



D. Gordon—New York Times

Trailer-park residents standing guard: 'We sympathize'

Black Politics in the 80's

Over and over again, thunderous Afro-American revolts have exploded in Idabel, Oklahoma; Wichita, Kansas; Miami, Florida and Wrightsville, Georgia; Miami again and most recently in Chattanooga, Tennessee with near-rebellions in Natchez, Mississippi; Flint, Michigan; and Birmingham, Alabama. They vividly confirm that the struggle of the Afro-American masses to overthrow monopoly capitalism is what the contemporary black liberation movement of the 80's is all about.

On May 19, 1980, the fury of the Afro-American masses in Miami exploded with hurricane force, after the acquittal of the murderers of black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie. For three days and three nights blacks attacked the chief symbols of state power with a vengeance. The first night of the rebellion, more than 5,000 angry blacks surrounded police headquarters and a tremendous struggle for control of the heart of police power ensued. The doors of the station were battered down. Massive assaults against the Justice Building and the Post Office soon followed. The biggest chain stores that robbed and fleeced all Miamians regardless of nationality were systematically picked clean of their contents and burned with such thoroughness that, as one black worker put it, "You know no Molotov cocktail could have done that." And the word 'PAYBACK' was painted on the charred remains to make it clear that this was not indiscriminate violence against whites as the bourgeois press would have Americans believe — but retaliation for generations of national oppression suffered at the hands of the capitalist state.

Comrade Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the Communist Workers Party, said during the heat of the rebellion, "The Afro-American revolt in Miami speaks for the whole U.S. people." The best illustration of this is the broad support that the Miami rebellion enjoyed among all sectors of Miamians — all but the bourgeoisie. The majority of white workers definitely supported the rebellion as 70% of the callers to Miami radio stations stated. Paul and Ruth Jones said after their home was burned down during the rebellion, "What you have to understand about this whole McDuffie thing is that it isn't black vs. white, it's the poor against the cops and the rich." Cuban-Americans who have been set up as scapegoats for the anger of Miami blacks responded by organizing support rallies, offering to supply arms to blacks, and raising over \$35,000 to cover the medical expenses of a 12-year-old black girl who was hit by a car during the rebellion.

These many examples of support for the Afro-American rebellion are rooted in the common agony,

misery and suffering of the entire U.S. people in the midst of the deepest economic and political crisis in U.S. history.

Chickens are coming home to roost in a massive way as the U.S. enters a period of rapid and extensive capitalist destabilization. Thirty years of Keynesian deficit financing, with over 1½ trillion wasted on militarization, going in for quick profit in speculation on gold, silver, foodstuffs, and antiques over productive investment have irreversibly poisoned the U.S. economy. As heavy industries like auto, rubber and steel close their gates for the last time, cities like Mahwah, New Jersey; Youngstown, Ohio; Toledo, Ohio; and Braddock, Pennsylvania have become graveyards. Workingmen and women are having their futures snatched away from them in one stroke, as

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losing your job in the 80's means losing everything you bought and thought you owned in the 50's and 60's. Home, cars, furniture are taken away from you by the bank coming to seize them if payments are not met. Millions of industrial workers are forced for the first time in their lives to go on food stamp lines and welfare lines, and for elderly who have slaved all their lives, the desperation is so intense that 90-year-old women are forced to steal cans of tuna to survive.

Independent of their will, workers are forced to wage increasingly acute struggles just for survival, bombing scabs' cars and the Mayor's house in Washington, Indiana; seizing hostages in chemically poisoned Love Canal, N. Y.; and taking to the streets of Levittown, Pennsylvania over gas at \$1.15 a gallon. The temper of the U.S. people is so volatile and inflammable that 100 people in Staten Island whipped the police because they gave a white youth a parking ticket.

Profound Change in Thinking Among Afro-Americans

Two important developments in the Afro-American struggle in recent months show that a profound change in thinking has taken hold among Afro-American people. First, the few weeks that passed between the May 19 Miami rebellion, and second Miami rebellion and the Chattanooga rebellion showed a marked development in the consciousness of blacks. At the beginning of the second uprising in Miami, blacks were chanting, "kill the pigs before they kill us," and rained sniper fire on the police as CWP agitators denounced the police and focused the masses' anger on the state. The results of this new level of consciousness were immediately apparent. In the second uprising the enemy suffered more casualties than the masses, with five cops wounded by sniper fire: this is in contrast to one cop dying from a heart attack during the first rebellion, in which 18 blacks were murdered.

And in Chattanooga, the police were forced to retreat from a fusillade of rifle and shotgun fire that left eight cops wounded as they tried to storm the Black Alton Housing project. One policeman said, "I believe that we were the target of an organized ambush attempt." It was only a face-saving compromise by capitalist lackey Jesse Jackson, replacing the police with a black ministers' patrol, that kept the cops from looking like complete asses.

