizations growing out of the poverty war and decentralized city governments, and the older civil rights organizations, such as the Urban League and the NAACP.

Of course the leadership of most of these organizations is bureaucratic and conservative -- as it is in the unions. Of course the leadership has been sewn to the imperialists with a thousand golden threads -- just as in the unions.

But we say that rank-and-file unionists are able to and will change or get rid of their conservative leadership. Surely we believe the same about the rank-and-file within the Black community.

III. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.

The very title of this section is somewhat presumptuous on our part. The history about which we write is so rich and complex that an adequate historical analysis is well beyond the bound of this report. The task is all the more difficult when we seek to analyze the more recent period of the 1960's and 1970's. Still, we hope this section makes a contribution, by stressing the development of ideologies and the alliances that have been forged and can be forged in the future.

A. Slavery and Abolition

Slavery was, first and foremost, a system to guarantee a cheap and permanent labor supply for the rapid accumulation of capital out of the near-virgin resources of the "New" World. Some of the early settlers who retained a feudalistic outlook attempted to enslave Native Americans. But this failed because the Indians refused to adjust to labor in captivity, and easily escaped into the familiar terrain. Free white labor was scarce and unpredictable where land on which a white man could establish himself independently was available practically for the taking. White indentured servitude was an important early source of labor in some colonies, but its limited term of bondage meant it could not be relied upon to meet the growing demand for laborers on the Southern plantation system.

The profitable slave trade, which came by the end of the 17th century to be dominated by the British, provided the answer. It took nearly the whole of the 18th century to establish the legal and cultural bonds of slavery in the Americas -- a reversion to chattel slavery from the primitive capitalism which the European settlers had brought with them. Through a series of laws which erased the "human" characteristics of Black people (the right to families, to land, to property, to any sort of due process) and a classical series of ideological maneuvers which established moral and biological white supremacy, the "peculiar institution" was rationalized and accepted, although sometimes grudgingly, by most of the economic and political leaders of the new society.

The complex legal and social justifications and cover-ups which slavery necessitated had to be reinforced daily in the lives of all people -- Blacks, white working people, and the big land-owners themselves -- in order to justify the daily reign of violence which the slavemasters perpetrated on Black people.⁶

By 1750 there were at least 236,000 slaves in the American colonies, predominantly in Virginia and Maryland. The proportion of Black people to the total population reached its

peak -- 21 percent -- during this period. Settlements of Europeans moved slowly westward from the coast, but slavery never gained a foothold in the mountains, because the terrain was not suitable for the big cash crops of cotton and tobacco of the large plantation (slave) owners. Instead, the plantation owners increased their demands for slaves as they spread their land claims down the coast into the Carolinas and Georgia. During the most than three centuries of cross-Atlantic slave trade, an estimated 20 million Africans were taken into bondage, with perhaps a third surviving the various stages of their passage. Between 1700 and 1800, an average of 20,000 slaves per year were introduced into this country to meet the growing demand for human capital.

New England shippers accumulated capital from this trade of human beings, and were thus able to capitalize new industry in the North, creating jobs for the free white working people there.

In addition, a large and profitable internal trade of slaves developed between the "old" and the "new" South. In the older settled areas, particularly around the new nation's capital, Washington, DC, the Black population grew through natural increase so that it exceeded the local needs after 1800. Maryland and Virginia were the leading slave states when the capital was built on the banks of the Potomac. Although Maryland dropped from second to tenths by 1800, Virginia remained the leading slave state until Emancipation. Virginian owners in declining farm areas found it profitable to specialize in breeding and raising Black human beings for sale and shipment to the expanding plantations on the virgin soil to the south and west. Slaves were thought of as capital investment, earning between 5 and 15% per year. Indeed, some economists have estimated the slavery accounted for anywhere between \$448 and \$900 billion in accumulated surplus value (capital) for the Southern aristocracy -- the source of many of the fortunes which still control U.S. monopoly capital.

Before 1830 slaves were traded mainly from Virginia and Maryland to Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. Later the Carolinas, Georgia and Kentucky began to sell Black people to Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. By 1812, the internal slave trade had one of its major centers on the banks of the Potomac in Washington and Alexandria. Slaves were sold and transported in chains, and walked the long trading routes down the Appalachian Mountain valleys and the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys.

Early Black Liberation Movement

Africans fought back against the slave traders from the beginning, with increasingly sophisticated guerrilla tactics. This

caused Portugal, and then England, to establish military bases on the Western coast of Africa to put down the slave rebellions at the ports. These bases became the military springboards from which colonialization of Western Africa was engineered. There are reports of many rebellions on the terrible passage. Sometimes the Africans successfully commandeered the ship and sailed home.

On the plantations the day-to-day resistance movement destroyed tools, crops, buildings and houses. In some states, there were so many fires that insurance companies refused to insure homes. Slaves used every work-stoppage procedure thought of by modern trade unionists -- and then some. They pretended to be lame, sick, blind, and insane to interrupt the work of the plantation.

Running away was the most effective form of resistance. Aptheker estimates that at least 50 colonies of escaped slaves were formed in the forested mountains or swampy areas of the Carolinas, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama between 1672 and 1864. These base areas were used to Black guerrillas to aid their sisters and brothers in escaping and to develop military plans for revolts.

At least 250 revolts (a "revolt" is defined by Aptheker as involving at least 10 people) and conspiracies occurred during these 192 years. Given the isolation of the plantations from each other, the brutal system of repression and the owners' system of favoritism to encourage informants, this shows great courage. Each insurrection brought increased brutality and death to slaves on plantations far from the scene of the revolt, as the scared owners unleashed their wrath.

The most famous American slave revolt broke out on August 21, 1831, in Southampton County in southeast Virginia, about 150 miles from Washington. About 60 whites were killed. In the suppression that followed, at least 100 Blacks were murdered. Their leader, Nat Turner, was captured and executed on November 11, 1831. For months afterward Black people suffered indiscriminate beatings, house burnings and shootings. In Washington, D.C. repressive "Black Codes" were passed by Congress which, among other things, outlawed more than two Black people meeting together. Yet the rebellions continued up to and through the Civil War.⁷

Northern Organized Resistance

The most important form of organization which Black people developed in slave society was the Christian Church. The first Black churches belonged to the Baptist denomination. There is some dispute about the first Black Baptist church.

The Harrison Street Baptist Church of Petersburg, Virginia, a Baptist church in Williamsburg, Virginia, and the Silver Bluff Church in Aiken County, South Carolina were all founded in the mid-1770's.

Because of local autonomy, democratic structure, and most important, its legality, this religious form of organization was accepted readily in the South. It was condoned by the slaveowners to meet minimal social and spiritual needs.

In the North, however the Methodist church began making many converts among free Black people, with its introduction into the new U.S.A. By 1786 there were nearly 2,000 Black Methodists. In 1787 after having been segregated in the gallery of the St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones led the Black members out of the church and organized the "Free African Society." The society was more political than religious, but in time it transformed itself into an "African Church" and affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church. After many more "walk-outs" in other mid-Atlantic cities including Baltimore, Attleborough, Wilmington, and Salem, New Jersey, a group of sixteen delegates gathered in Philadelphia in 1816 and founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

In 1800 the beginnings of what was to become the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church developed, which was formally organized in 1821 in New York City. Its first conference had 19 preachers, representing six churches and 1,426 members. AME Zion was more democratic in its political structure, with many lay people represented on its governing body and with no bar to the ordination of women as ministers.

These two all-Black religious organizations provided important missing elements for the Black liberation movement: (1) centralized leadership structure (although the elitist form of the Black male preacher and his flock still somewhat hinders the development of initiative within the Black liberation movement); (2) strong and self-assured leadership; (3) buildings; (4) financial structure; (5) regular meetings; (6) spiritual solidarity; and (7) a sense of mission.

Negro Convention Movement

In December 1816, delegates from several states met in Washington, D.C. to form the American Colonization Society, which sought to set up colonies of freed Blacks in Africa, or any other place Congress might deem expedient. This society was an alliance of some white abolitionists with slaveowners who wanted to rid the country of freed Blacks, who, they feared, would incite the

slaves to revolt. Most of the abolitionists, for their part, argued that slavery would never be ended unless the slave-owners were assured that the freed Blacks would leave the U.S. The Society gathered broad support, though not from one important sector of the population -- freed Blacks. One month after the organization of the Society-- approximately three thousand Blacks crowded into a Philadelphia church to state their opposition to the colonization scheme.

Thus began the Negro Convention Movement, operating on state levels, and beginning in 1830, on the national level. On September 30 of that year, the Convention attacked the growing repression legislation against freed Blacks in the North. The Conventions regularly condemned the Colonization Society, attacked segregation, stressed the importance of organization, education, temperance and economy and set aside July 4th as a day of "humiliation, fasting and prayer" when Blacks would ask for divine intervention to break "the shackles of slavery."⁸

It was known that the colonization schemes stigmatized free Blacks, countenanced the continuation of slavery and objectively encouraged it by seeking to remove free Blacks. "This is our home," they repeatedly asserted, "and this is our country. Beneath its sod lie the bones of our fathers; for it some of them fought, bled and died. Here we were born, and here we will die."⁹

The Convention Movement was significant -- especially in the 1830's and 1840's -- because it supplied an independent base for free Northern Blacks to raise and debate issues and develop programs. This became essential to the integrity of the Black liberation movement's alliance with the developing, predominantly white, abolition movement.

Abolition Movement

As early as 1775, the Quakers in Pennsylvania helped organize the first Abolition Society. During the War of Independence it suspended work. But in 1787 the society was formally re-organized as the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Conditions of the African Race." Benjamin Franklin was elected its president, and its constitution served as a model for similar societies. By 1792 there were twelve Abolition Societies in every state from Massachusetts to Virginia. Brawley reports:

"While the societies were originally formed to attend to local matters, their efforts naturally extended in course of time to national affairs, and on December 8, 1791, nine of them prepared petitions to Congress, and when Congress sat on

them, the nine societies sent delegates to Philadelphia in 1794 and organized the American Convention of Abolition Societies."¹⁰

Contradictions Within Abolition Movement

The split between Frederick Douglass, the dominant Black leader of both the Abolition and Black liberation movements at the time, and William Lloyd Garrison, the dominant white abolitionist, in the 1850's over the question of the use of armed force to free the slaves and the necessity to struggle on the political level is illustrative of the deeper differences which existed between the Black and white wings of the general abolition movement. The white abolitionists were not immune to racism. They had a limited goal for their movement -- the abolition of slavery, which they believed could be achieved mainly through moral appeals. The Black abolitionists, on the other hand, saw abolition of slavery as only the first and most important step on the long road to Black liberation. The Convention Movement assured some measure of independence for this longer-range strategy within the Abolition movement, and a forum to work out this independent strategy. Robert Allen comments on this contradiction:

"Abolitionists urged that Black people, as human beings, should be free, but they were confused and often reactionary on the matter of racial equality.

This ideological confusion was manifested in other ways. Although white abolitionists reflected the individualist and moral-religious ideas of developing industrial capitalism, they exhibited virtually no understanding of economics. Unlike some Black abolitionists, they did not call for Black economic integration into the new industrial society. A counterpart of this peculiar failure was also to be found among anti-slavery white workers, who opposed slavery but also opposed movement of Black workers into the free territories.

. . . The ideology of racism, although grounded in social organization, was taking on a life of its own, actually shaping white behavior, not merely reflecting it."¹¹

Propaganda and Agitation

The Black liberation movement developed two other important forms during the first quarter of the 19th century -- pamphlets

and newspapers. David Walker's famous Appeal, first published in 1829, was a bold call for insurrection. The little pamphlet was smuggled throughout the South, went through three printings, and caused much consternation and trembling on the part of plantation owners. They passed laws forbidding the circulation of "seditious publications" and forbade any free Negroes from entering the State of Louisiana after 1825.

The power of the occasional pamphlets was matched by the beginnings of the Negro newspapers -- weekly organizers of the Black liberation movement which were of increasing importance as the rising capitalist class gained control over the urban press. Freedom's Journal, the first Negro newspaper in the U.S., was started in 1827. The North Star was started by Frederick Douglass in 1847, and three years later its name was changed to Frederick Douglass's Paper. It was circulated throughout the North for many years. Other papers were the Mystery, started in Pittsburgh in 1843, the Colored Man's Journal, New York in 1851, the Mirror of the Times, San Francisco, 1835, and the Anglo-African, New York, 1859.

Summary

The Black liberation movement began with both direct and indirect resistance to the super-exploitation and oppression of the Black laborer -- through armed rebellion, slow-down and strikes, and escape. The Christian church was one of its main indigenous organizations in the South. It developed a Northern base of organized support, both among the free Black workers in the cities who organized themselves in religious-political forms, newspapers and pamphlets, and among white working people led by the Quakers in Abolition societies.

During this period there were both reformists and revolutionaries within the liberation movement. The contradictions between white and Black abolitionists, and between freed Black people in the North and their enslaved sisters and brothers in the South sometimes strained the unity of the movement.

Still, it is correct to say that the Black liberation movement was able to focus on the principal political-economic contradiction of the time -- chattel slavery. They successfully united the many to end it.

B. The Civil War

"In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America (started by the death of

John Brown), and on the other the movement of the serfs in Russia."

Letter from Marx to Engels,
January 11, 1860

When the Civil War began, four slave states voted to remain in the Union. In addition to a policy of mollifying these border states -- Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware and Missouri (and then West Virginia which split off from Virginia) -- Lincoln wanted to do nothing to offend the Republican majority in the North who were not particularly sympathetic to abolition, but who would fight to preserve the Union.

When Black people rushed to enlist in the Union army, at first they were rejected. But as the war progressed, Lincoln came under increasing pressure from the left forces in his broad coalition, including Karl Marx, a columnist for the New York Herald Tribune, and Frederick Douglass and his abolitionist forces, to take a stronger position on emancipation. At first, Lincoln said that individual commanders could set their own policy about slaves who escaped to the Union side. Some of the commanders put the Black refugees to work, and others returned them to their masters.

On August 6, 1861, Congress passed the Confiscation Act which provided that any property used with the owners consent and knowledge in aiding or abetting insurrection against the United States was the lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found. When the property consisted of slaves, they were to be forever free.

There remained, however, the question of the care and employment of the thousands of Blacks who poured over the Union lines as the armies pushed South. Large shanty-towns sprang up near the army encampments and many Black people died from hunger and exposure. Some were hired out to Southern land owners who remained loyal to the Union, and the ex-slaves were paid ten dollars a month. A few were given small plots of confiscated land on which they raised cotton for Union Army use. But most of this land was sold to Northern capitalists who had little interest in the plight of the people who remained on it.

Private agencies soon began to take up the tasks the government refused to do. In February 1862, the National Freedman's Relief Association was organized in New York. Similar groups formed in Cincinnati, Philadelphia and Chicago, and in 1865 they were combined into the American Freedman's Aid Commission. The most important contribution of these and other agencies, mainly religious, was in education. Eventually an education system -- both day schools for children and evening classes for adults -- was established in most areas occupied by Union

troops. In the last year of the war at least 1,000 Northern men and women were teaching and caring for ex-slaves. They brought with them slates, pencils, spelling books, readers, blackboards and chalk. Although they met strong opposition from the majority of the Southern whites, there were some native whites who became teachers too.

In late 1862 as a result of pressure from officers in the field, Lincoln gave in on the key question of arming Blacks. By the end of the war more than 186,000 Black men had served in the Union army: 93,000 from the seceded states, 40,000 from the border states, 53,000 from the free states. They were organized into separate regiments of the "United States Colored Troops," which were led by white officers. At first it was difficult to secure white officers to command Blacks, as many regular army men were opposed to Black soldiers. But as enlisted whites realized that they could rise in rank by volunteering for such service it became more popular. The Enlistment Act of 1862 provided that whites with the rank of private should receive \$13 a month and \$3.50 clothing allowance, but Blacks of the same rank were to receive only \$7 and \$3. Black soldiers and their white officers protested. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment served a year without pay rather than accept discriminatory wages, and went into battle in Florida in 1864 singing "Three cheers for Massachusetts and seven dollars a month." In the Third South Carolina Regiment, Sgt. William Walker was court martialed and shot for "leading the company to stack arms before the captain's tent, on the avowed ground that they were released from duty by the refusal of the government to fulfill its share of the contract." After many protests the War Department began in 1864 to pay Blacks as much as whites.¹²

Estimates range between 38,000 and 68,000 for the number of Black soldiers who lost their lives in the war. This represents an estimated mortality rate between 40 and 100% greater than that among white troops. Not the least among the reasons for this was the fact that until 1864 the Confederacy refused to treat captured Black troops as prisoners of war, but rather treated them as captured runaways. They were often shot on the spot, or sold into slavery.¹³

The End of Slavery

While abolitionists insisted that slave holders should not be paid to surrender property they did not rightfully possess, the Lincoln Administration pursued a policy of compensated emancipation, along with various plans for the emigration of freed slaves to Africa, the Caribbean, or Latin America.

In April 1862, Congress passed a resolution announcing that the United States would cooperate with any state adopting a plan of gradual emancipation together with satisfactory compensation of the owners.

At the same time Congress passed a law providing for the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia, with compensation to the owners of \$300 for each slave. The law also appropriated \$100,000 to support the voluntary emigration of freedmen to Haiti and Liberia. At Lincoln's suggestion, the State Department made inquiries of South American governments and African governments concerning the possibility of colonizing American Blacks. Only two replies were entirely satisfactory to Lincoln: they suggested that Negro colonies be established in Panama and on the Ile a Vache in the Caribbean.

Lincoln issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, stating that the slaves were to be emancipated the following January 1. Lincoln insisted to the last that freeing the slaves was a military necessity. Conservatives screamed that the President was wasting the blood of millions of whites in a war of abolition; "radicals" felt it did not go far enough and lamented the additional four months granted the slaveholders to cash in on government compensation. On December 31, 1862, watch meetings were held in many parts of the country at which prayers of thanksgiving were offered for the deliverance of the Negro. At Tremont Temple in Boston, Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Charles B. Ray, and other fighters for abolition heard on January 1 the words that emancipated more than three-fourths of the slaves. Lincoln set free all slaves except those in states or parts of states not in rebellion against the United States at the time.

The exceptions, in addition to the four loyal slave states, were thirteen parishes of Louisiana, including the city of New Orleans, the forty-eight counties of Virginia which had become West Virginia, and seven counties of eastern Virginia. Slaves in the excepted areas were freed by the Thirteenth Amendment, passed in late 1865.

C. Reconstruction and the Failure of Southern Populism

Under what has historically been called "radical reconstruction" Black people won the right to vote, to participate in the political process, and some other civil rights, such as riding on public transportation. Economically and socially they won little beyond the right to a public school education. Gains

in education were universally highly valued by Black people, but they could not offset the failures in the other areas. The measures adopted during reconstruction were "radical" in the sense that in the eyes of the law as written, Blacks and whites had the same rights of citizenship.

Though most of the freedmen remained sharecroppers or tenant farmers, working the same land they had worked as slaves, and dependent on the same landowners, only a handful could begin to purchase plots of land. The famous proposal to allot "forty acres and a mule" to each Black family of course never emerged from Congress, because such a massive land redistribution program was unthinkable to all branches of the bourgeoisie -- Northern and Southern, and because the Black liberation movement was not organized well enough to take up the fight for it.

Yet, as meager as the political changes which took place were in this period, they were dearly prized by Black people throughout the country.

In the South

After the Civil War, the new Republican Party in the South set up statewide conventions, ratified state constitutions, developed rules for courts, juries, education and other political rights, but failed to deal with the basic economic inequalities -- particularly land redistribution. These state Republican parties were locally structured. They were led by a shaky coalition of honest white Southerners who never supported the war, the few literate Black slaves, and all the former "Freed Negroes" who owned some land or small businesses or were free workers in the cities, Northern immigrants, and the tiny Federal militias stationed in each state.¹⁴

Approximately 30% of the white males voted against secession in the referendum organized and controlled by the Southern slaveowners in 1860. West Virginia had become a state and joined the North, and the Appalachian Region of Georgia, East Tennessee, East Kentucky and Western Virginia had remained loyal to the Union. In addition, there were the beginnings of Marxist groups and labor unions who had given direct and indirect assistance to the cause of the Union.

