

Two Proposals on Racism

Two proposals presented to the December 1968 National Council of SDS in Ann Arbor, Michigan. These proposals were supported respectively by the New York SDS Labor Committee and by Progressive Labor Party.

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INTRODUCTION

The December 1968 National Council (NC) was the largest national conference ever held by SDS. The NC demonstrated a new level of seriousness in the organization, as ideological positions became defined and counterposed. (However, some ideological positions were also evaded and clouded over -- as in the lip service which all factions felt obliged to pay to the working class, or in Progressive Labor Party (PLP) position on Community control.)

While the underlying reasons for SDS'S turn toward labor are to be found in the country's intensifying social crisis and the growing militancy of the labor movement of the labor movement, much of the credit for this change in SDS's orientation must go to PLP, which has fought for a pro-working-class orientation since its entry into SDS two years ago.

A decisive feature of the December NC was the large number of Progressive Labor supporters (worker-student alliance politics people). PLP's gains in SDS can be accounted for by two elements: (1) an increasing number of student radicals are turned off by the antics of the anarchist wing of SDS, and are looking for an opportunity to become serious revolutionaries; (2) PLP's politics (anti-imperialism, anti-racism) can hardly offend most radicals, while its "worker-student alliance" formulation offers an apparent way out of the student movement's isolation. Although PLP's pro-working-class politics are being tempered by the liberal atmosphere of SDS (see PL-supported proposal on racism, below), it has been, up to this point, the only national alternative to confrontation and "do your own thing" politics. New recruits have flocked to join PL's "base", seeing no place else to go.

At the same time that SDS as a whole is growing, factionalism is taking on a new vivaciousness. Plans by the National Office (NO) clique to clip PLP's wings at the December NC were exploded by PL's surprising show of strength. When the NO group had recovered from their shock at seeing PL's near-majority at the NC, the air was filled with charges that PL had "packed" the NC, and with threats to "get PL" at the next convention, if not at the Spring NC. PL's response was to try to redirect the hostility against the NY SDS Labor Committee. In the frenetic "anti-racism" atmosphere of the NC, PL dug out and circulated the worn-out slander that the Labor Committee is "racist" because of its support for the UFT when that union was under attack by the government-organized "community control" movement.

A PLP member submitted a motion, which was adopted, confirming the gag rule passed by the NY region "dissolving" the NY SDS Labor Committee -- an autonomous body within SDS which was not established by the Region or by SDS, and which cannot be "dissolved" by them under the present constitution and practice of the organization. As they have done in the past, Labor Committee members continued to ignore this gag rule and defend their right to speak in SDS.

The handful of Labor Committee members continued to speak until the point when it was confirmed that they would be physically attacked by PL members if they spoke again on the floor of the NC.

The Labor Committee maintains that a successful purge of any political grouping from SDS will signal the speedy degeneration of SDS into an anarchist sect. We will continue to defend PLP's right to participate fully in SDS, forthrightly opposing the attempt to expel PLP which will arise in the coming months.

Because Labor Committee members prefer to deal with PL politically, rather than through organizational devices or threats of violence, we are publishing here the proposals on racism which were supported by PLP and by the Labor Committee respectively at the December NC. It is obvious that "anti-racism" is to be a focus of activity in SDS, at least for the immediate period. These two proposals (which we emphasize were supported by PLP and by the Labor Committee respectively, and are not official positions of either organization) reflect absolutely different conceptions of the problems and methods of building a revolutionary movement which can effectively combat racism. On political method, and on political program, we will allow the two proposals to speak for themselves.

January 9, 1969

(Note: For a more thorough discussion of PLP's method and practice see "Economism or Socialism" by Steve Fraser and Tony Papert, a revised version of a paper submitted to the 1968 Convention of PLP, in the December Campaigner.)

Postscript, June 1969: In the months since the December NC, internal pressures have forced PL to modify and to reverse much of their moralist position on racism. The policy, however, has been taken over and in fact made more extensive by Columbia SDS, NY Regional SDS Office, and the SDS National Office. Under its new sponsorship, the policy has produced a comic fiasco at Columbia, and helped create a near race war at the City College of New York. If anything, the change in policies of PL and the National Collective makes this document more timely than ever.

