

BLACK PEOPLE AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Black people have been a central issue in this country from the very beginning. Today, Black people have every democratic right to discuss how this country should be run, *and* dare to run it themselves. The election of Chicago mayor Harold Washington sent this message to every Black voter, potential office holder, and political party. Reverend Jesse Jackson is taking this message from Chicago to the rest of the country. However, the main reason that people are involved in the discussion of the 1984 presidential election is to remove Ronald Reagan from office, the worst president of the 20th century.

The history of the United States is the history of a giant capitalist power with great concentrations of wealth. The USA is a white people's political democracy, based on the historical exploitation of Black people, male supremacy, and the maintenance of a virtually constant state of war. First there were progressive wars against colonial Europe. However, in their aftermath genocidal wars were then waged against the Indians to consolidate white ruling class control over all of North America. In the 20th century the wars have been foreign wars of conquest to expand the status of the U.S. as a world power. All U.S. presidents, Democrats and Republicans, have carried out this basic game plan. (see page 8)

The current power structure in the U.S. is a class system dominated by a ruling elite of only 1% of the total population. This ruling class owns most of the country, and controls most politics, national and local. While there is a myth in the U.S. that common everyday people have a chance to be elected, even president, the fact is that this is an achievement for millionaires and their highly paid employees. In fact, most of the ruling elites have been related to each other! (see page 6)

In the U.S. the management of public affairs is controlled by government officials, political parties, policy making agencies, and the military-police establishment. This is a network that is dominated by the interests of the ruling class. (see page 6) In fact, from the beginning of this country a conservative business elite has been in charge.

The Black experience in the USA has developed in three stages, the *slave* experience, the *rural* experience, and the *urban* experience. After the civil war, three constitutional amendments, the 13th (1865), 14th (1869), and 15th (1870) established the civil rights of Black people. Since then, although some progress has been made, Blacks have never gotten a fair deal. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's was the last great upsurge of struggle for basic democratic rights, and lots of people got a real good education about politics. It is possible to register more Blacks to vote, and have more Blacks elected and appointed to public office. But the system remains the same. Therefore, the political gains made within this system are structured to be taken back. This would be true even with a Black president of the United States.

The basic system of this country, the economy and the government, is not working. Black liberation can only come about if there is a new system. The requirement of the new system can not be stated simply in words, because the existing system can be covered over sugary sweet with the clever use of words. It is the reality of the Black experience that must be referred to, and the actual condition of the masses of people. This country is going to hell, and the only people that can save it are the people who have to, the ones of us who are suffering. This fits most of us, while the ruling class, the "one percent", is getting away clean. They have ripped us off, we don't even



MARTIN LUTHER KING

I feel that someone must remain in the position of political nonalignment, so that he can look objectively at both parties and be the conscience of both – not the servant or master of either.

MALCOLM X

When you take your case to Washington D.C., you're taking it to the criminal who's responsible; it's like running from the wolf to the fox. They're all in cahoots together. They all work political chicanery and make you look like a chump before the eyes of the world.

WHY BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

Black Liberation Month is our attempt to unite with the founders and supporters of Negro History Week, and join their emphasis on study with our emphasis on struggle. Moreover, the concept of Black Liberation Month more accurately reflects the needs of our movement, particularly the need to build on the massive participation of people in the upsurge of struggle during the 1960's.

Carter G. Woodson, noted Afro-American nationalist historian, founded Negro History Week in 1926. In addition to the newspaper column of J.A. Rodgers, this was the major source of information that Black people had about their history. Every year in schools, churches, civic and political organizations, Negro History Week has been a time for historical reading and discussion.

We believe that Negro History Week has made a great contribution to mass awareness of Black History. Moreover, the recognition of Negro History Week has caught on, and has become an intellectual tradition in the 20th century Afro-American experience. However, times have changed considerably since 1926. In political and cultural terms, the time has come to transform our orientation: from Negro to **BLACK**, from History to **LIBERATION**, from Week to **MONTH**.

The revolutionary upsurge of the 1960's is our most recent historical experience of massive militant protest. It continues to be a rich source of lessons for current and future struggles. **BLACK LIBERATION MONTH** unites with Woodson's effort, but does so by raising it to a higher level based on the lessons of the 1960's.

In sum, our study of history must be linked with the revolutionary history of the Black liberation movement. Our goal is not simply to symbolically institutionalize a change in our yearly calendar of events, but to use this month as one more way to raise the consciousness of the masses of people about the historical nature of exploitation and oppression, to unite people around a correct political line, and to mobilize people to actively take up the struggle for Black liberation.

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BLACK LIBERATION MONTH NEWS QUIZ

1. What are the PROS and CONS of Rev. Jesse Jackson's candidacy to become the Democratic nominee for the President of the United States?
2. What would Martin Luther King think about a Black person running for the Presidency of the United States in the Democratic Party?
3. Have Black people ever run for the U.S. Presidency or Vice-presidency before? And, what contribution did this make to the liberation of Black people?
4. Does a ruling class exist in the USA? How does this influence the Democratic process?
5. What social forces in the USA are in control of government and the political process? To what extent is it the people of the United States, and to what extent is it a ruling class?
6. How does somebody get to be the President of the United States? Who qualifies? Who elects the President? What are his duties?
7. What difference have the major political parties made? Compare the Democrats and the Republicans on issues such as the basic historical development of the U.S. economy, changes in the political system, the Black experience, and wars.
8. Are Black people fully integrated into the American system? Compare the results in economics with politics, and discuss whether integration has led to equality.
9. What is the political agenda for this spring presidential campaign?
10. What are the PROS and CONS of building a new mass electoral political party.

FIVE BLACK PRESIDENTS

J.A. Rogers, world renown Black historian, published a pamphlet in 1953, with evidence that at least 4 (one was unnamed) U.S. Presidents were Blacks who passed for white. He named Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln and Warren Harding.

Black people have made great contributions in all walks of life. However, the issue is not one of race, but one of commitment to Black liberation. Furthermore, the critical issue is not whether the U.S. President is Black or white, but whether the masses of Black people are in political motion. Mass action not great leaders is what we need at this time.

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BASIC FACTS on the U.S. Presidency

Most of us studied "civics" or "government" in high school, but the details are probably hazy now.

When the President of the U.S. takes his oath of office, he quotes the U.S. Constitution: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States" (Article II, Section 1).

U.S. Constitution and the Presidency

In Table I, we have presented the major points in the Constitution with regard to the Presidency - who can hold the office, how they are to be elected and for how long, and what their duties are. Most of these basic provisions were laid out in the original Constitution which was ratified in 1787.

Origins of U.S. Constitution and Government

The best source to understand the history of the Constitution is *The Federalist Papers*, the documents written by the 'founding fathers' - Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Adams and others - as they debated during the Constitutional Convention.

Studies of the Convention all stress "the bundle of compromises" that was necessary to reach agreement during the four month long debate. But these studies seldom identify why. The key issue was power: How to maintain power in the hands of a particular interest group in the society? This is nowhere better illustrated than in the words of Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton wanted the Constitution Convention "to give to the rich and well born a distinct and permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the mass of the people." This was accomplished through a system of checks and balances, indirect elections and appointments and property requirements.

Thus, the elites ('founding fathers') were very clear that they faced a serious challenge. They had to structure a government that insured popular participation, mainly because the masses of people had become accustomed to direct participatory democracy in the period of anti-colonial struggle against England. On the other hand, the elites also wanted to check "the turbulence and follies of democracy" and contain the "leveling spirit" with which the majority sought to balance or change the unequal distribution of economic wealth and power.

