

# RESISTANCE

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L  
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## ANTI-NUKE STRUGGLE SURGES FORWARD!

Triggered by the Three Mile Island accident, the anti nuke movement in the U S has taken a great leap forward. Anti nuke coalitions are being formed all around the country. And on May 6th over 100,000 demonstrated in Washington DC, showing the great strength of the movement that is developing.

The rise and development of this movement is a very positive thing. A movement that opposes the use of nuclear energy and demands the shut down of all nuclear plants in the U S is objectively a revolutionary one, despite whatever weaknesses its actual composition, leadership, tactics, etc may pose. It is objectively revolutionary because the use of nuclear power is a crucial component of the military strength of U S imperialism. The anti nuke movement tends to weaken, and in fact, to the extent that it is successful, it will weaken, U S imperialism. This, independently of the will of the participants, and their particular reasons for opposing nuclear power.

The anti nuke movement is also very positive in so far as it provides U S Marxist Leninists, anti imperialists, and other revolutionaries and progressives with an excellent opportunity to carry out propaganda and agitation among the broad masses on the real significance of the nuclear threat, not only for the U S population, but for all the world's peoples.



Previous to the Three Mile Island accident, we did not have a developed line on the nuclear question. Our basic position was one of opposing the way in which U S imperialism uses it, without ever before attempting to thoroughly deal with the question. We have just begun to do that. Therefore what

we present here is our initial understanding of what is definitely a very complex question. We are confident in that in the course of more study on the matter, of actual participation in the anti nuke movement, of summing up the experiences, we will be able to further develop the position and correct

whatever is wrong in it, in order to make a better Marxist Leninist analysis of the nuclear power question.

### THE USE OF NUCLEAR POWER

A Marxist Leninist analysis of the nuclear question has to take many factors into consideration. We are to analyse it from the standpoint of the class struggle at the same time that we look into the aspects of science and technology. Most of the positions that have been put forward on this question tend to liquidate one or the other of these factors. Thus we have those who say that the use of nuclear power is unsafe under all circumstances, and we have those who say that nuclear power is unsafe only under capitalism, but that under socialism it will be feasible to use it safely.

Both of these positions fail for being one-sided. The scientific and technological problems posed by the use of nuclear power—things like how to dispose of nuclear waste, how to avoid meltdowns, how to protect workers in the plants from radiation, etc—are problems that will not wither away just because the dictatorship of the proletariat is established and socialism is being built. These are very real problems under any social system. It is therefore a matter of finding the ways in which nuclear power can be used safely, not of making doctrinaire statements that picture socialism as a panacea that can solve everything because you say so.

The other position is equally one-sided. Saying that nuclear power is unsafe and period, is to make no distinctions whatsoever between the two social systems that exist today. Under socialism, science, like everything else,

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## PARTY BUILDING AND THE MASS MOVEMENT

Over 100,000 strong in Washington DC, 25,000 in San Francisco, 30,000 at Seabrook NH—mass resistance to the nuclear threat is rapidly growing. And this is not the only issue in which the masses are in motion. Over 10,000 demonstrated against the closing of hospitals in New York City on May Day, 15,000 students demonstrated in Boul-

der, Colorado against the budget cuts. And there is still more to come. On June 2nd thousands will demonstrate in defense of affirmative action and against Weber in Washington DC, San Francisco, New Orleans, and other cities. And on June 5th a coalition of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos will demonstrate in front of City Hall in NYC against the budget cuts.

ALL over the country the masses are responding militantly to the attacks of the ruling class. The masses are standing up in defense of their standard of living, against cuts in social services, education, medical care and other basic needs. Triggered by the Three Mile Island accident, a powerful mass movement against the nukes is developing. We are witnessing the beginning of a new upsurge of the masses similar to that of the 60's.

### ABSENCE OF PARTY STRONGLY FELT

The new upsurge finds the U S anti revisionist communist movement lagging behind the spontaneous activity and growing awareness of the masses. Lacking a genuine Marxist Leninist communist party, and without even a leading center recognized as such by the different circles and organizations, U S Marxist Leninists are in no position to, in the real world, determine the direction of the mass struggle. Our scattered and divided forces lack the ideological, theoretical and organizational strength to provide, in the real sense of the word, the leadership that this growing movement needs in order to move along a revolutionary path.

### THE UPSURGE OF THE MASSES MEANS MORE AND GREATER TASKS

What to do in relation to the spontaneous struggle of the masses at this moment in which party building is the central task, is one of the most fundamental questions facing our movement. It is a

matter of correctly participating in the struggle for the immediate needs and demands of the masses, without losing perspective of the long term interests and goals of the class, of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a matter of training the vanguard, of win-

ning over and accumulating forces, of forcing the bourgeoisie to grant reforms as a result of the revolutionary struggles, as opposed to making the struggle for reforms an end in itself.

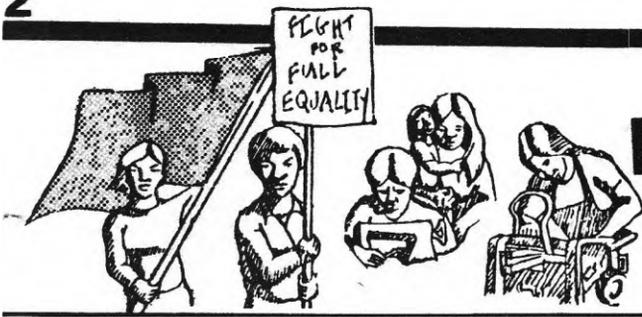
Neither the economists' approach "the movement is everything, the final goal is nothing" nor the neo-

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# WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

## DEFEAT WEBER!

Who says women are no longer discriminated against? Recent statistics show just the opposite. In 1975 women were earning only 59% of what men were earning. Today this has dipped to 52%. In 1975 52% of working age women were unemployed, while 27% of working age men were unemployed.

Fully employed women high school graduates today earn less than fully employed men who have not finished grade school. Women hold the most menial lowest paying jobs. 35% of working women, while only 7% of working men hold clerical jobs. 62% of all service and retail workers are women. Even doing the same job women get paid less than men. The average pay for men in clerical jobs is \$228, while it is \$147 for women.

Women make up 41% of the entire workforce, but only 5% skilled workers are women, only 25% of union members are women, and there are no women in many of 39 unions in this country!

Conditions of inequality continue to exist and intensify. Women continue to fight against such conditions. Affirmative action is one of the concrete ways in which women and oppressed nationalities are fighting against discrimination. Affirmative action was first won through the militant struggle of workers, students, oppressed nationalities and women during the 60s. The masses paid often with their lives and freedom for gains like affirmative action, which today are under attack by the bourgeoisie.

### WHO BENEFITS FROM AFFIRMATIVE ACTION?

Affirmative Action programs are designed to increase the access to jobs and educational opportunities as well as training and promotions for minorities and women. The guidelines set by these programs are intended to counteract past discriminatory hiring and admissions policies, such as unnecessary job requirements which exclude women and/or oppressed nationalities.

For example, requirements for previous experience and training are a de facto form of discrimination. Why? Because the majority of women and minorities are unskilled. They have been systematically denied access to training programs in order to become skilled workers. Besides women and minorities suffer the highest rates of unemployment. This means that they are not working for long periods at a time and therefore can't acquire the required experience. Another way of keeping them away from decent jobs is by not letting them know that a job is available. This is a subtle form of discrimination which, by keeping information on job openings within the confines of a given plant, guarantees that jobs go to the white friends and relatives of those already employed. Job openings should be posted in local minority community centers, newspapers, etc. Affirmative action programs call for these practices, in order to guarantee that minorities can apply for these jobs.

Making height requirements is another way of excluding women. Everyone knows that the average height of women is much lower than that of the average man. Refusing to employ anyone below a set height is definitely to discriminate against women, especially since these height requirements usually have nothing to do with the ability to perform the job well.