(Note: The following is the proposal on racism submitted to the NC by members of San Francisco State College SDS and supported by PLP.)

FIGHT RACISM BUILD A WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE SMASH IMPERIALISM

THE MATERIAL BASIS OF RACISM

The material basis of racism is capitalism's driving need to maximize profits. It is estimated that an extra \$22 billion a year is made off of the wage differential between Black and white workers (Black workers make an average of \$3000 less per year than white workers.) Low wages for Black workers and Black unemployment are used to keep down wages for all workers; rent and food prices are higher in the Black and Third World ghettos.

Black workers are a major section of the industrial work force, e.g., in steel, auto, long shore, railroad. The super-exploitation of that section of the working class serves to divide the working class, and to prevent them from uniting against the bosses. Therefore, because racism is based on class exploitation, it is in the material interests of the entire working class and the majority of students to defeat it.

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF RACISM

The ruling class has created a whole series of racist myths and prejudices in order to justify and continue the super-exploitation of Third World people at home and abroad. These lies tell us that, "there is something inherently inferior in Third World people that leads to their being slaves." These lies are used to mask the necessity of capitalism to enslave the great majority of the people in the world.

RACISM CAN ONLY BE DEFEATED ON A CLASS BASIS

To primarily attack the superstructure of racism leads to a psychological and moralistic attitude. By not rallying people to attack the material super-exploitation and oppression which generates racism, this liberal political approach only serves to perpetuate racism.

To unite Black and white people against the racist practices of the class enemy is the only way to defeat racism. This must be concretely applied to specific struggles, as in the recent series of wildcat strikes of Black and white workers led by Black caucuses (e.g. REA, steel) and as at Columbia and S.F.State. The

superstructure of racism is very powerful and has a life of its own and its manifestations must be fought.

FIGHT RACISM IN THE UNIVERSITY

Over the past few years SDS has led struggles to expose the imperialist and class nature of the university and the need to build a worker-student alliance. We have to at this point, begin to consciously point out and struggle against one of the main aspects of bourgeois education, one of its most sacred tenets -- the promotion of racism. For instance, it is good business for Dudley Swim, an illustrious member of the California Board of Trustees of the State College system and Director of the Del Monte Corp., to fight to keep education under the control of the ruling class -- otherwise he and his cronies would be hard put to find Mexican laborers to work in their fields for \$1.25/hour, or apologists and enforcers of that system..

In the past two years Third World students have begun to wage the sharpest struggles to occur so far in the student movement against the racist nature of higher education. In the South, four Black students have already been murdered by the cops (Orangeburg, N.C., T.S.U.). The lack of reaction to this on Northern campuses showed a good deal of racism in the student movement. This racism is beginning to be defeated. Columbia and S.F. State mark the entry of Northern campuses into this struggle. We should be clear that the forces which the ruling class is willing to employ to crush these struggles illustrates that they have no intention of giving in on this question peacefully. Dudley Swim and his friends have too many billions that depend on the preservation of racism.

If we are serious about allying with Third World students as well as workers in fighting racism we should have no illusions about the nature of this fight. It will lead us into even sharper struggles against the class enemy than we have previously experienced.

RACISM IN THE MOVEMENT

If we are to take part in or lead any struggles against the racist nature of the university we first must conduct a struggle around racist attitudes in the movement.

1) Racism and the building of the worker-student alliance. The vast majority of non-white people in this country are part of the working class -- the most exploited section of the working class. Non-white workers are in the vanguard of struggles against the bosses and the sell-out union leadership. We should be clear that the contempt of many students for the working class in general is in particular an attack on Third World workers as well. To refuse

or fight against building an alliance with the working class around anti-racist politics is nothing but capitulation to imperialism.

2) The attitude that "racism is amorphous -- white students can't relate to it." This argument denies the super-exploitation and oppression of Third World people and Third World students in particular. It shows no understanding of the basic way in which racism is used by the ruling class. Those who objected to organizing white students around fighting racism are the same people who are so quick to attack the white working class for not supporting the struggles of Black workers. Most students eventually become part of the working class as teachers and social workers whose primary job is to develop and perpetuate racist and anti-working class ideology. Not struggling around the question of racism means perpetuating racism.