A "cadre" organization, the Union League, which had been organized during the war to provide militant support to Lincoln's war policies and had been the leader of the recruitment and the organization of Black soldiers, was also organized in the South during reconstruction. It had secret initiation rites and secret meetings, and it gave some political

guidance and organizational backbone to the Republican Party and the reconstruction programs. Unfortunately, the Union League had a very poor economic and political analysis, having been developed for the sole purpose of winning the war, and with no long-range strategy.

In the main, the Union League tried to get all the new Black male voters to vote the straight Republican ticket. They did not prepare the Black workers and the few white workers who joined for military resistance that would be necessary when the Federal government pulled out its meagre 20,000 troops from the ten former Confederate states. More specifically, there was no political or military leadership on the basic land redistribution question or the need for some kind of autonomous Southern region governed by Black people; and no development of a political/military organization to resist the inevitable counter-revolutionary forces which were conspiring even before Appomattox.

These were the three main problems of the Black liberation movement in the South -- land redistribution; an autonomous land base with a political structure controlled by Black people; and a revolutionary organization to resist the counter-revolutionary acts of the defeated slaveowners. Of these three, the third was principal, and although there were valiant efforts to organize militarily, the lack of a coordinated military and political strategy resulted in the same setback as suffered by French workers and their Paris Commune.

When the Southern aristocracy and the "new South" bourgeoisie which was rapidly developing with Northern support, combined to mount an armed (white-sheeted) attack on the Black sharecroppers and their newly-won political rights, the lack of a South-wide cadre organization was immediately apparent. The Republican Party and the Union League folded quickly because of these two grave errors -- no political education and no military preparation.¹⁵

Northern Developments

In the North there was a similar tendency to disarm the worker-soldiers and leave protection of Black people to the Federal government. By 1870, many abolitionists thought they had attained their goals with the establishment of the civil and political equality of Black people by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The anti-slavery societies disbanded. Many abolitionists had illusions that the government would enforce these new civil rights without the continuance of national pressure groups. Others, especially those working on many local levels for racial equality

and opportunities for the newly-freed slaves, realized that more federal intervention was necessary, and that it would not come unless there was an organized base to push for it. They formed the National Reform League to work on desegregation of schools and public accommodations and to agitate for enforcement of civil rights in the South. This organization, however, never developed any strength and was defunct by 1872.

The gradual, then rapid, retreat by the Federal government from full equality for Black people was quite evident. The Civil Rights Act passed by a lame-duck Congress in 1875 was weak and carried few provisions for enforcement. When the infamous Hays-Tilden Compromise of 1877 was put together and the Federal Government's shaky commitment to Black development ended completely, all illusions were abruptly shattered. The most racist elements in the South, who had already launched a vicious campaign of terror designed to disenfranchise Blacks and subject them to the political domination of the reactionary aristocracy which controlled the Democratic Party, reasserted total military and then political control of the South.

Black people had few strong defense organizations on the local level, and none on the national level to successfully challenge this counter-revolution. Yet they struggled to be self-reliant while at the same time seeking alliances with whites whose economic status was only a little better than theirs. The Populist movement, built out of the frustration of white and Black farmers and sharecroppers, between 1875 and the turn of the century, was defeated by its inability to overcome racism and an inadequate class analysis of the land redistribution question.

Populist Movement

In 1875 the first farmers' Alliance was formed in Texas. By 1885 the Texas Alliance claimed 50,000 members. Though it began as a social organization and purchasing cooperative, it soon entered politics by drawing up a list of demands to be presented to the state legislature. It called for the prevention of speculative delay in the agricultural produce markets; adequate taxation of the railroads; new issues of paper money in the hope of reducing credit costs; and an interstate commerce law. Similar organizations grew in other states; in 1890 the Texas Alliance joined the Farmers' Union of Louisiana and the Arkansas Agricultural Wheel and others to form the Southern Alliance, estimated to have membership of one to three million.

The first unit of the Northern Alliance was formed in New York in 1877, demanding redress of grievances against the railroads and tax reform. In 1887, Westerns who had joined

the Northern Alliance added government ownership of one or more of the transcontinental railroads and the unlimited coinage of silver as remedies to relieve the financial squeeze placed on rural America by the growing power of Eastern monopoly capital.

The Southern Alliance never admitted Black farmers. This was the major reason preventing the building of unity with the Northern organization. The whites helped to organize a segregated, parallel group called the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union, and by 1891 it claimed a million and a quarter members.

Contradictions between the two Southern groups smoldered, but were never dealt with openly. Many of the white farmers, especially the leaders of the revolt, were landowners. The Blacks were overwhelmingly sharecroppers, differing often only in degree from the landless farmworkers. In 1891 the Colored Alliance proposed a strike of Black cotton pickers. Circulars were mailed out demanding an increase in the wage rate to \$1 per hundred pounds, and setting a date for the strike. The white Alliance squelched the idea, by advising the white farmers to leave their cotton in the fields rather than pay more than 50¢ per hundred pounds to have it picked. The whites charged that the Blacks were attempting to "better their condition at the expense of their white brethren. Reforms should not be in the interest of one portion of our farmers at the expense of another."¹⁶

This contradiction -- a familiar one to revolutionaries in colonial and semi-feudal situations -- between the three classes of farmers (landless farmworkers, small landowners, and large landowners) was successfully resolved by Mao Tse-Tung and the Communist Party of China through the isolation and redistribution of only the large landowners possessions, leaving the small landowner's holdings intact.¹⁷

In the South this land question was never grasped by the leaders within the Populist movement. It was not until the CPUSA in its 1930 resolution on the national question began to apply a class analysis to the question, that tactical alliances were correctly spelled out. However, the successful application of a revolutionary strategy based on the building of such alliances remains before us as a fundamental task.

The Reconstruction Period in Washington, D.C.

After a short struggle, in 1867 the "Negro Suffrage Act" was passed in Washington. The Republican Party swept the elective offices of the Common Council and the Board of Aldermen, with

a few Black men being elected. Civil rights laws were passed by the new City Council, forbidding racial discrimination in places of public entertainment, with a \$20 fine for racial discriminatory acts.

In 1870 a Black Councilperson proposed a second, more comprehensive anti-discrimination law, widening the first to include restaurants, bars and hotels, and raising the non-compliance fine to \$50. Two other Black members of the Council argued that "racial prejudice was rapidly disappearing and a second ordinance was therefore needless."¹⁸

The new civil rights law was tested in court, and affirmed. But the era of optimism was short-lived. Although a territorial government was formed in 1871, with an appointed governor, an 11-person upper house, an elected lower chamber, and a non-voting delegate to Congress elected by popular vote (the standard form for a territory destined to become a state), it lasted only three short years. During this period, controversy developed about the role of Alexander Shepherd, the City Manager. He built a strong political organization of Black voters, contractors and real estate traders, and began a massive public works and building program -- paving streets, building apartments, and creating jobs. Some historians blame Shepherd's despotism and corruption for the action of Congress in 1874 of taking away this territorial (pre-statehood) form of government. But there are very strong arguments, particularly laid out in a book called The UnCivil War -- Reconstruction in Washington, D.C.,¹⁹ which indicate that Shepherd was scapegoated by the increasingly reactionary Congress, and that in reality it was the growing Black power concentrated in the District which led to the abrupt reversal by Congress of its experiment in democracy in its own backyard.

Whatever the real reasons, the loss of self-government was quickly followed by the loss of most of the civil rights gains and social progress which had been made in the 8-10 years after the war. Class differences within the Black community became intensified as the democratic rights of the lower classes were wiped out. A Black elite developed around Howard University, which took up the cause of civil rights in a strong, usually legalistic manner within the Washington and national governments, but they were unable to build any real mass base for their efforts.

For the thousands of poor Black people, recently arrived from the South, with little or no education and no prospects for jobs, the most pressing problem was survival. They were herded into unheated and unsanitary alley hovels, with little or no social services and absolutely no political organization.

In short, in 1874, the outlines of some political power for Black people within the District were snatched away by an increasingly reactionary Congress -- and for 100 years Washington was without any sort of self-government. The concentration of Black voters in Washington is the main, if not the only reason, for the continued exercise in dictatorship in the Capital of bourgeois democracy.

Summary

During Reconstruction the black liberation movement and its Southern allies placed too much reliance in the Federal government. The organized political and military resistance focused narrowly on abolition before and during the war, failed to move into the next political phase. The land question was not analyzed and dealt with. Sumner's bill calling for 40 acres and a mule would have had a much better chance of passing Congress if the armed, freed Black people and their poor white allies had begun redistributing the land themselves.

The northern allies of Black liberation did not grasp the principal contradiction of the time either. This lack of organization and correct analysis came home to roost again with the defeat of Southern Populism. Racism and lack of class analysis split a movement which, with working class leadership, could have developed into a class struggle across racial lines.

D. Industrialization and the Growth of Working Class Organization and Militancy

In 1896 the Supreme Court ruled in Plessy v. Ferguson that separate by "equal" accommodations met every requirement of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court both reflected and contributed to the spirit of the times. It was one year after Booker T. Washington's famous Atlanta Exposition Speech, in which he told a "distinguished" gathering of Northern and New Southern capitalists that Black people would accept segregation and few if any political rights for the time being, in return for financial and other support for "industrial training."

These back-to-back statements came as the result of years of mob violence, hundreds of lynchings and other forms of torture and murder of Black people throughout the South and the border states. In the North, riots and street battles against Black neighborhoods had also become regular occurrences. The overwhelming weight of evidence suggests that the stirring up of

racial hatred was a conscious strategy of the rising monopoly capitalist class, to weaken and destroy the unity of the working class. We do not have to postulate any conspiracy theory of history to observe that the bourgeoisie must have been overjoyed every time members of the working class with white skins rioted against their Black sisters and brothers.

A particularly brutal massacre of Black workers in Georgia in 1906 was described by W.E.B. DuBois:

"The fatal campaign in Georgia which culminated in the Atlanta Massacre was an attempt, fathered by conscienceless politicians, to arouse the prejudices of the rank and file of white laborers and farmers against the growing competition of Black men, so that Black men by law would be forced back to subserviency and serfdom."²⁰

The craft unions of the day aided and abetted the work of the capitalists by openly excluding Black members. The AF of L leadership was forced to form "separate but equal" locals for Black workers by the agitation of Marxists and other radicals in the ranks, but this is as far as the AFL leadership would go.

Ironically, the most common rationale for excluding Blacks was that they acted as strikebreakers -- when in fact that was one of the main reasons for including Black members in the union. In a 1905 strike of Teamsters in Chicago, 5,800 strikebreakers were brought in to replace 5,000 strikers. All but 800 of the scabs were white, yet the capitalist press printed stories picturing only Blacks taking the jobs of white strikers.

Booker T. Washington, in a classic quote showing his loyalty to the Black masses on one hand and his usefulness to the capitalists' propaganda mills, said:

"Strikers seem to consider it a much greater crime for a Negro who has been denied the opportunity to work at his trade to take the place of a striking employe~~e~~ than for a white man to do the same thing. Not only have Negro strikebreakers been savagely beaten and mobbed by strikers and their sympathizers, but in some instances every Negro, no matter what his occupation, who lived in the vicinity of the strike has found himself in danger."²¹

Early socialist groups, like the Socialist-Labor Party, helped prevent white workers from seeing their special common interest with the Black workers, by denying the existence of any special interests of Black people. Since, in their view, the Negro was essentially only one of many groups within the working class

and racial discrimination would only be eliminated with the end of capitalism. Therefore, they saw no need to give the issue of racism any special attention. Worse, they tended to blame the Negro workers for not seeing the true nature of their oppression.

"It is not the Negro that was massacred in the Carolinas, it was Carolina working men, Carolina wage slaves, who happened to be colored men. Not as Negroes must the race rise. . .it is as working men, as a branch of the working class, that the Negro must denounce the Carolina felonies. Only by touching that chord can he denounce to a purpose, because only then does he place himself upon that elevation that will enable him to perceive the source of the specific wrong complained of now."22

It was not until the Communist Party organized the CIO and took up the special demands of Black workers that this kind of racist thinking and pious mouthing of empty phrases about brotherhood gave way to direct fighting against racism within the unions as the only way of building real unity of the multi-national working class.

Development of Civil Rights Organizations

It is commonly believed that the first militant Black organizations in this century arose in reaction to the accomodationist policies of Booker T. Washington, whose industrial education plans and institutes were supported by many Northern capitalists in the hope of creating a stable, trained reserve army of Black workers who would not be inclined to challenge white ideological and political supremacy.

But it is more accurate to say that the increased oppression of Black people in the late 1800's contributed to the resurgence of the kind of militant activity which had not been seen since the slave insurgencies, and the Northern Convention Movement before the Civil War. These new militants achieved only limited effectiveness, until they established an alliance with the radicalized labor movement in the 1930's. Unlike their predecessors in the Convention Movement, they lacked a consistent and independent base of support and were plagued with financial difficulties and internal dissention and harrassment from the accomodationists who were blindly following the words, if not the actions, of Booker T. Washington.

In 1906, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, then professor at Atlanta University and William Trotter, editor of the Boston Guardian, organized the Niagra Movement, whose main activities were agitation

and litigation. Four Washingtonians were at the founding meeting of the Niagra Movement and, according to Green, "leadership long dormant in colored Washington began to re-assert itself."²³

In 1909, splitting with Trotter, DuBois urged his followers to join the newly-formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), in which he was the only Black officer.

"The birth of the NAACP in New York City in 1909 must be recognized as marking the beginning of the slow march upward. Started by a handful of earnest white people, the association from the first was intended to be interracial. But of its national officers and staff, only W.E.B. DuBois was a Negro, and radicals such as William Trotter of Boston distrusted it too deeply to join or work with it. In Washington, caution and inertia combined to delay until the Spring of 1912 the organization of a local branch of the NAACP. But within a few months, it was one of the largest in the country and counted 143 dues-paying members, among them so distinguished a white man as Chief Justice Stafford of the District Supreme Court. But, unlike the New York group, white members were few. Here the most able of the upper class Negro community took charge, bending their first efforts to providing legal aid for victims of discrimination."²⁴

A year later, in 1910, the Urban League was formed, and it too had a major chapter in Washington.

World War I and the Great Migration

Prosperity brought on by WWI led to the improvement of life for many Black people. The slowing of European immigration, particularly after 1914, and the increased demand for labor in the shipyards and other industries opened up better industrial jobs to Blacks for the first time. Many were recruited directly from the rural South to New York, Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore and Philadelphia. Thus began the "Great Migration."

From 1910 to 1940 the proportion of the Black population in the South fell from 89 to 77%, and the Black proportion of the South fell from 30 to 24%. The Black proportion of the North rose from 2 to 4%. The proportion of black people living in cities rose most dramatically, from 27 to 48% (35% in the South, and 88% in the North). See Chapter IV for Table and Maps.

Of the 1.3 million Blacks residing in the Northeast in 1940, 60% of them had been born in the South. This rapid migration provided the material basis for the Harlem Renaissance, the first Black union, and the building of alliances between Black and white workers in the CIO.

Although the great majority of Black people still lived in the South, and 52% still lived on farms, there was now a critical mass of Black workers in the basic industries of the North, an indigestible mass which made a qualitative difference in their relationship with white workers. The beginnings of alliances between the multi-national labor movement and the Black liberation movement could be dimly seen.

E. The Communist Party and Black Liberation

"It was not the economics of Communism, nor the great power of the trade unions, nor the excitement of underground politics that claimed me; my attention was caught by the similarity of the experiences of workers in other lands, by the possibility of uniting scattered but kindred peoples into a whole. My cynicism -- which had been my protection against an America that had cast me out -- slid from me and timidly, I began to wonder if a solution of unity was possible. My life as a Negro in America had led me to feel -- though my helplessness had made me try to hide it from myself -- that the problem of human unity was more important than bread, more important than physical living itself; for I felt that without a common bond uniting men, without a continuous current of shared thought and feeling circulating through the social system, like blood coursing through the body, there could be no living worthy of being called human."

Richard Wright

from American Hunger, written 1945

Published, Harper & Row, 1977. p. 63.

The TUEL

Shortly after the formation of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party in the U.S., and the publication of Lenin's pamphlet, "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" which urged communists in countries where trade unions and parliaments existed to work within these institutions, the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) was formed by William Z. Foster. Its aim was to unite Communists, non-Communist radicals and moderates within the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods against the obsolescent craft system of union organization. The TUEL urged white supporters to struggle directly against racism within the unions, and to win the support of the white unionists for a policy of

opening all unions to Black workers and assuring them an equal opportunity to work on the same terms as the whites. Phil Foner describes an important development in this process:

"James W. Ford, a black delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, described how the TUEL militants worked in the early 1920's. At one meeting of the federation, he charged the AF of L leadership with discrimination and 'immoral trade-union conduct' toward Negro workers. As he had anticipated, several white delegates accused him of defending a class of workers who were mainly strikebreakers. To his utter surprise other white delegates came to his defense, although he was the lone Negro delegate. 'They not only supported fully the charges I had lodged against the bureaucracy, but succeeded in forcing it to continue my remarks.' He later learned that these delegates were left-wingers and Communists, under the leadership of William Z. Foster, and that they were leading a fight in the TUEL for the rights of Negro workers. Ford immediately joined the league and later the Communist Party and became active in the battle against 'race prejudice in the labor movement.'" (Foner quoting James W. Ford, "Foster and Negro-Labor Unity," Masses and Mainstream March 1951, pp.20-21.)²⁵

The TUEL was not generally successful in combatting racism in the unions or in recruiting Blacks. It generally underestimated the resistance of white unionists to its program. In addition, much of its energy was used up in sharp battles within the AFL, as convention after convention failed to pass strongly worded anti-discrimination resolutions submitted by TUEL delegates.

A. Philip Randolph and the Sleeping Car Porters

During this same period, the turmoil of the twenties, A. Philip Randolph was organizing the all-Black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.²⁶ The railway porters affiliated with the AFL in 1928, giving Randolph a base within the Federation from which to attack its racist policies. The organization of the porters refuted the racist position about the openness of Black workers to unionism. However, Randolph was forced into accepting a compromise in order to enter the AFL, or sharing some of its jurisdiction with the white Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union and calling off a threatened strike in 1928. The Communist Party, which was then following the "no unity with Social-Democrats" line of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, attacked the socialist Randolph for this compromise, and called for the rank-and-file to replace Randolph with "militant class conscious leadership." This sectarian and racist attack, of course, drove Randolph and his membership further from Communism.

In 1928 the 6th Congress of the Communist International met in Moscow to discuss the rise of fascism and to begin to delineate the United Front strategy to meet it. At the urging of several Black U.S. delegates this Congress also issued the first of two positions on the "Negro Question."²⁷ This, paired with the more developed 1930 resolution, marked a major turning point for both the communist movement internationally on the question of racism, and for the working class movement in the U.S.

With the passage of the 1928 resolution, the Communist Party began to address the problems of discrimination and disunity within the working class in a scientific manner. In addition to the beginning discussion on the existence of a Black Nation in the South, the resolution stated: "The organization of the Negro in trade unions must be recognized by the Party as one of its foremost tasks." Acknowledging that the TUEL, despite its opportunities, had "neglected this important work," the resolution called for the "organizing of Negro workers and agricultural laborers in trade unions. Owing to the refusal of the majority of the white unions in the U.S.A., led by reactionary leaders, to admit Negroes to membership, steps must be immediately taken to set up special unions for those Negroes who are not allowed to join the white unions. At the same time, however, the struggles for the inclusion of Negro workers in the existing unions must be intensified. . . . The creation of separate Negro unions should in no way weaken the struggle in the old unions for the admission of Negroes on equal terms."²⁸

At the same time, the Party criticized itself for some of the racism and sectarianism it exhibited in its approach to Randolph. The 1928 resolution said, "The party must pay more attention than it has hitherto done to the work in the Negro workers' organizations such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Chicago Asphalt Workers' Union, and so on. The existence of two million Negro workers and the further industrialization of the Negroes demand a radical change in the work of the Party among the Negroes."