Requiring a high school diploma, even when this is not needed to do a job well, is another way of excluding minorities and women, who are the most likely not to have that diploma. Another discriminatory requirement is the passing of a written test which of course implies a good grasp of the English language, and which, of course, excludes all those whose educational level is low, and especially those minorities whose language is not English.

Further, minorities and women are usually hired into the lowest paying departments. Because of the company's refusal to institute plant-wide seniority, meaning by this that if you are transferred to another department, you will lose your seniority and will have to start all over again. So although you might get a higher salary, you stand to lose your job more easily since you lose your former seniority. This is a way of keeping minorities and women stuck into certain departments with little chance of promotions or transfers.

In fact, as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported between 1970 and 1976, unemployment of minorities and women increased in absolute as well as relative terms to majority males. In this



period Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos—who suffered twice as much unemployment as white males in 1970—went to three times as much unemployment as white males in 1976 and after.

With women, the gap has also continued to widen. Very few women hold skilled jobs because they lack the prior experience that is required for such jobs. A concrete way of tackling this "vicious circle"—not getting the skilled job for lack of the experience and not getting the experience for lack of the skill—is setting up affirmative action programs. An example would be an on-the-job training program instituted by the company itself so that workers who do not have the skill can acquire it and thus have a real chance to get the job. This benefits all workers who do not have the skill, since it opens up the possibility of acquiring it, and especially it benefits the oppressed nationalities and women who for certain would not have a chance to be hired for such jobs otherwise.

### ONE TO ONE RATIO AT KAISER

This is what happened at the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp. plant in Gramercy, Louisiana. Kaiser agreed to set up an on-the-job training program for higher paying crafts positions. They did this as part of the negotiations with the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) in 1974. They were afraid of losing their federal contracts for failure to comply with the government's Executive Order 11246 of 1967. This law determines that private companies doing business with the government cannot discriminate on the basis of race, and sex, and must implement affirmative action in order to continue receiving federal grants. They were also under pressure from the workers who through their union were

able to get them to implement the program after many years of struggle.

Discrimination at Kaiser could be clearly seen by just looking at the composition of the workforce in the plant and comparing it to the area's population. Though 46% of the area is Black (and 39% of the labor market in the area is Black) only 13.3% of the workers at Kaiser are Black. And out of 290 workers in crafts, only 5—or less than 2.2%—are Black!

The affirmative action program at Kaiser provided crafts training for unskilled workers. Half of the trainees would be minorities and women, the other half white. This one to one ratio of admissions had a specific goal: the balancing of the workforce in conformity with the composition of the surrounding population. Although the program at Kaiser would not end in

can be used to abolish all affirmative action programs on the false claim that they "discriminate against white males."

Neither Kaiser nor the University of California, nor the union bureaucracy—who are the "defendants" in these cases—can really defend affirmative action for us. Neither have made any effort to win their cases. In fact, they have instead cooperated with Bakke and Weber. And it cannot be otherwise. Kaiser itself has nothing to win from affirmative action. In order to win the case they would have to prove they have discriminated in the past. Obviously they are not going to do this.

On the other hand, they lose the case, they can eliminate the program without fear of losing their federal contracts and they will be free of any charges of past discrimination. Kaiser, like all capitalist enterprises, benefits from the oppression of minorities and women and from the division of the working class along sex and national lines.

We cannot expect the unions' bureaucrats to defend the case, either. While they hypocritically "defend" the rights of workers, minorities and women, they will stab us in the back in order to defend the interests of their capitalist masters. The union bureaucrats get their fat checks only thanks to the super-exploitation of workers and oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. They are thus bought off by the capitalists with part of their superprofits. Accordingly, they covered for Kaiser and themselves at the trial. Like Kaiser, they brought no evidence to the court either. They refused to admit to past discrimination at Kaiser, and thus saved themselves and their capitalist masters from having to pay thousands in law suits.

And what do the courts do, given the fact that neither of the "defendants" brought any evidence to defend their case? Rather than seek such evidence, the courts have merely accepted Kaiser's word that they have never discriminated in the past. (When have the courts accepted the word of oppressed people?) This, despite the fact that evidence was readily available as federal investigators had in fact already found that:

1. Kaiser was a segregated plant when it was opened in 1959.

2. After the Federal government ordered a one-to-one hiring ratio at the plant gates for Kaiser, the workforce was still only 10% Black.

3. The requirement for prior work experience was being enforced in Kaiser only for Blacks, but not for whites.

4. There are only 2% Black skilled workers in the entire Kaiser workforce. There are no women among the skilled workers.

Obviously, we cannot rely on the courts either. They are only an instrument of the capitalists to perpetuate their system of discrimination and exploitation. Only ourselves, the working class, oppressed nationalities, and women, the victims of discrimination, can defend affirmative action and defeat the Weber case.

### WHAT TO DO?

Join the struggle for affirmative action! Wherever you work, study or live, you will undoubtedly find the practice of discrimination. Organize to fight it!

On the week of May 28 to June 1st there will be a series of activities in all parts of the country in support of affirmative action. This affirmative action week will culminate in a series of demonstrations in major cities. Join your local committee to help organize for these activities aimed at educating and mobilizing the broad masses of people in support of Affirmative action. Through sermons, slide shows, cultural presentations, speeches and films, in large and small gatherings, in schools, union halls, social clubs, community centers and churches, organizations from the women's, trade union, civil rights, communist, national, and other movements, will be putting out the message of affirmative action and of the struggle against racism and women's and national oppression. Join us!

Let's build a broad, democratic movement throughout the United States to fight for affirmative action!

For more information, write to RESISTANCE, Box 513, Triboro Station, New York, N.Y. 10035.

equalities, it was definitely a big step forward for not only the workers at Kaiser, but also for workers of all nationalities, men and women, throughout the country.

But Brian Weber, a white male worker at the Gramercy plant, who was rejected from the program, filed a complaint. Of the 13 workers accepted for the program, (7 Blacks and 6 Whites), Weber had two months seniority over 2 Black workers. Weber claimed that this was reverse discrimination! And thanks to the financial backing of big corporate interests in this country, Weber was able to take the case against Kaiser and the USWA to court. Two lower courts have already ruled in favor of Weber. The case is now being reviewed by the Supreme Court, which is expected to hand down a decision in early June this year.

### IF WEBER WINS AGAIN

A ruling in favor of Weber by the Supreme Court will be a heavy blow to the rights of oppressed nationalities and women. The programs which they have struggled for so hard will now be threatened with extinction. And the struggle for equality will have suffered a serious setback.

Furthermore, a favorable decision on Weber is an attack on the entire multi-national working class and our right to negotiate with our employers, through our unions. The Kaiser plan was negotiated between Kaiser and the USWA. If the Supreme Court declares it "illegal" it will be establishing a precedent that will be used to abolish all voluntarily agreed upon programs in other plants throughout the country. In the same manner, by accepting Weber's claim of "reverse discrimination," it will be upholding the precedent already established in the Bakke Case that

# ANTI NUKE MOVEMENT

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is geared towards serving the needs of the proletariat and other oppressed people. The initiative of scientists can be fully put into play under a system that has as its main worry the wellbeing of the masses, and not profits like under capitalism. Thus, we have to reject as chauvinist and non scientific the view that says that because under capitalism scientists have not been able to develop a completely safe method of using nuclear power, the same holds true for scientists under socialism. It is a fact that the bourgeois State has been an obstacle for the realization of the investigation, research and experimentation needed to develop such a method. Thus in our view the question of the possibility of a safe use of nuclear power under socialism is an open question in which history has the final say.

## UNDER IMPERIALISM THERE IS NO OTHER WAY SHUT THE PLANTS DOWN NOW!

If under socialism the question has to be posed, indeed under capitalism there is no doubt whatsoever. It is not possible for capitalism to develop under any circumstances safe use of nuclear power. It is not profitable and profits are the motive force of all capitalists to invest great amounts of capital in the development of safety measures for the production of nuclear energy. In fact, even with the present level of technological development it is possible to use safer methods than are being used, but this would cut down on the capitalists' profits, and the capitalists refuse to put safety ahead of their profits.