There was a very sharp struggle around this question during the first weeks of the strike at SF State. People who put forth the position that white students can't relate to racism (leaders of the Experimental College and the anti-working class forces with in SDS) argued that we should add "white demands" to the 15 TWLF demands. These people did not see that the anti-racism struggles were in the class interest of students and workers. The "white" demands they came out with reflected the lack of a class outlook. They were very narrow student-power demands, ie, campus autonomy, free speech, student control of courses, etc., which didn't attack the class nature of the university.

3) The non-class "cultural oppression approach" which leads to the racist formulation that "students are niggers too". How many white students have been shot down by the cops? How many white students face the problem of a ghetto existence? Non-white people are super-exploited. They get the lowest wages, worst jobs, worst jobs, worst working and living conditions, and are part of the most oppressed class, the working class. Students also are oppressed (ie, we're fed racist, anti-working class lies in the classroom, taught to be social workers who regulate poverty and oppression instead of helping people, etc.) but this oppression is not nearly as sharp as the oppression of non-white students and workers. Students also have some privileges (for instance, 2-S deferments).

There is an even more racist lie in the "student as nigger" formulation. In stead of seeing Third World people as the heart of the work force, and therefore in a position of tremendous strength, it sees them as powerless and alienated -- like students. This is an insult to both Black people and students. It is the same as the liberal-conservative lie, "they're all on welfare." It leads to advocating that students and Black people "drop out" (impossible for working class families) rather than struggle against their oppression.

4) Reverse Chauvinism. Some people say that it is racist to criticize anything put forward by a Black person, or at least by someone who claims to be a Black militant. This patronizing attitude comes not from understanding that the class aspect of imperialist oppression is primary. It furthers nationalism, an ideology that the ruling class relies on to split the movement.

5) The role of revolutionary violence. One of the main tactics of the administration at State was to have their liberal front men express their unyielding support for the demands of Third World students but at the same time condemn their "violence." At State during one afternoon of clearing scabs out of classrooms a typewriter was thrown through a window. A picture of the broken window and typewriter resting in the bushes was printed in at least 20 West Coast newspapers as an example of the violence of "roving bands of non-white militants." This was part of an effort by the ruling class to deny the mass character of the revolutionary violence used by the students, and to equate it with "senseless" terrorist acts of violence by individuals. This attack on Third World students must be met head on by exposing the class nature of violence. The necessity of working people and particularly Blacks to use violence is a result of the violent and systematic oppression which the ruling-class perpetuates every day. Revolutionary violence against the class enemy and its lackeys (college administrators) is the only way that class in the long run is going to be smashed. The role of white radicals is not to excuse or rationalize the sharpness with which Third World students are willing to fight the administration but to build support for it, draw courage from it and participate in it.

After three years of struggle against the racist policies of the administration most students saw quite clearly that the perpetrator of violence was not Third World students or white radicals who supported them but the administration and the racist policies which they insisted on perpetrating. Within the movement we must have a clear and serious attitude towards the increasing sharpness of the struggle against the state. The adage that there are some that talk and some that act proved itself very true at SF State. One SDS member who had castigated his brothers and sisters during the summer for not being willing to engage in isolated terrorist activity, started to scream in the middle of a rock assault on a building where scab classes were being held that students shouldn't break windows and then added that we should save our rocks and throw them at cops. However, when the cops came our military strategist was nowhere to be seen, leaving Black and white students to fight the cops. We need no more diagrams by "new left" journalists about how to blow up armoured cars. What we do need is a lifelong commitment in practice to fight the ruling class by whatever means are necessary.

ANTI*COMMUNISM -- THE TWIN BROTHER OF RACISM

At State red-baiting attacks have been directed against Third World students and other radical groups; particularly SDS and PLP. The newspapers kept referring to TWLF as, "a far left militant organization." At least two local liberal communists ran articles announcing that Third World students were known to carry the red book around with them at all times. Reagan got on TV to denounce "outside agitators" (external cadre). Hayakawa offered to discuss the demands with Third World students if they would repudiate the support of SDS and other radical organizations. Third World students told Hayakawa to shove his offer up his ass. The red-baiting of the strike was used in the same way as racism. It was directed at dividing people so that they would be less able to fight the administration. The ruling class pushes the idea that communists are using the "not unfounded grievances of the people" (Vietnamese or Third World people in the US) while "we (the white ruling class) know what is really best for the people -- the imperialist system. The ruling class fears communist participation in these struggles because communists put forward proletarian internationalism, which is the only answer to the imperialists attempt to divide and rule on a national basis.