The second development occurred during the initial Miami rebellion itself. As soon as Miami erupted, the Carter Administration called in the national civil rights "leaders," the so-called "Big 5," to cool things off. But when they got to Miami, they got the surprise of their lives. The masses ran them out of town on a rail. When Andrew Young came into Liberty City to plead that blacks "work this McDuffie thing out through the system," a black worker cursed him out as soon as he was out of his car, saying, "What the hell are you doing here!! The only time we see you so-called leaders is when you come down here to cool somebody off." And Young's speech was interrupted by a 15-year-old black youth who drew a .38 and forced Young to leave the rally quite unexpectedly, with a police escort. After Miami Jesse Jackson stopped calling himself a black leader, preferring to call himself a "moral leader who happens to be black."

Today, even the capitalist class is forced to admit that the so-called "Big 5" is dead. The stony silence that pervaded black communities across the country despite all the media hype and presidential bedside visits in the wake of Vernon Jordan's shooting clearly shows that none of these "leaders" has the standing among the Afro-American masses of black comedian Richard Pryor. And the only reason that Jesse Jackson was able to go into Chattanooga and get the police off the hook was the advanced elements were not sufficiently organized to provide strong leadership, or-

ganize real people's armed self-defense, and run the snake-in-the-grass out of town.

Yet the sweeping rejection of these misleaders should not be taken to mean that the death of the "Big 5" is a recent thing. A review of the history of the Afro-American people's struggle will show that they were dead a long, long time ago.

Struggle Rises in Concert With the Third World

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Afro-American people. Oppressed nations and people throughout the world rose one after another in anti-imperialist anti-colonialist struggle. And the rise of the black liberation movement was an integral part of this irresistible historical trend that has permanently changed world politics.

The struggle of blacks in the 50's developed in the context of the temporary stabilization of capitalism, made possible by the shameful capitulation of the communist parties in the U.S. and Western Europe. The betrayal of the Communist Party, USA left the working class wide open to the numbing effect of the rabid anti-communism of Joe McCarthy.

As Jerry Tung recently pointed out, "The 50's and 60's were a sorry era in the history of the U.S. working class. Workers did not even see themselves as workers, but as part of the "middle class." We sent our sons off to war thinking it was good for us and mortgaged the future of our sons and daughters thinking it was prosperity. And now the chickens are coming home to roost in the 80's."

The big con game run on the working class was financed by Keynesian economic tricks of deficit spending, permanent militarization of the economy, and expansion of consumer credit, which forced workers to sign away their futures to buy the home, the cars and decent furniture, and send the children off to college — all as part of the "American Dream" and keeping up with the Joneses. In the midst of the all-round deception of the U.S. working class, the 20-year upsurge of Afro-Americans was the first breath of fresh air for the U.S. people.

After the war, the U.S. was the number one imperialist power in the world, stepping into the shoes of the Japanese, German and Italian fascists. But consolidating their hegemonic position was problematic. To consolidate the colonies fighting for independence and shaking loose from the defeated imperialists, the U.S. imperialists had to portray themselves as the "guardians of freedom and democracy" around the world. Yet the U.S. couldn't play that role if there was still flagrant Jim Crow segregation in the Black Belt South, keeping blacks in conditions comparable to apartheid South Africa.

This was the reason for the "historic" Supreme Court decision of 1954, which was praised to the skies

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by the NAACP and the CPUSA. The decision was translated into 40 languages to let the world know that the U.S. was dealing with the “Negro Problem.” But the Supreme Court decision changed nothing; a fact that the brutal lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till for the “eye-balling rape” of a white woman made crystal-clear. It was a matter of time before the anger of blacks, who had been fooled by the Supreme Court decision, exploded. In December 1955 a black woman worker, Rosa Parks, refused to yield her seat on a bus to a white man and she was arrested. The Montgomery Bus Boycott was on.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott and many of the initial struggles of blacks were fought within the confines of bourgeois legality, under the leadership of the reactionary philosophy of non-violence, the philosophy of turning the other cheek. The struggle of the Afro-American masses demanded that a leader step forward, and in that context Martin Luther King became a nationally recognized leader.

The turn of the new decade, the 60's, was brought in by a sit-in organized by four students of North Agricultural Technical College who sat-in at a Woolworth's. Unlike the late 40's when the sit-in tactic was used a few times in Chicago and Baltimore housing projects but really didn't go anywhere, the sit-in movement caught on like wildfire throughout the Black Belt South. In city after city revolutionary youth braved all odds to persist in the struggle to defeat Jim Crow. A new wave of fighters were tempered dealing with water hoses, police dogs, KKK and police bullets. These angry young nationalists were increasingly outraged with gradualism, legalism and disastrous non-violent tactics the “Big 5” imposed on them.

Advanced elements were beginning to identify with armed self-defense advocated by Robert Williams who in 1958 organized the Monroe (N.C.) chapter of the NAACP into a rifle club. After a complete whitewash of a white police officer's murder of a black youth, Williams said, “It's clear that we can't get any justice



Birmingham, Alabama, 1963. The disastrous effects of non-violent tactics: An Afro-American worker attacked by trained dogs.

in the courts; we must convict our attackers on the spot." For this statement he was expelled by the NAACP and denounced by the CPUSA. But even after Williams was framed on a kidnapping charge and railroaded into exile in China, young black activists pursued study of his writings.