Therefore, the demand "Shut all plants down immediately" is a correct one that we are to put forward and support. In so doing we are to link this issue with two other major issues that are in turn indissolubly linked with that of nuclear power. We are talking about (1) the increasing danger of imperialist war between the two superpowers, and (2) the relationship that exists between nuclear power and imperialism.

## NUCLEAR ENERGY AND WAR PREPARATIONS

In a period in which the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are busy building all kinds of weapons for their eventual confrontation, showing that the fabrication of nuclear arms is the most important utilization of nuclear energy by the rulers of both countries, is a must. There are enough nuclear weapons in the US to exterminate the entire human race. Despite all the talks about arms limitations, Detente, SALT II, etc., the arms race continues at greater speeds every day.

Although there is a clear and direct relationship between nuclear energy, nuclear arms and war preparations, many forces within the anti nuke movement oppose any mention of nuclear weapons and of the danger of war and superpower war preparations. Thus, this

is one of the areas in which we can carry out a lot of educational work and win people over to a more correct position and a clearer understanding of the whole matter.

## CLARIFY THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN IMPERIALIST WARS AND REVOLUTIONARY WARS

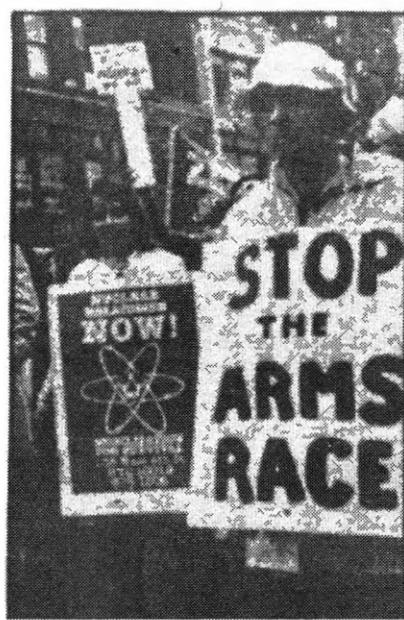
In making clear the connection that exists between nuclear energy and imperialist war preparations, our aim is to raise the level of consciousness in the anti nuke movement and to make that movement a part of the struggle against US imperialism and war preparations. This is definitely part of building a world wide united front against the two superpowers.

At the same time we are to guard against not making clear that there exist different kinds of wars, and the fact that while we oppose all imperialist wars, we give support to the wars of national liberation and the civil wars of the proletariat and other oppressed people against the capitalist system. This is also extremely important because one of the sectors of the anti nuke movement is the pacifists, who take a stand against all wars and against the use of violence, regardless of circumstances. Thus, we are to unite with the pacifists in their opposition to nuclear plants and to imperialist wars, and struggle against their opposition to the use of all violence and their opposition to all wars, independently of what is their nature.

## NUCLEAR POWER AND IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION

The anti nuke movement also has to be linked with the struggle against imperialist oppression throughout the world. The United States has established nuclear plants and stores nuclear weapons in countries under their control. In Puerto Rico and the Philippines, for example, they have set up nuclear reactors. Besides, they have nuclear weapons in some of the military bases that they have set up in those countries. They have nuclear submarines cruising the waters of the Caribbean Sea. And the same holds true all around the world.

We then have to put forward demands not only for the shut down of all plants in the US, but also in every other place in the world where US imperialism has nuclear plants, bases, nuclear weapons, etc. This is a crucial demand in the struggle against national oppression and national chauvinism, which in the nuclear issue can take the form of opposing only those nuclear plants built in the US while raising nothing about those abroad, or even going as far as favoring the establishment of plants as long as they are outside of the US. Another form national chauvinism can take, which also has to be opposed, is refusing to recognize the right of third world countries to develop nuclear energy. To oppose this right is objectively to defend the two superpowers' monopoly over nuclear power.



## THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE LEADING AND MAIN FORCE IN THE ANTI NUKE MOVEMENT TODAY

The petty bourgeoisie is the predominant class sector in the anti nuke movement today. It is also the petty bourgeoisie and its organizations, who are leading this struggle. This is a fact that we are to take into consideration in determining our approach to the struggle.

It is important to understand that politically, the petty bourgeoisie is not a homogeneous group. It includes radicals, reformists, liberals, conservatives and all the possible political tendencies that exist in our society. This broad political spectrum is represented organizationally in the anti nuke movement. There are also a series of differentiations that can be made based on particular ideologies: there are utopian socialists, anarchists, all kinds of religious trends, pacifists, etc. There are also divisions that can be made in terms of the particular focus of the organization's work: environmentalists, consumer advocates, anti-nukes, women, senior citizens, etc. Most of these groups base themselves largely in the universities and schools of this country. The great majority of demonstrators in Washington were white, young and students. It is important to look at these particularities also in order to best determine our approach to the different sectors and trends involved in the struggle.

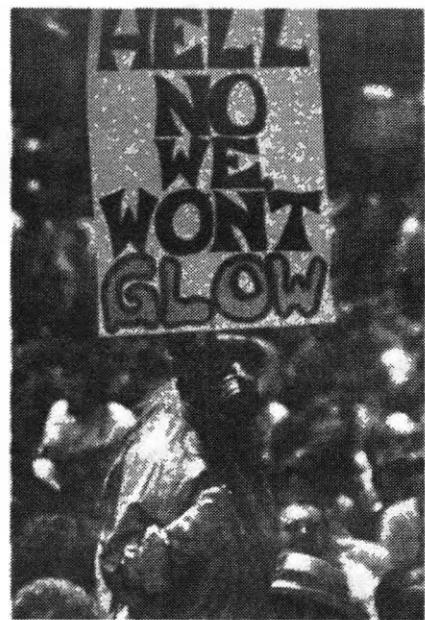
## REFORMISM THE MAIN TREND IN THE ANTI NUKE MOVEMENT

Reformism is in our view the main trend in the anti nuke movement. The basic line coming out is that of relying on bourgeois politicians. The main concern arising from this point of view is "to make nuclear energy the issue of the 1980 presidential elections", and "to bring into office senators and congressmen that will take a stand against nuclear plants."

As a matter of fact, the huge May 6th demonstration in Washington served precisely to project the so-called "progressive" politicians a la Bella Abzug and Jerry Brown. Governor Brown of California, who has already announced his intentions to run for the democratic presidential nomination in 1980, was the one who got the most mileage from it all. Brown is directing his pitch at the thousands of activists out there in order to gather the human power he needs to run a campaign that will focus on energy and tax "reform." Speaker after speaker emphasized on the need for better politicians, and talked a lot about the need for a "third" party.

The Public Interest Research Group (PIRG), headed by Ralph Nader, was the leading force in the coalition. PIRG is against the inclusion of demands opposing nuclear weapons because this, according to them, will alienate a lot of people. What Nader's group is all about is the establishment of a "watchdog agency" to supervise the functioning of nuclear plants -- and not really against the capitalists' use of nuclear energy and its military applications. PIRG even opposes the demand "Shut all plants down now!" Instead, their line was that the purpose of the demonstration was "to put nuclear energy on trial."

But the great majority of the people attending the demonstration paid no



attention to Nader's "trial." The chants and the placards made it very clear that the masses have already judged nuclear energy and that the verdict has been handed out: **Guilty of murdering people, of causing cancer, contaminating the air, water resources and land, of the mass murders at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of the Three Mile Island accident, and many other crimes.** The sentence: **Shut them all down now!**

The mere fact that with only three weeks of preparations the May 6th Coalition was able to mobilize over 100,000 people to Washington tells us something about the nature of the forces involved. Independently of how burning an issue can be -- and there is no doubt that nuclear energy is a very burning issue today -- you don't mobilize, under the present conditions, that amount of people, in that short period of time, unless you have a lot of money, connections with bourgeois politicians, the bourgeois press, etc. Many of the groups that form the coalition receive funds from foundations, churches, and even government agencies. That explains where the money for the buses, newspaper, radio and television advertisements came from. And it is another indication of the petty bourgeois base and leadership of the anti nuke movement as presently constituted.