DEFEAT NATIONALISM

Nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the Black Liberation Movement. Nationalism is used to divert Third World people from struggle on a class basis and from making alliances with white workers and students. Because of the special super-exploitation of Black people, their struggle is now national in form and working class in content. Thus, at SF State there was a separate TWLF. Usually a nationalist feeling is the initial impetus towards struggle among Black people. But the material basis of this struggle is class oppression. Consciousness of this oppression must become the dominant ideology for these struggles to win.

As support grew for the strike on campus among working people in the ghetto one Third world political hack after another began to arrive on campus. This included advocate of redevelopment in the ghetto, supervisor Terry Francois, who one week after declaring his support of the demands of Third World students, voted in favor of a special budget request by the Police department to finance their SF State operation. The newspapers were quick to promote these forces as leaders of the struggle, reasoning that if there had to be a School of Ethnic Studies it would be better to have it under the control of "responsible" (pro-ruling class) members of the Third World community. The Ford and Carnegie as well as other capitalist foundations are begging non-white students to take their money to finance special admissions and Ethnic programs. The intent is clear -- they are quite willing to give up a little bit of the racist form if they can be assured of the continued promotion of the same old racist content.

DEFEATING RACISM IS THE KEY TO DEFEATING NATIONALISM

Racism is the material basis of nationalism. The racism that Third World people encounter from white workers and students makes nationalism that much more believable. White students and workers should never use opposing nationalism as an excuse for not primarily and fiercely fighting racism.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

1) Special Admissions. Struggles around admissions of Third World students are breaking out on campuses around the country. This is a setback for the ruling class and a step forward for the student movement. These struggles unite Third World and white students. They unite the student movement with Third World workers. And they have raised the movement to a higher level of mass militancy.

The ruling class wants to co-opt these struggles by claiming that admitting more Third World students will end racism. Further, when they are forced to admit more Third World students they will try to use this to train more people to help oppress Third World section of the working class, the people who pay for the university to begin with. This strategy is already backfiring throughout the country as Third World students lead some of the sharpest campus struggles and often immediately move to link their struggles to the Third World working class.

SDS, as well as radicals among Third World students must play a major role in these struggles if they are not to be co-opted. We have to point out more college admissions cannot be a strategy to end racism, but this is a tactic to sharpen the attack on capitalism. We have to fight around the class content of our education. For example, courses should be taught on working class history, the real story of U.S. imperialism. These should include demands for courses on the history of the non-white section of the working class in particular -- the super-exploitation of non-white workers in erecting the bloody edifice of U.S. imperialism. We have to attack one of the major "sociological" functions of the university: to provide trained personnel for a variety of ghetto-cooling-off projects including schooling, policing and (lack of) housing. We have to fight against racist institutions on campus such as ROTC.

2) Urban Removal. Many universities (Columbia, Chicago) are trying to expand their campuses into the surrounding ghettos. This means the eviction of Third World working class families. Black, brown, and white students should ally with the working class communities to stop these evictions against their common enemy the administration.

3) Support Strikes. Part of the overall strategy for a worker-student alliance is to fight racism by supporting the on-the-job struggles of the Third World workers, including campus workers. This means interjecting anti-racist ideology into the struggles of all workers.

4) Support of ghetto rebellions. This means winning students to seeing the need to support the sharp struggles of Black and other non-white workers, as opposed to the band-aid running and helpful tactical hints to the Black masses put forward in new-left publica-

tions. We must build this support around seeing the right to use "whatever means necessary" to fight the daily violent oppression used by the ruling class against the people. It is good to build for substantial mass actions at City Hall, National Guard armories, etc. in the event of ghetto rebellions. Mass action, as opposed to individual terrorism, is important. We are trying to build support on a class basis among the people for these rebellions, pointing out that Black and white workers and students will have to take part in armed struggle to defeat imperialism.

5) High schools. The alliance with high school students was an important element at SF State: the U.S. students supported the strike and raised their own demands. Anti-racism is vital in building the high school movement.