It is in this historical context that we must try to understand how the structure of the U.S. government emerged, and specifically how and why the role of President was structured as it was. There are three aspects of the structure that are important here: the nature of representation, the system of "checks and balances," and the government bureaucracy.

The People versus The Electoral College

Most of us have been taught that the votes cast by the people on Election day elect the President of the U.S. This is not true. The U.S. Constitution (Article II, Section 1 and the 12th Amendment) states: "Each state shall appoint in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct a number of Electors equal to the whole number of (its) Senators and Representatives" and "they shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President."

Thus, it is the Electoral College that actually elects the President of the United States. There are three problems with this process: a) no federal regulations require the Electors to vote for the choice of the people; b) the winner in the electoral vote may receive fewer popular votes; and c) the House of Representatives, (with each state delegation having one vote) gets to decide when and if a third candidate prevents any candidate from getting a majority. This has worked against Blacks. Hayes became president in 1877 because, while getting less electoral votes than

Tilden, he bargained for a winning margin by promising to end the Reconstruction in the south and to withdraw federal troops. Once elected and upon taking office he did, causing great suffering and death for Blacks.

Checks and Balances

Table II presents a summary of the three-branch structure of checks and balances. This was another very creative, indeed clever, way to address the challenge of providing public participation in, but not control of, government.

For example, the method of popular election - the vote or franchise - insured that every two years there was an opportunity for the masses of people to "voice their choice" and be routinely involved in selecting national representatives. The terms of office guaranteed the possibility of electing new blood but were staggered to insure that no more than one-third of the Senate could be defeated in a given election.

The clincher was that the Supreme Court (and the federal court system) was given the power to handle "all cases, in law and equity, arising under this U.S. Constitution (and) the laws of the United States." They are appointed by the President and the Senate for life and are not subject to the popular will of the voting public. This even provoked one Virginia delegate to the Constitutional Convention to criticize "the stupendous magnitude of power" given to the Supreme Court.

Thus, the system of checks and balances splintered or fractured the tremendous power being given to the new U.S. government into three branches, and achieved two key results: 1) It reduced internal conflict and fratricide among powerful and competing interest groups, and prevented any one faction from taking over the entire government apparatus through electoral channels. (When the Constitution was written, slaveowners, merchants, bankers, and budding industrialists were fighting among themselves to get a government which represented their respective interests.) 2) It also prevented the effective mobilization of the majority U.S. electorate to bring about any swift and basic changes in the functioning of government while, at the same time, giving people regular opportunities to exercise their right to vote. This is what several prominent political scientists have labeled "the irony of democracy." They point to a difference between procedural democracy (merely voting for a representative) and substantive democracy - having your votes actually determine exactly the policies that will be carried out by Representatives or public executives.

Presidential Administrations versus the Permanent Government

A third issue that is important is the nature of the federal bureaucracy. The president has the authority to appoint his cabinet and other key positions in the Executive Branch, but these positions are only a small percentage of the entire federal government. In 1901 there were 231,000 federal employees in the Executive Branch and in 1981 this number had grown to 2,841,292!

Thus, presidential administrations may come and go every four or eight years. But there is a "permanent government" and it is not fundamentally altered by the change in administrations, whether they are Republican or Democrat. The permanence of the "state bureaucracy" serves to provide a basic continuity and stability to U.S. policy, and gives the powers-that-be in U.S. society an opportunity to rule the country regardless of who inhabits the White House. Perhaps the best example of a permanent state official is J. Edgar Hoover, the former director of the FBI, who served presidents, both Democrat and Republican.

The presence and size of the permanent government serves as another powerful barrier against any swift changes taking place in the operation of government. In a parallel fashion, it is the reality of a permanent bureaucracy that confronts Black mayors like Harold Washington in Chicago as he tries to manage the City.

"Democracy for the Few"

In summary, this brief review of history reveals that the key to understanding the current structure of the U.S. government, and the role of the president, is to understand that control of the levers of power is in the hands of a ruling elite. This is done not at the point of a gun, although some sections of the population are repressed with Hitler style tactics. The active political participation (casting a ballot) of voters is used to make it seem that U.S. Presidents rule with the consent of the governed.

It is also important to keep in mind that the United States was created by a revolution. In the Declaration of Independence in 1775, the 'founding fathers' stated: "governments were instituted among men, deriving their just powers from that consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." If Reagan were president in early America, the "Sons of the Revolution" would surely denounce him as a tyrant and use the Declaration of Independence to justify revolutionary struggle against him. (It is against this backdrop that an analysis of politics in the 1980's can be made and an appropriate course of action can be charted.)

BLACK POLITICAL POWER AND THE 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Date	State	Method	Delegates to Democratic Convention	Black Elected Officials - #	Black Elected Officials - % of total	% Black Voting Age Population	Black Power Rating Average
March 13	Alabama	P	62	269	6.6	22.9	.288
	Florida	P	143	118	2.3	11.5	.200
	Georgia	P	84	271	3.7	24.3	.152
17	Arkansas	C	42	249	2.4	14.1	.170
	Michigan	C	155	293	1.2	11.7	.103
	Mississippi	C	43	424	8.9	31.0	.287
	So Carolina	C	48	235	7.6	27.3	.278
	Kentucky	C	63	79	1.2	6.7	.179
20	Illinois	P	194	325	.9	12.8	.070
24	Virginia	C	78	93	2.6	17.5	.149
April 7	Louisiana	P	68	372	7.8	26.6	.293
17	Missouri	C	86	147	.8	9.3	.086
24	Pennsylvania	P	195	123	.3	9.1	.033
May 1	Wash.D.C.	P	19	254	70.0	65.9	1.06
	Tennessee	P	76	127	1.6	14.2	.113
5	Texas	C	200	207	.9	11.1	.081
8	Indiana	P	88	67	6.0	6.8	.882
	Maryland	P	74	82	4.0	20.3	.197
	No Carolina	P	88	266	4.8	20.3	.236
	Ohio	P	175	194	.9	9.3	.097
22	New York	P	285	192	.8	12.4	.064
June 5	California	P	345	239	1.3	7.1	.183
	New Jersey	P	122	170	1.7	11.0	.154

Table I THE U.S. PRESIDENCY Article II of the U.S. Constitution

WHO? Section 1	HOW ELECTED? 12th Amendment	WHEN?
American Born - 35 years of age - 14 year resident of U.S. - Must take oath of office	The people vote on 1st Tuesday of November to elect the Electoral College. Electoral College meets in December in each state to vote on President. The winner must receive majority of electoral votes. If not, President is selected by House of Representatives with each state delegation having one vote. The President is therefore elected by indirect elections among the states.	The popular vote which selects Electoral College is held on the 1st Tuesday in November every four years. Electors vote in each state in December and reports their vote to be opened in Congress on January 6th, if not a Sunday. The President's term of office begins on January 20th at Noon.
TERM OF OFFICE - HOW LONG? Section 1, 4 and Amendments 20, 22		WHAT? Powers and Duties - Section 3
Generally 2 consecutive four year terms, If succeeding a President who leaves office in midterm, the new President can serve not more than ten years, and not less than six years if reelected. Can be removed from office by impeachment for conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors, or because of disability or death.		The President has the power to execute all laws of the United States. "The executive power of the U.S. is vested in the President": a) Commander in chief of the armed forces and of the militia of the states if called for federal service; b) power to grant pardons and reprieves; c) power to make treaties; and d) to make appointments, and to fill certain vacancies. The president makes an annual State of the Union report to Congress; propose legislative initiatives; convene both house under extraordinary circumstances, and adjourn both Houses if there is an unresolved dispute. "Shall faithfully execute the law of the U.S."

