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BLACK LIBERATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE:

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

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COMPANEROS, COMRADES, AND FELLOW STUDENTS:

We are here to present an analysis of the Black student movement, an important part of the Black liberation struggle, the vanguard force of the revolutionary movement in the United States. Its purpose is to destroy U. S. A. capitalism, the key to world imperialism, and to construct a socialist society. We are here in solidarity with the heroic and valiant struggle of the Cuban people and the Vietnamese people, both in revolutionary struggle against U. S. A. imperialism. And, we want to give our full and firm support to preserving revolutionary forces and the construction of the first socialist society in the Americas. We are here as companeros. We are here to learn from you and to teach you. And we thank you with revolutionary love.

Our report will consider the Historical development Black Liberation, students and the Revolutionary class struggle. We welcome the opportunity to discuss all these matters in great detail and would appreciate all your questions regarding our struggle.

It is important to begin this discussion with an analysis of the class structure of the Black community, because it is this class reality that shapes and forms the style and content of the student movement. Black people in the U. S. A. are oppressed and exploited in two fundamental ways; (1) as a colonized nation on which U. S. A. imperialism has turned inward to exploit Black people in near fascist proportions, (particularly in the Southern U. S. A.) and (2) as a critical part of the industrial and service proletariat forced to produce super profits for the fat vultures of capitalism. We are an oppressed nation, and we are the working class facing both racial and class exploitation.

As a movement we are still formulating a decisive class analysis, so what we say here must be regarded as a tentative formulation. We recognize at present three important class formations:

1. comprador petty bourgeoisie
2. national petty bourgeoisie
3. rural and urban workers

The middle class is divided into two different sections:

The business interests form the national petty bourgeoisie, and have been the traditional basis for a nationalist ideology in the Black community. Their children have traditionally gone to Black colleges in the South set up by the ruling class in order to build a capitalist class inside of the Black community. The second section is the comprador petty bourgeoisie serving as direct extensions of the Big Bourgeoisie. Their children go to the elite white colleges to learn the habits and values of ruling class whites in order to more effectively manage Black community affairs. One group runs the businesses in the Black community---funeral parlors, small shops, insurance companies, and newspapers. While the others are concentrated in the professions (law, medicine, and politics,) and as representatives of major corporations.

The majority of the Black community is working class. This includes industrial workers, service workers, agricultural workers, unemployed workers (especially the youth), and the near permanent army of unemployed workers on government welfare. Working class students are enrolled in community colleges, state colleges, and universities. Their education has the dual purpose of post poning their entrance into the permanent full time working force, and finishing the task of basic education the secondary schools is supposed to have accomplished.

The vast majority of Black students are working class, and approximately 50% are in the Southern U. S. A. However, the ruling class maintains elite Black schools and Blacks in elite white colleges as the primary source of leaders to maintain neo-colonial forms of direct and indirect rule. These class formations must be kept at the base of any analysis of the Black community, and of any understanding of our socialist revolution in the U. S. A.

In the modern era, there have been two major stages of struggle:

1. The struggle for Bourgeois Democracy
2. The struggle for National Liberation

1. The struggle for democracy has its symbolic origin in the struggle against racial segregation in public schools systems in the South and Middle West. The famous Supreme Court case of 1954, (Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas) declared segregated schools unconstitutional, charged the consciousness of the Black masses, and was the catalyst that got the Movement underway. There were violent confrontations as the masses moved to challenge the institutional racism of school systems. However, it was mainly an action involving lawyers as technicians in the court and middle class motives to be in the white schools - - though the masses were also involved.

Also, shortly after the Court decision, there was the mass action of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The masses of people --working people - were put into action. The use of mass action was taken up by college students - - - the beginning of our modern mass student movement, Black and white - - - and the sit-ins began February 1, 1960 in Greenboro, North Carolina. Thousands were moving. In 1961 SNCC was founded by 1962 SNCC had developed two fronts. 1) the struggle to open public accommodations 2) the struggle to register Black voters. And in 1963 there was a National March on Washington. In a NAACP convention in the 1940's WEB DuBois had coined the phrase "Free by 1963," and it had materialized in the largest mass demonstration in the modern era ---250,000 strong---on national TV. It had begun at the grass roots, but was cooped by the ruling class through their Black middle class lackey leadership. Kennedy, the wolf in sheep's clothing, had struck again. In 1964, SNCC led the Movement back to the south, to Mississippi. The iceberg of racist capitalism was challenged by students led by SNCC. A united front of all civil rights organizations was formed and a multi-issued summer of struggle was waged. The end of the summer was focused on the 1964 Democratic National Convention challenging the racist restrictive policies and the Mississippi Freedom delegation was offered a bad sellout and refused.