6) Take the initiative in education on racism. It is the responsibility of white radicals, not Black students, to fight racist attitudes among white students. One thing we used successfully during the strike was classroom education -- going into classes and speaking on questions of racism in the university and other questions relating to the strike. We should also be clear that racism is a principled question, and that it will destroy the movement unless it is fought and defeated.

7) The N.C. should open NLN to more articles relating to racism and the workers-student alliance, particularly those written by chapter people involved in such struggles, rather than "new-left" theoreticians. Articles have been submitted by chapter members at SFSC around these questions, (especially during the struggle last spring over Third World admissions) which never were printed by NLN.

8) The movement must involve working people or it will be isolated and doomed. Campus struggles must be related and tied to working class struggles. Active support should be given to local strikes; students should keep in close touch with rank-and-file union causes and individuals previously contacted; community support and involvement should be sought for SDS activities. Only when the student movement is united with the masses of working people in this country will we be in the way to crushing the imperialist system.

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While the SFSC racism proposal was on the floor of the NC, an amendment to it was submitted by Paul Milkman, of CCNY SDS and NY SDS Labor Committee. The amendment said that community control is a counter-revolutionary movement organized by the government to diffuse the revolutionary potential of the black ghettos; that it is designed to divide up the ghettos into narrow self-interest groups; that it is a two-pronged attack, against ghetto and against trade unions. The amendment concluded that SDS should oppose community control and seek to create a counter-movement to fight the state for the real material interests of the working class. This amendment was rejected by the makers of the proposal, and voted against by all PLP members present. In accomodating to pro-community control sentiment in SDS, PLP members thus blatantly contradicted their own publicly-stated position opposing community control.

MATERIALIST VS. MORALIST APPROACHES TO RACISM

(Note: The following proposal was submitted to the December SDS National Council by Steve Fraser of the Phil. SDS Labor Committee and Ed Spannaus of the NY SDS Labor Committee.)

Racism has replaced the war in Vietnam as the official topic of conversation in our movement, and has become the new focus of "struggle". The discussions of fighting racism which have predominated in our movement and during this conference have shown that moralism and idealism still pervade our thinking. The danger in this is not only that it incapacitates the movement in effectively fighting racism, but that it even leads to actions which objectively increase racism under the guise of struggling against it.

In our opinion, the discussions have revealed (1) a grossly inadequate understanding of the actual processes by which ideas come into existence, develop, and then pass away; (2) a superficial understanding of the manner in which the ruling class fosters racism among the working class; and (3) an anti-socialist un-scientific method of fighting against racism.

RACISM AND THE BOURGEOIS WORLD*OUTLOOK

Racism is one particular expression of a bourgeois world-outlook, which is the natural outlook of all persons living in capitalist society. The essence of bourgeois ideology is the tendency to view one's situation in the narrowest of terms -- individual and narrow groupings -- rather than in class terms. The parochial grouping -- the local community, the shop, the school, the ethnic group -- is seen as the basis for one's social-political activity. In periods of social dislocation and crisis, the struggle to defend one's self is posed only in group terms. The solution to individual and group problems are seen in defending the narrow grouping from the onslaught of other social groups.

This is a natural outlook of the trade unionist, the community activist, and the student. Militant struggle on a parochial basis does not lead to class-for-itself consciousness (socialist consciousness). It is only when people break through the limits of bourgeois social forms, and begin to see their struggles in terms of reaching out to other layers of the working class and its natural allies, and begin to struggle around common-interest programs, that a self-conscious socialist movement can be brought into existence. The creation of such a movement is the only basis for effectively combatting racism.

Racism exists on at least two levels. One is racism as an attitude which is held about other ethnic groups, defining the other group as somehow different and inferior to one's own group. In this sense racism is universal in capitalist and pre-capitalist societies; for example, in the U.S. virtually all whites are prejudiced against blacks, most blacks are prejudiced against Puerto Ricans, and vice versa. The second level of racism is the active oppression of another ethnic group, such as discrimination toward or exploitation of members of that group.

