The Objective Situation

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### THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

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THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

1. The global exploitation and suffering of Black people is a historical experience. There has been a certain historical context leading to each form of oppression. Each time the context changed, the fight for freedom advanced.

2. The early industrial development of European capitalism was based on slavery. Black people's blood baptized the new born capitalist global domination. The triangle trade between Europe, Africa and the Americas generated barbaric profits for European world supremacy. From the 15th to the 19th century, every European power invaded Africa. Business, military force, and the church stole Africans into slavery, sold them for a profit, and forced them to produce the sugar and cotton that led to great wealth.

3. Industrialization based on the factory system was the leading aspect of Black economic exploitation for the 19th and 20th centuries, from the field, the dock, the mine, and the factory. Now, technological revolution is driving a new global economic reorganization leading to more intense levels of exploitation and human suffering. The rise of industrialization required the forced labor of slaves, but the rise of this new high-tech capitalism requires new systems of genocide to control cheap labor and destroy the labor it no longer needs.

4. Now, Black people are being sacrificed as a byproduct of the capitalist system as it is being reorganized for the 21st century. This new historical context is setting the stage for a new freedom struggle.

Class Exploitation

5. The main feature of the global economy is class polarization. Within this the force of racism creates genocidal conditions for the majority of Black people in the world. Racism remains a structural feature of this new era of class conflict. What is really new is that there are increased numbers of such poor people from all communities. The birth of the 21st century carries with it the potential for class unity of poor people of all nationalities.

6. The Black middle class has expanded over the last 150 years. Major progress was made after emancipation in the 19th century, after World War I, and after the 1960s in the 20th century. The expansion of the Black middle class after the 1960s was a victory for the civil rights movement. This progress was in a definite historical context: a solid industrial economy, world US domination, the urbanization of Black people, and a new organized Black militancy that developed after World War II.

7. A more open right wing politics took charge after the 1960s. The Black middle class has been under increased attack since then. Today it is losing its main government programs, affirmative action plans for professional schooling and jobs, and business oriented minority set-asides. The only sectors of the Black
middle class not under attack are those who serve as political apologists for every cutback or opposition to every militant mass initiative.

8. The vast majority of Black people have always been poor people in the working class. From slavery to sharecropping, to the factory, office and school, Black people have been concentrated in the most dangerous, dirty, low paying jobs. After World War II Black people began three decades of ascent into urban working class security that ended as mass production peaked.

9. In steel and auto especially the last great wave of hires were Black. Since the 1970s and the high tech revolution, Black workers have experienced the reengineering and downsizing of corporations, resulting in part time jobs, temporary jobs, and no jobs. This process has intensified the same old American racist practice toward Blacks of last hired, first fired.

10. However, Blacks are not always alone. Poor people have been the majority of every community. Between Blacks and whites, this common suffering of poverty and exploitation has been the basis for unity, sometimes realized and sometimes not. In the last century, for example, whites and Blacks fought the Civil War to end slavery, and then battled to reconstruct the South in order to overcome the evils of slavery and poverty.

11. Today Blacks and whites are both facing unemployment, and marginal employment, homelessness, imprisonment, and starvation without any social safety net or welfare benefit to protect them. Many more Blacks and whites are on a slippery slope of being one paycheck away from this fate. These are conditions for political unity.

12. High tech capitalism is creating the political dynamite of a new class struggle. There are prospects for a new civil war of poor working people rising up against the rich. Poor Blacks and whites each have reasons to rise up against the rulers of Washington and Wall Street. They are being forced to give up their American Dream and live a nightmare.

13. Because of this, we must return to the traditions of Black radicalism. By so doing, we will lend consciousness, organization, and leadership to this developing wave of struggle.

Africa and the African Diaspora

14. In Africa the hopes of post World War II independence movements were dashed through forms of neocolonialism, corruption, and control by international finance, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Even after armed struggle these new forms of domination have taken over. However, there are new signs of radicalism, new examples of militant resistance, new forces for social transformation. South Africa is the best example where the forces of history are most concentrated, from revolution to reform to reaction. Open political conflict there is barely held in check.