This was followed in 1965 by the March from Selma to Montgomery, Ala. led by Martin Luther King in order to force the passing of a national law on voter registration this actually happened. Now in most of these struggles, especially since the

sit-ins there has always been murder and assassination. This includes 1963 - - - Medgar Evers 1964 - - - 3 COFO workers (Chaney Goodman Swerner) 1965 - - - Malcolm X.

So with the vicious mad-dog reaction to our struggle 2) for Democratic rights, the beginning of Revolution Nationalism was formed. The struggle for democracy had been based on a class formation after W W II, a new middle class of clerical workers, the parents of the present comprador class formation. However, with mass action around public accommodations and voter registration the masses of workers were aroused.

The Northern urban centers had provided an escape for Southern share croppers during the W W II, industrial boom, but had since become camps for the unemployed and underemployed. They exploded--insurrections spontaneously challenged the liberal Democratic institutions that previously had been the basis of our people's aspiration. The People said, "Since they won't come around ---- we'll burn it down" and "Burn, Baby, Burn". This involved the very important confrontation at Watts in 1965 and Newark and Detroit in 1967. There were hundreds of cities burning and the government had to spend millions of dollars on national guards and police forces. A new level of repression was being planned, and Counter insurgency war far was brought home. Guerrilla warfare was nervously debated by liberal intellectuals.

The second period of nationalism was inspired by Malcolm X and born in the heat of insurrection during 1966. There was a march in the State of Mississippi in which SNCC first used the slogan: Black Power. During this same time the Black Panther Party was formed in Oakland and the U. S. organization in Los Angeles. In 1967, the First Black Power Conference to unify forces rallying behind that slogan was held. 1968 2nd Black Power Conference held in Philadelphia. Cooption by Cultural Nationalists was financed by corporate capitalism. The Panther Party organized chapters and survival programs. Their big impact was in projecting the militancy which Malcolm called for, they brought forth the gun. All previous struggle was non-violent. Also there was a cultural movement to combat racist cultural pacification. e.g. OBAC - - - writer workshop, visual arts workshop. Also origin of Black studies. Negro Digest, and Black university issues. Repression continued: 1967 ----Huey arrested 1968 ---

Orangeburg Massacre --- King assassinated --- Bobby Hutton killed. Poor People's Campaign emerged as an attempt to revive multi-nationalism of the Democratic struggles with a class focus. This was a community oriented movement of many groups that emerged around issues like welfare, housing, unemployment, etc.

We see the development of a clear class basis for a split in the Black student movement. The Panthers were led by Cleaver, Huey, and Bobby ----- out of prison and community colleges ----- appealing to working class and unemployed youth, including the lumpen proletariat. U. S. and its brand of cultural nationalists are led by graduate students of elite white and elite Black schools appealing to middle class students. A serious split emerged in the movement. By 1969, the Movement is developing this stage of revolutionary nationalism --- cultural and political perhaps includes seeds of the next one.

In '69 - '72, seven major trends have emerged, initiated by conferences and/or major events. We will discuss each one and then suggest the essence of our movement as a whole.

I. NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF BLACK STUDENTS

After SNCC had ceased giving national leadership to Black students a vacuum was created. So in 1969, two national organizations emerged around the established student government leadership on the campuses. Out of the white campus, a large Black caucus walked out of the NSA convention in El Paso, Texas to create NABS (National Association of Black Students). White paternalism and mismanagement of funds for Black students were the key issues. This action was jointly coordinated with a Chicano caucus. Out of the South, an organization relating to Black campus Student body Presidents was founded -----SOBU. NABS pulled out of NSA and has had two national conferences. First in July, 1970 in Detroit, assisted by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, to develop the student-worker concept; and , 2nd in Chicago, in Aug. 1971 around the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism-----Scientific Socialism. Now NABS has dismantled its national leadership and is an association of Marxist-Leninist collectives around the country. This change reflects the movement away from the middle class into the

working class.