The Resolution went on to say that these working class organizations "are of much greater importance" than the "bourgeois and petty-bourgeois" organizations such as the "NAACP and the Pan-African Congress" etc. Instead of adopting a united front strategy with these progressive civil rights and pan-africanist organizations, the Comintern recommended the further development of the small American Negro Labor Congress and the TUEL.

Thus, in 1928, after calling on the porters to throw out Randolph, the Party began to develop a much better position on the need for unity with the struggles of Black people as long as they were working class organizations; but it still failed to carry this understanding to its logical end through

united front work with progressive, existing Black organizations. Instead, it called only for the development of new, communist-led organizations such as the ANLC and the TUEL.

Garvey Movement

These zigs and zags in the Communist policy toward Black liberation were greatly affected by the largest mass movement among Black people since the Civil War -- the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), led by Marcus Garvey from Jamaica.²⁹ The NAACP and the liberal Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had been formed in 1919 to "quench, if possible, the fires of racial antagonism which were flaming at the time with such deadly menace in all sections of the country," were regarded by Black working people as "agencies of upper-class Blacks and liberal whites who failed to join hands with them in their efforts to rise."³⁰

Garvey, on the other hand, spoke directly to the masses with his programs and slogans of Black pride and power. The UNIA began in Jamaica in 1914. In 1916 he moved to New York and organized a chapter there. By 1919 there were more than 30 chapters. Franklin describes the mass appeal of the UNIA:

"He called upon Negroes, especially the ones of the darker hue, to follow him. Garvey exalted everything black; he insisted that black stood for strength and beauty, not inferiority. He asserted that Africans had a noble past, and he declared that Negroes should be proud of their ancestry. In his newspaper, the Negro World, he told Negroes that racial prejudice was so much a part of the civilization of the white man that it was futile to appeal to his sense of justice and his high-sounding democratic principles. With an eye on the growing sentiment favoring self-determination of dependent peoples, Garvey said that the only hope for Negro Americans was to flee America and return to Africa and build up a country of their own. On one occasion Garvey cried out: "Wake up Ethiopia! Wake up Africa! Let us work toward the one glorious end of a free, redeemed and mighty nation. Let Africa be a bright star among the constellations of nations."³¹

The "growing sentiment favoring self-determination" which Franklin mentions was being promoted, of course by V.I. Lenin, and the young and vigorous workers' revolution in the new Soviet Union. And the Russian communists were pressing their sister parties to re-examine their policies on the national question carefully, particularly the newly-formed Communist Party-USA.

Garvey's agitational positions, which have so many parallels to the agitation which developed in the 1960's from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X, the Black Power Movement led by SNCC and Stokeley Carmichael, and then the Pan African Movement, was complemented by Garvey's shrewd strategies which were also forerunners of many of the strategies followed by the Black liberation movement in the 60's. He appealed to the new League of Nations for permission to settle a colony in Africa, and opened negotiations with Liberia. After being rebuffed, he organized an army to drive white usurpers out of Liberia. He organized auxiliary organizations -- the Universal Black Cross Nurses, the Universal African Motor Corps, the Black Eagle Flying Corps, and the Black Star Steamship Line. In 1921 Garvey organized the Empire of Africa, with himself as provisional president.

Garvey claimed that by 1923 there were six million followers of his movement. The three colors -- Red for blood, Green for land, and Black for African people -- were seen in every Black community in the North and many rural areas in the South.

W.E.B. DuBois, who had been organizing Pan-African Congresses during this period, was critical of Garvey's programs, and called the UNIA "bombastic and impracticable." But, DuBois admitted that Garvey's mass appeal had undercut his more elitist Pan African Congresses, and that the fourth one, organized in 1927, was nothing more than an "empty gesture to keep the idea alive."

Garvey, in turn, was highly critical of DuBois and the NAACP. He wrote, "The NAACP wants us all to become white by amalgamation, but they are not honest enough to come out with the truth. To be a Negro is no disgrace, but an honor, and we of the UNIA do not want to become white. . . We are proud and honorable. We love our race and respect and adore our mothers."

In 1925 the government finally was able to muffle this man's clear voice, by jailing him for "using the mails to defraud." One poet said that putting Garvey in jail was like "jailing a rainbow." In a letter from the Atlanta jail (compare to Dr. King's famous "Letter from the Birmingham Jail") Garvey wrote:

". . .being imprisoned as a punishment for advocating the cause of our real emancipation has not left me hopeless or despondent; but to the contrary, I see a great ray of light and the bursting of a mighty political cloud which will bring you complete freedom. . ."

". . . Hold fast to the faith. Desert not the ranks, but as brave soldiers march on to victory. I am happy, and shall remain so, as long as you keep the flag flying."³²

Garvey's movement not only tapped the deep nationalist feelings of the masses of Black people in this country, and served as a model for many of the movements of the 60's and 70's (Malcolm X's father was a follower of Garvey, and many of Malcolm's tactical ideas, which were later incorporated into the Black Power Movement, came from the Garvey Movement), but it also served to jar the Marxists, who were then, as now, mainly white, out of their "all workers are the same" mechanical formulation, and was part of the material basis for the development of the 1928 and 1930 Resolutions.³³

The TUUL

In 1929, Foster formed the Trade Union Unity League, after attempts of left militants to work within the AFL had resulted in nothing but expulsion and frustrations, leaving the mass of workers -- particularly Black workers -- still unorganized. The TUUL first set up independent unions in coal, textiles, and the needle trades, and later entered steel, auto and the maritime industry.³⁴

As the Depression deepened, and many of the TUUL's members were thrown out of work, the League organized Unemployed Councils which helped in preventing scabbing during crucial struggles to build the CIO. The UC's were racially integrated, and besides leading the mass struggle for Unemployment Compensation and Social Security, provided the social context for many new Black-white social experiences.

During the early 1930's, the TUUL unions faced bitter opposition from the employers, the AFL bureaucracy, police and vigilantes. Except for the National Miners Union and the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, not many workers, Black or white, were organized into TUUL unions before 1933. But the TUUL did lay important groundwork for the massive organizing drives of the mid-30's. Foner sums up their significance:

"However little the TUUL accomplished in unionizing Black workers, the Unemployed Councils did unite many Negro and white workers in the fight for relief, jobs, and unemployment insurance. Moreover, while the Communists never succeeded in building a revolutionary alliance between white and black labor, they did manage, aided by the impact of the Great Depression, to create a greater willingness on the part of white labor to cooperate with Blacks on

questions of mutual interest. Then, too, their activities forced the NAACP and the Urban League to turn their attention increasingly to the conditions of Black workingmen. In a real sense, the Communist Party and the TUUL laid the foundation during the Depression years for the alliance of Negroes and the labor movement, on the basis of mutual interest, that was to flower in the middle and late 1930's. DuBois admitted to having been convinced by the tireless activities of the radicals that unity of Black and white labor was a possibility. 'We believe,' he wrote in 1935, 'that colored workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly.'³⁵

In 1935 the TUUL dissolved and militants were urged to merge with the AFL unions in their industries. In a number of basic industries the TUUL organizations were transformed into nuclei for the CIO organizing drive.

The CIO

Beginning in 1936, when the Wagner Act was passed and the united front policies of the COMINTERN³⁶ had been consolidated, the Congress of Industrial Organizations was formed under the leadership of John L. Lewis of the United Mineworkers. With the help of the experienced organizers from the CP (TUUL), the CIO conducted the most massive organizing campaign in the history of American labor. We cannot begin to do justice to the rich history of the CIO's breaking down of barriers between Black and white workers in this short report. It is a history worth in-depth study; for most of it is totally unfamiliar to both white and Black workers today.³⁷

Of concern to us here are the gains made during this period in breaking the barriers between labor and the Black community. At first, Black leadership, especially church people, (both the ministers and their congregations) were indifferent or openly hostile to the CIO. This hostility had not been assuaged by the CP's 1928 and 1930 positions on Black community leadership:

"In the work among the Negroes, special attention should be paid to the role played by the churches and preachers who are acting on behalf of American imperialism. The Party must conduct a continuous and carefully worked out campaign among the Negro masses, sharpened primarily against the preachers and the churchmen, who are the agents of the oppressors of the Negro race." (1928 Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States)³⁸

"Negro Communists must clearly dissociate (emphasis in original) themselves from all bourgeois currents in the Negro movement, must indefatigably oppose the spread of the influence of the bourgeois groups on the working Negroes. . . ." (1930 Resolution)³⁹

These resolutions are ambivalent on the right of "bourgeois" Black organizations to determine directions for the Black liberation movement. Garvey, NAACP, and the Black churches are all heavily criticized. These positions were later changed (in 1935-36), when the United Front and the Popular Front policies were developed, and real "unity in action" with the Black liberation movement, (bourgeois leadership and all) was achieved.

At first, the NAACP and the Urban League, while recognizing the importance and potential of the new CIO movement, were skeptical about the lengths to which the leadership of the CIO would go to combat racism among the rank and file. They urged Black workers to wait for proof of the CIO's sincerity before committing themselves. But, by mid-1936 both national organizations had been won over to supporting industrial unionism, although many of their locals steadfastly remained neutral in the struggle between the CIO and AFL.

National Negro Congress

Fortunately for the CIO, the National Negro Congress was formed in 1936, as a "united front of all Negro organizations" according to A. Philip Randolph, one of its main organizers. The NNC put a major effort into the drive to organize steel, and later auto, providing the CIO with hundreds of volunteer and full-time organizers. They carried the campaign for industrial organization deep into the Black community. Foster described the founding of this important organization:

"The NCC grew out of a conference held previously under the auspices of Howard University and the Joint Committee on National Recovery. The Congress, which included also whites, was a broad front of Negroes from all democratic strata. There were Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, and Communists at the Congress; there were churchmen, workers, professionals, businessmen. All told, 817 delegates attended, coming from 28 states and representing 585 organizations with a 'combined and unduplicated' membership of 1,200,000. Among those present were such notables as Ralph Bunche, W.E.B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, R.A. Carter, John P. Davis, James W. Ford, and others. A majority of the delegates came from the civic (226), educational (14), and religious (81) groups. Eighty three unions were represented and 71 fraternal organizations. The national president was A. Philip Randolph."⁴⁰

The Congress was organized in February, 1936, as Roosevelt geared up for his second election run, the Wagner Labor Relations Act was passed, and the CPUSA endorsed popular front policies. The 817 delegates called for a progressive program including a world congress of Negro people, full rights for Negro people, the ultimate formation of a farmer-labor party, and Black churches devoting every fifth Sunday to advancing the programs of the National Negro Congress.

The CP played a strong organizational role in developing the Congress and its program. Its most immediate impact was felt in its all-out support for the CIO organizing drive.

The NCC and its local councils distributed more than a quarter million pro-union leaflets in Black communities across the country. A typical leaflet declared, "We colored workers must join hands with our white brothers. . . to establish an organization. . . which will deliver us from the clutches of the steel barons. We appeal to all colored workers in the steel mills to join the union."⁴¹

In Washington, the CIO organizing drives were perhaps more important in terms of developing working class contacts between the races. Integrated picnics and other social events helped in the stage for Black-white unity within the New Deal administration and the Executive Branch.⁴²

Work in the Black Community

In march 1930, the CP claimed 1500 Black members. By 1938 it had 10,000 Black members, 14% of the party membership. The Party's success in recruiting Black cadre was directly related to its success in leading the struggle for Black liberation. The key to this strength was the move to broaden the front of the battle from narrow trade union concerns to all the inequalities which Black people faced. This policy was articulated in the 1928 and 1930 COMINTERN resolutions on the Black struggle in the U.S. and further enhanced by the general united front strategy of 1935.

In 1930, the American Negro Labor Congress was succeeded by the League for Struggle for Negro Rights. The ANLC, as its name implied, was concerned almost exclusively with trade union issues, working directly with the TUEL. With the increasing clarity on the national question, the Party helped organize the broader-based League for Struggle for Negro Rights, headed by the poet Langston Hughes. On May 8, 1933, it led a march of 3500 people to Washington to present the just-inaugurated President Roosevelt with a "Bill of Civil Rights for Negro People."

The Communist Party also helped organize the Sharecroppers Union in the South in 1931. By 1934 it had 6,000 members and had engaged in many militant struggles against foreclosures on small farmers' property. Five people had been killed in these struggles.

The Unemployed Councils, mentioned earlier, which the CP initiated and sustained, were the largest multi-national and militant mass working class organizations the country had ever experienced.

The Party went all out in legal political defense of Black people who were being framed in the South's racist courts. In 1932 a 19-year-old Black Communist, Angelo Herndon, led an interracial march for welfare rights in Atlanta. Sentenced to 18-20 years on the chain gang for "attempting to incite to insurrection" he was freed by an extensive international campaign, which brought his lawyer, Benjamin Davis, into the Party. Davis, as an open Communist, subsequently was elected the second Black New York City Councilperson, succeeding Adam Clayton Powell, who had been elected to Congress.

Davis was recruited into the CP by William L. Patterson, the son of a slave, who played a major role in the Party's defense of the Scottsboro boys, and subsequently became one of the Party's national leaders.

Late 40's and early 50's

Patterson continued to be a major force within the CP, and helped to organize the Civil Rights Congress in January 1950, in Washington. It assembled about 5,000 delegates and was initiated by the NAACP, endorsed by the AFL, CIO, and hundreds of churches and other economic, political, and civic organizations. Its purpose was to support the Civil Rights proposals of the Truman Administration. But, because of severe repression, and because it lacked strategy to carry out a continuing mass campaign, particularly for jobs and income, when Truman cynically backed away from his commitment, the Congress was unable to hold his feet to the fire.

The Congress did, however, revive Garvey's idea of taking the question of Black liberation in the U.S. to international arenas. In 1951 the Congress presented a massive indictment of the U.S. government and capitalist class to the United Nations. It was called We Charge Genocide. Paul Robeson presented the petition in New York, and William Patterson presented it simultaneously to the United Nations in Paris.

This petition drive and presentation to the U.S. was the CPUSA's last major mass undertaking before the repression/liquidation of the 1950's.

The ruling class combined a well-orchestrated red-baiting attack on the Civil Rights Congress⁴³ with financial and media support to liberal and anti-communist groups such as the NAACP, the ACLU, and the ADA (a tactic which Arthur Goldberg, Eugene McCarthy, and other social democrats had perfected in WWII in their work for the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the CIA). The Party was legally attacked directly through the Mundt-Nixon Act and the Smith Act, and indirectly with smear campaigns led by Nixon and McCarthy.⁴⁴ This, combined with the ideological shambles which the Party was in following the Browder attempt to liquidate it in 1944-45, and the Foster-led attempt to put it back together again (without going to the heart of the revisionism which pervaded the Party), left the Party organizationally in chaos, ideologically bankrupt, and politically isolated from the broad mass movements which began to develop in the mid and late 50's following the Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education.

The Party's loss of influence in the Black liberation movement was coincidental with the reemergence of several ideologies and organizational forms which matured in the following decade: the predominant ones being Black nationalism and all-Black organizations.

Summary

Between 1935 and 1949 Black membership in U.S. trade unions grew from 100,000 to 500,000. Yet the victories of the CIO in fighting discrimination in hiring and job assignments were incomplete. Almost all of the unions' resources were absorbed in organizing drives, and winning bread and butter demands in contracts.

The increasing theoretical clarity of the CP after 1928 on the Black liberation question in the U.S. set the stage for its alliance strategies of the 1930's. But it was not until the strategic international perspectives of the united front and popular front were developed in 1935 that it fully grasped the essence of Lenin's position on national oppression, and began uniting in action with various "bourgeois" forces within the Black community.

The Party understood clearly the need for unity of Black and white working people. It understood the importance of winning white workers to the struggle against racism. It understood the revolutionary essence of the Black liberation struggle. As communists began to act on these understandings, Black membership and respect for the Party multiplied.

But there were still serious weaknesses within the Party around racism. Once the CP succumbed to the relentless attacks of

imperialism and the opportunistic revisionism of Marxist-Leninist principles in the late 40's and 50's, it could do no more than tail behind the growing civil rights movement of the 50's and 60's.

But the impressive record the CP established in the 30's in defense of Black workers remains a legacy of respect for all white and Black workers who have not been blinded to history by the virulent anti-communism taught them.

F. Lessons of the 60's and 70's

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was founded in 1942 by a multinational group of Quaker pacifists from the Fellowship of Reconciliation headed by James Farmer. It advocated direct non-violent action tactics, organizing the first sit-ins in Chicago in 1942, and the first freedom rides in the South in 1947. The Freedom Rides, called the "Journey of Reconciliation" were to test the enforcement of a new Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation on interstate buses.⁴⁵

With the end of WWII, the NAACP planned a direct legal assault on school segregation, and after nine years of litigation, the Supreme Court finally ruled in 1954 that segregated schools are inherently unequal. This national legal commitment, of course, had to be enforced at the local level by courageous initial challenges. The most famous of these was the Little Rock episode in 1957 when President Eisenhower twiddled his thumbs for several long weeks while Arkansas State troopers harassed and attempted to intimidate the Black children who were trying to obey the law.

The school desegregation process, particularly in the Deep South where 60% of all Black people still lived in the 50's, touched every community and set off the Black "revolution" of the 60's. The direct action experiences of CORE and the community organizing techniques which Robert Moses, Jim Forman, and other SNCC organizers brought back to the South in the early 60's became the hallmark of a new form of struggle.

The Nation of Islam (now the World Community of Islam) under the leadership of Elijah Muhammed, had grown from a small organization in Chicago in the mid-thirties, to a national organization of at least 100,000 members in the mid-sixties. Much of its strength was within the prisons, where the religious context in which its political ideology was put provided access to the thousands of Black prisoners. It produced Malcolm X, one of the most important leaders of the 60's, who was assassinated on February 21, 1965 (one month after Lyndon B. Johnson was inaugurated in Washington to begin his full term in office).

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, SNCC, was formed in the Spring of 1960, after the February 1, 1960 sit-in of four students from the Negro Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro, N.C., snowballed into a national movement. SNCC, at its founding conference in Raleigh, N.C., made two important decisions: first, to remain independent from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which was rapidly developing through the network of Black churches in the South, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and second, to develop a cadre organization of full-time organizers who would move beyond lunch counter sit-ins to voter registration and education issues.

Within four years, SNCC had hundreds of field secretaries, earning \$10 a week, in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Arkansas. A fleet of cars with two-way radios was developed, and democratic (some former SNCC workers would say too democratic) internal structure for deciding programs and political directions had been formed. Jim Forman's book, The Making of Black Revolutionaries is probably the most important and accurate history of this organization. It also contains insights on the importance of cadre development, internal discipline, and organizational and administrative problems within the Black liberation movement.⁴⁶

SCLC, developed rapidly into a national force under the inspirational leadership of Dr. King. The August 28, 1963 March on Washington for "jobs and freedom," which was carefully orchestrated with the liberals in the Kennedy Administration to tie in with Civil Rights and jobs legislation, vaulted King into a national leader. John Lewis, the SNCC representative at the Lincoln Memorial congregation of well over 200,000 people, was not permitted to give his entire speech, in which he criticized the Kennedy Administration, and warned Black people against putting too much faith in the Democratic Party or the short range goals of new legislation. Walter Reuther, leader of the United Auto Workers, A. Philip Randolph, the National Council of Churches, the American Jewish Congress, and all the major Civil Rights groups except SNCC and CORE (Farmer was in jail in Louisiana) were represented at the demonstration. Although there had been some cooperation between the Kennedy Administration and the voter registration efforts in the South, there had been many broken promises and much distrust built up between the government and the front-line troops, mainly SNCC and CORE workers. Lewis was not permitted to read an important portion of his speech:

"In good conscience, we cannot support the Administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality. . .