By 1963, the struggle of Afro-Americans was of tremendous international importance. At that time an entire stratum of advanced elements were demanding more militant tactics and more advanced solutions to national oppression.

March on Washington Seals Death of "Big 5"

In 1963 the eyes of the entire world were on Birmingham, Alabama. That city was the final test for the non-violent tactics of Dr. Martin Luther King and the rest of the "Big 5." Millions of Americans watched in horror as blacks marched, singing "We Shall Overcome," stood and refused to defend themselves when police dogs attacked them, cattle prods shocked them, police water hoses knocked them down, and sheriff's billy clubs cracked their skulls open. For all their suffering, the non-violent struggle led by King failed.

After Birmingham, the masses of blacks swept the "Big 5" aside. It was hardly an accident that the first urban rebellion of the 60's was in Birmingham itself, where non-violence proved such an utter failure. For the first time Afro-American masses broke through the bounds of bourgeois legality, and advanced elements began to determine the character of the movement.

A massive movement to march on Washington swept through the Black Belt South and the entire country. There were going to lock it up and shut it down to dramatize the struggle for civil rights. There is no better sum-up of that period than Malcolm X's speech delivered shortly after the March on Washington. We hope the reader will bear with us for the great length of this quote:

"... As soon as King failed in Birmingham, Negroes took to the streets... They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham remember that also exploded. They began to stab crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head — yes they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops down in Birmingham. After that Kennedy got on television and said it was a moral issue. Then he said he was going to put out a civil rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster.

"Then the Negroes started talking. About what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the White House, march on the Senate, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any planes land. I'm

telling you what they said. That was revolution.

"It was a grassroots power out there in the streets. It scared the white man to death; scared the white power structure to death. I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in those national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off." Kennedy said, "Look you are letting this thing go too far." And old Tom said, "Boss I can't stop it because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even a part of it." They said, "Those Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox said, "If you are not in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it. . . ."

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And join it Kennedy did. After Kennedy imposed the "Big 5" on the march, the revolutionary character of it was gutted. Malcolm summed up the march this way in the conclusion of his speech. "As they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry — why it even ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. I know you don't like what I'm saying. But I am going to tell you anyway. It was a sellout, a take over... They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what songs to sing, what signs to carry, what speech to make and what speech they couldn't make and told them to get out of town by sundown." ("Message to the Grassroots," Nov. 18, 1963)

The March on Washington was the trick of the decade on blacks. But it sealed the death of the "Big 5" as well. After the March on Washington, Malcolm X, freed of the ideological and organizational chains of the Nation of Islam, devoted himself to conducting militant, unwavering and relentless propaganda to clarify the direction of the black liberation movement.

Malcolm smashed the illusion that there could be freedom for Afro-American people without a violent revolution. He took a clear anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist position. He exposed the dual tactics of the civil rights bill that Kennedy proposed and subjected



Malcolm X at the head of a massive 1962 demonstration to protest the murder of several blacks by the Los Angeles Police Department.

the reformist leaders to merciless criticism. Malcolm was turning the corner to Marxism.

His work was a concentrated expression of an entire stratum of advanced elements who were studying *Peking Review* and *China Reconstructs* and organizing conferences at colleges in the Black Belt South, and they were calling for the overthrow of capitalism.

On February 21, 1965 Malcolm X was murdered by the bourgeoisie. Though his body had been laid to rest, his ideas had greater effect than ever as the rest of the decade, was a decade of stormy rebellions in Watts, Newark and the mightiest of all the rebellions of the 60's, the Detroit rebellion, whose tremendous power was the anger of black auto workers who demanded an end to national oppression.

The black liberation movement rocked the country to its very foundations. Precisely because it was the first internal challenge to the rule of the U.S. imperialists, Chairman Mao called the Afro-American people's struggle in the mid-60's a clarion call to the people of the world to intensify their struggle against U.S. imperialism. At the height of the spontaneous movement in 1967-1968, urban rebellions were the main form of struggle, with more than 160 rebellions in the summer of 1967, 125 in the month of July alone. And in 1968, after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, 131 rebellions rocked cities across the country.

After the assassination of Malcolm X, although the country was rocked by spontaneous rebellions, there was a void in leadership in the black liberation movement until the emergence of the Black Panther Party in the late 60's. And during that period of the black liberation movement, the "Big 5" were able to maintain themselves as "leaders" because the capitalists funded them heavily, and gave them free access to the media. The NAACP was basically its Legal and Defense Fund, directly funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. The Urban League was no more than a major referral agency, to try to get black petty bourgeois jobs. And apart from Dr. Martin Luther King, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference really did not exist as far as the masses of Afro-Americans were concerned. And after the murder of the leadership of the Black Panther Party in 1969-71, there was a lull in the spontaneous movement, so they spread these views relatively unchallenged during the 70's.