SOBU began in North Carolina with students from elite Black and white school --- through everyone moved to work in the South. They have moved from a general anti-imperialist Pan Africanism influenced by Kwame Nkrumah to Marxism-Leninism. They have developed a national newspaper of high quality and continual political development. It has strong links to the Black community of North Carolina and has spread its organization to the Midwest and the East Coast.

Both organizations were initially under the influence of different SNCC factions, and hence were separate. Now that is no longer the case and the two organizations are likely to come together to form a national Union of Black Students guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

II. BLACK STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY

This trend comes out of the cultural movement. Major influences are conferences: one at Yale in 1968, in which George McBundy of the Ford Foundation spoke along with many of us there to make a case for democratization of the University curriculum. The students at Cornell had responded to their university's racism with guns in self-defense. Whites had burned the Black cultural center and threatened sisters. This shocked the ruling class because this was the result of working class students have been admitted. The ruling class had attempted to re-establish their control after King was killed by coopting Black youth into their schools. This strategy backfired when there developed militant demands and actions disrupting their class based "quiet".

One major development was the creation of independent programs outside of the university, but often close enough to draw on its resources. After students at Duke University, an elite school for ruling class whites in the South, were halted in their attempts to develop Black studies, they joined with students from Black schools in the area and formed Malcolm X Liberation University. They began with a Pan Africanist ideology, became an anti-imperialist, and now are applying Scientific Socialism in their practice. Out of the University of Chicago developed the Communiversy (community university) in Chicago. And out of Fisk University, Tennessee State University, and Meharry Medical College came Peoples College.

There was also the nationalist anti-imperialist consciousness. An annual conference of the Africa Studies Association in Montreal was disrupted because the Black Caucus objected to whites dominating the research for the U. S. A. State Department scholars serving as modern missionaries dissecting societies and cultures for more effective imperialist penetration. Out of this struggle the AHSA (African Heritage Studies Association) was formed in the spring of 1969. The first conference brought 3,000 Black students to Howard University and in it a struggle of class lines emerged --- most of those in attendance were cultural nationalists but several major speakers put forth a Marxist analysis: CLR James, Walter Rodney, and Stanislas Atotevi.

Also in 1969 a national magazine was developed --- The Black Scholar. The editorial board reflected the entire spectrum of those active in the movement. It is the most influential magazine, although it lacks a clear ideological line. Many other magazines have developed in specific areas, The Black Politician, The Review of Black Political Economics, Black Law Journal, etc.

The formal organizations for Black Studies courses are Institutes, Departments, or in Cultural Centers. The most famous of these is the Institute of the Black World, began in 1969 out of the Atlanta University System (5 Black Schools). It split in 6 months over the question of class orientation. The middle class group opted for foundation support from Ford and Rockefeller, while those of us who were left opted for self reliance. We created Timbuktu Bookstores (now also in Nashville and California) Atlanta Center for Revolutionary Art, and Rhythm (a cultural magazine in the South). There are now courses in virtually every school with any Black students, and at least 300 to 400 programs of study.

III GRASP OF MARXISM - LENINISM

The current upsurge in Marxism Leninism is grounded in the more active political involvement of the working class youth. This was sparked by four key developments:

(1) Black Panther Party: They moved from the Red Book, to Marxist-Leninist Classics, then changed to Inter Communalism and now Liberal Reform. To quote Huey Newton, "I

am not a Marxist, I'm a Panther. We don't have to copy Marx, Engles, Hegel and certainly not the Soviet Union, because I don't like them." These words were spoken June 1972 before the National Association of Black Manufacturers in Los Angeles:

(2) Angela Davis -- Through her struggle many youth and students joined the Young Workers Liberation League and got exposed to the Marxist-Leninism of the CPUSA.

(3) National Liberation Struggles -- by following anti-Imperialist Struggles of Vietnam, Guinea-Bissau, and all of Southern Africa. Marxism-Leninism was discovered as the common analysis. This was also reflected in the analysis of Fanon, Nkrumah, Cabral, CLR James, Padmore, and James Boggs.

(4) The rise of Marxist groups of Black workers. The more important are the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit (now with the Communist League) and the Black Workers Congress. But there are groups in every major city, every center of industrial concentration.