Table II THE THREE BRANCH SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES

Branch	Main Federal Unit	Term of Office	Method of Election/Selection	Main Relationship to other Branches
Legislative (Article I)	Congress	Senate 6 years; one-thirds come up for reelection every 2 years; serve as long as elected	Popular vote in each state	Joint power with House in passing all legislation for President's signature and overriding vetoes Confirms Presidential actions: appointments, treaties, ect. Sole power to try impeachments
		House 2 years; entire body up for reelection every 2 years; serve as long as elected		Initiate all revenue bills Joint power with Senate in bills and overriding vetoes Sole power to vote on impeachment
Executive (Article II)	President	4 years; serves only two terms.	Elected by votes of Electoral College (not popular vote)	Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces Must act on bills before they can become law (sign or veto) Make appointments with consent of Senate
Judicial (Article III)	Supreme Court	Life	Appointed by President with confirmation	THE LAST WORD: Judicial Review is the authority to declare invalid any authority to declare invalid any actions by other public official

Editorial

1984: BLACK POWER and the U.S. PRESIDENCY

The emergence of Jesse Jackson as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States is a major political event in the history of U.S. politics. Harold Washington's victory in Chicago was major because it was the expression of an *actual* movement for community level reforms, while the Jackson campaign is the expression of a *potential* movement for national reforms. It is necessary to assess the issue of a Black presidential candidate in this context, and to place it in the historical development of U.S. politics, and the development of the Black liberation movement.

BLACK PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND CONVENTION NOMINEES, 1856-1980				
Name	Political Party	Position Sought	Year	Number of Votes
1. Frederick Douglass	Political Abolition Party	V.P.	1856	484
2. Frederick Douglass	Equal Rights Party	V.P.	1872	132
3. George Edwin Taylor	National Liberty Party	P.	1904	
4. James Ford	Communist Party	V.P.	1932	102,991
5. James Ford	Communist Party	V.P.	1936	80,160
6. James Ford	Communist Party	V.P.	1940	46,251
7. Charlotta Bass	Progressive Party	V.P.	1952	140,023
8. Rev. Clennon King	Afro-American Party	P.	1960	1,485
9. Reginald Carter	Afro-American Party	V.P.	1960	1,485
10. Clifton De Berry	Socialist Workers Party	P.	1964	32,705
11. Mrs. Charlene Mitchell	Communist Party	P.	1968	1,075
12. Eldridge Cleaver	Peace and Freedom Party	P.	1968	195,135
13. Dick Gregory	Freedom and Peace Party	P.	1968	148,622
14. Paul Boutelle	Socialist Workers Party	V.P.	1968	41,300
15. Channing Phillips	Democratic Party	P.	1968	67½*
16. Julian Bond	Democratic Party	V.P.	1968	Declined**
17. Shirley Chisholm	Democratic Party	P.	1972	
18. Jarvis Tyner	Communist Party	V.P.	1972	25,595
19. Andrew Pulley	Socialist Workers Party	P.	1972	66,677
20. Jarvis Tyner	Communist Party	V.P.	1976	58,992
21. Willie Mae Ried	Socialist Workers Party	V.P.	1976	91,314
22. Angela Davis	Communist Party	V.P.	1980	44,954
23. Andrew Pulley	Socialist Workers Party	P.	1980	6,271
*convention votes **too young				

JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN: HISTORICAL ROOTS

Jackson's campaign is based on several recent developments that concern Black people, but it also has deep historical roots.

(1) *The Emancipation Amendments.* The tremendous struggle of Blacks for democratic rights during slavery and the Civil War laid the basis for Black political participation. Slavery was abolished (the 13th Amendment), equal protection of the law was extended to Blacks (the 14th Amendment), and Black people were given the right to vote (the 15th Amendment). While denials of these rights have been constantly fought, there has been no qualitative improvement in the rights of Blacks since these Amendments. The campaign for a Black president is another chapter in this same struggle, to obtain constitutional democratic rights.

(2) *The New Deal Coalition.* During the 1930's, the economic system came crashing in on itself, trampling the lives of millions of people with unemployment, loss of life savings, massive housing evictions, and failed businesses. A mass revolutionary response was developing so the ruling class joined a "New Deal" coalition that developed under Franklin D. Roosevelt – labor, Blacks, liberals, capitalists, and a portion of the radical left movement. This coalition pushed through various social welfare reforms – social security, unemployment compensation, temporary employment like the WPA, and bank account insurance – in a successful effort to solve the problems before the system was overthrown. This 1984 campaign raises some of the same issues and seeks to reactivate this historical coalition under a new name, the Rainbow Coalition.

(3) *The Civil Rights Movement and the Rainbow Coalition.* Tired of almost a century of racism and obstacles to voting, especially in the South, Black people in the 1960's revolted in a massive upsurge – boycotts, marches, sit-ins, voter registration drives, and the like. These protests forced the Federal Government to guarantee the rights promised to all citizens by the U.S. Constitution. SNCC, the Black Panther Party, young whites, Hispanics and others formed the idea of a Rainbow Coalition – *a United Front of all the oppressed people to fight the common oppressor* – emerged.

We point out these historical precedents to define the importance of this campaign. But we must make sure that our feet are firmly planted on the ground – especially to inform those young people who did not live through nor have studied the history of the Black liberation movement. Only in this way can we insure that people will have a basis for finding their bearings and moving on toward freedom when this campaign subsides.

SUPPORT A BLACK CANDIDATE IN 1984? PRO/CON

1. It will increase voting among Blacks and others.

2. The campaign will increase Black elected officials at the state and local levels.

3. This can stimulate struggles and change inside the Democratic Party.

4. The campaign will impact upon government policy by pushing for progressive action.

5. It contributes to new political alignments in a Rainbow Coalition.

6. The campaign can symbolize hope and moral leadership.

7. A Black candidate will become a broker at the Democratic Convention for Blacks and fight to include Black interests in the party platform.

8. This campaign can lay the basis for a future national campaign.

9. A Black celebrated leader as candidate would provide the spokesperson necessary to articulate the aspirations and goals of Blacks.

10. The campaign builds a Democratic base broad enough to defeat Reagan in 1984.
1. It will weaken the strongest Democratic candidate.

2. It will increase racial polarization.

3. It will split the Democratic Party.

4. Rhetoric is not enough.

5. It continues to legitimize the system.

6. We need jobs, not dreams.

7. Failure is too costly.

8. The campaign is too unorganized and underfunded.

9. There is no time for ego-tripping, and media monopoly.

10. Republicans will win with a white backlash.

WHAT DO BLACKS NEED IN THE 1980'S?

What role should a Black presidential candidate play in meeting the needs of Black people in the 1980's. There are two main problems that Jesse Jackson's campaign could have a big impact on: *fighting racism and forging a well organized local movement.*

Fighting Racism

Racism continues to disease the U.S.: at the *individual level* (the recent KKK murder of a Mobile, Alabama Black); at the *institutional level* (Reagan's harassment and destruction of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission) and at the *societal level* (a general shift in attitudes to oppose such measures as Civil Rights, led and legitimated by the President of the United States).

Jackson's campaign can serve to expose this racism, especially at the institutional and societal levels. His focus on Mississippi, for example, is the best case in point. Mississippi is almost 40 percent Black (50 percent until 1940), and yet none of Mississippi's five U.S. congressmen have been Black since the 1870's. By keeping these issues out front Jackson can educate people politically and lay the basis for a critical assessment of how well the platforms and practices of any political candidate really gets to solving problems faced by the masses of Black people in the U.S.