What is in the bill that will protect the homeless and starving people of this nation? What is there in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5.00 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year?"⁴⁷

In late 1963 and '64, when John Kennedy was killed and SNCC and CORE were planning the Freedom Summer in Mississippi, a split developed within the Black liberation movement between the younger front-line organizations which were developing strategies for exposing the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party, and the old "liberal-labor" coalition which was based on racism.

Part of the SNCC's strategy was to expose the totally racist structure of the Democratic Party in the South -- that structure that had repeatedly elected the new President, Lyndon B. Johnson, to office in Texas. The Freedom Summer organized more than 1,000 students to come into Mississippi and register Black people to vote. During the first week, two white organizers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner of New York and a Black organizer, James Channey, of Mississippi, were brutally murdered by Klansmen who also happened to be deputy sheriffs of Neshoba County, Mississippi. By the end of the summer, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had been organized and delegates elected to attend the Democratic Party Convention in Atlantic City in August, which the Democratic Party leaders were planning as a cut-and-dried tribute to LBJ and a glorification of the murdered Kennedy.

SNCC had tested the idea of a parallel political structure in its "Freedom Vote" in November 1963, when over 80,000 people in the Black community cast ballots for two freedom candidates as Governor and Lt. Governor -- the voting taking place in barber shops, churches, funeral parlors and other places in the Black community to dramatize Black people's exclusion from the State's voting system.

In April 1964, shortly after the passage of the new Civil Rights Act, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was established in Jackson, Mississippi. The aim was to force the Democratic Party to recognize it as the only legitimate representative in Mississippi, or to expose the racist roots of the Democratic Party for the whole country to see.

Led by Fannie Lou Hammer, the FDP delegates and their supporters from SNCC rounded up support from nine state delegations, the UAW, the Americans for Democratic Action, and many church and reform democratic groups. Here, let Stokely Carmichael tell what happened:

"MFDP mounted an intensive lobbying campaign at Atlantic City. A legal brief was prepared (by

Arthur Kinoy - ed.) to be presented to the Credentials Committee of the convention; it detailed the ways in which the 'regular' Mississippi Democrats had maintained their position in the state and the nation by imposing a reign of terror on Black people. Every delegate from every likely state was provided with a copy of the brief to the credentials committee. Every request for information and justification was filled. MFDP with the help of SNCC, produced brochures, mimeographed biographies of the MFDP delegates, histories of the MFDP legal arguments, historical arguments, moral arguments, and distributed them to the delegates.

". . .The national party's answer to the MFDP was, of course, 'No.' Intense pressure had been brought to bear on the delegates from the White House itself, and under it the 'coalition' dissolved. Most of the MFDP's allies meekly dropped away and joined those who sought to bring the MFDP delegates to their knees. Several delegates told SNCC workers that they could not afford to buck the Johnson-Humphrey team.⁴⁸

Carmichael then quotes directly from Jack Minnis, SNCC's research director at the time, and a major architect of the MFDP challenge strategy:

"When pushed to the wall in this manner, these delegates would frankly admit they stood to reap such a significant political and material gain from Humphrey's vice-presidency that they could not take the chance of supporting the MFDP having it win and thus deny to Humphrey the vice-presidential nomination. . .these Humphrey supporters were convinced that suppression of the MFDP was the price of the vice-presidency for Humphrey.⁴⁹

We go into some detail about this experience because, for many veterans of the movement in the late 60's this was the watershed. The lessons from it were clear. Liberals who were tied to the Democratic Party could not be trusted to support a fight against the most blatant forms of racial discrimination when their own political futures were at stake. Therefore, Black people had to build independent political power bases first, before alliances with whites could be developed on the basis of mutual self-interests.

Concretely, this was the basis for SNCC's moving toward the independent (of the Democratic Party) politics of the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama the next year, which Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC organizers developed, and the basis of the popular slogan, BLACK POWER, which had come from the Garvey Movement almost fifty years before and which SNCC popularized in 1966.

Black Power and the Black Panthers

In the summer of 1966, James Meredith, the man who had integrated the University of Mississippi law school, was shot in the back in his "Walk Against Fear" down the highways of Mississippi. Immediately, all the main leaders of the Black liberation movement travelled to Mississippi and continued his walk, stopping each night in the Court House Squares of the different counties they passed through to hold rallies. SNCC organizers used these rallies to begin to project the slogan Black Power, which captured both the growing mass interest of Black pride and racial consciousness, but also the more fundamental political premise: "Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks."⁵⁰

During 1966 and 1967, SNCC sent its organizers out to college campuses and into Northern cities, where Black political power was heavily concentrated. At the same time, a group of poverty workers in Oakland, California, led by Huey Newton, son of a Black minister, formed a national Black party named after SNCC's Alabama Party - the Black Panthers.

There were Black Power conferences, the beginnings of the National Black Assembly, the development of the Black Caucus in Congress, and many other attempts to bring together a national Black united front and local united fronts of all Black leaders and organizations under the slogan Black Power. This was accelerated in the Spring of 1968 when Dr. King was murdered and Black people in hundreds of cities expressed their outrage through spontaneous rebellions.

The Black Panthers recruited from the ranks of angry ghetto youth. They stood up militarily to the police harrassment and brutality in Black communities, and quickly became the target for FBI and local police infiltration. Attempts at alliances between the experienced SNCC organization and the new Panther Party were destroyed, at least to a great extent, by both federal and local government agents. Both SNCC and the Black Panthers have civil suits against the federal government that would reveal at least the tip of the iceberg of the Johnson-Nixon administrations' all-out war on these two organizations.⁵¹

While the Panthers tried to organize ghetto youth, other organizations and individuals went into Black Power electoral politics. The playwright, Leroi Jones (Immanu Baraka) organized a power base in Newark, New Jersey which was able to win the City Hall in 1969, two years after Jones had helped organize the Black Power Conference there, which led to the National Black Assembly.

The Black Industrial Proletariat

"We came to believe that the working class had to make the revolution, had to lead the revolution, and that we had to concentrate our energies on workers. We didn't really understand what making a revolution entailed, what a proletarian revolution was, how it took shape, and how it developed . . . I began to feel we must broaden our contacts within the community. We needed support to continue the struggle. I also felt we should build several kinds of resources to serve the struggle. We needed a printing operation, a legal apparatus, and a stepped-up political education. . . The League began to recruit large numbers of students and professionals. I think that our understanding of proletarian consciousness at that time was very low, and we did not do a good job of transforming the understanding of our new members. We were held together by personal loyalties rather than ideology. People were coming to us for the same reason we had started. They wanted to find ways to struggle. They would come in and we would do work. But our ideology remained unclear. Word of what was happening in Detroit got to workers in other cities. They began to wage similar struggles and they began to communicate with us. We started to discuss ideas about coalitions, affiliations, national caucuses, black worker organizations, and so forth. . . Community organizing and industrial organizing are linked up. They go together. The working class should lead the community effort."

Mike Hamlin,

Leader, League of Revolutionary
Black Workers, 1972 52

In Detroit in the late 60's Black revolutionaries were moving off the college campuses and into the factories. A group of 30 independent Black militants in 1967 founded the Inner City Voice. ICV was not a counter culture paper. It was concerned with the living and working conditions of Detroit's Black working people. The unifying ingredient in all ICV material was its sharp emphasis on defining the strategy and tactics of the ongoing Black liberation movement and how it would trigger the second American revolution. In June 1969, the leaders of ICV merged into the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

The League was a federation of several separate organizations, called revolutionary union movements, or RUMs, that existed in Detroit in the late 60's. It was formed to provide a broader base for the organization of Black workers who were being organized on a plant-by-plant basis. The League has its roots in DRUM - Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement. DRUM was formed

at the Hamtrack Assembly plant of the Chrysler Corporation in the fall of 1967. On May 2, 1968, 4,000 workers, both Black and white, shut down the Dodge Main in a wild-cate strike over the issue of safety. DRUM was the driving force in this strike and others which occurred over the next year.

The activities and ideas of DRUM, which was a mixture of revolutionary Black nationalism and socialism, were to inspire Black workers in factories throughout the U.S.

Just as the League, which was primarily interested in organizing Black workers in Detroit, grew out of DRUM in 1969, the Black Workers Congress, a national organization, grew out of the League in 1971. One of the demands of the BWC manifesto was the eventual creation of a Black revolutionary political party, although little was said about its specific nature or precise economic or ideological orientation.

The manifesto received an excellent response nationally, yet the in-plant League leadership were not clear about the timing of this national organization. They felt that it was necessary to concentrate their work holding together the existing RUM's and to further the building of their bases in the factories and their communities.⁵³

The League eventually split from the BWC in early 1972. Those who remained in the League affiliated with an organization from California called the Communist League, later the Communist Labor Party.

Some have pointed to the League's syndicalist approach as its major error and the reason for its early decline. We believe this is accurate. The League's work, however, must be viewed with an understanding of the contradictions caused by the lack of a working class revolutionary party and strategic revolutionary program. The dogmatic directions taken by most of the League's former leadership made it impossible for the succeeding organizations to hold onto any sizable portion of the previous base. Yet the League provided an important training ground and taught many lessons for future struggle.

NWRO and the Poverty War

Before we sum up this important period, we must note the development of Community Action Programs in many cities. Many of the developing Black leaders were hired and put on the poverty war payrolls in both Northern and Southern cities. The Mississippi Head Start program, for example, hired several SNCC organizers in 1966. In Washington, many SNCC workers were put on the UPO payroll, and were allowed some freedom for about a year.

Dr. George Wiley, a chemist from Syracuse, New York, came to Washington in 1965 after working with CORE in New York State, to set up the Poverty Rights Action Center which was the organizing base for the National Welfare Rights Organization. The NWRO was set up on a union model, with local membership chapters. Its aim was to flood the welfare roles, and force a change in the welfare system. At the same time, Wiley's objective was to eradicate the onus of "being on welfare" and help Black people, particularly, to see that welfare is a right. He used militant tactics from the Black liberation movement, including chaining one's self to the doors of welfare offices, sit-ins, mass demonstrations, and confrontation-lobbying techniques.⁵⁴

Summary of the Late 60's and Early 70's

As the Black liberation movement developed more political unity and more experienced leadership and organizational abilities in the late 60's and early 70's, U.S. imperialism was forced to take off its velvet gloves and show its iron heel (if the reader will pardon the mixed metaphors). During this period murders of many Black leaders who could not be bought -- Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Fetherstone, Fred Hampton and over 20 other Panthers, occurred. The arrest and harassment of many of the most experienced SNCC organizers were carried out.

At the same time, the imperialists tried to split the reformist leadership away from the revolutionary nationalism and the leadership which developed in the 60's. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on buying out experienced Black leadership and training it to "govern" the cities through poverty war and foundation grants.⁵⁵

Most important, the imperialists did everything in their power to prevent the Black liberation movement's leadership from seeing that its most reliable allies were right in front of them -- men and women who did the same jobs they did -- the growing multi-national working class which was taking home less money every year. Alliances were attempted with liberals, with "people of good will," with white "radicals", with "poor white people," with rainbows of skin colors, with "inter-communities," and with the African Liberation Movements. All of these allies were tested. So far only the African people have met the test.

A good example of how far the U.S. ruling class went to divide the Black community from its objective allies in the progressive, multi-national trade union movement is the New York City school crisis of 1967-68. Harlem CORE, greatly influenced by Malcolm X's teachings at that time, with a growing, militant base in the community, called for Black control over the schools

of Harlem and a separate Board of Education. The same thing happened in the Black Bedford-Stuyvessant section of Brooklyn. McGeorge Bundy, who had helped design the CIA pacification program in Vietnam for the Johnson Administration, was moved to the head of the Ford Foundation in New York, and Mayor John Lindsay promptly appointed him head of a special city committee on "Decentralization of the Schools" (not to be confused with Black community control of the schools). He promptly convened his committee of experts, wrote a report recommending that the city's school system be divided into thirty to sixty semi-autonomous districts, and said that the Ford Foundation would help fund it. The United Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), led by Albert Shanker, had always taken the narrowest of trade union approaches and has little or no base in the Black community. Figures like Bundy and Lindsay, and the New York Times and other key forces of imperialism then proceeded to play the Black community off against the racist policies of Shanker, thereby setting back the possibilities of labor-community alliances in the city with the largest Black population in the country for several years.

The aim, of course, was to convince the Black community that its interest lies in alliances with the "liberal" ruling class, and to convince the labor movement that its interests are antagonistic to Black liberation.

In the face of this murderous and "neo-colonialist" strategy, Black revolutionary leaders responded in many ways. Some still tried to work within the Democratic Party to build mass political bases in the cities. Some still clung to the possibility of alliances with "people of good will", -- the King euphemism for white liberals and church people who had supported SCLC when its mass demonstrations and demands were safely within liberal bounds.

The Panthers attempted to build alliances with white "radicals" in the Peace and Freedom coalition in California, particularly, and nationally with SDS toward the end of the 60's, when the Panthers were under severe attack. Carmichael, who subsequently formed the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party, still talked of alliances with poor white people, and Native Americans, and other minorities.

Except in Detroit and a few other industrial areas, few Black revolutionaries in the height of the Black Power and revolutionary nationalist period, were advocating any sort of alliance with the (increasingly) multi-national working class.

G. Summary of the History Section

We began this paper by saying that there is a Black liberation movement and that when this movement made principled alliances with the working class movement as a whole, leaps of progress were made.

Racism has been essential to the development of U.S. capitalism from its early stages to the present. A shortage of free labor inhibited the development of U.S. capitalism in its infancy. This contradiction was resolved with the importation of large numbers of Black people from West Africa. At about the same time, bourgeois ideology developed the pseudo-scientific theories which alleged to prove the genetic inferiority of non-white people. These ideas then gained wide currency among European settlers and were used to justify the institution of chattel slavery. Later, faced with severe competition from its more highly developed European counterparts, American capitalism developed into its monopoly stage. This period was marked by the accumulation of large masses of capital through the intense exploitation of the millions of non-white peoples in the working class. Chief among these were the Afro-American people. Recently freed from chattel slavery by the Civil War, Black people were banded together to complete their struggle for full democratic rights. However, this democratic movement, which was allying with white small farmers, had to be broken up by U.S. capitalism, in order for capitalism to develop into monopoly. This was done by reinforcing the white supremacist ideology through both legal (governmental) and illegal (Klan and other terrorists) means. Today the super-exploitation of Black people continues to be necessary to monopoly capitalism, because of the increasing severity of the problem of the declining rate of profit due to the contraction of U.S. imperialism's sphere of influence.

We have cited the major periods when such alliances developed: the slave-resistance movement and the abolition movement; the Civil War itself; the short-lived Reconstruction alliances; the populist alliances; and the tactical (and sometimes strategic) alliance formed and sometimes held together by the Communist Party in the 20's, 30's, and early 40's, between the labor movement and the Black liberation movement. Each of these periods were studded with many internal contradictions within the predominately white "side" of the alliances, and within the Black "side", as well, Lack of a historical and materialist analysis among the leading forces in both "sides" of the alliance led to short-sighted tactics and goals, and liberalism on the racism within the white ranks.

The two most successful alliances were the Civil War itself and the CIO organizing period in the late 30's. In the Civil War Lincoln and the Republican Party mobilized the Northern capitalists and workers to fight on the side of the Black liberation movement in the South against the Southern aristocracy. When the weight of the government was put behind this alliance (and this was true for the first few years after the War as well), great political progress was realized for both the Black and white workers and farmers. Although many of the gains were subsequently lost, some were "ratcheted

up" through the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and other legal measures which served as the basis for the continuing struggle to rebuild the alliance, once the government had backed away. There was no cadre organization, no communist party, which had a clear understanding of the centrality of the Black liberation question during this period to hold this alliance together.

During the 30's, because of the Communist Party's line on the Black liberation question -- and the connection between that line and the united front strategy -- the drive to organize the industrial workers in the cities was tied directly to winning rights of Black people in the South. It was the CP's principled work in defending the rights of Black people in the South who were being both literally and legally lynched, which gave the Party the moral and political standing necessary to fight for the Black-white unity in the Northern organizing drives. This lay at the root of the success of the CIO.

During this period, the alliance between the Black liberation movement and the labor movement was creatively brought to life by the Party in a million different ways. Within the Black community, people were constantly reminded of their natural allies in the militant labor movement. And within the labor movement, literally thousands of petitions and resolutions and demonstrations and conferences were held to support Black people in their struggles against national oppression.

In summary, we can say that these qualitative leaps in the economic and political progress of the whole working class -- Black and white -- prove our thesis that when principled alliances exist between the labor movement and the Black liberation movement, qualitative progress occurs.

At this juncture, we can add to our two theses a third: that such alliances are difficult if not impossible to put together and maintain without the glue of a revolutionary communist party which understands the centrality of the question of racial oppression within the working class in the United States.

IV. PRESENT ANALYSIS

This section has three parts:

A. Discussion of the principal contradiction facing the working class in the U.S.: the lack of a conscious, guiding organization for the class, a vanguard revolutionary party, based on the science of Marxism-Leninism. The main contradiction within the party building process during this period: lack of fusion of the science of Marxism-Leninism with the working class movement, and the centrality of the correct mass line on Black liberation to the process of fusion are also discussed.

B. Analysis of the objective conditions within the working class and within the Black liberation movement during the late 70's.

C. Theoretical considerations in the relationship between the united front strategy and Black liberation. The most important areas for building alliances through our mass work are also discussed.

A. Black Liberation and Party Building

How do things develop? We, as Marxists, hold that the laws of dialectics are at the heart of the developmental process. If we can illuminate clearly the objective opposites involved in the development of a highly conscious, vanguard working class party, we can move the party-building process forward through acts of our own subjective will.

History and Marxist-Leninist theory teach us that successful revolutionary working class parties develop through the systematic integration of organized Marxist-Leninist theory with the spontaneous resistance and rebellions of the working class against the oppression and exploitation of the capitalist class. During the period of monopoly capitalism/imperialism, the spontaneous struggle of the working class coincides with the spontaneous resistance and rebellions of the oppressed peoples, both in the colonial and neo-colonial areas, and within the metropolitan countries.

Both struggles -- one of the working class directly against the exploitation of the monopoly capitalists and the other of oppressed nations and minorities against the colonial and neo-colonial oppressors -- begin in a million spontaneous ways. Gradually they take on organized forms in different periods -- strikes, trade unions, civil rights organizations and international networks and conferences, producers' associations, cooperatives, various forms of political parties, and guerrilla movements and armies. In Russia, between 1905 and 1917, the Russian

workers and peasants, led by Lenin, developed a revolutionary political party. This disciplined, cadre organization was found to be essential to guide the workers and peasants in analyzing the swiftly changing events in the rapid development of European capitalism into its most advanced stage -- imperialism.

When, in the Spring of 1917, it was clear that the principal contradiction was a revolutionary one -- that the worker-peasant alliance could not move forward at all, that indeed it would move backward, unless the seizure of the powers of the government was accomplished forthwith -- the revolutionary party led by Lenin laid this out to the workers. They responded by capturing the fundamental levers of government, destroying their capitalist forms, and replacing them with Councils of Workers and Peasants (Soviets) in every major region within Russia, thereby establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This form of a "professional revolutionary party" has been proved, time and again, to be absolutely necessary to guide the working class movement forward. For a number of reasons, for many years now the working class within the U.S. has been without such a party. Instead, it has been led by a stable of capitalist agents and racist politicians, masquerading in various costumes to confuse and control us.

We -- and thousands of others across the country -- have become convinced through our experience and study that the building of this type of party is the number one priority for the working class during this period. It cannot be put off.

How to Build the Party?

Therefore, we return to the original question: How do things develop? Through the struggle of opposites. How does a working class, communist party develop? Through two inter-related, but very different kinds of struggle: through the struggle of the working class and its allies against the capitalist class, and through the "struggle" of the spontaneous resistance and rebellion of the class -- particularly in its most organized forms -- with the ideas and principles which have been developed scientifically to move the class struggle forward, the science of Marxism-Leninism.