At the beginning of the 80's, the openly reactionary nature of the U.S. clearly reveals that the basis to even deceive the Afro-American masses doesn't exist anymore. As the black liberation movement of the 80's begins to take shape, the "Big 5" has been run out of many spontaneous struggles, most notably the resounding denunciation of Uncle Tom Joe Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for his anti-communist slander of the Communist Workers Party and his chauvinist attacks against the Iranian people. This formed the backdrop of their wholesale rejection in Miami.

And just as in the case of the Black Power slogan in the 60's, there are two interpretations of independent black politics emerging. On one hand, some mean a reformist black party that will use a "little destruction" to try to gain a few crumbs from the capitalist class, while others mean a black mass party that is opposed to both bourgeois parties and to the entire capitalist system, a progressive development which would have the potential to be a great fighting force in the 80's.

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With the death of the "Big 5", a void in leadership among the Afro-American masses is an established fact. The spontaneous rebellions of the 80's are clear expressions of the objective demand of the Afro-American masses for the overthrow of U.S. monopoly capitalism.

To fill this void in leadership among blacks, several representatives of the black petty bourgeoisie are re-evaluating their programs and tactics for the 80's, and have begun to raise independent black politics as the road for blacks in the 80's. *Black Enterprise* recently said in their July issue, "Many blacks including influential party regulars are calling for a new look at an old idea—the establishment of an independent black political party. The frustration has been the result of more than 50 years of democratic affiliation. The identification has been so heavy and lasted so long that many blacks and whites feel the party can and does assume that blacks have no place to go."

All classes of Afro-Americans are being torn apart by the depth of the 80's economic crisis, and the black petty bourgeoisie is no exception.

The economic crisis of the 80's weighs heavily on the black petty bourgeoisie. The main streets of most Afro-American communities, streets that ten years ago were full of black businesses and shops, are today deserted and bare. Loans to get started and credit to stay afloat are virtually non-existent and the impoverishment of the Afro-American masses is so intense that blacks can hardly afford to buy at all, let alone "buy black." The fact that the most prosperous sector of black business in the 70's, the black auto dealers, face almost certain extinction in the 80's, is indicative of the precarious position of all black business in the coming decade. The fact that the black petty bourgeoisie is being squeezed out of the \$125 billion black market is the economic fact that stirs the rise of independent black politics, whose goal is to reclaim the gains that they made ten years ago.

Since it was the black petty bourgeoisie who benefited the most from the partial concessions of the 60's — as did their white counterparts — they quite naturally long for a return to the "good old days." It is no accident that over 90% of black business existing today, 90% of the black politicians and 74 of *Black Enterprise's* Top 100 black businesses came into being in 1969 or later.

Black business is small business, and as such they are subject to the economic laws of the petty bourgeoisie, who as a whole are continually ground down trying to survive under the economic and political domination of monopoly capitalism. Ninety per cent go bankrupt in the first two years, except that black business has the added burden of national oppression. The Small Business Administration (SBA) loans were — regardless of what many black entrepreneurs believed — a giveaway to black business.

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Government organs like the SBA have always served to set up certain necessary subsidiary industries, and to prop up the petty bourgeois social basis for reformist illusions and for fascist groups like the KKK and the Nazis, whose leadership is petty bourgeoisie.

While politically they have the outlook of the national bourgeoisie, their status will never be more than that of the petty bourgeoisie. As a strata they are feeble, and despite the profound movement of the 60's they still clung to the coattails of the Democratic Party, until the powerful movement of the black masses reappeared on the horizon. During the 60's the principal slogan of the black petty bourgeoisie was "black power," as formulated by Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leader, Stokely Carmichael, who said in his book *Black Power*, "Black power for example means that in Lowndes County, Alabama, a black sheriff can end police brutality. A black tax assessor and tax collector can lay, collect and channel tax monies for the building of better roads and schools serving black people. In such areas as Lowndes, where blacks have a majority they will attempt to use power to exercise control. That is what they seek - control. When black people lack a majority, Black Power means proper representation and a sharing of control. It means the creation of power bases from which black people can press to change local or nationwide patterns of oppression instead of from weakness." In no way can this reformist interpretation of black power be confused with the fighting chant of "Black Power" that the masses of blacks took with them into the streets during many of the urban rebellions, which was a revolutionary slogan for the overthrow of the system and an end of national oppression. Thus, at the start of the 80's, with the re-emergence of a powerful black liberation movement already an established fact, the black petty bourgeoisie



President Carter and NAACP delegates sing "We Shall Overcome" at NAACP convention on July 4.

— especially that sector that banked so heavily on the Carter administration to rescue them from the crisis, only to have those hopes dashed — have raised the banner of independent black politics to regain the lost positions won during the black power movement during the 60's.

Recently the National Black United Front, an organization which the CWP has supported and continues to support, attracted more than 1,000 people to its founding conference in Brooklyn, New York. The conference represented a broad cross-section of the Afro-American community, and everyone there came to the conference with great expectations. The grassroots fighters and the Afro-American masses came with the hope that the NBUF would be a real alternative to the already discredited civil rights organizations and would wage a hard fight against national oppression. The petty bourgeoisie forces came hoping that the NBUF would be able to mobilize enough pressure to make the Carter administration come through on some of the promises that he made in 1976, while certain opportunists came with the hope of stealing into positions of leadership of the Afro-American people's struggles through the NBUF.