We are saying this without in any way trying to take away the importance of the Washington demonstration or the anti nuke movement. We want to stress that the great majority of the demonstrators were honest people really concerned about the danger posed by the use of nuclear power, and committed to stop it.

The reformists and the bourgeois politicians moved fast to capitalize on this genuine concern of the masses. It is up to us to open the eyes of these honest people to the trap that reformism and bourgeois politics represent for the anti-nuke movement, and to broaden their political awareness in order that they can see the connection that exists between the unsafe use of nuclear power and all the evils of the capitalist system.

## BRING THE ISSUE TO THE WORKING CLASS

The fight for the hegemony of the proletariat in the anti-nuke movement becomes nothing but empty words if we don't do our most to bring the issue to the workplaces and the working class communities. Thus, without belittling the importance of working among the forces that compose the anti-nuke movement today, we are to concentrate our work on the working class and oppressed nationalities. To the extent that we help to broaden the anti nuke movement, drawing into it the most revolutionary class in our society, we will be laying the foundations for a much more powerful movement than the one that exists today.

## SEIZE THE TIME GET INVOLVED!

We feel that our analysis of the anti-nuke movement and the tasks of communists in it, although far from being as complete and thorough as we want it to be, is a good beginning, as it lays down the basis for our participation in it. Let's get to work, comrades, don't be afraid of mistakes, for only those who do nothing are the ones who never commit errors!

DEFEAT THE WEBER CASE!

FIGHT FOR AND EXPAND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION!

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# PARTY BUILDING

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Trotskyites - "the final goal is every thing the mass movement is nothing the correct answers to this question Lenin answering the economists of his time who insisted that it is the mass movement that determines the tasks of communists explained that this can be understood in two ways

Either it means bowing to the spontaneity of this movement reducing the role of Social Democracy to mere subservience of the working class movement is such or it means that the mass movement puts before us new theoretical political and organizational tasks, far more complicated than those that might have satisfied us in the period before the rise of the mass movement (What is to be Done? FLP p 55-56 Emphasis LPR)

Although every communist formation and individual Marxist Leninist in this country will accept the latter alternative is the correct one there is enough evidence to show that this is not the practice and in many cases not even the written positions of many of them

### FROM THE RIGHT FIELD THE MASS MOVEMENT IS EVERYTHING

#### THE FINAL GOAL IS NOTHING

It would be difficult to find somebody who puts this line outright at this day and age. But the essence and content of this line bowing to spontaneity and tailing behind the spontaneous mass movement springs up in many forms. We have organizations that claim it is incorrect - ultra-leftist and dogmatic they say to raise socialism in the mass struggle and to uphold that party building is the central task. For them the task is to gain experience in the mass movement before the question of the party becomes the principal task. Others uphold that before we put party building on the agenda we are to develop real influence in larger sectors of the working class.

Accordingly the seeking for experience and the fuse fuse fuse line consider that in order to carry out their tasks correctly they must raise purely bread and butter issues among the workers. For this trend anything is 'mas work'. And mass work according to what their practice shows, is to be present in every march and demonstration hand out many leaflets and newspapers that say what the masses already know carry a banner and make all kinds of bourgeois maneuvers to get a speaker in the event.

Obviously this kind of line is not an exclusive feature of groups that don't consider party building to be the central task. There are also forces who talk about building the party even for those that have proclaimed themselves as the "party", the "leading center", etc. who practice the same right opportunist, economist line. Their cadres spend the week running from meeting to meeting from demonstration to demonstration. At the end of the week they can report how many leaflets they distributed, how many papers were sold and

### A SETBACK

Once again we are forced to postpone, indefinitely this time, the appearance of the 12 page RESISTANCE. Problems in all aspects of the production and distribution of the paper make that change impossible at this moment. We are very critical of the idealist appreciation we made of our capabilities some months ago when we announced that as of May we will go to 12 pages.

even how the masses followed their leadership by chanting with them "we're fed up we can't take it no more!"

There are definitely many other ways in which this economist line is manifested. But whatever the form the results are the same - the working class movement and other spontaneous movements of the masses continue separated from the communist movement. The masses continue struggling spontaneously under the leadership of the petty bourgeois along the path of reformism.

### FROM THE LEFT FIELD THE FINAL AIM IS EVERYTHING, THE MASS MOVEMENT IS NOTHING

Again we are not going to find this line expressed in exactly that way (Remember the only this only that line of the PRRWO). But the line comes out in multiple forms. One very common one is the lack of participation in the spontaneous struggles. This is justified in many ways. We don't have enough resources. We must first train our cadres well in order to carry out that work. We have to develop a full blown political line before we get into it. And so on.

The fact of the matter is that although in most of the cases the problem that is used as an excuse is a real one (we all suffer from lack of resources, poor training, need to develop the line, etc.) the solution that is given - not to actively participate in the different struggles until we solve those problems - does nothing but insure that in fact the problems will never be solved. This is so because we cannot develop a correct full blown political line on any issue without actively participating in the struggle around it. Nor can we properly train our forces if we keep them in a closet disconnected from the mass movement. This line of "yes we should, but no we can't" fails to properly link party building, cadres training, development of theory, etc., with the practice in the spontaneous mass movement. This is the line of building the party in isolation from the struggle of the masses.

Another manifestation of this "left opportunist" is to reduce the "participation" in the mass struggle to "exposures". This common practice reduces communist work to denounce everybody and everything in a particular struggle without presenting any kind of alternative nor committing our forces to carry out the necessary work. Obviously these exposures result in greater isolation from the masses who will see in us a divisive force criticizing "the ones that are doing something". This would be the result independently of how correct what we are saying may be and how incorrect what the others are doing may be.

Another important manifestation of the "left" line is that of not taking into consideration the actual level of consciousness of the masses. This leads to the confusion that what is clear to us is clear to the masses, and as a result we end up putting forward plans, slogans, etc. that the masses cannot even understand much less agree with.

### RIGHTS AND 'LEFTS' TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN

The rights, by tailing behind the masses, and the 'lefts', by being far ahead of the masses the rights, by not raising enough politics, and the "lefts", by raising politics in an abstract way, both end up contributing to the entrenchment of bourgeois politics and ideology in the spontaneous mass movement.

We firmly believe that each and every one of the communist formations that exist in this country, including our own, have real problems carrying out in the real world correct revolutionary practice among the masses. And we are all, to a greater or lesser degree, guilty of the right and "left" deviations.



Be it on the right side, the side of right opportunism and revisionism which represents the main danger, or be it from the "left" side, or be it flip flopping from one side to the other, the fact is that we still find ourselves lagging behind the mass movement, not able to direct its path.

### THE WAY AHEAD

This presentation, which we consider to be a realistic appraisal of the present situation in our movement, is not advanced with the intention of justifying our very little and inconsistent involvement in most of these struggles. Nothing farther from our intentions. The fact is that in order to change this reality we are to start by accepting reality as it is, not as we would like it to be.

Leadership is something that is not won by self-proclamations, nor by including an organization's name as endorsers of every activity that is held. Leadership is won in the course of actual participation in the class struggle. Today, when the most important task facing us is the building of our party, when the concentration has to be on attempting to unite with other Marxist Leninists and on training and winning over the advanced elements of the various movements and struggles to our side, when propaganda is the chief form of activity, we are to see "providing leadership" in the context of being able to carry out those tasks. This is the only way in which we will be able to influence the mass movement and fight for its leadership.