These four influences are having a definite impact on the current development of the Black student Struggle. There is a rise in organized support of workers on and off campus, and this has turned more students away from drugs and created a serious attitude toward study. And the rise in Marxism is causing many Black to re-think the split between Black and white revolutionaries. While there is a growing concensus that a major task is the creation of a revolutionary fighting Communist party, there is some controversy over whether these pre-party organizations should be national or multi-national in form.

IV. PAN AFRICANISM

Stokely once said International Black Power is Pan Africanism. However, when students looked closely at Africa they found a difference between H. Salaissie and K. Nkrumah, Houphet-Boigny and Sekou Toure, Tshombe and Lumumbah. But we developed our own OAU, our gathering of all comers. It was called the Congress of African People, and held 1970 in Atlanta, Georgia (in fact a continuation of the Black Power conferences). It was attended by every variety of the Black ideological spectrum (excluding the NAACP and the Panthers haveing their Revolutionary Peoples Constitu-

tional Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 7000 strong). The Congress began with a cultural perspective and initiated the slogan "Its Nation Time." But the problem was the clock was manufactured by corporate capitalism, and it was set to the standard of Nixon's wrist watch. Struggle was developed to the most recent level of anti-imperialist consciousness African Liberation Day, May 27th (chosen after the Oau proclaimed day of May 25, but changed to be on the weekend so workers could join the protest). Staffed by SOBU and chaired by Malcolm X Liberation Director OWUSU Saudaki, it brought over 20,000 Blacks out against U. S. A. imperialism in Africa and Vietnam. This idea for the protest developed during a trip into liberated areas of Mozambique with FRELIMO leadership. African Liberation Day is a major step forward, 20,000 Black People marching by the embassy's of South Africa, Portugal and others in protest against imperialism. Speakers at the rally included a range of ideologies, but progressive views were dominant.

Another significant action is how students are joining workers in clear anti-imperialist action. Two major actions as examples: the Polaroid Revolutionaries Workers Movement is fighting U. S. A. imperialism in Southern Africa, focusing in on the dreaded pass book made possible with equipment from Polaroid. They got a \$10,000 grant as an attempted bribe from the ruling class. They gave \$5,000 for armed struggle in Southern African and \$4,000 for community armed defense in Cairo Illinois, USA. There is also the case of students from Southern University, a Black state school in Louisiana, a working class Black college. They joined with progressive Black longshoreman in refusing to unload Rhodesian chrome illegally purchased by USA in defiance of the United Nations boycott. This was a major anti-imperialist confrontation in a small Louisiana port. The students were assisted by a professor active in the African Heritage Studies Association.

V BLACK ECONOMIC ACTION

This area is the primary concern of the national petty bourgeoisie. The ideology of Black economic development took on two major trends. The demand of Blacks on white institutions for economic resources was won. At a Black economic development conference,

the major example was a demand to the churches for money. This mobilized a second wave of reparations (the first was after Kings assassination). Many millions were released though most went to the Black being kept inside the churches in the first place.

The second is the Black capitalist model following the Nixon backed ideology of Black Capitalism. A good example of this is Soul City a community development project in North Carolina. It is directed by Floyd McKissac, formerly in the civil rights movement, and financed by a 14 million dollar grant from the federal government. He is a leading Nixon supporter. The first example is typical of the comprador petty bourgeoisie, the second typical of the national petty bourgeoisie.

VI BLACK ELECTORAL POLITICAL REFORMS

Led by groups ranging from the Young workers Liberation League (youth affiliate of the communist Party) to the Congress of African People, Black students were urged to make use of the 18 yr. old vote for electoral reforms. This has four main parts:

A. Black Congressional Caucus: struggling for hegemony over Black political expression. Holding a series of conferences on campuses. This has the image of opening up the congress to the interests and needs of Black people when in reality it is using the conferences to promote the interests of the ruling class, e.g. sickle cell anemia campaigns.

B. Black Political Convention: There was a conference in Gary, Indiana that included over 7,000 people. The Congress of African People turned political, and used its influence with Black students-youths to get all legitimate leadership into the conference. It passed all kinds of resolutions, including three major events: 1. the continuation committee was controlled by cultural nationalists, 2. vote against anti-zionist imperialism, 3. anti-busing motion was passed. The purpose of the conference was to negotiate with the democrats. Immediately after words the Black caucus sold out, and repudiated proposals 2 and 3 above.

C. Democratic Party Reforms: There has recently been a large participation of Black students in making reform moves within the Democratic party.