During the debate over electoral politics, one of the most controversial and the most politically significant topic of the entire conference, the real direction of the NBUF leaders jumped out and stood clear to be seen when the CWP introduced two resolutions exposing electoral politics' failure as a road to liberation. The first read in part, "The struggle of the Afro-American people is a struggle against monopoly capitalism. The history of the contemporary black liberation movement has proven that a struggle for petty reforms and bourgeois electoral positions will not end the suffering of the Afro-American masses." The second resolution pointed out that both, "the Democratic and Republican parties are parties of world war and fascism. The U.S. is in the midst of the deepest economic crisis ever. Regardless of what individual is elected President of the U.S. in 1980, the purpose of the 1980

Democratic and Republican conventions is to find a representative that best serves the monopoly capitalists' preparations to impose fascism at home and to go to world war with the Soviet Union." The resolution ended with a call for the NBUF and the Afro-American masses to support the demonstration at the Democratic convention August 11-14.

In response to these resolutions, the conference leadership called all proceedings to a halt to decide what to do. One nationalist said that the "NBUF cannot support a demonstration against monopoly capitalism." Several opportunists quickly got up to defend his position on the basis that this proposal, "goes beyond the principles of unity of the NBUF." The report given from the workshop called for the formation of an "independent black revolutionary party" and for black people to vote and "this time we have to win." Despite the fact that the second longest line of the day had formed to speak out on this issue, the discussion was abruptly closed with a parliamentary maneuver, and electoral politics was to be the only workshop of the entire conference, and there was no vote on the resolutions at all.

In the course of this struggle it became clear that at least a sector of the black petty bourgeoisie still has not learned from its subservience to the Democratic Party and still wants to impose bourgeois electoral reformism on the Afro-American people. The day after the conference, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, National Chairman of the NBUF, said in the *New York Daily News* that a first priority of the Front is to register people to vote and re-elect Al Vann to his seat in the New York State Assembly.

CWP's Policy of Unity & Struggle Stark Contrast to Opportunist Capitulation

The policy of the Communist Workers Party to the NBUF is a policy of unity and struggle. We are opposed to national oppression no matter what class that it affects. Throughout its history the CWP has supported the work of the Black United Front, providing agitators to assist in several of the early demonstrations in the formative years of the BUF, while we criticized them publicly for misdirecting the march in which angry blacks wanted to march on a Brooklyn police precinct after the savage murder of Luis Baez, shot 24 times by the New York police.

And coming out of the conference we fully support many of the progressive resolutions passed by it, such as the call for a national demonstration in support of the struggle of Afro-Americans in Wrightsville, Georgia; a call for a National Black Workers conference; and a National Black Women's conference, as a few examples.

We will work with any organization that the masses support and participate in. At no time will the CWP demand agreement with its platform or its political line as a condition to be in the united front, because if there

were no differing views, then it wouldn't be a united front at all. At the same time we will criticize reformist and backward views and we will at all times work to win over as many as possible to the platform of the Communist Workers Party.

In complete contrast to the principled policy of the CWP was the disgusting behavior of the sham "communists." At every decisive juncture of the conference they tailed after the leadership of the NBUF — only speaking up to ensure that their careerist interests of maneuvering into the leadership of the NBUF were protected. Not once did they mention socialism or criticize any of the backward anti-working class views that were spread at the conference, the most extreme being the "white devils" line advocated by a spokesman for ex-Black Muslim minister Louis Farrakhan. And the principal contributions to the conference were the really memorable gems and pearls of opportunism which will help many to get clear on the essence of their line. The League of "Revolutionary Struggle" said in their rag sheet at the conference that the "National Black United Front is the main weapon of black people in the 80's." This is the most direct and formal statement of the political poverty and utter inability to do independent work among Afro-Americans that you will ever hear.

To weasel into the leadership of the NBUF the "Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)" sunk so low as to say that, "If we are really to believe in self-determination, then we should be about a minimum program to strengthen the Black masses' control over their schools, communities, etc." This is almost identical to the position CORE adopted in 1966 saying that "black people seek to control the educational position, the political-economic system and the administration of their own communities." It shows that whatever pretense of Marxism "CPML" clung to has

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been totally abandoned for the standpoint of the most reformist organization of the 60's.

The deplorable position the opportunists found themselves in at the conference is the result of their steadfast refusal to repudiate the line of united front strategy the CWP has criticized for years, and to understand the proper relation of united front tactics and communist strategy.

Strategy is the disposition of the main force of the U.S. revolution, the multi-national working class, the disposition of the reserves of the revolution and the determination of the direction of the main blow. The main task of the U.S. proletariat is the mobilization, development and forging of its main force and through the main force, mobilization of the reserves. The most difficult and protracted part of proletarian strategy for the U.S. revolution is awakening, mobilizing and training of the class itself through their actual struggle; and amplifying the power of the existing organization of the working class through the building up of its vanguard, the communist party.