In plain English it will be sheer idealism to even consider that we will be able to, by ourselves, to provide anything that looks like communist leadership and direction to either the anti-nuke movement, or the affirmative action struggle, or any other struggle that the masses have taken up. It is only to the extent that we are capable of uniting with other Marxist Leninists (circles and individuals), and with advanced elements and other progressive and revolutionary people, that we will

be in a relatively better position to do so. Relatively we say, because without the Party there cannot be any real systematic work and communist leadership among the masses. As Lenin teaches

**"Without a strong organization, tested in the political struggle carried out under all circumstances and in all periods, there can be no talk of a systematic plan of activity, enlightened by firm principles and unswervingly carried out, which alone is worthy of being called tactics"** (What is to be Done?, FLP p 59)

### PLACE ALL WORK IN THE CONTEXT OF PARTY BUILDING

We have summed up the relationship between our central task of party building and our participation in the spontaneous struggle of the masses, with the directive "Place all our work in the context of party building". Only by doing so will we be in fact creating the conditions necessary to meet the challenge presented by this new upsurge of the masses in the United States.



### EXPOSE SALT II AGREEMENT. THE WOLVES SAY PEACE, BUT MEAN WAR

As we went to press it was announced that the US and the Soviet Union have come to agreement on the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks II (Salt II). We see the need to expose Salt II as an imperialist maneuver that has as one of its purposes the ideological disarmament of the world's peoples regarding the increasing danger of world war triggered by the struggle for hegemony between the two superpowers.

We will be printing an analysis of SALT II in our June issue.



# WELCOME CREATION OF COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION OF PROGRESSIVE DOMINICANS

On Sunday May 13, Mother's Day, the Community Association of Progressive Dominicans (CAPD) held their first public event to inform of its creation and analyzed the reasons for its coming into being. The CAPD made an analysis of the conditions in the Dominican Republic under the control of U S imperialism, explained how imperialism forces hundreds of thousands of Dominicans to emigrate to the U S, pointed out the conditions of superexploitation and national oppression to which Dominicans are subjected to in this country, and concluded that as a result of that emigration a Dominican national minority has developed in the U S and that the defense of its full democratic rights is the task to which they are committed.

Explaining the emigration CAPD says it was no accident that thousands of Dominicans have had to abandon our country in order to earn a living here. This was neither a decision made by chance nor a voluntary one. We were forced to emigrate by the economic, political and social conditions faced by our motherland under the yoke of U S imperialism.

After showing examples of the unbearable conditions and explaining how the imperialists and the neo colonial governments in the Dominican Republic saw the emigration as a "Safety Valve" to alleviate the economic situation and prevent social unrest, CAPD concludes "Confronted with this situation of dependency, of not being able to live in our country because it constitutes one of the sources of superprofits for Yankee imperialism, a great number of Dominicans took the arduous road of emigration. Emigration that would be facilitated by the imperialist, as a way to alleviate the explosive situation in our country and at the same time provide themselves with a large source of cheap labor."

After explaining the particular conditions of oppression confronted by the Dominican emigrant—the most menial

and lowest paying jobs, high unemployment, bad housing, repression against the thousands of undocumented Dominicans

share with other nationalities in the U S territory and we are directly integrated into the U S economy, at the same time

## DOMINICANS IN THE U S —

### AN OPPRESSED NATIONAL MINORITY

The view that the Dominicans in the U S constitute an oppressed national minority has been consistently raised by our organization since May, 1975. In September, 1976 responding to a letter from the comrades of "Linea Roja" we stated:

Thus it is our understanding that Dominicans living in the U S are part of the multinational working class that is to carry out the proletarian revolution in the U S and the most advanced elements will undoubtedly incorporate into the communist party of a new type that will lead the revolution. Of course, the Dominicans, as well as the Puerto Rican, Afroamerican, and the working class as a whole has the duty to actively and concretely support the struggle of the Dominican people in the Dominican Republic, as well as of all oppressed people of the world for their national

liberation. This is how we see concretized the principle of Proletarian Internationalism in the resolution of the national question in the U S.

Otherwise, we would be falling in the incorrect bundist theory of the "divided nation" which is held by the revisionists of PSP among others. This thesis objectively represents an obstacle to the building of the multinational communist party in the U S, leading towards the division rather than the solidarity among workers of different nationalities.

RESISTANCE, Vol 7 No 7

On April this year and in a leaflet distributed at activities commemorating the April Insurrection of 1965 in the Dominican Republic we announced that a position paper on this question would be available in the summer and that forums on the Dominican national question would be held as part of the activities commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great proletarian leader and great Marxist-Leninist theoretician Joseph Stalin. Contact us for details.

icans, denial of bilingual and bicultural education and so on, the CAPD concludes that there is the need for the foundation of an organization that "unites the Dominican community to fight for the achievement and defense of its democratic rights in the U S." Thus, "the CAPD is born out of the understanding of its founders the Dominicans in the U S have become the Dominican national minority in this country. That is, we

that we maintain our language and culture."

### AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH

We consider the creation of the CAPD to be a step forward, a very important breakthrough in the Dominican community. For the first time a Dominican group comes to the realization that in fact Dominicans in the U S are an oppressed national minority and not part

of a mythological nation that exists wherever Dominicans find themselves. This realization will lead, we understand, not only to make a priority of the struggle for democratic rights in this country but also to the greater integration of Dominicans in the overall struggle of the multinational working class in the U S against the U S bourgeoisie.

In fact the CAPD states as one of its principles: "To struggle firmly and consequently, together with the other oppressed nationalities and the multinational working class of this country, against national oppression and exploitation."

During the discussion period the CAPD put forward that their understanding of the national question call for—besides fighting for the democratic rights of the oppressed Dominican national minority—actively supporting the national liberation struggle of the Dominican nation against Yankee imperialism. In fact, the strong historical, cultural and family ties of the Dominican community in the U S with the Dominican nation, facilitate this task for progressive Dominicans in the U S.

And we add, it is not only the duty of the progressive, democratic and revolutionary Dominicans in the U S but also, and even more so, of the entire multinational U S working class and its vanguard organizations to struggle in defense of the democratic rights of the Dominican national minority and in support of the struggle for the national liberation of the Dominican nation. That is why we say:

**STRUGGLE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE DOMINICAN NATIONAL MINORITY IN THE U S!**

**SUPPORT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE!**

These two slogans establish the basic tasks regarding the Dominican national colonial question of all revolutionary and progressive people in the U S. To the extent that the multinational U S working class raises these slogans, and to the extent that we organize support in both those directions, we will be positively contributing to the creation of a real front of common struggle against the enemy that exploits and oppresses us all.

# STALIN

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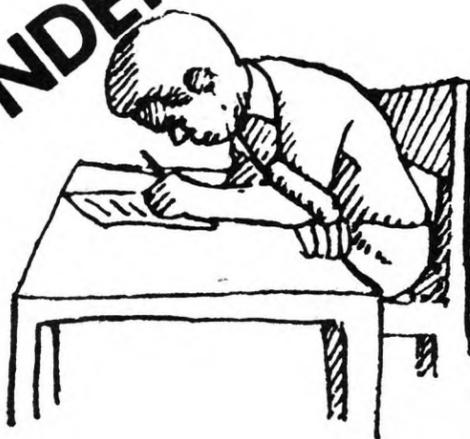
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# CORRESPONDENCE



One of the ways in which comrades can help build RESISTANCE is by writing us expressing their criticisms of our line, reporting about struggles they are involved in, expressing their views on the burning questions facing us. This column will complement the COMMUNIST FORUM in an attempt to air out views other than our own and contribute in the struggle for the correct line.

Send all letters and contributions to:

**RESISTANCE**  
Box 513, Triboro Sta.  
New York, N.Y. 10035

## ON CARTER'S "NEW FOUNDATIONS"

Your article "No New Foundations Will Save U.S. Imperialism" (Vol 10 No 2) has a good agitational content which I'm sure can be used with people who are at a low theoretical level. It has a real good mass style. The method of defining some of the terms used in the article help a lot and should be continued. Also the use of statistics helps to get the point across. You did a good popular exposure of Peanuts Carter's State of the Union Address.