We call this task of uniting communists and communism with the working class in the context of class struggle, "fusion". We mean the fusion of Marxist-Leninist principles and methods with the real-life resistance within the working class.

To accomplish fusion, we must avoid the left error of dogmatism, which tries to force the concrete realities of the

U.S. working class into stale, brittle formulas which have been learned by rote from other places and other times. We must also avoid the right error of empiricism, which is discarding all the collected experiences of other revolutionaries in other times and other places and the principle and lessons they have drawn from their rich experiences, and refusing to believe anything unless we have direct experience of it. What we must not avoid in the fusion process are our theoretical tasks: scientific application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions we face, and development of revolutionary strategy (theory put into practice).

What is the vehicle for fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the multi-national working class and the many facets of its resistance? We have found that the most advanced, class conscious forces always see the need for organization. They gravitate toward the leadership of militant struggle situations -- strikes, boycotts, direct actions. They surface within unions and within Black liberation organizations. They understand the necessity of propaganda and of building alliances. Because of the complexities of monopoly capitalism and the life-long indoctrination of metaphysical and mechanical philosophies about how things develop, however, they do not spontaneously understand the need for, and the methods of, building a vanguard revolutionary party, based on dialectical and historical materialism. This is one task of Marxist-Leninists and their organizations during this pre-party period: to come up with the methods and correct style of work to elicit this understanding on the part of class-conscious workers. This task can only be accomplished in the context of direct involvement in spontaneous actions.

Pre-Conditions for Party Formation

Some organizations within the Marxist-Leninist tendency have tried their hands at laying out certain pre-conditions of party formation. The PSO in its first publication, On the Party Building Question, October 1976, set forth four pre-conditions including that there be a "radicalized mass" of workers. Partially because of helpful criticisms from our friends at the Guardian, and comrades in some of the groups which later formed the OCIC, we no longer think this formulation is correct. Though we still hold to much of what we put forth at that time, the following is meant to sharpen our position.

We distinguish between party building and party formation. The latter is an event -- or a series of distinct events. At some point in time the new communist party will be formed. Party building is a process -- one which will continue after the party is officially formed. We have stated that we cannot even form the party until a certain degree of fusion exists -- until we have brought more advanced workers into the communist movement; until we have built the

beginnings of a communist current in the working class; until we have much more theoretical development; and until our cadre are more proletarianized.

Inseparable from this need for fusion is the question of the racial and national composition of the party building forces. We will never be able to build the party without an ever-deepening understanding of how to combat racism -- the central division in the working class. We can never hope to give leadership to overcoming this division in the class without overcoming this division within the ranks of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionists.

We cannot wait until after a party is formed to develop the correct strategy to combat the special oppression suffered by Black people and build alliances and unity. The strategy must be developed now if we are going to meet the precondition of fusion.

Party-Building Is An Act of Will

As Marxists we believe there is a material basis of consciousness and history; that the ideas of the workers come from their class position and their daily exploitation -- not from the sky. But we also hold that a vanguard party, based on the science of the working class -- dialectical materialism -- will never emerge just from the objective experiences of the trade union or Black liberation movements. Party-building is an act of will on the part of dedicated communists who, having grasped the need for such a party, set out to take these ideas and meld them into the class struggle. It is an act of will, a conscious act, by communist workers who want to make their efforts as efficient and focussed as possible. In order to do this effectively, it is necessary to not only understand and agree on the objective conditions and the period we are in, but also on the subjective state of the world we wish to change -- of the different movements, organizations, leaders and parties.

It is in this Party-Building context that we undertake our analysis of present conditions within the working class in the U.S. -- with particular emphasis on the Black liberation movement and its key forces.

B. Objective Conditions

Size and Composition of the Working Class

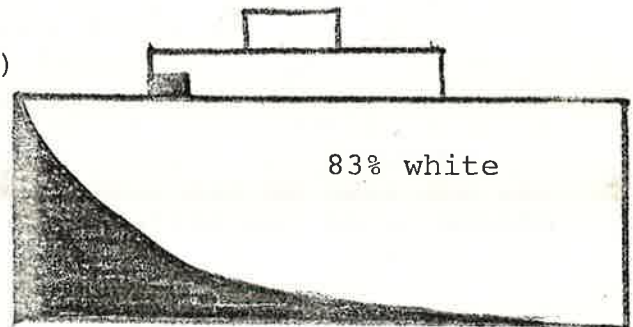
Based on the 1970 Census and the class analysis contained in the pamphlet by Judah Hill:57

Total in Working Class*	64,200,000	100%
White working people	53,400,000	83.1%
Black and other minorities	10,800,000	16.9%

Black (and other minorities) comprised about 17% of all working people in 1970 -- as compared to 11-12% of total population. Today, the percentage of Black workers within the working class has probably grown to about 20%. Within the key socialized sectors of the working class -- basic industry, laborers, and service workers -- Black and other minorities comprised 20%, 27% and 24% respectively in 1970, and these proportions have probably risen to roughly 30% in each of these key sectors today.

The total working class represents about 80% of the population. The rest are classified in the petty bourgeoisie (13.2%) and the bourgeoisie (1%). Within the petty bourgeoisie, there were 400,000 Blacks and other minorities in 1970. Although the heavy emphasis on Black "capitalism" and training of an administrative strata during the past decade has probably caused this number to rise, still less than 5% of the total petit bourgeoisie is non-white, and there are essentially no Black or other minority people in the imperialist or ruling class. A diagram of the class structure of U.S. society in 1970 takes the form of a pyramid, like this:

- Bourgeoisie - 100% white
- Petit Bourgeoisie - 5% Black
(and other)
- Working Class - 17% Black
(& other)



* These numbers are smaller than the absolute size of the working class, and because of the notorious undercount of minority peoples by the Census and the higher birth rates within the Black community, all figures are low and skewed to a slightly higher proportion of white workers than actually exists.

Size and Composition of the Potomac Area Working Class

Total Labor Force (1977)	1,372,000
"Non-Professional & Non-Managerial"	1,000,000 (approx.)
Total Population	3,000,000
Total Black Population	822,400 (approx 28%)
Proportion of the Working Class which is Black:	approx. 40%

Location

Monopoly capitalism has segregated and stratified the labor force in two ways: geographically with relocation programs and vertically with job classifications. The working class organizes itself in two ways also: by community and family ties, and in the workplace. Here we discuss the locational, or geographical organization of the working class.

In the past 200 years of capitalism's development in the U.S. there have been three major shifts which have affected millions of working people. These shifts roughly correspond to the three major periods of the development of capitalism in the U.S.: commercial, industrial, and monopoly.⁵⁸

(1) Commercial capitalism: 1776 (and before) - 1830's, was characterized by the development of large port cities, the five largest of which were Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans. Between 1790 and 1810, the populations of the four northern ports increased between two and three times, and New York's share of U.S. international trade jumped from 9% in 1800 to 62% in 1860. By 1860, New York had one million inhabitants, exceeding the total population of the seven largest cities in the country together. In the South, during this period, the plantation system and problems of "labor control" kept down the growth of large cities, thus stunting the growth of commercial capitalism in the South and leading to the contradiction in the production process in the country as a whole which caused the Civil War. Only the major port in New Orleans and a smaller one in Charleston, South Carolina, competed with the North for any foreign trade.

(2) Industrial capitalism: Beginning in the 1830's and running until the 1890's-1900, the commercial capitalists accumulated the necessary capital for industrial production based on the factory system. At first "factory cities" were located along rivers, but when coal replaced water as the main source of energy, factories were located where their owners found it easiest to control workers. If New York could be called the prototype of the commercial capitalist city, with its port, commercial and banking centers all jammed together on the tip of Manhattan and Brooklyn, then Chicago became the prototype

of the industrial capitalist city. Chicago grew from no one in 1830 to over one million in 1890. Problems of labor control became the most important factor for the capitalists and their city governments. That is why the Haymarket Square killings and other confrontations with the growing militant movement for worker defense organizations centered in Chicago and other industrial cities.

(3) Monopoly capitalism: Around the turn of the century many corporations had accumulated sufficient capital to "permit a qualitatively new level of rationalization of production and distribution." ⁵⁹ During this period factories were relocated and decentralized out from the central cities. This relocation was primarily to insure segregation of the workers from possible allies in the class struggle. As one author put it, "problems of labor control had decisive affects."⁶⁰

Much of the discussion about whether there is a Black nation today has centered on the migration patterns of Black people, based on the "push" factor of increasing mechanization and racist oppression in the South, and the "pull" of jobs and slightly better political treatment in the North. These analyses concentrate almost totally on understanding the migration of working people among different areas of the country, and omit consideration of migration within areas. For example, the well documented pamphlet, "On the Black Liberation Question," by the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, shows clearly the migration of Black workers from the South to Northern cities, but provides little insight into the economic and social structure of the present-day U.S. city and its suburbs. This insight is crucial before we can develop a strategy for overcoming the central division -- racism -- within the working class. Most Northern cities, by the mid 1960's, looked like donuts -- Black center core, with a white ring around it. An understanding of the political economy of cities and suburbs and the role of racism within the particular areas is of critical importance in develop-
ing correct strategy for fighting racism.

The concentration and accumulation of capital roughly corresponds to the concentration of workers -- subject to the capitalists' overriding concern of worker-control. During the immediate period, decentralization and suburbanization are the predominant means of locational control of workers, with racism and racial segregation within metropolitan areas as the political/cultural means to carry out this decentralization strategy.

In this context, examine the patterns of location of Black people. Table 16¹ indicates the Northward and Westward movement of Black people since the Civil War, and the centrifugal pull toward the cities since 1910.

10

GEOGRAPHY OF BLACK AMERICA: AN OVERVIEW

TABLE 1

Regional Summary of the Development of the Black Population

Date	South	Northeast	North Central*	West	U.S.
Proportion of Black Population by Region					
1790	91	9			
1850	97	2	1		
1910	89	5	6		
1940	77	11	11	1	
1960	60	16	18	6	
1970	53	19	20	8	
Percent of Regional Population Black					
1790	32	6			19
1850	39	2	1		16
1910	30	2	2	1	11
1940	24	4	4	1	10
1960	21	7	7	4	11
1970	19	9	8	5	11
Percent of Black Population Urban					
1910	21	85	72	80	27
1940	35	90	87	85	48
1960	59	95	96	93	73
Total Black Population (000s)					
1790	700	67			767
1850	3534	149	44	11	3639
1910	8749	489	543	51	9228
1940	9905	1370	1420	171	12866
1960	11308	3029	3445	1071	18850
1970	12064	4342	4572	1695	22673

Source: United States Censuses, 1790 to 1970.

*Excludes Missouri 1790 and 1850.

TABLE 2
Development of Black Population in Cities, 1880 to 1970

(1940 Rank Order) (Population in 000s)

City	City 1880	City 1900	City 1920	City 1940	% Black 1940	SMSA 1960	% City Black	% SMSA Black	SMSA 1970	% City Black
New York	28	68	169	504	6	1557	14	11	2368	21
Chicago	6	37	109	278	8	977	23	15	1343	33
Philadelphia	32	63	134	251	13	671	26	15	844	34
Washington	52	87	110	187	28	487	54	24	704	74
Baltimore	54	79	108	166	19	375	35	22	490	46
St. Louis	22	36	70	164	13	295	29	16	379	41
New Orleans	58	78	101	149	30	267	37	31	324	45
Detroit	3	4	41	149	9	559	29	15	751	44
Memphis	15	50	61	121	42	224	37	36	265	39
Birmingham		17	70	109	41	219	40	35	218	47
Atlanta	16	36	63	105	35	231	38	23	311	51
Houston	6	5	34	86	22	250	23	20	384	26
Cleveland	2	6	35	85	10	258	29	14	333	39
Los Angeles		2	16	64	4	465	14	7	763	18
Jacksonville	4	16	42	62	36	105	41	23	118	22
Pittsburgh	4	20	38	62	9	161	16	7	170	20
Richmond	28	32		61	32	103	42	26	130	47
Cincinnati	8	15	30	56	12	127	21	12	155	28
Indianapolis	7	16	35	51	13	100	21	14	137	18
Dallas	2	9	24	50	17	159	19	15	241	25
Nashville	16	30	36	47	35	78	37	19	96	20
Norfolk	10	6	43	46	32	149	26	26	168	28
Louisville	21	39	41	47	15	83	18	12	101	24
Savannah	16	28	39	43	40	67	35	34	64	44
Kansas City	8	18	31	42	10	116	23	11	151	22
Miami			9	37	21	137	22	15	190	23
Columbus (Ohio)	3	8	22	36	12	89	16	12	106	19
Shreveport	5	9	17	36	35	96	34	34	97	34
Montgomery	10	17	20	35	40	64	35	38	70	14
Charleston	27	25	32	32	40	78	51	37	95	45
Boston	6	12	16	24	3	88	9	3	127	16
Charlotte	3	7	15	31	28	61	28	35	95	30
Mobile	12	17	24	29	35	101	32	32	113	35
Ferris Worth	1	4	16	25	14	61	16	11	63	20
Augusta	10	18	23	27	40	66	45	30	70	50
San Francisco	2	2	2	5	1	239	10	9	330	35
Tampa, St. P.		4	12	23	22	89	16	11	109	18
Columbus, Ga.	5	7	9	17	32	63	27	29	68	26
Baton Rouge	4	7	9	12	34	72	29	32	81	28
Jackson	3	4	10	24	39	75	35	40	96	40
Buffalo	1	2	5	18	23	83	13	7	109	20
Dayton	1	3	9	20	10	70	21	10	94	30
Columbus, S.C.	6	10	15	22	35	75	30	29	85	30
Beaumont		3	13	19	32	62	29	21	68	31
Milwaukee		1	2	9	1	63	9	6	107	15
Chattanooga	5	13	19	36	28	49	33	18	50	36
Macon	7	12	23	26	45	56	44	31	60	37
Winston Salem		5	21	36	45	45	37	24	118	34

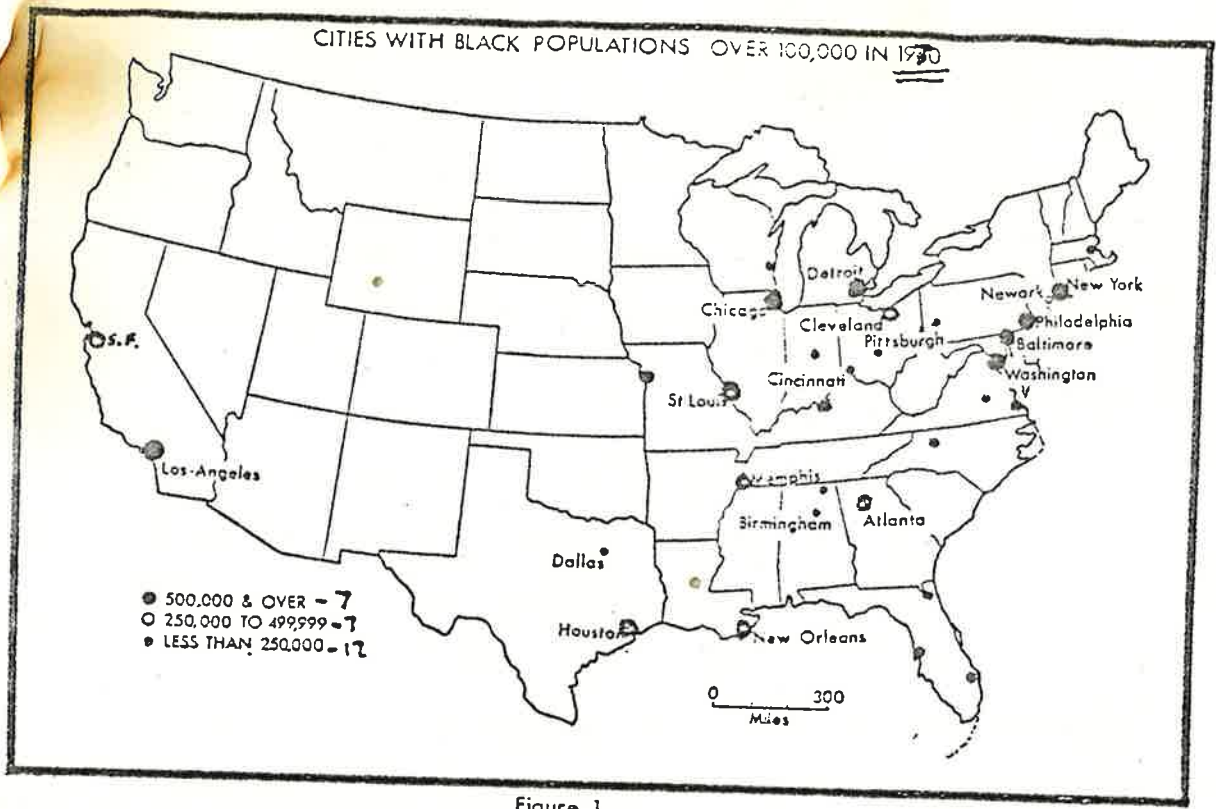
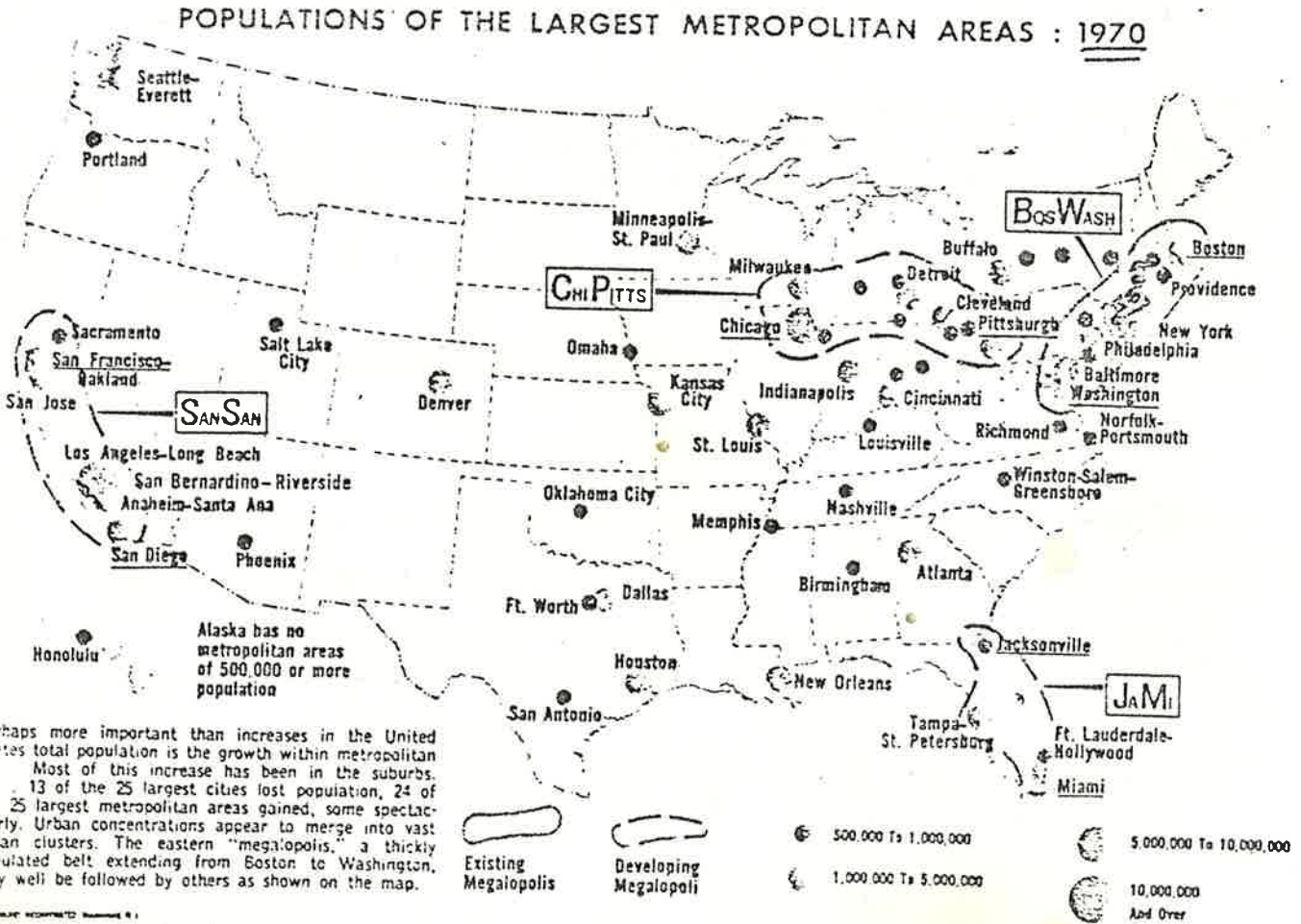


Figure 1



Perhaps more important than increases in the United States total population is the growth within metropolitan areas. Most of this increase has been in the suburbs. 13 of the 25 largest cities lost population, 24 of 25 largest metropolitan areas gained, some spectacularly. Urban concentrations appear to merge into vast urban clusters. The eastern "megalopolis," a thickly populated belt extending from Boston to Washington, may well be followed by others as shown on the map.