15. In the Caribbean, independence has been incomplete, as direct colonialism continues in coun-
tries such as Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Aruba. The shining model of independence is Cuba, an Afro-Caribbean country that continues to embody the most advanced aspirations for and practical achievement of freedom, justice, and economic development. The forces of global capitalism, especially the US, continue to dominate this region.

16. The global crisis is displacing massive waves of people, as immigrants in the major capitalist countries and as refugees throughout the African Diaspora. This is a movement of labor seeking employment and people escaping genocidal dictatorship and fratricidal war. Within the capitalist countries, immigration is used to fan the flames of fascist reaction against the newcomers, against poor people, and for support of global capital. We are told that NAFTA is good (for capital) but we have to attack the immigrants with Proposition 187 in California, an English only policy, and a refusal to welcome the boat people from Haiti.

US Regional Diversity

17. The US is a large diverse country and Black people have migrated to all parts of it.

18. The Southern states are the key to capitalist domination of the US and the focal point of Black oppression. Southern slavery financed the capitalist ruling class. The greatest poverty of Blacks and whites is concentrated in the Southern region. Black people have been dispossessed of their land and held at the lowest standard of living in the entire country. Capital punishment and all forms of brutal violence are found in the South. Racial domination of southern political power has controlled national politics.

19. Black people poured into the industrial cities of the Midwest over most of the 20th century. Now Black people are the heart of every major city: 80% of Detroit, 50% of Cleveland and St. Louis, 40% of Chicago, and 30% of Milwaukee. This “rust belt” is now going through a jobless recovery. It is also the most segregated region in the country. Ethnic coalitions as the basis for urban politics created the New Deal, but today politics are dominated by white suburban enclaves and corporate power.

20. The East Coast is a diverse region of megacities. These cities are undergoing the transformation of class polarization including waves of immigration from the African Diaspora. The more advanced political mobilization of Black people is producing the rapid development of police state violence.

21. The West Coast is the region of greatest contrasts. California leads the country in foreign investment, immigrant workers, homeless, high tech jobs, manufacturing jobs, narcotic busts, ghetto gang violence, and billionaires. The military industrial complex that has dominated for most of the 20th century has been on the West Coast from shipping to aviation to space technology. This is also the greatest region of multiculturalism in which Black people are linked to Latinos, Asians, and whites.
Political Repression

22. Since the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the US Constitution Black people have sought to use electoral politics. The 1965 Voter Rights Act led to the rapid increase in voter registration and Black elected officials. The high point was reached with the electoral support of Black mayors, an enlarged Black Congressional Caucus, and a Black candidate for president. However, electoral victory has merely led to this period of increased poverty and suffering. The Democrats and Republicans are uniting under a common banner to pass legislation like the Crime Bill and the Welfare Bill. The current electoral system holds little hope for progress.

23. We are entering an era of government becoming a police state. Our democratic rights are being destroyed. The police dominate every city, and like mad dogs they attack and kill. The jails and prisons are filled with Black people, including political prisoners held since the 1960s. Television and the movies are dominated by cop shows that increase the public tolerance for violence. The US government acts like violence is the only way to solve problems, by the police at home and the military abroad.

24. Resistance to the police state can be found in mass insurrections like Los Angeles in 1992, rebellious youth culture like Rap and Hip Hop, and many scattered struggles taking place in almost every community throughout the US. Every one of these motions is met by reactionary repression. Insurrections are met with brutality, cultural militancy faces censorship, and every struggle is opposed and infiltrated. The defeat of fascism requires higher levels of consciousness, organization, and leadership for the resistance.

Summation

25. The objective condition developing at the end of the 20th century point us in one direction with a single focus, to rebuild Black radicalism as a current in every struggle and-on every battlefront. Our need for a fundamental transformation requires that we act now.