But the end of the article seems to be completely out of place. After talking to the masses all through the article in your conclusion you begin talking to the communists. Instead of talking about "fertile ground for communist work" our timely and consistent communist propaganda and agitation, you should have finished off by telling people what to do to fight against the attacks that are coming down harder and harder every day.

Philadelphia, Pa

### Reply

We unite with your assessment of the article and take to heart the criticism that said that we ended the article in a poor fashion. In fact we applied this criticism to some of the other articles and leaflets we have written and found that it is not the first time that we have committed this error. The problem is one of not defining well for whom we are writing a particular piece: what is the message we have for that population, how that message can be better transmitted, etc.

We have to pay more attention to all our propaganda and agitation in order to avoid this and other errors of the same nature.

## DISAGREES WITH OUR STAND ON THE DEMAND TO "CONTROL OUR BODIES"

By calling the right of women to

control our own bodies a "bourgeois demand" you are opposing the cause of women's emancipation which you claim to defend. Instead of all the rhetoric to cover this male chauvinist and reactionary position you should answer point blank the question: who do you propose should control women's bodies?

New York, N.Y.

### Reply

The real question is not **who** is to control women's bodies but what "control of our bodies" means. It is very important that we analyze the content of any demand before we are about to take a stand on it. Then the question to answer is: what can the demand to "control our own bodies" mean? Some possible answers are:

- 1 The right to determine whether or not to have a child.
- 2 The right to use or not to use, contraceptives to obtain free and safe abortions to have access to literature on family planning, etc.
- 3 The right to decide on who to marry and the right to divorce.
- 4 The right to self defense against sexual assaults.

These and very possibly a lot of other legitimate women's rights, can be included in the demand to control our bodies and obviously we are to support those rights. And this we do by raising them specifically and by concretely fighting for them. But the concept can also have other meanings, such as:

- 5 The right to prostitution
- 6 The right to promiscuity
- 7 The right to other degenerate sexual relations
- 8 The right to use drugs
- 9 The right to commit suicide

These and other possible demands can also be included within "control of our own bodies," and those we are to definitely oppose. The demand for such rights is a bourgeois demand because it reduces the problem to a question of "individualism — my body is my body and I do with it whatever pleases me." This is clearly a bourgeois way of posing the problem of the road towards the real emancipation of women.

Besides, there is the ambiguity of this demand, so broad that it can mean correct as well as incorrect things. Although in using this demand you, and many other women as well, may honestly have in mind only the first four interpretations, the other five will surely also come into play. The end result is that the real interests of the working class are confused with the interests of the bourgeoisie. And this can only serve the bourgeoisie.

In formulating our demands we have to make sure that they say exactly what we mean, and that they represent the interests of the working class, not of the bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact, slogans that are intended to mean one thing, can turn out to mean quite the opposite if we are not careful. And if you don't believe us, take a look at the first letter that appears on this page.

## ON THE SLOGAN, "BLACK, BROWN, YELLOW, WHITE, UNITED WE MUST FIGHT!"

Is your country so like ours that you have forgotten the (ab)original inhabitants? I refer to your slogans in RESISTANCE Vol 9, No 7 and 9 in September and October respectively, last year.

The slogan reads: Black, Brown, Yellow, White, United we must fight!

May I ask what has happened to the red people? Have they been wiped out and only a few tepees remain standing with perhaps a feather or two attached to them? Or are they too much of an embarrassment, even for this paper?

I hope not. Also, I thought it was well known that there are five (5) races on this planet, not four.

Meanwhile, here in Australia, the capitalists are doing a good job mining uranium on the traditional land of the Australian Aborigines. They have been sold out and it seems nothing can help them.

After all they are only primitive blacks and they're not even Christians — are they?

Adelaide, South Australia

### Reply

You are absolutely correct! We have, through an act of serious oversight, liquidated the plight of the Native American people. Our intentions, as you can see from the context of the articles and struggles in which the slogan was used, were of course very different.

The slogan, which has been in use by a variety of forces in the U.S. movement for quite a while, was chosen by us to depict the need for multinational unity. To depict the fact that oppressed nationalities in this country, as well as oppressed whites, have a common enemy and there is a common root cause to our problems — the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie — and that therefore "United we must fight!"

However, as a very common saying wisely expresses: "The road to hell is paved with good intentions." The Native American people in the U.S. similarly to the Australian aborigines, have been brutalized to the point of genocide, robbing of their land, forcing them into concentration camps, and killing them off slowly by denying them all fundamental rights, such as the right to decent housing, health care, jobs, education, and the preservation of their own language and culture. Despite this genocidal practice, the Native American people have fought bravely against their exploiters. Today, the heroic Native American peoples are a shining example to all oppressed people throughout the world. Our slogan should have therefore read: "Black, Brown, Yellow, Red, White, United we must fight!" And this is the way we will use it in the future.

We support the just struggles to regain the Native American's land and all their rights. By so doing, and at the same time, by struggling against our common enemy U.S. imperialism, we can in fact "help them," and help ourselves too, because we can't be free until all peoples oppressed by "our" bourgeoisie are freed.

### TO OUR READERS

We welcome letters of criticism from our readers. We urge you to be brief and to the point. Please indicate precedence of any quotes, statistics, etc. that you may use. When possible, we would appreciate that you send copies of whatever materials you refer to so that we can see the context in which things are being raised.



# STALIN CENTENNIAL

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### SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT FOR THE PUERTO RICAN DAY PARADE

On Sunday June 10th, nearly 1,000,000 Puerto Ricans will gather along 5th Avenue celebrating the annual Puerto Rican Day parade. For that occasion we will be distributing a special edition of RESISTANCE! dedicated to the 4 nationalist prisoners. We call on comrades and friends to participate in the distribution of that supplement. Contact us immediately! Call 473 8736

# BLACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT TIME BOMB FOR THE BOURGEOISIE

As summertime arrives, the bourgeoisie again begins to worry about what's going to happen in the ghettos. Though present all year round, unemployment is a time bomb that ticks harder in the summer, when school is over and the youth are out in the street. This summer, as more and more cuts in CETA jobs and in social services are coming down, promises to be especially hot. And already the bourgeoisie and its agents are getting ready. The NEW YORK TIMES, for example, recently published a series of articles -- "Young, Black and Unemployed", by John Herbes -- which tries to justify the situation and cover for the bourgeoisie as the ones really responsible. We will comment here on some of the phoney arguments given by them.

## THE PROBLEM

A huge army of jobless black youths has been steadily increasing since WWII. In the U.S., as in other advanced capitalist countries, prosperity has offered no guarantee that the rate of unemployment among youths will decline. The reverse, in fact, has been the case. As U.S. Secretary of Labor, Roy Marshall stated, "Despite gradual recovery from world recession, there were no signs of any significant improvement in the job situation for the 15-24 age group" (Quoted in *Beijing Review*, 1/27/78, p. 27). In particular, "the proportion of young Blacks working or looking for work has been dropping steadily through periods of prosperity as well as recession" (U.S. News & World Report, 2/5/77).

Among oppressed nationalities we find the problem of unemployment and poverty in its most concentrated form. In 1954, the unemployment rate for Blacks 16-19 years old was 16.5%, as against 12.1% for whites the same age. In 1978 the rate for Blacks of that age was 36.3%, as against 13.9% for whites. "The unemployment picture for minority youth, particularly Blacks, is now roughly what it was for the entire nation in the depths of the Great Depression" (NYT, 3/11/79).

Reformist leaders claiming that they can end the conditions of poverty within the framework of capitalism conclude that "Black America today verges on the brink of disaster." It is evident that the meagre gains won by Blacks as a result of the mass struggles of the 60's have been rapidly disappearing. The highly touted rise of the black middle class has been an illusory phenomenon, limited to but a handful of Blacks, and having little relevance to the conditions of life of the vast majority of the Afro American people. In truth, the lot of the Afro American has worsened, consequently, the lot of the Afro American youth has worsened substantially more.