However, there is considerably more interest in local action than there is in national politics.

D. Independent Candidates: around the country many independents are running for electoral office either completely alone or on a ticket for a small party. Examples of this are the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Some Blacks are turning to this alternative out of distaste for both of the traditional parties.

VII DEFENSE AND SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

Many students were influenced by the militancy of the Black Panther Party. This resulted in similar organizations being formed (Black Liberators, Sons of Malcolm, JOMO, etc.). And in response to the clear intention at repression, conferences were called. National, regional, and local conferences to discuss support, bail, etc. But what repression...

a) 1969 was the year of repression for the Black Panther Party which was attacked in Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, New Orleans, and Chicago. The Chicago raid was especially famous in its cold blooded murder of two Panther leaders: Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Even the U. S. Grand Jury released evidence that the police fired at least 99 shots with only one shot returned.

b) RNA ---after several armed confrontations, this group initially headed by Robert Williams (coalition of comprador and nationalist middle class elements) went to develop the Black Belt of the South based on self-reliance. Their office in Jackson was attacked --- their response was to off two pigs, with no Blacks killed. But most of their leadership is fighting murder and conspiracy trials.

c) Rap Brown --- In 1969 Ralph Featherstone and 'Che' Payne were murdered. Rap went underground...He was shot and captured in 1971 near the Red Carpet Lounge. Ed Brown, his brother sets up H. Rap Brown Anti-Drug Movement to combat drug pacification. The Anti-Drug movement has been growing on campuses.

d) August 7, 1970 Jonathan Jackson, 17-year old, moved with arms to liberate the Soledad Brothers, freed William McClain, James Christmas, and Ruchell Magee.

A judge was hostage. All died in the action except Ruchell Magee.

e) Angela Davis -- fled, tried, freed

f) Ruchell Magee --- has declared himself a prisoner of war

g) August 21, 1971 --- George Jackson

h) September 9-13, 1971 --- Attica

And the repression is everywhere now. Local police are more armed than most armies around the world. The System is prepared for serious combat.

An additional movement among students for survival is the anti-draft movement and the anti-war sentiment. Many young students forget the draft---like Walter Collins, a NABS organizer in New Orleans, and a member of the Black Draft Counselors Association. In 1970 he was sentenced to prison for resisting the draft and remains there. He has just received an additional sentence for organizing in the prisons.

And GI's many of who would be students, have begun to resist. There have been refusals to go on riot duty in the USA, even armed conflict against racial discrimination around bases in Germany and every imaginable form of protest in Vietnam--including defecting to the NLF and fighting against USA aggression.

So we have indicated seven major trends:

- 1) National Organizations of Black Students
- 2) Black Studies in the University
- 3) Marxism - Leninism
- 4) Pan Africanism
- 5) Black Economic Action
- 6) Black Electoral Political Reform
- 7) Defense and Survival Programs

These are major mass political actions and do not describe all involvements of Black Youth Students. But they are the line of development for Black youth.

One last word about the White-Black conflict. Since Black Power there has been a separation, the only major exceptions being white support of the Panthers, and SCLC activities (Operation: Breadbasket and Poor People's Campaign). This is a major problem, within the Movement as a whole it is the Problem. The middle class action is increasingly supporting various brands of nationalism that will serve to keep the separation, but working class students move to Marxist-Leninist thought and an anti-imperialist support for African national liberation groups are the basis of overcoming the split. But the arrogance of assumed racial superiority will not work to insure white control. Black masses are the vanguard.

That is a historical fact.

In conclusion, there are current contradictions facing different elements of the Black student movement:

<u>CLASS</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>CONTRADICTION</u>
1 A comprador petty bourgeois	1 B elite white	1 C USA imperialism in Africa
2 A national petty bourgeois	2 B elite black	2 C proportional control of USA
2 A working class	3 B community and State	3 C economic and physical survival

There are united front coalitions, but mostly not with an organized force to put forward working class goals. But at the present, the petty bourgeoisie is progressive for the most part. The danger is that the rise of "Blacks for Nixon" committees indicates how the petty bourgeois leadership might swing to the right. But there is a movement of Black student militants, seeking working class leadership, systematically

studying Marxism-Leninism, beginning to build unity with whites and other Third World groups. We are small now, but growing strong.

We'll never turn back.

PALANTE !

VENCEREMOS !.