Building a Local Movement

But reminding people about the problems, and building a mass movement which will fight to solve those problems are two different matters. It is here that Jesse's campaign is weakest. There are important historical lessons about building a movement from the struggles of the 1930's and the 1960's. In each period, the three key ingredients all emerged:

- (1) *A new political understanding emerged.* A radical critique placing the blame for Black people's problems on the capitalist system emerged in the 1930's, and more and more Blacks supported socialism. In the 1960's, Black people came to understand that the system would not voluntarily give them freedom. Sufficient power – Black Power) – had to be organized to take it.
- (2) *New organizations developed to lead the struggle.* In the 1930's, it was the National Negro Congress and its local branches, the local unemployed councils, and new CIO unions with Black leadership. In the 1960's, it was SNCC, the Black Panthers, the Deacons for Defense, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Black Power conferences and many local grassroots organizations.
- (3) *A new fighting leadership stepped forward.* "A second generation full of courage issued forth, a people loving freedom came to growth," (to quote Margaret Walker's *For My People*.) These people rejected "Uncle Tomism" in favor of militant direct action.

These are the three ingredients for a new mass movement among Black people. To the extent that Jackson's campaign contributes to the development of these ingredients, his campaign is a good thing and should be supported. However history suggests that it is ridiculous to expect a national Democratic presidential campaign to develop a new militant movement for Black liberation. In fact, such a campaign may inadvertently discourage building such a movement by leading people to think the system actually works.

For example, a full discussion of the causes of the problems facing Black people and a consideration of the full range of alternative solutions would be hampered because the Democratic Party platform will limit the discussion. The main aim of the Democrats is to appear different from the Republicans, and yet not stray too far afield from a middle of the road position. Likewise, it is difficult for new organizations and leaders to come forward because the rules for the selection of delegates to the convention and the organizational structure of the Democratic Party are designed to insure control and stability.

In short the Democratic Party plays the role of gatekeeper, and Jackson herds Black people into their corral. This theory of "working within the system" has worked only when it served the mass struggle outside of the system. "Big time" ruling class politics is totally out of step with the dynamic Black revolt that must be developed from the bottom up. There are people freezing and starving to death in public housing concentration camps, working in sweat shops making "no" money with "no" security, being layed off unable to get jobs after a life of hard work, etc. These people are not going to be slowly integrated into a political process where middle class people build political careers at their expense. They must be organized to raise hell and create political opposition to the rulers in both parties. Working within these parties, as the main approach to Black liberation, is a denial of Black history, and will not lead us to clarity as much as produce another set of illusions.

There are two specific proposals that must be thoroughly discussed as part of this current debate: the reconstruction of the Black liberation movement, and building a new political party.

REBUILDING THE MOVEMENT BUILDING A NEW PARTY

One of the major things that has been proved by the Jackson candidacy is that existing Black leadership is no longer in a position to lead. The votes for Jackson in the primary elections will demonstrate that a large section of the Black community wants something else, even if they have to vote for a Black democrat to express it so they can be heard.

The only way forward is to begin to think the impossible. Blacks have been dreaming about being up into the system, but it is more difficult to think, plan and scheme for a new system. Too many people are whispering about the evils of the capitalist system. Only by developing a new vision of the USA's future based upon public ownership of wealth, where by allocation of resources is based on need and not greed, and there are no major violations of human rights.

The only way to rebuild the Black liberation movement is to make a radical departure with the past and dare to seek out something new. The church is a vital social institution but it may well be too conservative to lead the future Black revolt. What we need is an organization that is more advanced than SNCC and all of the civil rights movement, as well as the Black Panther Party and the Black liberation movement. The only people to build such an organization are the unemployed, the hungry and homeless, and the youth, along with the working class of all nationalities, because these are the people desperate enough to make the sacrifices necessary to build a serious movement.





Black people in the USA have always been pawns in the political chess game, often even with third parties. Black people have been put forward as candidates of various parties as a contribution to advancing the cause of Black liberation. However, once every campaign is over, there is usually no remaining organizational structure that can be used to continue the fight.

This must be remedied by the creation of a new political party. This must be the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow coalition. John Anderson got over 7 million votes running on an independent ticket. If Jesse Jackson wants to carve out a place in Black history that will stand the test of time he must throw off the mantle of the Democrats (and boll weevils, dixiecrats, etc.) and be courageous enough to risk it all by challenging the false god of the Democratic party, by joining with others to build a mass electoral party on an anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-imperialist, platform. This will unite Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities, woman, and all working, all poor people in the USA, and win the support of third world nations.


The experience of having a strong Black man run for the highest political office is a great joy to be celebrated by the Black community, descendants of slaves and sharecroppers. However, this psychological relief will be momentary unless we get on with the two main tasks required to make fundamental changes in this society:

REBUILD THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT! BUILD A NEW POLITICAL PARTY!

BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY
<div></div> <div>SOJOURNER TRUTH (1797-1883)</div>	<div></div> <div>HARRIET TUBMAN (1820-1913)</div>	<div></div> <div>IDA B. WELLS (1869-1931)</div>	<div></div> <div>1960: The sit-in movement was led by four students at the University of North Carolina. This sparked the militant Black Power movement and posed the national Black people's issue.</div>
<div>5</div> <div>1968: There was a demonstration in Orangesburg, South Carolina, to end segregation in bowling alleys in that city, resulting in a police assault on February 8, brutally murdering 4 students and wounding 50.</div>	<div>6</div> <div>1973: Native Americans unleashed armed resistance at Wounded Knee, South Dakota to protest government repression. Wounded Knee is a historic site of the 1890 massacre where federal troops killed over 300 Indians.</div>	<div>7</div> <div>1974: Grenada Independence Day. 1926: Negro History Week was founded by Carter G. Woodson in honor of Frederick Douglass. 1865: Black Laws of Illinois were repealed.</div>	<div></div> <div>1964: Malcolm X founded the Organization for Afro-Asian Unity.</div>
<div>12</div> <div>1909: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded at Niagra Falls, N.Y. 1793: The Fugitive Slave Law was passed which made it illegal to protect an escaped slave.</div>	<div>13</div> <div>1817: Frederick Douglass, ex-slave, abolitionist, and organizer for Black freedom, was born.</div>	<div>14</div> <div>1790: Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was born in Philadelphia. The development of the independent Black church made a major contribution to the formation and development of the Afro-American nation.</div>	<div></div> <div>1851: Black Abolitionist courtroom in New York City for fugitive slave.</div>
<div>19</div> <div>1909: W.E.B. DuBois organized the first Pan African Congress which was held in Paris, France.</div>	<div>20</div> <div>1895: Frederick Douglass died.</div>	<div>21</div> <div>1965: Malcolm X was assassinated at age 39 in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.</div>	<div></div> <div>1983: Harold Washington became the first African American mayor of Chicago. 1872: The National Farmers, Workers, and Merchants Alliance was formed in St. Louis and tried to organize as a national trade union.</div>
<div>26</div> <div>1884: At the Berlin Conference the Europeans ended the "Scramble for Africa".</div>	<div>27</div> <div>"Without struggle there is no progress." Frederick Douglass</div>	<div>28</div> <div>... Political work must be rooted among the masses and carried out on a professional level. What is required is that our feet march in the struggles waged by the masses, our hearts throb in empathy with their joys and sorrows, while our heads rationally use the science of revolution to develop our strategy and tactics. Peoples College Editorial for Marxism and Black Liberation</div>	<div></div> <div>FANNIE LOU HAMER (1918-1978)</div>