Blacks have always comprised the greatest percentage of the surplus population throughout the history of the United States as an industrial power since the Civil War. Reformists uphold that such a condition could be overcome only if the barriers preventing the assimilation of Afro Americans into the 'mainstream' of U.S. capitalism were lifted. We hold that the real conditions of impoverishment of Afro Americans and other oppressed nationalities are rooted in the system of capitalism itself.

Reformists distort the basic nature of unemployment, specifically black unemployment in this country, because of their failure to extend their analysis beyond the notion of racism. What we get from the reformists thus is a weak plea to end racism -- merely a symptom of the problem. Many reformist solutions are in fact capitalist strategies designed to try to prevent the situation in the Afro American communities from reaching a flash point, or from taking a revolutionary turn. They are also not dealing effectively at all with the problem as the figures themselves show. Meanwhile, black reformers are finding themselves increasingly isolated from the masses of Afro Americans who have seen their promises unfulfilled and their dreams go up in smoke, and are therefore looking elsewhere for the solutions to their problems.

## ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM

Unemployment among Blacks is not a recent phenomenon. And it is directly related to the history of the Afro-

American people in the U.S. Ever since Africans were forcibly brought to this country they have been brutalized and enslaved as a people. In the course of the years of living, working and struggling together, the Afro American people in the Black Belt South came to be a nation of its own. The oppression of this nation is at the root of the problems of Afro Americans today.

The imprisonment of nations is a characteristic feature of capitalism in its highest stage of imperialism. In the plight of the Afro Americans then, we have an example of the capitalist exploitation suffered by Afro Americans as workers, and of national oppression suffered by Afro Americans as a people. The severe unemployment problem among Blacks, especially among the youth, is but a manifestation of that larger problem. That is, the contradiction between the Afro American worker be it in Chicago, Tupelo, New York or Gramercy, and the U.S. capitalist, and the contradiction between the Afro American nation in the Black Belt South and U.S. imperialism.

## CAUSES OF BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT, AS SEEN BY THE BOURGEOISIE

The bourgeoisie advances the following causes for the increase in the rate of black youth unemployment: a large influx of immigrants who are taking the jobs once held by Blacks, the entry of women into the labor market in great numbers, the rise of an "underground economy of illegal activities at which youths find they can make more money with less effort", and others (as cited in the NYT article of 3/11/79 mentioned above).

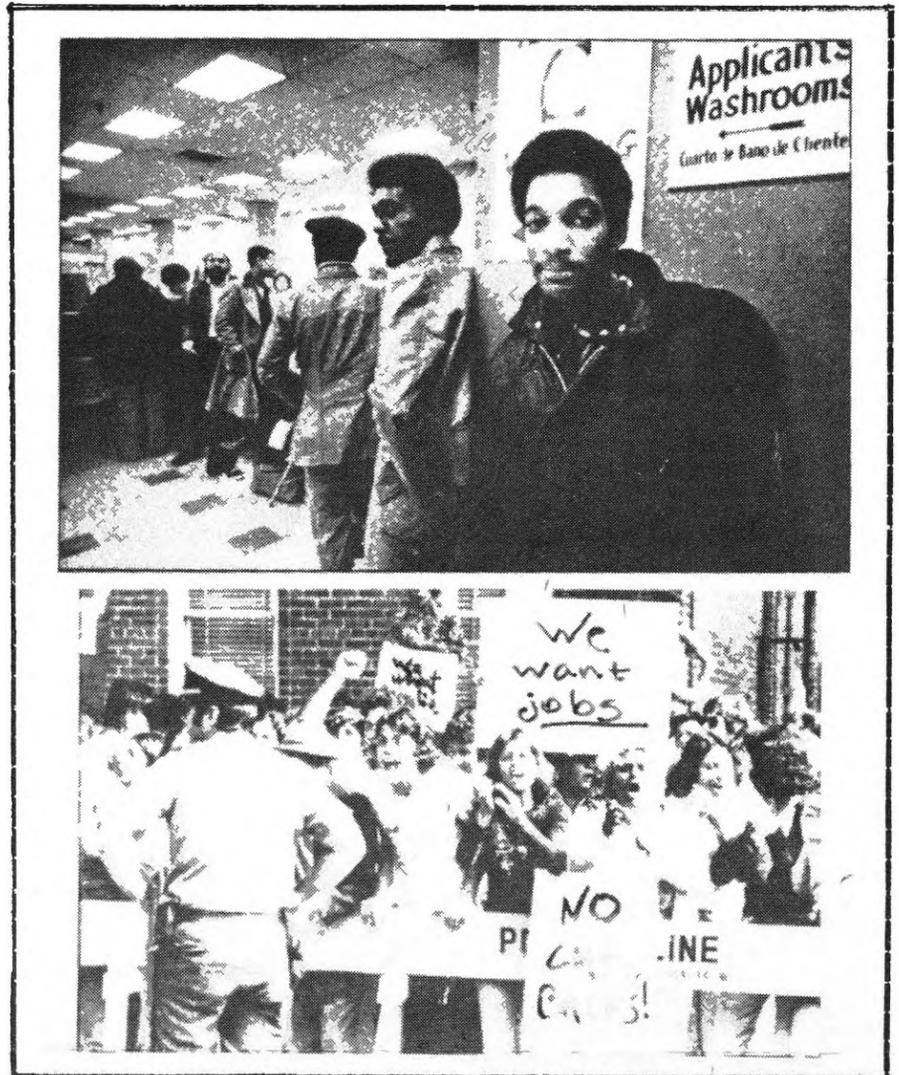
In addition to the above, which are supposed to reflect current conditions, we have the fundamental causes of the problem according to them: "lingering discrimination in the market place, the failure of federal programs to reach those most in need, and the inability or unwillingness of many youths to perform the kind of jobs that are available."

To these latter 'causes' we reply the lessons of the Weber case for example, show that discrimination against Blacks in industry is hardly a 'lingering' phenomenon, but a full blown trend, federal programs, rather than being expanded, are being cut back where they are most needed, the inadequate housing, schooling, medical care and nutrition found routinely in the Afro American community are certainly factors in Afro American youths being 'unable' to find and keep jobs, the fact that only the most menial jobs are generally available for Black youth is no consolation either.

## THE LARGE INFLUX OF IMMIGRANTS

It is a fact that immigrants - both documented and undocumented - can generally find nothing but the most menial and degrading work. "These newly arrived immigrants eagerly pursue the necessary, but menial jobs that others shun" (NYT, "Illegal Aliens in N.Y.", 3/18/79). These undocumented workers are the source of incredibly cheap labor, from the newly organized sweatshops in NYC employing Chinese and Latino workers, to the Mexican migrant farm workers across the country.

But it is not a question of undocumented workers taking away jobs from black youths, as the bourgeoisie would



have us believe. The point is that capitalism cannot provide more than a limited number of jobs for unskilled, uneducated workers. These workers in turn are subjected to the fiercest form of competition for these jobs. Any factor tending to increase the supply of labor will lower the value of labor, and thereby force the more expensive labor out of the job market.

Immigration to the U.S. has been a characteristic feature of the history of this country. Wherever the U.S. imperialists have set foot their economic control has caused massive emigration of its impoverished people searching for a better life. In other cases, as with the Afro Americans, they have forcibly brought people from their homelands to work in the fields and factories of the imperialists. This country in fact has been built on the sweat and blood of peoples from many different countries who have been forced in one way or another to leave their country of origin. So today's immigrants who have substituted yesterday's immigrants in their place at the bottom of the ladder of U.S. society, have a lot in common. And both have the right to a decent job and decent living conditions. The U.S. imperialists deny all of them these rights.

## THE ENTRY OF WOMEN INTO THE LABOR MARKET

Statistics given show that 21% of the women entering the labor force were Afro American. If 12.4% of the labor force is Afro American, this share of new jobs distributed among all age groups of black women, reflects a higher percentage increase in employment than their proportion to the population. Given the gap in unemployment between Black and white women, this is a progressive trend. But the intent of displaying these statistics is to try to demonstrate that women as a whole, when they are employed, necessarily take jobs from men (in this case black male youths).