Table 2 gives the population data for Black people (who are practically all workers) in the 48 cities with the largest concentration of Blacks. This chart should then be compared with the two maps which follow, to get a picture of the concentrations of Black people in the urban areas, and the general trend toward "megapolis."

Harold Rose states:

"In 1960, one third of the nation's Black population resided in 18 cities. Each of these cities contained more than 100,000 Negroes in their populations. At the same time, approximately two thirds of the nation's Black population were residents of metropolitan areas."⁶²

This centrifugal trend has continued in the last 17 years.

Not only is it important to know how capitalism has relocated its workers, but the speed and routes that the relocations took are important as well. In 1940, of the 1.3 million Black people in the Northeast, 60% had been born in the South. This qualitative leap Northward followed the old major railroad lines -- up the Atlantic Coast through Richmond, Washington, etc. along old Route 1, up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to the Great Lakes states; and to the West Coast along the old Southern route.

The latest approximations are that Black people live mainly outside the South -- between 50 to 55%. Outside the South, 95% of all Black people live in urban areas, and within the South, at least 65% lived in urban areas in 1970.⁶³

So we have a rough idea of how the development of monopoly capitalism has located the working class in the U.S. Since 1870, the most profound relocation program was for Black workers, who had practically all lived in the South up to that time.

Locational Factors in the Washington Area

Although 28% of the total population in the Washington area is Black, about 40% of the non-managerial working class is Black. This would, at first glance, lead one to believe that the working class was fairly well integrated. The reverse is the case.

Racial segregation has its historical roots in slavery, but is manifested in two material ways today: residential segregation

and educational/employment discrimination. The donut (or noose) patterns of segregated housing were developed after World War II through a conscious governmental policy of lending the suburban areas (with 30 year loans) to the white working class. The older inner city areas, including the old school buildings and run-down tenements, were rented to the Black working people who had been relocated from the South during the previous two generations. Strict racial segregation was accomplished through racist lending policies set up by the Federal government and administered through its Savings and Loan program, the FSLIC, FHA, and VA-mortgage programs. In Washington, this segregation was particularly controlled, since the Federal government has so much direct influence through direct control of the District government, and indirect control of the suburban governments in Maryland and Virginia through its great economic leverage.

Thus, the working class in the Washington area is one of the most residentially segregated of any large city in the country --with 77% Black population in the central city, and 15.6% Black population in Maryland, and 6.8% Black population in Virginia. Of the 822,000 Black people who live in the area, 545,000 of them live in the District.

As mentioned earlier, this donut pattern shows signs of modification in the late 70's and 80's. In the name of revitalization of the inner cities and desegregation, the centers of Black power resistance will be broken down. This pattern is stunningly obvious in Washington. The middle class (Black and white) is invited to buy into renovated and new townhouses in the city. The wave of renovation and new construction moves north and eastward from the downtown into the old, stable but poor Black community at a faster rate each year. Black people who cannot afford to buy the homes they have been renting for decades have no place to go but outward, toward the edges of the city, or into the close-in areas of Prince Georges County, Maryland. The result is a growing tendency toward a three-ring effect: the innermost and outermost rings are middle class and white (or whiter); the middle ring is poor and Black.

The second major form of racial segregation is in the grades, or levels of Black and white workers. The Federal government, the main employer of the area, had 3 out of 10 Black (and other national minority) workers in 1975, but most of these workers are concentrated in the lower grades. Out of a total of about 60,000 Black employees in the GS system in the D.C. area, only 2,255 are above Grade 13, 7,434 above Grade 11, and 15,468 above Grade 8. Thus about 3 out of every 4 Black workers are below Grade 9. This means, in effect, that 75% of all Black workers in the Government are in the non-professional categories. This grade differential is reflected in all other employment in the area.

Material Contradictions Between Black and White Workers

The differentials which exist and are widening in many cases between Black and white workers are well known. A white family of four averages almost twice as much income as a comparable Black family. Unemployment among Black workers is three to four times the rate for white workers.

Housing must be looked at in two ways, both its quality and its ownership. One out of ten housing units occupied by Black people lacks some or all plumbing facilities, whereas this is the case for only one out of twenty housing units occupied by whites. Because of the years of discrimination in obtaining loans to buy houses, the average white family whose income is between \$7,500 and \$10,000 has a net worth of \$16,441, whereas a Black family with comparable income has a net worth of only \$6,021.

Black workers, especially Black male workers, are particularly discriminated against by the police-legal system. Of the roughly 250,000 workers in jail, half of them are Black, although Black people make up only 11-12% of the population. Of the 162 workers sentenced to death as of December 31, 1973, 81 were Black.

In education, where some of the greatest gains have been made, large disparities still exist between the children of white workers and those of Black workers. The proportion of Black high school graduates was 58% in 1969; for whites it was 62%. Yet twice the proportion of those white graduates went to college as of their Black classmates. Less than 1% of candidates for doctoral degrees are Black, and less than 3% of the students enrolled in schools of medicine and law are Black. Only 4.25% of Black people over 25 years old are college graduates, as compared to 11% of whites. (These figures are from the 1970 Census, so they are somewhat low, but we are now faced with the Bakke decision and other efforts to turn the clock back on special compensatory educational programs, and so we should expect to see the statistics drop back to these dismal levels.)

Health care is totally unequal for the Black and the white community. To cite but one glaring example, Washington, D.C. has the highest rate of infant mortality for Black babies of any city of comparable size in the U.S., and the lowest mortality rate for white babies.

In short, the disparities between the basic living conditions of Black people and white people are growing wider. These serve as the material basis for Black and white workers' differing views. Until material conditions approach equality, it will be a difficult act of faith on the part of many Black workers to develop and maintain a consciousness of themselves

as part of a single working class. We must try to understand what is the present consciousness, and the reasons for the lack of class consciousness in the Black community.

Black Consciousness/Class Consciousness

Historically, there have been three contradictory ways in which various "consciousness raisers" have summed up the reality of Black existence in the United States:

(1) "It is your fault that you are oppressed. This is a free society. In a generation or two you can pull yourself up by the bootstraps."

This "blame the victim" theme has flowed through the bourgeois media, the schools and universities, and the myriad of "social services" which have grown in the past 20 years to "cope" with the "urban" problems of the systematically oppressed minorities -- community mental health programs, welfare, Head Start, and other school-related programs.

(2) "Black is Beautiful. We are all victims of white racism. We should rediscover our roots and culture and develop Black institutions."

This set of ideas emphasizes the "Black" part of Black Power, and liquidates the second half of this important slogan. The cultural nationalist trend is characterized by a non-struggle approach over the basic questions of power within the larger society. It elevates the cultural aspects of the superstructure over the political and economic aspects of the base.

It has both positive and negative effects, vacillating between sharp and incisive criticisms of the capitalist system and its decadent culture, and a turning away from the anti-capitalist struggle into purely cultural, social affairs. It reflects the ambivalence of the leadership-- the small businesspeople and members of the administrative stratum who have been seduced into half-believing that the capitalist system can work, but knowing in their hearts that it will never meet the needs of the Black masses (nor the masses in general). It remains, in essence, bourgeois ideology.

(3) The third type of consciousness is working class consciousness. We believe it has always been the consciousness of the majority of the Black masses, but it has been covered over and diffused by the two other

ideologies; one which has a monopoly on the capitalist media (the bourgeois ideology of blaming the victim) and the other, a near-monopoly on the Black institutions such as the church, civil rights organizations, Black media, Black colleges and universities (the petit bourgeois ideology of Black power, with emphasis on the color).

People who understand that Black without Power is meaningless, and who constantly remind their brothers and sisters that the two words must go together are revolutionary nationalists who have little access to bourgeois media and Black institutions themselves. Occasionally, when the middle-class cultural nationalist line is exposed as bankrupt, as was the case in the mid-60s, then Black institutions are forced to open their doors to revolutionary nationalism. Then SNCC, the Black Panthers, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and other organizations began to be heard by the masses, who understood and responded quickly. The dogma which they were used to getting in their churches and other Black institutions which showed the way to get into heaven but didn't give much guidance for how to deal with the hell on earth, was rejected for a period. Black Power captured the imagination of the Black masses--in the plants and in the communities. It released pent-up energies, and opened the way for a more basic critique of the ideologies and leadership of the Black institutions. It opened the way, too, to Marxism-Leninism, and dialectical and historical materialism--the scientific tools of the working class struggle.

The brothers and sisters who were or still are members of revolutionary nationalist organizations and those whose lives have been touched by them are potentially the closest allies of Marxist-Leninists. It is out of their commitment to a strong Black people, as well as their understanding of the need to build alliances, that they can trust white people whose understanding of the class struggle leads them to understand the centrality of the struggle against racism and the need to build alliances. Marxist-Leninists within the Black liberation movement must exhibit understanding of the roots of revolutionary nationalism as they try to win people to the class perspective. White Marxist-Leninists must show this same understanding in their practice. No amount of preaching about racism, a Black nation, or anything else will break down the distrust that exists even between Black and white Marxist-Leninists. This can happen only through working together.

Present Organization of the Black Liberation Movement

We are acutely aware that we are writing as only a local organization without adequate roots in Black liberation struggles.

This section is in no way meant to be a complete survey or an exhaustive analysis, but merely to inform our discussion of probable areas for alliance-building work in the present period.

There is great resilience in the Black liberation movement. Now is a period of great change and realignment of forces. Across the country there is fighting on many fronts. The organizational forms which emerge out of struggles for survival--around tenants' and other community issues, against cutbacks in social services, against oppression in all its manifestations--are often ad hoc and transitory. But large or small, permanent or transitory, whether or not they are known beyond the immediate neighborhood or workplace in which they emerge, they are all part of the fabric of the Black liberation movement. There are groups like Harlem Fight Back, which have been fighting for years to get more skilled and semi-skilled jobs for Black workers; groups like the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and the Black social workers organizations, the National Medical Association, and others, fighting for the interests of Black people. A recent example of the way organizations emerge to address specific interests of Black people is TransAfrica, a lobbying group whose purpose is to address policy issues in the interest of Black Americans with regard to Africa and the Caribbean. It is a membership organization whose main work now is fighting to keep U.S. sanctions against the white minority government in Rhodesia.

The following is the broadest outline of a general perspective on the movement.

The Black community is primarily organized around its schools, churches, and social clubs. Black colleges and universities play an important ideological and political leadership function. But as the three competing ideologies become more distinct, they become represented in clearer, separate organized forms: at first, in more or less spontaneous forms, such as the rebellions of the late 60s, and then in attempts by various strata within the Black community to provide more permanent forms.

There are presently only two Black civil rights organizations which can be called national in their base: the NAACP and the Urban League.

The NAACP claims a membership of 500,000, up from 462,000 in 1962. Its program is relatively straightforward: to improve the rights and living conditions of Black people through four areas--the courts, legislation, education, and direct action.

The Urban League, founded one year after the NAACP in 1910, is not as much a membership organization as a national lobbying group. There are 100 local chapters and 2,000 employees. It

has many contracts with the federal government, and received millions in foundation funds. In 1977, 8,700 people attended the League's 67th annual meeting.

These annual meetings have become important conventions for the imperialists. In 1976, Henry Kissinger argued for support for his neo-colonialist policies in Africa, dangling the carrot of more work for the rising administrators in the audience. In 1977, president Vernon Jordan used the annual meeting to criticize the new Carter Administration, and began the orchestration of national Black leadership around jobs and welfare reform which focused on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. By the time the bill was finally passed, the Congress had removed whatever guts it had when drafted.

Regional Organizations

Regional organizations of the Black liberation movement include the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which was headed by Ralph Abernathy until he retired to run, unsuccessfully, for Andrew Young's seat in Congress. Now another Atlanta minister, Joseph Lowery, is president of SCLC, and he, too, helped to carefully stir up the grass-roots support for the Humphrey-Hawkins bill with little jabs at Carter. The SCLC apparatus and relationships was the primary vehicle which Carter used to tie down support in Black communities across the country. And the Rev. Andrew Young was not in the Carter Administration for his looks!

Reverend Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) is based in Chicago, and has tried to rebuild the Black church base which King had welded together. Jackson has recruited many star Black athletes and entertainers, and has been promoting a "return to basics" program for Black youth and a "critical support" of U.S. imperialism's neo-colonialist policies in southern Africa. D.C. is one of the primary cities in which PUSH hopes to build its constituency.

In the last two years, the United League of Tupelo, Mississippi, has grown in membership and influence among Black people in Mississippi and neighboring areas of Alabama. It is a militant organization which has fought in the streets and in the courts for public and private jobs for Black people, against other forms of discrimination and against the Klan on several occasions. It is explicitly not non-violent in attitude, upholding the right of self-defense against attacks by the Klan, police, or anyone else. It has won considerable gains in its local area and is now coping with requests for help in organizing chapters across the South.

Other civil rights organizations which were active in the 60s include SNCC, CORE, and the Black Panther Party. SNCC, which spearheaded the movement in the South, no longer exists as an organization. Its 800 or so staff members still maintain loose ties. They are presently banding together to file a \$25 million damage suit against the government for the systematic and successful effort on the part of the Johnson and Nixon administrations to destroy the organization.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is based primarily in Harlem, and has lost much of its influence since its high-water mark in the late 60s. Many of its leaders have accepted huge grants for various government projects.

The Congressional Black Caucus is another important organization located here. It exerts some political leadership within the Black community, and was a key instrument in the orchestration of a "mass" movement around the toothless Humphrey-Hawkins legislation. Two of its members--John Conyers and Ron Dellums--have consistently taken strong pro-union positions and have been on the farthest left of the Democratic Party. Both toyed with the idea of an independent Black candidate for President in 1976 and seem to be playing key roles in the Douglas Fraser-led move against Carter within the party now.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which has its headquarters here in Washington, is the paper organization which represented the left-labor coalition of the early 60s. It was held together by former UAW lawyer, ADA-initiator and staunch anti-communist, Joseph Rauh. Clarence Mitchell, who works for the NAACP and is closely tied to the Mitchell family's strong base in Baltimore. This paper coalition has helped to develop the "National Full Employment Action Council" which is nominally headed by Coretta Scott King and Murray Findly, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. It will be closely tied in with an attempt to build a national pressure movement around administration-backed welfare legislation.

New Organizations

Attempts to build new national organizations such as the National Black Political Assembly, the Congress of African Peoples, the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party, and the African Liberation Support Committee have had varying degrees of viability. In every case except the AAPRP these mass organizations have run into trouble when some of their leadership has made a sharp left turn and it is unclear whether the organizations can recover their mass base.

The National Black Assembly was, perhaps, the most promising organizational form to come out of the Black Power movement. In 1976 it was heavily divided by the unsuccessful effort to run a candidate on an independent ticket. The Democratic Party through its Black politicians, put heavy pressure on the organization to prevent any name candidate, such as Julian Bond or Ron Dellums, from running, and there were some errors made by some of the left forces within the "76 Strategy" movement.

The Congress of African People, which had chapters in several cities and its base in Newark, has been transformed into a cadre organization, the Revolutionary Communist League, as its main leadership, around Immanu Baraka, has moved rapidly toward a Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung-Thought position.

The All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) is headed by several ex-SNCC organizers. It has re-emerged as a dominant force within the African liberation support movement, drawing vastly more people to its annual African Liberation Day march and demonstration in Washington as the two small factions of the ALSC. AAPRP, by maintaining a strict Pan-Africanist and Nkrumahist ideology, has remained aloof from the line struggles within the Black left about the correct strategy for Black liberation within the U.S. But its independence and close ties within the African continent have helped it to remain on the mark in terms of the Angolan liberation movement, and analysis of the strategies of U.S. imperialism in Zimbabwe and South Africa. AAPRP is taking some leadership in the "Peoples' Alliance", organized by the same forces which put together the July 4th Coalition in 1976. The main organizational leadership is from Arthur Kinoy and his Mass Party Organizing Committee, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Oakland-based, Huey Newton-led Black Panther Party. The old alliance between SNCC and the Panthers has, on paper at least, been effected again.

The Black Panther Party has a strong base in Oakland, and is relatively strong in Chicago and Milwaukee. It has recently set up organizing drives in New York City. Newton's return from Cuba, and the focusing of the Panther program on full employment, indicate that the BPP wants to become a national force. As of this writing, it still talks in terms of "inter-communal" alliances between the Black community, the "poor white community," etc.

The African Liberation Support Movement

Perhaps the most important national development since the 60s was the ALSC, which grew out of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committees organized in 1971. There was a broad

unity in the first African Liberation Day in May, 1972. Black Congresspersons Walter Fauntroy and Charles Diggs, Ralph Abernathy of the SCLC, Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party, Angela Davis of the CPUSA, Immanuel Baraka of the Congress of African People, and the Student Organization for Black Unity all took an active role in it.

After the mobilization of over 20,000 people in Washington in 1972, and 60,000 nationally, there were heightened political struggles within the ALSC. These struggles were against the CP efforts to coopt the African liberation support movement in 1973 on one hand, and for the development of a political line around which the masses of Black people could be mobilized, on the other.

In May, 1975, at Howard University, an historic conference was sponsored by the ALSC, called "Which Road for the Black Liberation Movement?" At this conference such questions as "Pan-Africanism," bourgeois nationalism (all white people are the enemy), a class analysis of the Black community, the material basis of racism, and the role of Marxism-Leninism were all openly debated. The conference served as a milestone in the transition of the Congress of African People and its leader, Immanuel Baraka. At the same time it exposed more clearly the differences between the developing Marxist-Leninist line within the forces active in this country, and the straight Pan-Africanist line which the AAPRP represents. And, for the first time, the initiators of the ALSC openly defended Marxist-Leninist ideology to a large forum of Black liberationists.

We go into this development at some length because it had a great effect on the present organizational level and consciousness within the Black liberation movement, nationally and locally. The ALSC and the AAPRP included some of the best organizers and forces to come out of the left wing of the Black liberation movement in the 60s. They were rapidly moving toward a Marxist-Leninist position, particularly as they identified with the leadership of the successful liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

In the last three years many of the forces which provided the leadership and cadre for the ALSC have consolidated with left opportunism. This began with their refusal to support the MPLA in Angola or openly supporting the CIA-backed forces there. The various splits and the realignments of forces in the ALSC are obscure to us, but the results in terms of lost mass base are clear.

Summary of the Consciousness and Organizational State of
the Black Liberation Movement

Consciousness: The all-out attack on the growing working class and anti-capitalist ideology which was emerging in the mid-60s (some people date this development from the Democratic Party's convention in the summer of 1964) has helped to more clearly sharpen distinct tendencies within the Black liberation movement. On the left hand, some elements seem to believe that they must start from scratch--building a communist party through dogmatic appeals to the "advanced workers" and breaking all ties with the "bourgeois" organizations and leadership within the Black community. These forces have failed to study their own recent history--and have not built on the work which they helped accomplish only a few short years ago. They act as if they believe that the movement started the instant they discovered Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tse-Tung Thought.