During the 80's, a period when all strata of the U.S. people are disoriented and searching for answers to what is tearing their lives apart, proper use of united front tactics will be essential to winning over the majority of the U.S. people. These are times Lenin described, "Thousands of circles are now springing up everywhere without our aid, without any definite program or aim, simply under the impact of events. The Social Democrats must make it their task to establish and strengthen connections with the greatest possible number of these circles, to assist them, to give them the benefit of their own knowledge and experience, to stimulate them with their own revolutionary initiative. Let all such circles except those that are avowedly non-Social Democratic either join the party or directly align itself with the party. In the latter event, we must not demand that they accept our program or that they necessarily enter into organizational relations with us. Their mood of protest and their sympathy for the cause of international revolutionary social democracy is sufficient in themselves, provided So-

cial Democrats work effectively in them, for these circles to be transformed into democratic assistants of the Social Democratic Party and then into convinced members of the Social Democratic Party." ("New Tasks and New Forces")

We waged the struggle that we did in the founding conference of the National Black United Front because it is in the interest of the Afro-American masses and the multi-national working class for the NBUF to become a powerful movement that deals powerful blows to monopoly capitalism and enjoys the respect of millions of blacks and workers. But as long as the National Black United Front is stifled by reformism, it will be swept aside by the tide of class struggle as surely as the "Big 5" were.

No Basis for a "Marshall Plan" In the 80's

We think that Rev. Daughtry — along with *Black Enterprise* and Congressman Parren Mitchell and others — have profound illusions about the 80's and about the nature of capitalism itself, when they call for a "Marshall Plan" for the cities and for a "Domestic Camp David" to put it into effect, as they have done on a number of occasions since the Miami rebellion. His analogy is wrong because what he is talking about is actually closer to the "Great Society" under the administration of Lyndon Johnson. We want to pose two questions: What was the "Great Society" actually supposed to do? And what are the prospects for another round of "Great Society" programs in the 80's?

First of all, the "Great Society" and the programs that it engendered were developed in the 60's as a tactical zig-zag by the capitalist class, part of the counter-revolutionary dual tactics the bourgeoisie used to stop the black liberation movement of the 60's.

On the one hand, the finest representatives of the Afro-American masses — Malcolm X, George Jackson, and Fred Hampton — were murdered. The Black

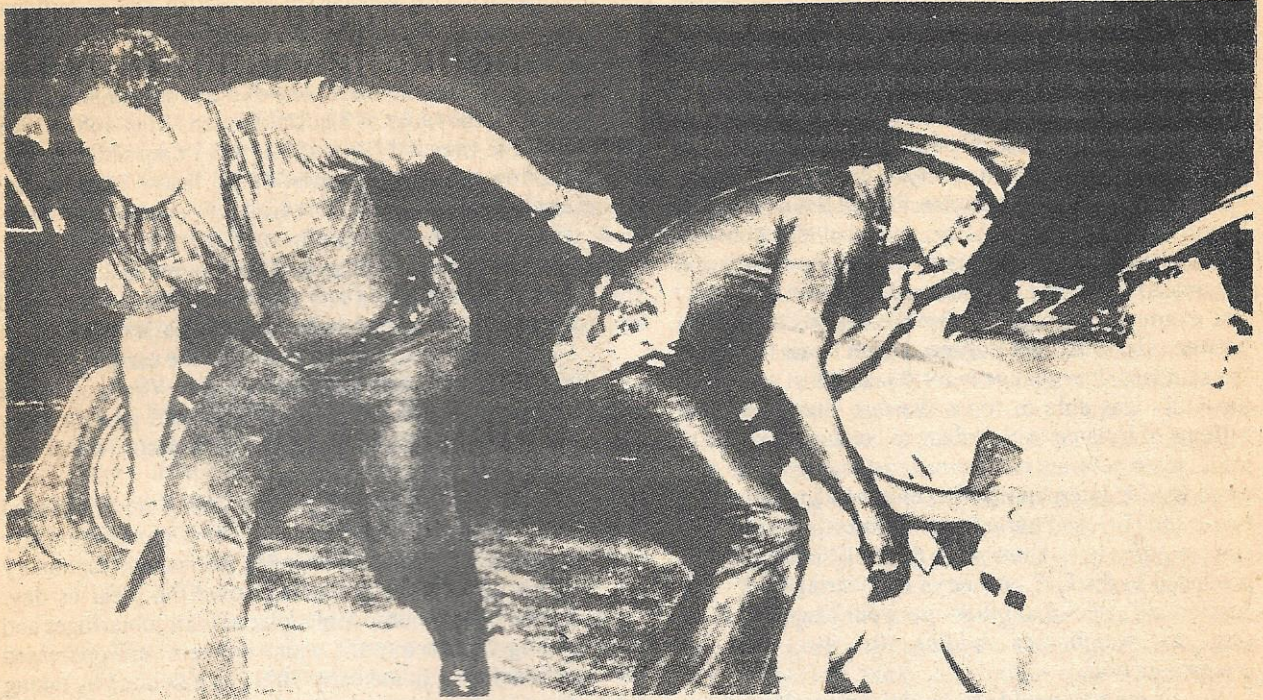
"So as soon as the Keynesian tricks of the 60's played out, the illusory liberalism of the Democratic Party evaporated and the true nature, the openly reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, stood out clear as day."