CALENDAR FEBRUARY 1984

WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1 ment was launched ts in Greensboro, ed a new phase of protest that ex- onal oppression of the U.S.A.	2 1964: Eduardo Mondlane, first presi- dent of Frelimo, was assassinated by a mail bomb. Frelimo led the victorious national liberation struggle of the people of Mozam- bique against the Portuguese.	3 1965: The Selma-to-Montgomery March dramatized the fight for Black voting rights. It ended with a rally of 25,000 people in front of the state capital.	4 1913: Rosa Parks, the Black worker who sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, was born.
8 ounded the Organi- American Unity.	9 1943: 4,000 Black and white youth led by the American Youth Congress march in Washington D.C. to pro- test government discrimination against Black servicemen and the U.S. war policy.	10 "While it was true a thousand years ago, that human toil and energy was unable to feed, clothe and shelter all mankind, this has not been the case since the beginning of the nineteenth century; and today, with what we know of natural forces; with the land and labor at our disposal, with the known techniques of processing materials and transporting goods, there is no adequate reason why a single human being on earth should not have sufficient food, clothing and shelter for healthy life." W.E.B. DuBois	11 1933: The first Black library was found- ed in Philadelphia. This is one of the many examples of Black peo- ples' struggle to build institu- tions and to develop culturally.
15 onists crashed a Boston to rescue a	16 1937: The National Negro Congress was founded in Chicago. It organ- ized workers in the C.I.O.	17 1865: The Klu Klux Klan, a fascist organi- zation that promotes white su- premacy, organized in Pulaski, Tennessee.	18 1688: Quakers of Germantown, Penn- sylvania made the first formal protest against slavery in the western hemisphere.
22 ngton wins Demo- primary in	23 1868: W.E.B. DuBois was born. He was a writer, an educator, and Fisk graduate, as well as architect of Pan Africanism, Secretary of the first Pan African Conference in 1900, organizer of the second in 1919 and key leader in attempt- ing to bring the case against colonialism before the Versailles Peace Conference.	24 "Modern imperialism and modern indus- trialism are one in the same system; root and branch of the same tree. The race problem is the other side of the labor problem; and the Black man's burden is the white man's burden." W.E.B. DuBois	25 1877: The Hayes-Tilden Betrayal was announced.
29 U. HAMER (1977)	 RUBY DORIS ROBINSON (1943-1967)	WHAT IS PEOPLES COLLEGE? Peoples College is an organization with 15 years experience fighting for Black liberation. The main approach has been to develop educational activities that ex- pose people to the history and current suffering of Black people, and to build a commitment to fight for basic social change. The key slogans have been "Educa- tion for Liberation" and "Further the Analysis, Heighten the Contradiction." Peoples College is known through its bookstore, TIMBUKTU, and its textbook in Black Studies, INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES. Further, Peoples College is an organization dedicated to using the tools of research and analysis to assist local community groups who are struggling to maintain some indepen- dence and continue militant struggle against the system of exploitation that holds the USA down. Since the people of the USA are facing a crisis, and are likely to suffer much more in the near future, UNITY is more critical now that it has been in the last de- cade. Peoples College would like to join with all organizations willing to fight for Black liberation, and in the process build a lasting unity.	

THE USA: WHO OWNS IT? WHO RUNS IT?

THE RULING CLASS 1% of the population makes up a ruling class in the USA. There are approximately 600,000 millionaires in the USA (1980) and 13 billionaires (1982). Forty percent of corporate directors are members of the ruling class, and 60% of the top 300 corporations are controlled by ruling class families. 1,572 board members of a total of 8,623 sat on more than one board linking together 90% of the largest 800 corporations into a single network (1970). The ruling class is organized into family groups, usually marry each other, go to their own exclusive schools and social clubs while avoiding the public media. 55% of the corporate board members and executives were educated at 12 prestigious universities. The rulers own 62% of all corporate stock in the USA, while the top 20% of the population owns 97% of all stock. The ruling class inherits its wealth from previous generations who accumulated it at the expense of the masses of American people. Some of these families had held their wealth for over 8 generations – back to the colonial period. You can get in only through birth! They have their own national phone book called the *Social Register* which lists over 65,000 families and individuals. *This ruling class owns the USA.*

1%

THE CORPORATIONS Economic power is concentrated in the largest corporations. Only 10% of all businesses are corporations, but they account for over 80% of all business activity. Since 1951 the average rate of corporate taxation has fallen from 45 to 30%. Since the 1960's, the corporate share of total tax load has declined from 35 to 25%. The top 200 corporations owned 59% of manufacturing assets (1979) and produced 44% of the industrial wealth (1976). Financial companies (banks and insurance) control over 65% of all wealth in the USA (1979). One third of all corporate stock is held by financial institutions, mainly in trust for others. The top ten banks controlled 32% of all bank held trust assets in the USA. 16% of USA companies owned 60% of total foreign investments, and the top 100 firms accounted for 75% of all foreign earnings by U.S. companies.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

There are over 500,000 elected officials in the USA and less than 1% are Black! (Three percent are women.) In the 1970's the number of Black elected officials increased 10 times the comparable rate of increase in the 1980's to date. In the U.S. Senate 95 senators had incomes from ownership of corporate stock and real estate, and 360 members of the House of Representatives did also. Nine of the 16 presidents in the 20th century have been known millionaires, and at least 33 members of the Senate are millionaires. Sixty percent of all U.S. presidents have been related by family to each other, as have 23% of Congress members been related to each other! Seventy-eight percent of all cabinet officials (1897-1973) have had at least one board position in a major U.S. corporation. Most elected officials have been trained as lawyers, technical experts in the law and its loopholes (70% of the Senate and 51% of the House (1972). While 51% of college educated Black men and 72.1% of college educated Black women work in governments, whites are twice as likely to be in high ranking civil service jobs.

PARTIES AND FUNDS

U.S. politics is dominated by two political parties. The current make-up has the Republicans being the "party of the rich" and the Democrats being the party of the "common people." But the truth is that while more people are Democrats (40%) than Republicans (25%), there are more independents (35%) than Republicans. Republican officials tend to be Wall Street lawyers, and Democratic officials tend to be Washington lawyers. The wealthy in the South are with the Democrats because the militant abolitionists before the civil war were in the Republican party and they are rooted deeply in southern slave wealth tradition. Further, some aspect of the ruling corporate money backs the Democrats nationally: "Jewish investment bankers from Wall Street, along with their business clients in major states such as California, Texas, Illinois are the members of the corporate community who raise a major portion of the tens of millions of dollars needed by Democratic presidential, senatorial, and gubernatorial candidates."

In 1972, after Nixon spent \$60 million (to McGovern's \$30 million) a law was passed (1974) limiting campaign donations and giving candidates publicly raised funds. (The IRS raised \$36 million in 1978.) However, the rich were protected by a Supreme Court Ruling that a candidate could spend an unlimited amount of personal funds. 1981-82 campaign expenditures were \$213 million for the Republicans and \$40 million for the Democrats. In 1982, there were 3,268 Political Action Committees (45% were business, 42% special interest groups, and 12% were labor PACS). They contributed more than \$70.4 million to Congressional campaigns.

GOVERNING POLICY

Policy development usually takes place out side of the political parties in the USA. There is a two step process connecting the financial interests and funding pattern of the ruling class corporations to policy making in the executive branch of government. The first step is policy innovation through intellectual work. This is carried on at key universities, both private prestigious ones (Harvard, Chicago, Stanford, etc.) and major public research institutions (Berkeley, Michigan and Illinois). Foundations play a key role (especially Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller), as do "think tanks" (e.g., Hoover Institute, Brookings Institution, Rand Corporation, Heritage Foundation, etc.) The media also plays a key role in policy making especially key journals and a few major newspapers (e.g., *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Wall Street Journal*). Once the basic intellectual work is done, the second step is one of building a ruling class consensus. This takes place in broad planning bodies and "blue ribbon" commissions, e.g., the Rockefeller sponsored Trilateral commission (whose members dominate recent Republican and Democratic cabinets), the Council on Foreign Relations and the Presidents Council of Economic Advisors. In many cases, the public is informed of this policy only after it is made, and in no way plays a meaningful role in helping to develop policy.