Are women, as a group, displacing men from the job market?, or displacing youths from the job market? No, since the loss of employment by men has been occurring over the last 25 years in the monopoly sector of the economy (steel, auto, construction, mining), whereas the most

substantial increases in employment for women have taken place in the competitive sectors of the economy (labor intensive manufacturing, textiles, domestic labors, clerical work, etc.).

The bourgeoisie has consistently tried to confuse qualitatively different job markets, each with their own specific factors bearing on employment levels in order to promote their sexist claim that women are threatening the male job market. This they do to further divide and exploit the working class as a whole. For the capitalists, increasing the role of women in production tends to create an even larger surplus population (among minority youths) and even greater profits. For the working class, it is simply an expression of the increasing difficulty of keeping the unavoidable needs of subsistence unless two or more family members work at the same time.

It is therefore not a question of women moving into the labor market to 'displace' men, but rather, one of (a) the oppressive conditions working class families are facing today which force women to also seek jobs, (b) one of capitalism drawing more and more women into the labor force as a source of cheap labor and a way of making greater profits, and (c) one of capitalism being unable to provide jobs for all sectors of society and pitting one against another for those few that are available.

## CRIME AND UNEMPLOYMENT

It is a basic postulate of racist propaganda that the downtrodden races and oppressed nationalities be consistently pictured as 'lazy', 'stupid', 'dangerous', and ultimately 'criminal'. But it is the circumstances of capitalism, which form the material basis for crime. Capitalism produces not only an impoverished working class, but a lumpenproletariat as well, those thrown off from the ranks of the working class into a life of destitution or crime.

It is one thing to demonstrate, through statistics, that poverty and crime are coincidental, it is entirely another matter to prove that young black men and women would rather push dope,

Continued on page 8

# BLACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Continued from page 7

pimp turn tricks snatch purses and mug people than work. Capitalist racist slanders go further saying that a life of crime keeps black youths from actively seeking work. There is a widely held belief that a system has evolved in the US in which poor members of minorities in many areas find little stigma attached to crime and prefer to make a living that way (NYT 3/11/79)

The bourgeoisie constantly uses the specter of crime as being one of the high social costs of unemployment among Blacks in general. But who really pays the price? It is a fact that you are most likely to be a victim of crime in NYC if you are a black man between the ages of 25 and 32. Clearly it is the Afro Americans portrayed as the victims who are the victims of crime. If youth in fact held to this belief that crime was easier than a job how can you explain the desperate scenes at city agencies handing out applications for a meager 64 779 jobs for unemployed youths last summer?

The capitalists hypocritically raise these statistics comparing crime and poverty and unemployment while simultaneously frustrating any chance that these youths have of escaping from such a life. This year NYC is receiving \$4 million less than last year for summer jobs which means 15 000 fewer jobs for our youth. What then is the real purpose of making such a connection between the oppressed and crime? For one thing it serves to fan the flames of racism. At the same time if the general public is continued to be lead to believe that all Blacks are violent criminals then they will become more accustomed to, and even welcome the repeated instances of police brutality and armed oppression of Blacks by the State. Crime statistics then function as a cover for the unemployment crisis and the police

repression against Afro Americans under the guise of protecting the community

## THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF BLACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

All of these factors are not really causes of unemployment but expressions of the dynamics and competition of particular sections of the reserve army of labor during this phase of monopoly capitalism. Black youth unemployment is most clearly explained not as a contradiction between men and women or Black and white but in terms of a stagnant surplus population or reserve army of labor.

Though women for example constitute a large portion of this same surplus population their increasing rate of employment means that they are not part of the stagnant sectors. Trying to prove that their employment is what causes the unemployment of other sectors is to do nothing but fan the flames of male chauvinism to trade off the misery of one group for the misery of the other.

Black youths unable to find even temporary employment in the private sector make up a great percentage of this stagnant population. Which groups remain stagnant and which groups can achieve temporary employments depends basically on the labor needs of the economy at any given moment that is the needs of the capitalists. By muddling the relationship between oppressed nationalities women and undocumented workers in the question of unemployment capitalist propaganda seeks to create discord among the most impoverished sections of the working class diverting attention from the real causes of their impoverishment.

## CAPITALIST MEASURES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Political and economic motives underlie massive tax supported federal programs which supposedly aid Afro Americans. Some of those programs funded by the government which claim to be aimed at solving the problem are simply means to serve the capitalists own interests. For example some programs serve to reproduce the work force like subsidies to education. Others such as Welfare and CETA jobs are mere tokens to keep the reserve army of unemployed simply alive. And still others like the Humphrey Hawkins full employment bill, seek to pacify that reserve army and maintain social har-

mony all in the interests of capitalist accumulation.

In reality federal programs can never be more than short term solutions attempting to smooth over the most glaring aspects of the contradiction. Despite state programs over the last 25 years the rate of black youth unemployment has more than doubled. Under capitalism the state cannot afford to forgo war preparations spending for social welfare programs. To do so would invite economic collapse. And today with the deepening of the economic crisis it is not with more social services but with war that the capitalists are planning to get out of their crisis.

However in order to avoid a real flare up among the oppressed, the bourgeois state has to put in some funds in order to keep the masses down. The reserve army has to at least be kept alive, and under the illusion that the government is doing something for them. But even this is being cut back today. It is clear that black youths are forced to depend heavily on these state programs for their subsistence. If CETA jobs are cut back, this means higher unemployment for Blacks immediately. The federal government is preparing to make even greater cutbacks. Conservative estimates place the number of jobs necessary for Black youths just to reach the same level of unemployment as white youths at 650,000! Since only half of CETA jobs youths go into actual job training programs, as opposed to gratuitous 'public service' employment, the gap will continue to widen.

Paradoxically affirmative action programs imposed on private industry have represented one of the main hopes for job training and advancement for Blacks, minorities and women in industry, but most companies have responded to affirmative action only under some form of coercion. In addition, we believe the Bakke decision and the Weber case to be the beginning of a new offensive against the gains of among others the Afro Americans.

Job training is put forward as providing an opportunity for black youth employment. But job training programs give no special consideration to black youths who have to travel to the suburbs to get to the training centers there is no extra money for carfare, nor are there any facilities for child care, and so on. All of this effectively weeds out many youths. And of course, there is no guarantee of a job only "job training." Furthermore,

in a heavily automated industry like auto manufacturing which is already experiencing a decline in the male workforce, such training may amount to no more than a pipe dream for black youths.

So as we can see the measures offered by the bourgeoisie state programs and government aid, as well as affirmative action and other forms of training opportunities available from private industry are not in the least anywhere near solving the problem. As a matter of fact, these are measures which, in times of crisis such as the present get severely cut back or not implemented at all.

## CONCLUSION

Unemployment is an integral part of the capitalist system. There is no way that capitalism can provide enough jobs for all sectors of the population and at the same time allow capitalists to continue making their profits. The existence of a big sector of the population unemployed is what keeps the wages of the whole working class down, just like keeping one sector of the population on very low wages keeps down the wages of the entire class.

And ending racism is not the solution either, because racism is simply the justification used by the capitalists to cover for the fact that the system thrives precisely on keeping some sectors of the population living under subhuman conditions. The fact that extreme conditions of poverty under capitalism do foster a life of 'crime' is not a characteristic feature of the nature or culture of a particular people, but a contradiction created by capitalism itself!

And finally, the false claim that it is the immigrants, or women, who are taking jobs away from black youth is the capitalists' way of keeping the working class divided, blaming one sector for the problems of another, and viceversa. Actually, there is no end in sight for those problems until each sector realizes that it is not the others, but capitalism itself, that is the enemy. Black youth unemployment is in this way a class question. And it is a class question in which the right to self determination of the Afro American nation, including the right to sever itself from the rest of the US, as well as the democratic rights of Afro Americans wherever in the US they may be, is at the crux of the matter.



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