Panther Party, the moral authority of the black liberation movement and new left in the late 60's, were the main target of the FBI's COINTELPRO counter-intelligence program. Its leaders were systematically murdered. The entire organization was infiltrated by agent provocateurs. The state provoked military confrontations that tied many of the best members up in court for years. With the pressure of legalism, the capitalist class split the Panthers into two, with one half becoming terrorists like the Black Liberation Army, and the other turning to electoral politics, like Bobby Seale running for the mayor of Oakland, California.

And while the best revolutionaries in the black liberation movement were murdered and jailed by the bourgeoisie, the capitalists came out with a series of partial concessions and apparent reforms to sidetrack the black liberation movement into legal channels that the bourgeoisie could contain. They tried to develop a stratum of petty bourgeois misleadership to spread the poisonous illusion that blacks could integrate into the mainstream of American society through black business and going to the polls to get some black elected officials. And it was organizations of professional counter-revolutionaries, such as the Ford Foundation, that took the lead in co-opting the black liberation movement. For example, it was a \$175,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to the Cleveland Chapter of CORE that was a decisive factor in the election of Carl Stokes in 1965, making him the first black mayor of a major U.S. city.

It was in this setting that big-eared Lyndon came out with the "Great Society" in the beginning of 1965, developing more than 50 programs. They included Project Head Start, Model Cities, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Job Corps, Project Vista, Medicare and Medicaid as a few examples. Billions

"Where did the money for the "Great Society" come from? They just printed it up, and used the economic, political and military hegemony of U.S. imperialism at the time to export the crisis abroad."



Chattanooga police reeling after Afro-Americans in Chattanooga's Black Alton Housing Projects opened fire on them during them during the recent rebellion.

choice and turning that into the Boston Forced Busing Plan, setting black and white workers at each other's throats, while *all* the schools remained sub-standard and the capitalists got off the hook. The mid-70's saw "affirmative action" was officially replaced by "reverse discrimination" with the Supreme Court's Bakke and Weber decisions. During the 70's, police

"Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the CWP, pointed out, 'The implications of the Miami rebellion for the 80's, the Levittowns, Love Canals, the number of Afro-American revolts in recent weeks, are indicators, foreshadowing the revolutionary situation to come.'"

murder — one of the most concentrated forms of national oppression — assumed monstrous proportions, even surpassing pre-war Nazi Germany in its intensity and viciousness. A study by noted sociologist Paul Takagi of the University of California pointed out that in the years 1968-76 there were more than "3,000 police-caused deaths averaging 342 a year between 1968-76," as compared to "242 a year in the period 1950-67." Dr. Takagi notes that at least "half of them were black." This is despite the fact that in cities like Detroit, 40% of the police force is black.

And what are the prospects for another round of "Great Society" programs in the 80's? Comparing the economic situation and the international position of U.S. imperialism in the 60's and the 80's is like comparing the health of a man with a bad cold with that of a man with terminal cancer. Stopped cold in Southeast Asia, Iran and Nicaragua, the U.S. is now a declining superpower getting kicked out of one sphere of influence after another, and the whole third world is demanding a new economic order, denying the U.S. supplies of cheap raw materials and sources of vast superprofits. The capitalist countries of Europe will not swallow any more U.S. inflation, as the break up of the Bretton-Woods agreement in 1970 shows, and now those countries are charting their own policy as the recent calls for an "independent Europe" by both Schmidt of West Germany and Giscard of France prove. The stagnation of industry is so deep that even the *New York Daily News* predicts that the "U.S. will be as dependent on Japanese steel as on Arab oil." All

were spent on these programs, including a \$2 billion annual budget for the Office of Economic Opportunity, the centerpiece of the "Great Society," \$500 million a year on Model Cities, more than \$1 billion on education at the university and secondary level, \$96 million for Head Start, \$3.4 billion to get Medicare going and \$770 million to get Medicaid started.

Where did the money for the "Great Society" come from? They just printed it up, and used the economic political and military hegemony of U.S. imperialism at the time to export the crisis abroad. How did this work? For example, through the Bretton-Woods agreement between the U.S. and Europe, which made the dollar the standard of exchange in all the capitalist countries, the U.S. was able to force Western Europe to hold billions of inflated U.S. dollars to conduct any kind of trade, even between two European countries. The AID (Agency for International Development) program between the U.S. and Latin America forced Latin American countries to swallow more than 30% of all the steel produced in the U.S. as one of the "strings" of U.S. foreign aid, steel that otherwise would have been sitting in warehouses adding to the crisis of overproduction.