MILITARY

There are over 5 million people in the USA military establishment, 38% are on active duty. 22.1% of all enlisted personnel is Black, but only 5.3% of the officers are Black. Over 23,000 civilian and enlisted personnel work in the Pentagon. Seventy-eight percent of the U.S. federal budget (1981) was spent on military items, with considerably more going for war-related expenditures.

The top 100 companies hold 70% of U.S. military contracts. They employ over 2,000 of the retired top military officers, with the top 10 companies employing over 1,000 military elite. In 1959, 43 companies employed 588 former high ranking officers. These same companies in 1969 employed 1,642 retired, high-ranking officers. Therefore these military officers-turned corporate executives hold together the "military-industrial" complex. It is a closed monopoly of war merchants and war lords. Only 10% of military contracts are awarded by public competitive bidding.

99%

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES There are over 230 million people in the USA, and 14% are below the poverty line (34% among Blacks). Twelve million people are unemployed, and one-half million are in U.S. prisons. While corporate profits have increased 400% over the last 10 years the real wages of the working class have been forced down by about 5% annually. Trade unions have been busted, and now only 23% of the workers are even in trade unions. The level of suffering and horrors that people are being forced to endure are more severe than they were during the great depression, although the ruling class masks this with TV shows like "Dallas" or "Good Times". The factories are closing. And, after asking the workers to take a cut in pay, now the companies want the workers to "buy them out," while management remains to run them. Only 23% of eligible voters cast ballots for Ronald Reagan, and the participation of working people in rich people's politics have been declining for the last 40 years. Almost 40% of the U.S. population says their politics are "independent," or not aligned with any party.

For information on data sources contact
PEOPLES COLLEGE • Post Office Box 7696
Chicago, IL 60680

BLACK PEOPLE IN THE U.S. SYSTEM

POLITICS

VOTING Any U.S. citizen 18 years old and over can register to vote. There are more than 17 million Blacks of voting age, about 10.5% of the U.S. total. In 1980, only 52% of the voting age population voted, continuing a 20 year downward spiral. Reagan received support from 26.9% of the voting age population. 85 million citizens declined to vote. Only 50.5% of eligible Blacks voted giving Carter 84% of their support. 58% of eligible Blacks were registered compared to 73% of whites. In 1980, Blacks accounted for 11.1% of all registered voters. Since 1980, approximately 2.4 million more Blacks became eligible voters, yet youth (18-24) have the lowest rates of registration (56%). It is the middle-class Black who tends to vote more frequently than the working class and poor Blacks, particularly in national elections. Since WWII Blacks have tended to vote overwhelmingly Democratic.

ELECTED OFFICIALS In 1969, there were just 1,185 Black elected officials, less than one-half of one percent of all elected officials in the U.S. By 1980, there were 4,890 out of 521,000 total elected office holders. By 1982, there were 5,160 (5,606 by 1984.) Black elected officials, are about 1.1% of all popularly elected officials in the the U.S. In order to establish electoral equality in this system and based upon a recognition of proportional representation of minorities, Blacks should have 50,000 elected office holders. Over 60% of all Black elective office holders are in the south, although most are concentrated in urban areas north and south. In 1980, there were 220 Black mayors. By 1983, there were 240 Black mayors in cities with large Black or Black and Latino populations including: Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and Charlotte, N.C. There were 328 Blacks elected to state level offices by 1980. This represented less than .02% of the over 15,000 state officials in the U.S.

CONGRESS Sixty-two Blacks have been elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and three Blacks have been elected to Senate terms since 1868. There are 21 Blacks in the 98th Congressional Session. They include 3 from Chicago and Los Angeles and 2 from Detroit and New York. Adam Clayton Powell, elected to 13 terms from New York, was thrown out of Congress while segregationists, murderers, thieves, sex criminals, and other moral degenerates were allowed, and continue, to stay in Congress. Out of the 435 representatives in the Congress, less than 5% are Black. There are 33 Congressional districts with at least 30% population.

CONVENTION DELEGATES By June 6, 1984 the Democratic Party will select some 3,870 delegates to the National Party Convention (San Francisco). Fifteen key states account for 50.4% of the total delegates (8 southern states account for 12.4%; 7 key northern states for 38.1%). In 1968, '72 and '76 the percentage of Black democratic Convention delegates was 6, 15, and 11 percent respectively. In 1980, Blacks constituted 15%. For 1984, in the worse case there would be 120 (2.3%) Black delegates selected in primaries and by automatic selection. The most optimal case would be a 60% Black primary turnout in districts with 30% or more Black population and 20% non-black turnout. Then, there could be as many as 620 (15.8% of all delegates) selected for the Democratic convention. This assumes a 75% voter registration rate.

WOMEN Black women account for 52% of the Black population. Black women tend to register in equal proportion as men but they have a greater propensity to vote (53 to 47% in the 1980 Presidential election). In 1982, there were 1,066 Black female elected officials (21% of 5,160 Black elected officials), in 1983, the total was 5,606; 1,223 were women. Black women, aside from being under-represented politically, tend to be concentrated in office holding on public school boards (34%), alderpersons and city clerks (46%). Only 4 Black women have served in Congress. There has been one cabinet secretary, Patricia Harris. Twenty-seven mayors of mainly small southern towns are women. There are two Black women presently in Congress, and only 83 Black women hold state elective offices.

MILITARY Although Blacks are 22% of the total military, they are 30% of the Army. Blacks have always been disproportionately assigned to combat (e.g., one-third of Blacks in the Army are on infantry gun crews). During the 1961-66 period of the Vietnam War, Blacks were over 20% of reported combat deaths. Today most combat units are disproportionately Black, especially those at battle ready status (e.g., 2nd Infantry in Korea - 41% Black, 193rd Infantry in Panama - 35% Black, and 26% Black in the 82nd Airborne Division, the group used to invade Grenada). Forty-two percent of eligible Black males enter military service as compared to 14% for whites, and Blacks re-enlist at rates at least three times that of whites. This goes up in periods of high Black unemployment. Black women are 26% of women in the military. The most segregated branch of service is the Navy.

CRIME There are approximately 1,178,000 law enforcement personnel in the U.S., 653,000 are police. Blacks account for 63,000 "protective services" personnel at the state and local level for less than 10%. Of the 13.3 million crimes reported in the U.S. in 1980, Blacks were arrested for 17.5%. There were 314,272 inmates in state and federal prisons and approximately 40% were Black. Of the 19,490 federal prisoners 7,404 were Black or Latino in 1980. There were 714 persons on Death Row in 1980, 282 or 40% were Black. The average sentence for Blacks in federal prison was 142.9 months, 34.8 months longer than white prisoners. The federal crimes which are disproportionately committed by Blacks are: forgery (52%), robbery (50%), burglary (33%), and crimes involving drugs (27%). One of the notable benefits of the increase in the number of Black mayors of large cities has been the increase in Black police chiefs (39), and better police treatment of Blacks. The increase in crime comes from poverty, and as a result of racism in the police force and leadership.

THIRD PARTIES Black people were Republican first because it was the party that had fought slavery. Blacks became Democrats because of the reforms of the New Deal and President Roosevelt. Now Blacks have become increasingly independent of either of these two parties, although a frequent rationale for voting Democratic is "the lesser of two evils" argument. The interests of Blacks has always been best promoted by progressive third parties, especially socialist ones. Today, there is no party in the U.S. that represents Black people nor is their a party of labor. Building a mass party based on local political struggles is the most important political task for the 1988 election.