To define racism as the failure to actively fight in the interests of blacks, for example, is to use the concept in such a universal, amorphous manner as to render the concept almost meaningless. It is contended that students are racist because they don't support "black liberation" struggles; but students generally don't support the struggles of any other groups either. There is obviously much more than racism at work here. It would be more precise to describe this -- the failure of white students to support black workers, or the failure of the New York teachers' Union to forge an alliance with the black community, as the natural expression of the outlook of all people under capitalism: the outlook of "we're protecting ours; they can look out for themselves."

THE MATERIAL AND SOCIAL BASIS OF RACISM

The economic basis of racism is obviously found in the general need of the capitalist system to "maximize its profits." But, having said that, we must further explain the specific forms that racism takes, based on the particular stage of development of a capitalist economy, and on the social relations of a capitalist society. The racist attitudes of all workers in our society are not simply a creation of an immensely astute and omnipotent ruling class; they are based in the perceived threat that white workers feel from blacks. And, in the absence of class-wide struggle, the threat is often real, not imaginary. The recent upsurge of active racism among white workers in the North reflects the increasing economic insecurities of these workers. For instance, without an increase in the number of productive jobs, more jobs for black workers does mean fewer jobs for white workers. More welfare spending does mean higher taxes for the taxpayer. Block-busting does mean that the white homeowner is likely to lose money on his home. This cannot be wished away or moralized away white liberals and radicals. The material basis and social basis for racism do actually exist in reality; sympathy for the black movement will not wish it away. The material basis for racism, and its expression in social relationships, must be destroyed for racism itself to be destroyed.

HOW THE RULING CLASS USES RACISM

Those who are constantly talking about the ruling class' use of racism to divide working people would do better to understand concretely how the capitalist class is attempting to set white against black in this particular period. The key to understanding their policy is found in the Kerner Report, in which "white racism" is given as the fundamental reason for the oppression of blacks in the U.S. Strange for the ruling class to admit this? Hardly. The conditions of black people in this country are a direct result of the system of private ownership of the productive forces; they do not stem primarily from the racism of "white America." It is in the proposals of the Kerner Report that we see what is really intended. In the report are dozens of proposals for "sharing the poverty" -- taxing the hell out of white working people to provide pork-barrel investment bananzas for financiers, who in turn will be expected to dish out a few crumbs for the ghettos. Divide-and-rule, yes; but with the

"radical" tinge that white working people will pay for their "racism" with increased tax gouging of their paychecks. One only has to look at the Wallace movement to see the practical results of such a policy.

The second aspect of ruling-class policy in this period is found in the government financed and organized "community control" movement. OEO and the Ford Foundation are not simply trying to co-opt a radical movement; they are trying to organize a non-socialist radical movement. This movement does not and will not fight on the real issues of ghetto life — jobs, minimum wages, housing and school construction, etc. Instead, it fights to "control" the conditions of its own poverty, rather than fighting to eliminate it. Furthermore, such a movement will be used to break predominately white trade unions. The rationale for such union-busting campaigns will be that "white-racist teachers" are the main cause of the mis-education of ghetto youth, that white welfare workers are the reason that the welfare system is so degrading, that white construction workers are the source of black unemployment, and so on.

In organizing this movement, the government has luckily found an important ally in the majority of white radicals, who have been actively supporting this counter-insurgency campaign while throwing in a few "revolutionary" slogans in an attempt to distinguish themselves from the "poverty agents". The majority of the Left has been duped into supporting this union-busting anti-black campaign because of their self-deceptions about the nature of this movement and its alleged revolutionary potential. Ironically, those who boast the most about "struggling against racism" are actually helping the ruling class to increase racism by their actions.

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM

Racism cannot be effectively combatted by trying individually to convince white workers or white students that they should support black struggles because blacks are in the "vanguard." This is just a left form of white liberalism. The way to fight racism is not to babble on and on about racism, but to involve white and black people in common fights around their common material interests. When sections of the working class and its allies take the offensive, fighting around a common-interest program which expresses their class interests, then racism will begin to be broken down (although not eliminated). When working people, the unemployed and students begin to understand that their "separate" problems can only be solved by fighting in alliance with other groups, then the social and ideological bases of racism will begin to disappear. The new social relationships which are created in the process of building a socialist relationship which are created in the process of building a socialist movement will bring into being new conceptions of our relationship to one another. Simultaneously, an understanding of the mutual interdependence of the now-disparate sections of the working class will emerge.