But in no way could the partial concessions of the "Great Society" alleviate the suffering of the masses

of Afro-Americans, let alone put an end to national oppression. This is because there is no basis under monopoly capitalism for national freedom. The promise of full employment, one of the principal things that swelled the ranks of black politicians from 468 in 1968 to more than 4,500 in 1979, was impossible because the irreversible stagnation of the heavy industry had already begun, and a vast army of permanently unemployed youth was already numbering in the millions. How on earth could Richard Hatcher put black workers in the steel mills in any number in the late 60's and early 70's when the trend toward massive layoffs of steelworkers had already started in the early 60's? The black auto workers that put Coleman Young in as the mayor of Detroit were only to have their jobs for a few years because the stagnating auto industry was living on borrowed time.

So as soon as the Keynesian tricks of the 60's played out, the illusory liberalism of the Democratic Party evaporated and the true nature, the openly reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, stood out clear as day. Partial concessions were replaced with subterfuges and pitting tactics to split white workers and oppressed nationalities. In the early 70's this was done by taking the genuine demand of Afro-Americans for quality education and the right to go to the school of their



Miami blacks after running Andrew Young out of town, denounce Carter and the NAACP misleaders during the 1980 NAACP convention.

the capitalists are talking about "re-industrializing America" but no one capitalist and no one bank can make the tremendous investment that is needed to revive heavy industry, as it will take more than \$75 billion just to *retool* the auto industry. The capitalists know that if they form a coalition to pool their capital to repeat a "New Deal," some of them will go under. This antagonistic contradiction is so heavy for them that David Rockefeller quit as Chairman of the Board of Chase Manhattan Bank to try to pull a coalition together to develop a highway in New York City, and he can't even do that!

In this context another round of printing up money for a "Marshall Plan" or a "Great Society" — call it what you will - will inevitably led to catastrophic hyper-inflation of hundreds of per cent a year. This is the lesson of the Weimar Republic in post-World War I Germany which followed the same path between January 1920 and November 1923. Inflation went from 12.6% to 726,000,000,000%! The currency became worthless, and those who still worked had to be paid by the day because prices went up by the hour.

In the 80's, a reformist strategy of incremental reforms and pinning hopes on electing more accountable black politicians will not be the painful but historically necessary lesson that it was in the 60's. To get out of this crisis the capitalists have no hope but to war for a new redivision of the world. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1946, **"To go to war, the U.S. reactionaries must first attack the U.S. people."** The bourgeoisie is trying to impose fascism now. That is the meaning of the murder of the Communist Workers Party Five on November 3, 1979, of comrades Jim Waller, Cesar Cauce, Mike Nathan, Bill Sampson, and Sandy Smith. The murder of our five beloved comrades was organized in the highest circles of the capitalist class and heralds a new wave of repression against the people's leadership that will make the Palmer Raids of the 20's and the attacks against the Black Panther Party in the 60's pale in comparison. To go to war, the capitalists must drop all pretense of democratic rights, as signaled by the FBI seizure of a newsman's tapes in Boise, Idaho, and the storming of a Harlem apartment building in the middle of the night, dragging several blacks out into the street in their pajamas on the pretext of searching for Assata Shakur (Jo Anne Chesimard). In the 80's, to pursue the path of electoral politics that Rev. Daughtry and the leaders of the National Black United Front have taken will — independent of their will — make them assistants in bringing fascist rule down on the U.S. people.

Black Liberation Movement of the 80's Must Be Movement for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

At no time in U.S. history have both the danger of world war and the glorious prospect of proletarian revolution stood as clearly revealed as right now. With

each day the suffering of the U.S. people brings vast, fresh forces into the field of battle. As this article is written, the papers report yet another Afro-American rebellion in Orlando, Florida, and the seizure of hostages by an enraged auto worker in Pontiac, Michigan. The prospect for the emancipation of Afro-Americans is incomparably brighter now than it was in the 60's, because the best friend of oppressed nationalities in the U.S. the great multi-national working class, the main force of proletarian revolution in the U.S. is no longer asleep.

Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the CWP, pointed out, "The implications of the Miami rebellion for the 80's, the Levittowns, Love Canals, the number of Afro-American revolts in recent weeks, are indicators, foreshadowing the revolutionary situation to come. The massive food riots, widespread armed clashes of striking workers and the state, the revolt of the multi-national working class, the revolt of the multi-national jobless, the revolt of the multi-national poor... the siding of the petty bourgeoisie. The spontaneous revolutionary situation, the ripening of the spontaneous subjective factor may come soon — whether we are ready or not. The situation will be entirely different with a spontaneous revolutionary situation like in South Korea recently. The bourgeoisie will not be sufficiently centralized to suppress them but the masses will not have the leadership to seize power if we are not prepared."

The capitalist class was nearly taxed to the limit just to contain the Miami rebellion, calling the state troopers, the National Guard, even the Department of Wildlife and Fisheries, anybody with a uniform and a gun to reinforce police who were obviously no match for the masses. The only thing left for them was to call in the 82nd Airborne, the rapid deployment force that supposedly can be anywhere in the world in 24 hours. And as the resignation of two black policemen during the rebellion showed, the capitalists aren't sure whether the army will shoot at the masses or at their own commanding officers.

Under the leadership of the CWP, the spontaneous unity between black and white workers that so magnificently revealed itself in the course of the Miami rebellion will be forged into a mighty force that will sweep U.S. imperialism off the face of the earth. □