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES A 'PAC' is a non party fundraising organization. By 1982 there were some 2,400 PACs. They raised over \$200 million. In 1981-82 PACs spent over \$87.4 million on congressional elections. Within congress Democrats received over \$38.2 million and Republicans received \$32.2 million from PACs in 1982. Over 50% of the funds contributed to 100 Congress members came from PAC funds. The biggest PACs are those among business and private interest groups (e.g., trade and professional organization, etc.). Together they account for over 66% of the funds spent by PACs in 1981-82. Few PACs contribute to Black candidates, however some Black PACs (3 national) do exist. Notable is the Parker/Coltrane PAC (after music greats Charlie Parker and John Coltrane), set up in 1981 to support Black candidates.

AGENCIES Several key Black agencies can provide additional information:

Conservative (pro-Reagan) perspective:

- The Lincoln Institute / 1735 De Sales Street / Washington, D.C. 20036 / 202/347-0872

Civil Rights perspective:

- Joint Center for Political Studies / 1426 H Street N.W. / Washington, D.C. 20005 / 202/638-4477

Socialist perspective:

- Peoples College / P.O. Box 7696 / Chicago, IL 60680 / 312/842-8242

Scholars:

- National Conference of Black Political Scientists

- Political Science Department / Southern University / Baton Rouge, LA

Politicians:

- National Conference of Black Mayors / 1430 W. Peachtree N.W. / Atlanta, GA 30309 / 404/892-0127

- Congressional Black Caucus / H 2344 House Annex N.2 / Washington, D.C. 20515 / 202/225-1691

ECONOMICS

UNEMPLOYMENT By 1982 there were 108 million persons in the labor force, of which nearly 11 million were unemployed. Blacks were 12.2% of the labor force, but 22.8% of the unemployed. Black unemployment was nearly twice the rate for whites. Nearly 25% of all Black workers (3.7 million) experienced some unemployment during 1981. The chances of a Black family head being unemployed was nearly 167% of the rate for whites. Forty-six percent of Black youth (ages 16-19) were unemployed, although it was much higher in certain inner city areas (e.g., Detroit, Newark, Chicago). Twenty-three percent of Black women and 14% of Black men receive some form of government assistance. Approximately 20% of Black families were on welfare, averaging \$288.00 per month (AFDC, 1980). Of the 3.5 million families (containing 7.8 million children) on AFDC, 43% were Black.

INCOME From 1970 to 1980, U.S. corporations increased their profits by 400%, from \$41 billion to \$163 billion. Eighty percent of these profits went to 1% of the U.S. population. Forty percent of Black families have incomes of less than \$10,000, and 7.5% earn \$35,000 or more. From 1970 to 1980, white median family income increased \$182.00 to \$21,904, while Black median family income decreased \$651.00 to \$12,674. Inflation increased prices over this period by 9% annually, so people lost buying power. It has been estimated that when all conditions are the same (education, occupation, region of the country, age, family status, and fathers occupation) that Blacks make on the average \$1,000 less than white people. Over 34.1% of the Black population have incomes below the poverty level (1981).

COLOR TAX Compared to whites, Blacks spent 33% more for food, 33% more for health care, and 50% more in sales tax. Further, Blacks go into debt 3 times as fast as whites, and end up 67% more in debt even though whites have higher incomes. Blacks pay more in the ghetto for food *near spoilage* than the quality foods sold more cheaply in the suburbs. Blacks pay more for housing, insurance, and all forms of personal service. Further, since many Blacks live in ghettos they take more time to get to work or to shop while travel costs them more. Blacks get less return on local public services including, education, police protection, fire protection, parks and recreation facilities as well as public transportation.

HOUSING 4.3% of all (51.4 million) owner-occupied housing units are owned by Blacks. 44.4% of Blacks are home owners (U.S. total is 68.4%). And 9% of Blacks live in substandard housing (U.S. total for whites is 1%). Blacks are 3 times more likely to be overcrowded than whites (14% to 5%), 4 times more likely to have inadequate plumbing (16% to 4%), and live in older buildings. Blacks have a more difficult time getting mortgage and housing rehab loans, and in many areas its almost impossible to get decent insurance. Rent was a source of income for 5% of Blacks and 25% of whites. A study of housing and public services indicated that Black tenants were 33% more likely to die from arson-related housing fires than any other central city group.

WOMEN Employed Black women make 79% of Black male income and they are two and one half times more likely to be unemployed than white women. Forty-one percent of all Black families are headed by women. Single mothers earn \$7,425 per year, nearly \$5,100 below the median income for Black families (1980). Fifty percent of (2.6 million) female-headed Black families are below the poverty line (1979). Twenty-four percent of all Black women and 38% of Black female-headed households receive some form of welfare. Black women owned 12% of all Black businesses but 90% of these businesses had no employees. In 1977, 17 firms owned by Black women had gross receipts of more than 1 million dollars.

OCCUPATION Occupational segregation has decreased but Blacks are still disproportionately in low paying, low status, low skilled positions. Thirteen percent of Black men (white men: 30%) and 14% of Black women (white women: 23%) are in professional managerial jobs. In 1981, Black workers earned .77% of the weekly wages of whites. For Black men, 58% are industrial workers (mainly craftsmen and operatives) while for women, 30% are clerical, 27% are in other service, and 8% are domestics. A recent study suggests that labor market inequalities costs Blacks \$48.04 per capita in lost income due to racism. Cut-backs in job training funds and college scholarships will slow down occupational change, as will less emphasis on affirmative action. Under the Reagan administration (1981-1984) budgets, some \$670 billion in social welfare cuts have been projected and nearly \$20 billion were stripped from CETA and job training programs.

TRADE UNIONS There are over 20 million members of trade unions, but this represents only 23% of all workers. Twenty-nine percent of trade unionists are Black. In Chicago, over 42% of union workers in manufacturing are Black. However, only 3% of all union leadership is Black. Unionized workers earn more (\$58.00 weekly in 1980). However recent trends indicate that sell-out trade union leadership is uniting with Reagan and the company bosses to lower wages, reduce health standards and to bust the unions by imposing "no strike" contracts, while continuing the trend of exporting jobs abroad. A criminal element still controls an important part of unions like the Teamsters.

BUSINESS There are 357,000 Black-owned businesses that grossed 17 billion (1982). Only 16% had paid employees, and these businesses grossed 75% of total receipts, so most Black businesses are very small (84% family type). The top 100 businesses grossed \$2.2 billion in 1982 (19.2% of all revenue) up from \$473 million in 1972. The larger Black businesses tend to be dealerships for large corporations, especially to distribute to Blacks *cars, fast food, and liquor*. In manufacturing the focus is on cosmetics and hair care. If the sales of all Black businesses were combined, they would rank 175 on the Fortune 500 industrial corporations in the U.S.

CORPORATIONS There are 2.7 million corporations in the U.S. with gross receipts of \$4 trillion, although less than 1% had assets of at least 10 million. Sixty Blacks sit on boards of 150 major corporations. Several hold multiple board positions: Jewell LaFontant (11), Vernon Jordan (10), Jerome Holland (8), Andrew F. Brimmer (7), William T. Coleman (6), Henry G. Parks (5), Barbara Scott Preiskel (5).