On the right hand, some people have fallen for the bourgeois line. They have taken administrative or political jobs within the federal or local governments, and are being used by the imperialists to promote the line that "the system works."

In between these two reactions to the military and ideological attacks on the growing working class consciousness of the Black liberation movement, is a group of people who are beginning to develop a dialectical and historical materialist understanding of the lessons of the 60s. They are searching for the class basis of the different ideologies which are developing. They see that these ideas are based on the class nature of the struggle.

These increasingly scientific, anti-dogmatic forces are going back to investigate the institutions and organizations which have always provided the first line of defense for the Black community. They are getting down off their horses, and investigating before they speak. Just as many anti-dogmatic forces have begun a first-hand investigation of the trade unions with all their corruption and ideological weaknesses, the anti-dogmatic forces in the Black liberation movement are seeing the importance of developing a communist current within these institutions as the key ideological and organizational task of this time. They see the importance of maintaining the progressive nature of the Black community's resistance in a consistent manner by putting working class consciousness and ideology in the lead. They also see the need, as we do, to ally/struggle with revolutionary nationalist forces in the movement.

These forces know that as the communist current within the Black liberation movement develops, it will rapidly move forward the process of building a party which will be racially integrated from top to bottom; a party which will fight for the special interests of minorities within the general revolutionary struggle.

C. The United Front and Black Liberation

The united front strategy is one of the most creative ideas to be developed by Marxism-Leninism. It is based on historical materialism, specifically the material base of uneven development, and on a clear understanding of how consciousness develops--not from the sky, but from relationships to the means of production and resulting social practice.

In this paper, and in our other writings, three different kinds of "united front" are mentioned. One is within the trade union movement. Here, left forces--that is, unionists with a clear and uncompromising working class ideology--organize around a political program and strive to unite with the center forces within the union; that is, those who honestly want to fight against their own exploitation and oppression, but whose primary ideology is still bourgeois. This united front between the left and center forces around the left's political program against their common enemy, seeks to isolate and destroy the collaborationist or right forces within the unions, who have held back the struggle against the capitalists. By uniting in action with honest center forces, we can win them away from bourgeois practices and ideas in the struggle against the immediate enemy, even though they may be unready at the time to accept communist ideas or even anti-racist or anti-sexist ideas. As social practice changes, ideas change.

Within the Black liberation movement, we have also referred to the idea of the Black united front. This united front involves forces within the movement who have a working class outlook and strategy uniting with honest forces in the center who are opposed to the racist system, although they may not see capitalism as the main enemy. That is, left forces unite with petty bourgeois forces (and people under the sway of petty bourgeois and cultural nationalist ideas) in the common fight against the same enemy--the (white) capitalist class and system.

This Black united front strategy was tested in the late 60s when the Black nationalist form and ideology swept through the Black community, after the betrayal of the civil rights movement by the white liberal political parties. At first in the Black Power march in Mississippi in 1965 after the Democratic Party's sell-out of the MFDP, and then after Martin Luther King and other potential "Black Messiahs" (to use the FBI's term) were eliminated and the racist nature of the war in Vietnam became clearer to the Black masses. Led by SNCC, CORE, and a national network of political leaders such as Adam Clayton Powell, Andrew Hatcher, Immanuel Baraka, and many others, and spurred on by the rising tide of liberation struggles in Africa, Black people in large metropolitan areas formed Black united fronts, made up of all Black leaders from all strata. Here in Washington, as elsewhere, Stokely Carmichael and other SNCC activists, called together a united front including Walter

Washington, Sterling Tucker, Julius Hobson, and representatives from the church, business, intellectual and community movements. Few trade unionists were involved, since there were few Black trade union leaders in Washington, or anywhere else at that time.

This BUF fell apart almost immediately. The class contradictions within the Black community were too intense, and there was no one with consistent proletarian ideology to provide the adhesive to hold the diverse elements and ideologies together. The intensive penetration of capitalist ideology and capital within the educated and small owners of the Black community made the class differences too antagonistic for them to maintain a superficial "nationalist" unity (which was the ideology which most of the organizers had).

United Front Between the Labor Movement and the Black Liberation Movement

There is a third type of united front which we have alluded to repeatedly in this paper--the united front between all the objectively anti-imperialist forces--between the general defense organizations of the working class, the trade unions, and the special defense organizations of oppressed Black people, the Black liberation movement, as represented in various organizations and forms.

In the 1930s when the greatest danger to all the peoples of the world emanated from the fascist governments in Germany and Italy, Dimitrov and others called for a united front within the working class, consisting of "united action (our emphasis) of the working class and its political parties"--in that case the Communist parties and the Socialist (or what we would call liberal reformist) parties. Dimitrov advocated a united front from above--with the leaders of the competing parties (and ideologies) negotiating a common program against the fascist enemy, and bringing this program to the masses where that was possible, as well as a united front from below--where rank-and-file workers would unite in action against the fascist state.

He further called for a "people's front"--marshalling all people opposed to fascism into "a fighting alliance between the working class on one hand, and the toiling peasantry and the basic mass of urban petit bourgeoisie, who together form the majority of the population, even in the industrially developed countries" on the other. This peoples front, in the U.S., would take the form of a mass people's party, consisting of the working class, the toiling farmers, the Negroes, the middle classes against the capitalist reactionaries.

In some of the writings within our tendency, we have seen the idea of a people's front, or a mass electoral party which crosses class lines and puts forth programs which unite everyone who can be united against monopoly capitalism. But, although we should keep this longer-range strategy in mind, during the present period our problem is to fuse Marxism-Leninism with the working class, and to build its vanguard party which can then serve as a guiding basis to the broader popular or people's party.

In the United States, in 197 , there is no communist party with its basis in the working class, so to call for a united front from above between the communist-led workers and the liberal-reformist-led workers is absurd. Most workers who take leadership from any party take it from the Democratic Party--and there is not yet any organized left opposition to it. In the present period we need to learn how to apply the strategy of united front from below.

There are honest, proletarian forces within the two organized movements which are objectively anti-imperialist--the workers' movement and the Black liberation movement. These are the left forces which we defined in the short descriptions about the united fronts within the unions and within the Black community. In general, these honest proletarian leaders develop from the trade union movement, but their ideas and tactics spill quickly over into community struggles.

There are center forces--forces who are under the sway of liberal reformist ideas and racist/sexist ideas--in both movements, too. The strategic problem becomes, then, how to develop the unity in action between these two movements. And what is the basis of unity that exists between them?

The left forces in both movements--those forces which have a proletarian outlook and ideology--must be brought into dialogue with each other. Some dogmatists would say they must be consolidated quickly into a party, in order to build a united front. Our experience and theoretical understanding says that this misses the essence of the united front strategy: unity in action. Honest left forces in both movements must develop some unity in action against their common enemy: the racist, capitalist government and the monopoly capitalist class it represents, in order to see the basis for theoretical unity. Unity-in-action precedes theoretical and organizational unity.

What, then, are the underlying assumptions of this unity-in-action strategy? How is it connected to the essential truths about human consciousness which Lenin, Mao, Caudwell, Dimitrov, Gramsci, Fanon and Cabral have so brilliantly touched upon in their writings? Underlying the unity-in-action strategy is an understanding of the relationship between material conditions and consciousness.

It is true that Black people have been relocated from the South. But have they been fully integrated into the working class so that the "social practice" of Black and white workers is totally integrated? Of course not! The establishment of ghettos in the cities, the maintenance and development of racist institutions to maintain segregation, the pull-back on affirmative action programs to meet the special demands of Black workers, the pull-back on desegregation of the schools--all of these facts of the seventies indicate that the material basis for proletarian (international) consciousness for both Black and white workers is weak at best. And, if this material basis for proletarian consciousness and ideology is weak, it is a thousand times more developed than the proletarian organization which must take the main responsibility for raising the consciousness of workers against the daily doses of bourgeois ideology we are fed--that is, the new communist party.

We must develop a fusion strategy which takes into full account the social realities within the working class. This strategy does not need to come up with a "nation of a new type" in the central cities; or a return to the Black Belt South. But it must recognize that the tenuousness of proletarian ideas within both the Black and white working people's heads parallels the amount of social segregation which exists between the races. Here is a quick test: What do you think of, what images do you have when you say the term: "working class"? Do you see men and women, of many colors working and living together side-by-side? Or do you see Black workers on assembly lines and white workers in offices? Women in health care institutions, and men in construction jobs? Practically all-white suburban communities with Little League games and strong PTA's, and hundreds of thousands of young Black women and men hanging on stoops and corners with no work?

How to begin the dialogue between the honest proletarian forces within the workers' and Black liberation movements? Our experience and study lead us to the conclusion that this cannot be done in dining rooms and party-building forums at downtown churches. It can best be done on picket lines, and rallies, and in other direct confrontation with the racist, capitalist class.

Of course there must be a theoretical summing up of these actions, and a consolidation of the learnings which flow from them. This has tended to be the role of local communist organizations in recent years. In the coming period this task can and should be taken up on a national level. We think that a key area will be the OCIC. If it is done in a good way, not only will the honest proletarian forces within the two movements be united in both practice and theory, but a "communist current" will be built within the two movements that will provide the adhesive to begin joining them together.

In short, there is one condition to the united front work between the workers' movement and the Black liberation movement --joint action. And there is one organizational principle which must be adopted: respect for the integrity and initiative of the two movements. Above all, it is the task of white communists to win white workers to the struggle against racism.

Theoretical Overview

Because of centuries of racist discrimination, and because the trade union movement itself, except for the CIO's best years, has practiced and condoned racial discrimination, there are still wide gulfs between the material conditions of the average Black workers and that of the white worker. We live in segregated neighborhoods, our kids go to largely segregated schools, and wage differentials and lack of employment and promotional opportunities provide the basis for racial discrimination on the job. It takes quite a leap of faith for a Black worker to develop a clear vision of the possibility of working class solidarity, and it takes a highly conscious white worker to understand his or her material interest in breaking down racist practices.

Until these democratic and economic inequalities have been eradicated, there will be the need for a Black liberation movement.* Insofar as social practice can be developed which provides the opportunity for the labor movement and the Black community resistance movement to unite in action, this begins to provide the material basis for reinforcing the working class consciousness that must be consolidated within both movements.

This can only be done through the process of white workers--especially those within the trade union movement--learning to respect the integrity and independence of the Black liberation movement. The correct strategic form for this process is the united front.

Black Liberation and Our Mass Work**

Compensatory Programs

The civil rights movement led to important victories for Blacks, other minorities and women. One of the most important was the

*We should never assume the limits to which the capitalists can be pushed by mass movements to grant reforms. On the other hand racism (the superprofits it produces, as well as the division it creates in the working class) is integral to capitalism. Racism will not begin to be totally eradicated until we destroy this material basis for it. For a full discussion of this, see Sales, William, Jr., "Capitalism Without Racism: Science or Fantasy," Black Scholar, Vol. 9, No. 6, March, 1978.

establishment of affirmative action programs and quotas, which have proven to be the only effective means of putting bite into the notion of affirmative action. The opening up of workplaces and schools to Black and other national minorities and women is a direct result of these struggles and programs. Over eight years of affirmative action, the percentage of Black medical students has increased from 2% to 8%, where it has levelled off. The medical schools predict that the Bakke decision means that the percentages will drop back down again. The figures show that although some gains have been made, they are precarious, and require the bolstering of continued quotas.

For the vast majority of Black (or white) workers, however, medical school is not in their "career picture". Black workers have won few gains at all since affirmative action programs were instituted. Unemployment among Blacks, more than double that among whites, is higher now than at any time since World War II. Wage differentials between Black and white workers (and between men and women) are increasing. It should be clear to all progressive people that now, more than ever, we need to take up the fight for affirmative action and quotas.

We support quotas in hiring and upgrading across the board. For working people, however, there is a problem in trying to unite around a pro-quota position. When it comes to hiring or admittance to college or professional school, there is not much resistance in putting forward the interests of minorities who have historically been excluded. But the situation we find ourselves in now is that in a number of industries it is a time of layoffs, and the question of who gets the axe? No matter how coherently the historical argument is made, when the decision is between whether a white worker or a Black co-worker will lose their job, the issue is unavoidably divisive.

Full employment is unattainable under capitalism in the long run. Therefore, the question of who will get the jobs--or keep them--is always potentially divisive. Posed in this way, the contradiction between Black and white workers is unresolvable under capitalism. For this reason, support of quotas, pure and simple, is not enough.

The dual demands of quotas for oppressed minorities and full employment must always be linked together. Black and white workers must fight together for jobs for everyone. This can only be done if Black workers are represented in workplaces and in unions, and if their white co-workers fight for the rights of minorities to keep and upgrade their jobs. We

**

Some of this material is an expansion of views we first put forward in our paper, "More Than Patches. . ."

should fight for affirmative action programs and demand that if, in a particular situation the fight against any layoffs cannot be won, that minority and women workers not be affected disproportionately. In specific situations, whether these demands can win mass support or not, the larger question of jobs for all, which leads ultimately to the necessity of socialism, must be raised.

We should not fall into the trap, however, of arguing for full employment, pure and simple--thereby liquidating the central struggle against racism. Affirmative action is necessary now, not only to compensate for the past discrimination against minorities and women, but to eliminate the ongoing discrimination, the material basis for the deep divisions within the working class which weaken it in its struggle for full employment and socialism.

Winning white workers to the fight for affirmative action, especially around layoffs, is no easy task. Affirmative action laws, Executive Orders, and court decisions are not written or implemented with class unity in mind. Employers always try to use affirmative action in a way to keep us divided.

We must teach our co-workers that whether it is Black workers or white workers who are suffering, it is the class as a whole which loses. Such a class unity perspective says that all people have the right to a job and that employers and the government have the responsibility to provide jobs for all. The role of the reserve army of labor and its necessity to capitalism, is not understood by the majority of working people, even some we call advanced because of their militant trade union spirit or their stand against racism.

The class unity perspective says that layoffs must be fought against and not accepted and that employers should have no right to throw people out of work just to increase their profits. It says that whites and men must take up the struggle against racism, sexism, and national oppression in the spirit of class unity. All workers should be educated to understand that the costs of affirmative action should be borne by the owners, and that affirmative action organizing efforts should try to place the burden there, where it belongs.

There are no simple solutions or formulas, but in a layoff situation, workers can take job actions against the layoff or raise the demand that the employer come up with additional resources to minimize the layoff. There is the possibility of pressing for the right to early retirement at full (or nearly full) pension, with the right to return to the job when layoff conditions end. Changes in unemployment insurance laws might allow workers to alternate weeks off the job and collect unemployment insurance during their weeks off.

With affirmative action in hiring and promotion, the demand for expanded hiring by the company to make up for past discrimination is central to building class unity. In the case of promotions to higher paying jobs for minorities and women who have been the victims of discrimination, the demand for front pay is appropriate. With front pay, in addition to promoting the minority people or women (with less seniority) to the higher paying, better jobs, the individual white men (with greater seniority) who otherwise would have been promoted also receive the pay raise.

Housing

Compensatory programs in housing are as important for the building of alliances as those in employment and education. Some working people--mostly white--have equity from home ownership which allows them to (perhaps) send their children to college or attain a modicum of security in retirement. Home ownership has become the only hedge against inflation for working people, although that very inflation constantly puts home ownership beyond the reach of many--Black and white. A progressive program would be based on the idea that years of paying rent should buy some equity, too. The transformation--at government expense--of apartment buildings into cooperatives owned by those who live there now instead of into fancy condominiums for the affluent is a demand which must be raised, because it relates to the question of Black political power. Communists must raise in the trade unions the fight against the removal of poor and working people from the inner cities. The fight against exploitation where we live, which is being raised by tenants' unions and housing coalitions around the country, is as essential to the unity of our class as the fight against exploitation in the workplace.

In general, we support busing to achieve racial integration in the schools. But a large part of school segregation is based on housing segregation. Wherever possible, communists should raise the struggle against red lining by banks and racial steering and block busting and other racist practices of real estate brokers.

Anti-repression Work

Cutbacks in services, school expenditures, and other programs, are one form of repression against Black people, poor people, and the working class. Another form is direct police attacks. The police force is an occupying army in the Black community. Although resistance to repression is a defensive battle, as compared to the fight for new compensatory programs, it is

equally important to the building of alliances between the working class and the Black liberation movement. The fight of Black people in Mississippi and Alabama against the Klan and police terror, and the fight against the death penalty which now, as always is discriminatorily meted out to Blacks and other minorities are important to raise on a broad scale. But repression is all around us and it is not only Black people who are affected. For example, white teenagers in the suburban areas around Washington have expressed rage at harassment by cops. Although, in general, it is true that white youth are more likely to get harassed, and Black youth more likely to be shot (and maybe killed), still this is the rage on which the alliances we speak of can be built.

Proletarian Internationalism

Our generation lives and struggles in the last stage of capitalism--imperialism, or monopoly capitalism. The foremost ideological support of this world-wide economic system is white chauvinism, or racism, which has been used for centuries to justify the super-exploitation and oppression of non-white peoples here and abroad.

Therefore, in this period, communists must always be conscious of our internationalism and our fight against racism. Our trade union work must be guided by a scientific understanding of monopoly capitalism, and by the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Under imperialism, the working class of the U.S. faces an international system of exploitation which impoverishes the masses of the non-socialist world, while enriching the tiny capitalist class. Through the super-exploitation of the underdeveloped nations, U.S. monopoly capital seeks to postpone as long as possible the final uprising of the U.S. working class. What is objectively a matter of U.S. workers being exploited relatively less is masked by bourgeois ideology to appear as a situation in which U.S. workers are partners with capital and have a stake in "keeping America (i.e., the imperialist system) strong." Workers are taught to be "thankful" for their "high" standard of living, to blame foreigners (be they undocumented workers or "cheap" foreign labor) for the loss of jobs, and to serve as cannon fodder in imperialist wars.

Racism, central in the development of U.S. imperialism, takes on new forms in capitalism's last stage--imperialism. As "neo-colonialist" policies at home and abroad are refined to present the picture of a non-racist system, when in actuality the super-exploitation and oppression of the great majority of non-white peoples is worsening, the centrality of the

struggle against racism within our own working class movement becomes even more important and more difficult.⁶⁴

We need only look at the use of fascist ideology in Germany to understand what becomes the basic choice when the imperialist system is in crisis: the working class must choose between proletarian internationalism and national chauvinism. The Nazis gained power by appearing to side with the proletariat against the monopolists and politicians. A key argument fascists use against communism is that the latter takes a stand for internationalism and democracy and against racism and bourgeois nationalism. Adolf Hitler wrote:

"The Jewish doctrine of Marxism rejects the aristocratic principle of Nature and replaces the eternal privilege of power and strength by the mass of numbers and their dead weight. Thus it denies the value of personality in man, contests the significance of nationality and race, and thereby withdraws from humanity the premise of its existence and its culture."⁶⁵

Neo-fascists exploit the superficial analysis that accepts the appearance of things, such as the contradiction of racism is between Black and white workers, and argue that white workers should make common cause with the monopolists and against oppressed people. An example is George Wallace, who rose to infamy on a wave of white racism, the so-called "white backlash" of the late 60s and 70s.⁶⁶

We have already shown how racism was central to the development of U.S. capitalism in its early stages, and as it grew into its monopoly stage. But it is equally important to the international manifestation of monopoly capital--imperialism.

"Since the subordination of foreign nations proceeds by force, that is to say in a very natural way, it appears to the dominant nation that it owes its mastery to its special natural qualities, in other words to its racial characteristics. Thus in racial ideology there emerges a scientifically-cloaked foundation for the "power lust of finance capital, which in this way demonstrates the cause and necessity of its operations. In place of the democratic ideal of equality there steps the oligarchical ideal of mastery."⁶⁷

Hilferding, who wrote the above words in his classic, Das Finanzkapital, then goes on to explain how the ideological weapon of racism must be used more extensively and intensively as capitalism transforms itself into monopoly capitalism--

imperialism. He writes: "In place of the democratic ideal of equality" that was a key ideological principle with the early capitalists in their struggle against feudalism, there steps the oligarchic ideal of mastery" -- the principal of racial and national chauvinism which is essential to the imperialist to justify his world-wide plunder.