We are arguing that a materialist understanding of racism shows that racism cannot be eliminated until the economic and social

What to do. If we are serious about fighting racism, we must not know to the spontaneity of the black movement, but rather we must develop and fight for program that expresses the common interests of all sections of the working class. Such programs must present the concrete socialist alternative to the decay of our society and the deterioration of the conditions of life of poor and working people. The center of such programs in this period must be demands for millions of new productive jobs which obviously express the needs of unemployed

What the whole discussion about "black demands" reveals is the bankruptcy of political program: unless we have a principled set of criteria for developing our program (from which specific demands flow), then we are reduced to reacting to demands as they are spontaneously thrown up, and our program becomes a hodge-podge of "black demands," "student demands," and so on.

On Black demands, For a revolutionary socialist there are no such things as "black demands" or "white demands" or "student demands." If demands which are put forth by blacks express the needs of the working class taken as a whole, they are not black demands but class demands. If the demands contradict the needs of the class as a whole, then we must be critical of them on this basis. For example, the demand for unlimited black admissions to universities. Unless such a demand also calls for vastly expanded universities, then it means that blacks would be admitted to universities at the expense of white-working class youth who wouldn't be admitted. The practical consequence of such a demand taken by itself would be to actually increase the hostility and racism toward blacks among white working people -- hardly a step forward in the "struggle against racism." On the other hand, if the demand is for unlimited admission of all working-class students then it becomes a class demand, not a "black demand."

This is not a statement of moral preference, as many of our opponents will charge. It is not a statement of the way we would like to see it: it is a statement of how it will actually occur. We base this on a materialist conception of the laws of development of social and ideological formations. Black and white workers will join together to overthrow the capitalist system and to establish working-class control of the productive forces and the economy, not because they will like each other, but because they recognize that there is no other way for them to defend their own existence. Like each other will have to come later.

Racism will exist during a revolution. Racism will exist for a long period following a revolution. A socialist revolution, if it is to occur, will occur in spite of the endemic racism of its participants.

Foundations of racism are destroyed. Those who argue that racism must be destroyed before class unity is possible, and before any working-class revolution can occur, are only revealing their idealistic conception of the laws of development of ideas and attitudes.

blacks for jobs, the needs of city-dwellers for the rebuilding of our decaying cities, and of ghetto high school students who have no motivation to learn because they know there is no future for them once they get out of school.

This demand, for millions of new productive jobs to be created by expropriation of \$50 billions of after tax corporate income for investment in new means of production and consumption, link the most oppressed section of the working class (mainly blacks and Spanish-speaking) to the rest of the working class. It links the unemployed and under-employed to trade-unionists who are presently engaged in a losing battle to maintain their wage levels by traditional trade union methods, but in the face of rising inflation and wage taxation. What lies behind the erosion of the dollar and the consequent decline in living standards is the inability of capitalists to re-invest surplus value productively — that is to invest in the expanded production of real goods and services. Thus a 6% annual inflation is associated with useless expenditures in advertising, marketing, and financial bureaucracies and in national "defense", while rising taxes finance one pork-barrel after another and rising debt service payments for government and public authority bonds.

Only the redirection of capital flows away from this type of waste and speculation and into expansion of real production can provide for the protection and the improvement of the living conditions of working people. It is now obviously also in the material interests of trade-unionists and "well-paid" workers to support such a demand; and it demonstrates the necessity for workers, the unemployed, and students to unite to solve their apparently-separate problems of life. Around struggles around such programs we develop the social, then the material basis for the destruction of racism. And we provide the only effective counter-attack to the ruling class's aggressive divide-and-rule tactics.

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consequent decline in living standards and stability of capitalists
to re-invest surplus value productively - that is to invest in the
expanded production of real goods and services. Thus a 2% annual
inflation is associated with serious expenditures in advertising,
marketing, and financial bureaucracies and in national "defense",
while rising bonds finance our post-war effort, together with rising
debt service payments to government and public authority bonds.

Only the reduction of capital flows away from this type of
waste and speculation and into expanded real production can pro-
vide for the protection and the improvement of the living conditions of
working people. It is not obviously clear to the national industrial
of trade-unions and "well-paid" workers to support such a demand;
and it demonstrates the necessity for workers, the unemployed, and
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