AGENCIES More information can be obtained from the following:

Business:

- **Black Enterprise** / P.O. Box 5500 / Bergenfield, N.J. 07621

Trade Unions:

- Coalition of Black Trade Unionists / P.O. Box 13055 / Washington, D.C. 20009

Research:





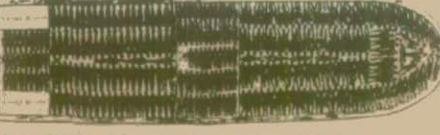
- Review of Black Political Economy / 360 Westview Drive S.W. / Atlanta, GA 30310

- Urban League Review / 733 15th Street N.W. / Suite 1020 / Washington, D.C. 20005

Government Statistics:

- U.S. Government / Printing Office / Washington, D.C. 20420

BLACK POLITICAL HISTORY AND THE USA: *Economics – Presidential Politics – War*

ECONOMY	POLICY	BLACK HISTORY	WAR
<div>1980</div> <div>PERCENT OF TOTAL CAPITAL</div> <div></div> <div>BANKS RISE TO CONTROL As a result of giant corporations and the need to have additional capital for expansion, the role of the banks became more and more important. They held everybody's money, and often ended up owning their collateral. Capitalists prefer banks because they make it easier to transfer funds, diversify interests, and to control other people through loans and deposits.</div> <div>70</div> <div><div>INDUSTRIAL</div><div></div><div>U.S. INDUSTRIALIZATION The great power of the United States developed as its industrial base was consolidated – especially the expansion of steel, auto, and construction. The main basis for this industrial production was the hard working ingenuity of American workers, and great scientific and technological advances in chemistry, physics, engineering, and management efficiency in running the factory system.</div><div>60</div><div><div>RAILROAD</div><div></div><div>RAILROADS LEAD EXPANSION After the Civil War, building railroads dominated industrial activity, especially iron and steel, lumber, and a good deal of coal. This tied the country together linking the east and west coasts, and linking the north and south. The railroad companies were given nearly 250 million acres of land by the federal and state governments, and this was used for land speculation to build giant fortunes.</div><div>50</div><div><div>SLAVE</div><div></div><div>SLAVERY BUILT THE USA The amount of wealth represented by the value of slaves was greater than everything else from 1830-1860, and slave-produced cotton dominated the economy climbing to over 70% of total U.S. exports in the 1850's. The entire capitalist class benefited from slavery, especially the textile barons who used cheap slave produced cotton as the base for their expanded industry.</div><div>40</div><div><div>ORIGIN OF U.S. CAPITALISM</div><div></div><div>The first stage of the economy was based on stable trade: getting maximum benefits in the exchange of natural resources (raw materials) for overseas manufactured goods. European imported goods were matched by the export of raw materials such as lumber, fish, furs, and agricultural products like tobacco. This destroyed the economic base of the Indian Nations. The European slave trade forced 100 million Africans into bondage and provided the profits for the industrial revolution in England and the USA. Last, there was the development of an internal trade that followed westward expansion and connected the colonies and states helping to create a home market and economic specialization.</div><div>30</div><div>20</div><div>10</div><div>1800</div><div>1790</div><div>80</div><div>1770</div><div>1800 1810 1820 1830 1840 1850 1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980</div><div>Civil War System 1861-1865 Industrial System 1867-1929 New Deal System 1933-1980</div></div></div></div></div>	<div>Terms of Service President/political party</div> <div>1981- Ronald Reagan (R)</div> <div>1977-1981 James Carter (D)</div> <div>1974-1977 Gerald R. Ford (R)</div> <div>1969-1974 Richard M. Nixon (R)</div> <div>1963-1969 Lyndon B. Johnson (D)</div> <div>1961-1963 John F. Kennedy (D)</div> <div>1953-1961 Dwight Eisenhower (R)</div> <div>1945-1953 Harry S. Truman (D)</div> <div>1933-1945 Franklin Roosevelt (D)</div> <div>1929-1933 Herbert Hoover (R)</div> <div>1923-1929 Calvin Coolidge (R)</div> <div>1921-1923 Warren G. Harding (R)</div> <div>1913-1921 Woodrow Wilson (D)</div> <div>1909-1913 William H. Taft (R)</div> <div>1901-1909 Theodore Roosevelt (R)</div> <div>1897-1901 William McKinley (R)</div> <div>1893-1897 Grover Cleveland (D)</div> <div>1889-1893 Benjamin Harrison (R)</div> <div>1885-1889 Grover Cleveland (D)</div> <div>1881-1885 Chester A. Arthur (R)</div> <div>1881-1881 James A. Garfield (R)</div> <div>1877-1881 Rutherford B. Hayes (R)</div> <div>1869-1877 Ulysses S. Grant (R)</div> <div>1865-1869 Andrew Johnson (R)</div> <div>1861-1865 Abraham Lincoln (R)</div> <div>1857-1861 James Buchanan (D)</div> <div>1853-1857 Franklin Pierce (D)</div> <div>1850-1853 Millard Fillmore (W)</div> <div>1849-1850 Zachary Taylor (W)</div> <div>1845-1849 James K. Polk (D)</div> <div>1841-1845 John Tyler (W)</div> <div>1841-1841 W.H. Harrison (W)</div> <div>1837-1841 Martin Van Buren (D)</div> <div>1829-1837 Andrew Jackson (D)</div> <div>1825-1829 John Q. Adams (N-R)</div> <div>1817-1825 James Monroe (D-R)</div> <div>1809-1817 James Madison (D-R)</div> <div>1801-1809 Thomas Jefferson (D-R)</div> <div>1797-1801 John Adams (F)</div> <div>1789-1797 George Washington (F)</div>	<div>1968 – Assassination of Martin Luther King</div> <div>1967 – Thurgood Marshall becomes first Black on Supreme Court</div> <div>1965 – Assassination of Malcolm X</div> <div>1964-1965 – Congress passes key Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts</div> <div>1963 – March on Washington</div> <div>1954-1955 – Supreme Court endorses integration</div> <div>1871-1901 – 22 Blacks elected to Congress</div> <div>1896 – Supreme court endorses segregation through “separate but equal” principle</div> <div>1865-1870 – 13th, 14th, and 15th constitutional amendments making Blacks 1st class citizens</div> <div>1859 – John Brown led armed attack against slavery</div> <div>1857 – Supreme Court endorses slavery in Dred Scott decision</div> <div>1831 – Nat Turner insurrection</div> <div>1808 – Slave trade declared illegal in U.S.</div> <div>1791 – Haitian Revolution</div> <div>1787 – U.S. constitution adopted counting Blacks as 2/5 of a person</div>	<div>1980's- Intervention in Lebanon Grenada Invasion</div> <div>1964-1973 Vietnam War</div> <div>1965 Dominican Intervention</div> <div>1958 Lebanese Intervention</div> <div>1950-1953 Korean War</div> <div>1941-1945 World War II</div> <div>1912-1933 Nicaraguan Intervention</div> <div>1913-1917 Mexican Intervention</div> <div>1915-1934 Haitian Intervention</div> <div>1917-1918 World War I</div> <div>1918-1921 Soviet Intervention</div> <div>1903 Panamanian Intervention</div> <div>1900 Boxer Intervention</div> <div>1899-1902 Cuban/Filipino Interventions</div> <div>1898 Spanish-American War</div> <div>1893 Hawaiian Intervention</div> <div>1890 Samoan Intervention</div> <div>1865-1886 Apache/Sioux Wars</div> <div>1861-1865 Civil War</div> <div>1846-1848 Mexican-American War</div> <div>1835-1843 Second Seminole War</div> <div>1832 Black Hawk War</div> <div>1816-1819 First Seminole War</div> <div>1815 Algerian Intervention</div> <div>1812-1814 War of 1812</div> <div>1801-1805 Tripolitan War</div> <div>1798-1800 War with France</div> <div>1776-1783 Revolutionary War</div>

Key to abbreviations: (D) Democrat, (D-R) Democrat-Republican, (F) Federalist, (N-R) National Republican, (R) Republican, (W) Whig.

WAR