Communists must expose the central ideological aspect of both fascism and imperialism which is racism. Communists must lead the struggle against racism and white communists must win white workers to this struggle. To view our work in the trade unions as strictly limited to narrow economic struggles would be to abdicate our responsibilities under proletarian internationalism.

The crisis of world imperialism deepens with each success of national liberation movements. These successes have led imperialism to rely on terrorist methods in many countries, as the "sophisticated" neo-colonialist tactics are exposed for the masses by the resolute liberation fighters. This, in turn, has helped expose the lie that the government is neutral in the fight between labor and capital. Events like the strike at the Washington Post and more recently the courageous struggle of the coal miners once again exposed the government's role.

It is difficult at first to raise international issues and the struggle against racism at the workplace and in the trade union context. But, as communists we must not view "international" work as separate from "trade union" work. In fact, learning how to tie the struggle against racism/imperialism into the daily economic resistance struggles of our co-workers goes to the heart of our work as communists--and it is of particular importance that we struggle against opportunism on these critical issues as we strive to consolidate advanced forces politically/organizationally. Learning how to give relevance to the struggle against racism/imperialism in the trade union context gives life and meaning to the phrases "communist current" and "fusion" of Marxism-Leninism with the working class movement.

We must convince our co-workers that the murder of Steve Biko or the destruction of trade unions in Chile is a blow against all of us. We must expose the systematic relationship between auto layoffs in Detroit and the General Motors-Ford plant openings in Chile. As we build and organize in the course of our workplace struggles, we must show that the workers and oppressed peoples of the world are neither inferiors nor competitors, but sisters and brothers--that the peoples of the underdeveloped nations mean no more and no less to the capitalists than we do--things to be exploited.

An issue communists face increasingly in our work, especially in basic industry, is runaway shops. Export of jobs is only one aspect of the imperialist system, and probably not the most significant source of superprofits to the monopolists.

Yet this issue has immediate and direct impact on the lives of many workers and is widely addressed by the bourgeois media. Correctly addressing this issue will allow us to address the broader issues of imperialism.

The AFL-CIO leadership has taken a national chauvinist line. In collaboration with part of the U.S. capitalist class, they call for the imposition of high protective tariffs on steel, clothing, shoes and other commodities. ILGWU sings: "Look for the Union label. . . It shows that we were able to make it in the U.S.A." Posters on the walls of steelworkers union halls show an ugly Asian worker standing on a bloodied white worker, with the slogan: "This man no longer wants your job. . . He has it." Even some of the relatively progressive union leadership has allowed itself to fall into the trap of seeing "foreign" workers as the enemy.

Are we in favor of ignoring union labels? Of course not. Workers fought and died for the right to sew that label into the product they produce. But so, too, for example, the people of Nicaragua, who are paid a fraction of what U.S. workers are paid to produce the same product, fought for democratic rights, including the right to unionize. We must raise within the unions the issue of the role of the U.S. government and business in aiding repressive, anti-union regimes. We must also struggle against the active collaboration in such aid by the union movement through such organizations as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

In addition, communists should demand that U.S. unions cooperate with unions in other countries against the same multinational employers. Here is what Dollars and Sense reports about such cooperation among rubber and chemical workers of Western Europe, organized in the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers (ICF):

"A 1971-72 ICF campaign against Michelin, including workers from 12 countries, forced the tire company to negotiate with strikers for the first time in its 83-year history. First Michelin workers in Germany and Italy refused to work overtime during a strike at a French Michelin plant; later sympathy strikes and demonstrations in Britain and France aided the company's workers in Italy, who had occupied one plant and shut down four others. Faced with such tactics, Michelin could no longer shift production to other plants around the world, as it had in the past.

"Another ICF-coordinated effort in 1972 prevented Akzo, a Dutch-based chemical firm, from shutting down three plants in the Netherlands, West Germany and Belgium. Workers occupied the Dutch plant, and the next day workers at the German plant held a sympathy strike. After talks with the unions involved, Akzo cancelled the shutdowns 'in view of the strong reactions.'"68

The rank-and-file caucus of the USWA in Youngstown, Ohio raises a slogan: "Don't Cry About Imports, Fight for Every Job." A militant slogan, but how do we fight for every job? Such reforms as reducing military expenditures while channeling funds into human needs projects and higher taxes on corporate income from runaway shops will create some new jobs, or preserve some existing ones. But it is our major task to convince co-workers that we are not fighting for every job unless we are fighting for socialism.

The connections between imperialism and runaway shops, unemployment and lack of funds for human services must be clearly drawn. We should support and encourage the work of anti-imperialist research and educational organizations and persuade them to address the materials they produce specifically to such issues. We should search out and use good written, oral and visual material about imperialism. We should strive to break down the isolation between those doing "anti-imperialist" research, education and organizing on the one hand, and those in "trade union" or "community" work on the other.

Conclusion to Present Analysis

We have stressed these three areas for the building of the overall alliance between the working class and oppressed minorities in the present period: compensatory (affirmative action) programs; anti-repression work; proletarian internationalism. In these there is one common thread:

All working people have a common enemy.

The united front strategy is a strategy for revolution. Theoretical understanding of it in our movement barely touches the surface. A task on our immediate agenda should be to broaden and deepen our understanding of the united front strategy, especially as it relates to the struggle against racism.

In addition to the obvious handicap of our terribly limited numbers of forces, our understanding of the political process for implementing this strategy is as limited as our theoretical

understanding. How then, can we suggest that we should begin to implement this strategy now, in this pre-party period?

Because although we are limited, we are not bereft of theory. We have a rich history of struggle which was sometimes led by conscious communist forces, as we hope we showed in the first parts of this paper. We have the beginnings of summation of that history, by those who were involved in it, and by ourselves. Of course, in order for the work of those who came before us, in this country and around the world, to be meaningful, it must be elaborated for the concrete conditions facing us here, today.

It is because theoretical developments require that elaboration in practice that we have the temerity to suggest that mass work--the work of alliance building--must be a high priority for communist forces now.

In that work we must combat spontaneity and localism. We must stand back often to sum up what we are doing. Are we accomplishing tasks of winning the advanced to a communist outlook and creating a communist current in the working class? Is our theoretical development being enhanced by our mass work or is it being held back by our spreading ourselves too thin?

Most important, we advocate the alliance building strategy in this period because we see no other way of beginning to break down the barrier created by racism--within the working class as a whole, as well as within the party-building movement.

F O O T N O T E S

1. "The Guardian Clubs and Our Party Building Tasks," The Organizer, Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, October, 1977.
2. Point 12 of the Guardian's 29 Points on Party Building, June, 1977.
3. Black Liberation Today, Against Dogmatism on the National Question, Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee (pamphlet), p. 7.
4. Lenin, V.I., "The National Question, Presented, 1921," in Selections from Lenin and Stalin on National and Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House.
5. Lenin, V.I., Notes of December 31, 1922, Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 607-609.
6. Allen, Robert, Reluctant Reformers, Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States, Anchor/Doubleday, NY, 1975, Chapter 8.
7. Aptheker, Herbert, American Negro Slave Revolts (New York: International Publishers).
8. Aptheker, Herbert (ed.), Documentary History, proceedings of National Negro Conventions, quote in Litnack, Leon F., North of Slavery, The Negro in the Free States 1790-1860, (University of Chicago Press, 1961) p. 235-36.
9. See footnote, p. 25, Litnack, Ibid.
10. Brawley, Benjamin, A Social History of the American Negro, (New York: Macmillan, 1921) (paperback edition, New York: Macmillan, 1970) p. 60.
11. Allen, op. cit.
12. Franklin, John Hope, From Slavery to Freedom, A History of Negro Americans (New York: Knopf, 1947). p. 231.
13. Franklin, op. cit., p. 233; and Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick, The Civil War in the U.S., p. xxii.
14. Aptheker, Herbert, The Labor Movement in the South During Slavery, (New York: International Publishers) undated pamphlet.
Trelease, Allen W., Reconstruction, the Great Experiment, (New York: Harper) 1971.

Norton, Lee, War Elections, 1862-1864, (New York: International Publishers) undated pamphlet.

Cable, George W., A Southerner Looks at Negro Discrimination, (New York: International Publishers) 1946, pamphlet.

Foner Phillip, S., ed., The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass (New York: International Publishers).

Marx and Engels, op. cit.

15. Trelease, op. cit.

16. Allen, op. cit., p. 65.

17. See, for example, Hinton, William, Fanshen, A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village (New York: Vintage, 1966); and Mao Tse Tung's many writings on land reform, particularly: "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys," Vol. III, Collected Works; and "Tactical Problems of Rural Work in the New Liberated Areas" and "The Work of Land Reform and of Party Consolidation in 1948," in Vol. IV, Collected Works.

18. Green, Constance McLaughlin, The Secret City, A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967) p. 96.

19. Whyte, James, The UnCivil War: Washington During Reconstruction 1865-1878 (New York: Wayne Press, 1958).

20. Brawley, op. cit., p. 32.

21. Allen, op. cit., p. 193.

22. quoted by Brawley, op. cit., p. 322. Emphasis in original.

23. Green, op. cit., p. 167.

24. Ibid., p. 169.

25. Foner, Phillip S., Organized Labor and the Black Worker: 1619-1973, (New York: International Publishers, 1976) p. 165.

26. See, "Early Voice, Profile of A. Phillip Randolph" New Yorker (December 2, 9. 16., 1972).

27. Patterson, William L., The Man Who Cried Genocide: Autobiography of William L. Patterson, (New York: International Publishers, 1971) pp. 108-110;

Haywood, Harry, Black Bolshevik, Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist (Chicago: Liberator Press, 1978) pp. 218-280, ff.

Our references to the COMINTERN resolutions are from the following pamphlet, which contains the complete, unaltered text: "The 1928 and 1930 COMINTERN Resolutions on the Black National Question in the United States, with an Introduction by Lowell Young," (Washington, D.C.: Revolutionary Review Press, 1975) (Hereafter referred to as "RRP, Resolutions") The 1928 resolution initially appeared in the Daily Worker on February 12, 1929. The 1930 resolution was first published in Volume VIII, Number 2 (February 1, 1931) of the Communist International, a bi-monthly journal defunct since 1940.

28. RRP, "Resolutions. . .," pp. 15-16.

29. See Haywood, op. cit., pp. 102-112.

30. Franklin, op. cit., p. 365.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., p. 366.

33. See Haywood, op. cit.

34. See Foner, Organized Labor and the Black Worker, op. cit., Chapter 14, for a vibrant, detailed history of "Black Workers During the Great Depression."

35. Ibid., p. 197, quoting Baltimore Afro-American, September 21, 1935.

36. See Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front Against War and Fascism, Report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, 1935. Also, the PSO's pamphlet, "More Than Patcher, A Study of the Trade Union Question," pp. 18-22.

37. See, for example, Foster, William Z., American Trade Unionism, Principles and Organization, Strategy and Tactics, (New York: International Publishers, 1947) and, Boyer, Richard O., and Herbert M. Morais, Labor's Untold Story, (New York: UE, 1955).

38. RRP, "Resolutions. . ." p. 20.

39. Ibid., p. 36.

40. Foster, William Z., History of the Communist Party, U.S.A., (New York: Greenwood Press, 1952, reprinted, 1968), pp. 308-309.

41. Foner, Organized Labor. . . , op. cit., p. 219.
42. Freen, op. cit., pp.
43. See Mitford, Jessica, A Fine Old Conflict, (New York: Knopf, 1977), for a description of the dynamics of this attack and the resulting fortress mentality which many Party members developed.
44. Benjamin Davis's autobiography, Communist Councilman From Harlem, written in Terre Haute Federal Prison (New York: International Publishers, 1969), shows clearly how this was done.
45. Kotz, Nick and Mary Lynn Kotz, A Passion for Equality: George Wiley and the Movement, (New York: Norton, 1977).
46. Forman, James, The Making of Black Revolutionaries (New York: MacMillan, 1972).
47. Grant, Joanne, ed., Black Protest, (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1968) p. 375. Quoted in Allen, Robert, Black Awakening in Capitalist America (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1969) p. 24.
48. Carmichael, Stokely, and C.V. Hamilton, Black Power, The Politics of Liberation in America, (New York: Vintage Books, 1967) pp. 89-91.
49. Minnis, Jack, "The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party: A New Declaration of Independence," Freedomways, Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring, 1965.
50. Carmichael and Hamilton, op. cit., p. 45, emphasis in original.
51. See Blackstock, Nelson, COINTELPRO, The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom (New York: Vintage Books, 1976). Also, we have the FBI COINTELPRO files at the FBI Reading Room in Washington, D.C. which date from the McCarthy era attacks on the CPUSA. The videotapes of the attacks these documents reveal should not be underestimated.
52. Georgakas, Don, and Marvin Surkin, Detroit: I Do Mind Dying, A Study in Urban Revolution (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).
53. Ibid., pp. 159ff, especially.
54. See Kotz and Kotz, op. cit., and Piven, Francis Fox and Richard A. Cloward, Regulating the Poor, the Functions of Public Welfare (New York: Pantheon, 1971).

55. See Allen, Robert, Black Awakening in Capitalist America, op. cit., for the best analysis of this process.

56. PSO, "More Than Patches," op. cit.

57. Hill, Judah, Class Analysis: United States in the 1970's, (Emeryville, CA, 1975). We have used this work because it is the only one we know of that attempts a Marxist analysis of statistical data. We do not necessarily agree with all of the definitions and categories used by the author, and we recognize this area as needing much serious work by Marxist-Leninists.

58. This analysis relies on the excellent essay, "Capitalism and the Roots of Urban Crisis," by David Gordon, Chapter 5 of Alcaly, Roger E., and David Mermelstein, eds., The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities (New York: Vintage, 1977).

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ernst, Robert T., and Lawrence Hugg, eds., Black America, Geographic Perspectives (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1976) p. 58.

62. Ibid., p. 38.

63. Ibid.

64. See Allen, Robert, Black Awakening in Capitalist America, op. cit., for discussion of the development of a non-white "native administrative stratum" to administer imperialism's investments in the Black community at home, and in the emerging non-white nations of the world.

65. Hitler, Adolph, Mein Kampf, first published 1925, (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1967) p. 45. (paper)

66. "The Trade Union Question--A Communist Approach to Strategy, Tactics, and Program," Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, pp. 15f.

67. Hilferding, Rudolph, Das Finanzkapital, p. 295f, as noted in Sweezy, Paul M., The Theory of Capitalist Development first published 1942. (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1968).

68. Dollars and Sense, A Monthly Bulletin of Economic Affairs, Somerville, Mass., No. 33, January 1978, p. 14.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Alcaly, Roger E., and David Mermelstein, eds., The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities. New York: Vintage, 1977.
- Allen, Robert L. "A Reply to Harold Baron," Socialist Review No. 37, January-February 1978, See Baron, Harold, below.
- Allen, Robert L., Black Awakening in Capitalist America. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1969.
- Allen, Robert L., "Racism and the Black Nation Thesis." Socialist Revolution 27 (January-March, 1976) See, Baron, Harold, below.
- Allen, Robert, The Reluctant Reformers, Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1975.
- Aptheker, Herbert, The Labor Movement in the South During Slavery. New York: International Publishers (undated pamphlet).
- Aptheker, Herbert, To Be Free, Studies in American Negro History. New York: International Publishers, 1968 (first published 1948).
- Baron, Harold, "The Retreat from Black Nationalism: A Response to Robert L. Allen," Socialist Review 37 (January-February, 1978) see, Allen, Robert, L., above.
- Blackstock, Nelson, COINTELPRO, The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom. New York: Vintage Books, 1976.
- Boyer, Robert O. and Herbert M. Morris, Labor's Untold Story. New York: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 1955.
- Brawley, Benjamin, A Social History of the American Negro. New York: Macmillan, 1921. paperback edition New York: Macmillan, 1970.
- Cable, George W., A Southerner Looks at Negro Discrimination. New York: International Publishers, 1946. (pamphlet)
- Carmichael, Stokely and C.V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.

- Davidson, Carl, In Defense of the Right to Self-Determination, reprinted from the Guardian, September 24, 1975 to April 14, 1976 (contains column by Irwin Silber entitled, "On the National Question," which prompted Davidson's articles.) Chicago: Liberator Press, 1976.
- Davis, Benjamin, Communist Councilman From Harlem. New York: International Publishers, 1969.
- Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front Against War and Fascism, Report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, 1935. New York: Gamma Publishing Co., 1974.
- Ernst, Robert T. and Lawrence Hugg, eds. Black America, Geographic Perspectives. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1976.
- Fanon, Frantz, Black Skins, White Masks. Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1952. English edition: New York: Grove Press, 1967.
- Fanon, Frantz, The Wretched of the Earth. Paris: Maspero, 1961. English edition, New York: Grove Press, 1968.
- Foner, Phillip S., Organized Labor and the Black Worker 1619-1973. New York: International Publishers, 1976.
- Forman, James, The Making of Black Revolutionaries. New York: Macmillan, 1972.
- Foster, William Z., American Trade Unionism: Principles and Organization, Strategy and Tactics. Selected Writings. New York: International Publishers, 1947.
- Foster, William Z., History of the Communist Party, U.S.A. New York: Greenwood Press, 1952. (reprinted 1968).
- Georgakas, Don and Marvin Turkin. Detroit: I Do Mind Dying. A Study in Revolution. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975.
- Green, Constance McLoughlin, The Secret City, A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Haywood, Harry, Black Bolshevik, Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist. Chicago: Liberator Press, 1978.
- Haywood, Harry, For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question. Reprinted by the October League (M-L), 1975, Originally published 1957, pamphlet.
- Haywood, Harry, Negro Liberation. Reprinted by Liberator Press, Chicago, 1976. Originally published, 1948.

- Hill, Judah. Class Analysis: The United States in the 1970s. Emeryville, CA, 1975. (pamphlet).
- Kotz, Nick and Mary Lynn Kotz. A Passion for Equality: George Wiley and the Movement. New York: Morton 1971.
- Lenin, V.I., and Joseph Stalin. Selections from Lenin and Stalin on the National and Colonial Question. Calcutta Book House.
- Litnack, Leon F. North of Slavery, The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels, The Civil War in the U.S.
- Minnis, Jack, "The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party: A New Declaration of Independence" Freedomways, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Spring 1965).
- Mitford, Jessica, A Fine Old Conflict. New York: Knopf, 1977.
- Movement for a Revolutionary Left, A Critique of Ultra-Leftism, Dogmatism and Sectarianism. Eugene, Oregon, 1977 (pamphlet).
- Norton, Lee. War Elections, 1862-1864. New York: International Publishers (undated pamphlet).
- Patterson, William L. The Man Who Cried Genocide, Auto-Biography of William L. Patterson, New York: International Publishers, 1971.
- Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee. Black Liberation Today, Against Dogmatism on the National Question.
- Review of Black Political Economy, 1st Issue on Reparations, Vol II, No. 1 (Winter, 1972). Black Economic Research Center, N.Y.
- Revolutionary Review Press. The 1928 and 1930 COMINTERN Resolutions on the Black National Question in the United States, with an Introduction by Lowell Young. Washington, D.C., 1975.
- Richmond, Al. A Long View From the Left, Memoirs of an American Revolutionary. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1973. (later published in paper)
- Silber, Irwin. "On the National Question." Guardian, September 24, 1975. Also contained in Davidson, Carl, (see above).

Trelease, Allen W. Reconstruction, the Great Experiment.
New York: Harper, 1971.

Whyte, James. The Uncivil War: Washington During the
Reconstruction, 1865-1878. New York: Wayne Press,
1958.

Wright, Richard. American Hunger. New York: Harper and Row,
1977. written 1945.

Wright, Richard. Black Boy. originally published, Harper &
Brothers, 1945. paperback, New York: Harper & Row,
1966.

X, Malcolm and Alex Haley. The Autobiography of Malcolm X.
New York: Grove Press, 1964.

