

POLITICS AND BLACK LIBERATION

We live in a period of fundamental political realignment in American society. Nixon and Agnew have embarked on a Holy War to reconstitute the shape and ideology of American politics. Yet despite the most awesome ramifications of this development, Blacks have opposed it through oratory and little else. . .

The Origins of the Crisis

The economic crisis of the 30's produced a "Democratic" constituency which has dominated American politics since the New Deal. This coalition consisted of working class whites, blacks and "liberals" and its guaranteed base was the "Solid South." With the single exception of the Eisenhower years when the Republicans exploited Cold War hysteria to defeat Adlai Stevenson, this coalition has elected every American President.

In the 60's American imperialism and the grossness of American racism produced the Anti-War Movement, and transformed the Black Reform Movement to embryonic Black Resistance. These developments in turn pushed white middle America out of the political center into the political right, culmination in the Nixon victory in 1968. (Nixon's victory was a compromise.

It represented the momentum from Humphrey toward Wallace, from center to right. The essential similarity of white politics was reflected in the fact that all three candidates campaigned on Law and Order, with only stylistic differences distinguishing them.)

Now for the first time in 40 years, the Democratic Party is no longer the majority party in the land. It is a party in shambles without program or leadership and deeply in debt. It tries to capitalize on the War and on Nixon's abandonment of Civil Rights--but cannot--precisely because these are the very policies endearing him 1) to the South and 2) the national white working class. Traditionally "democratic" labor supports Rockefeller in New York, Nixon in Washington, and the War in Indo-China.

Nixon's strategy is quite apparent. He is trying to build a right-wing political movement based on the South, the white working class and the white petty bourgeoisie. He can thus ignore the liberals and the blacks in the urban centers and still carry the country. The cornerstone of his strategy however is the South. Without it as an anchor, he stands no chance at all. Wallace's re-election therefore poses the most severe threat to Nixon's sovereignty. He must either capture Wallace voters or pay Wallace enough to keep him out of the race. Whichever right-

wing course he takes, means further downgrading of black interests. But the danger is even more explicit. The only real way to organize a white political movement in this country is in opposition to blacks. That's what crime in the streets was and that's what law and order is--the politics of racism.

THUS, the contradiction of Black politics, at the present moment is that at a time when it has more registered voters than ever before, more blacks in political office than ever before, it has never been so powerless. Because these blacks are part of a system that increasingly views them as a liability and a threat. (The impotence of black officials is manifest. They investigated the Hampton/Clark slayings in Chicago and nothing happened; they went to Jackson State and were appalled - and nothing happened; they have been trying to meet with Nixon for two months without success. And this despite the fact that niggers are, in most places, still the balance of power. They defeated Wallace in the Alabama primary and came near to defeating him in the election itself. But the essential dilemma of black politics is reflected in the fact that they had no other choice than Brewer.)

THERE IS NO WAY OUT OF THIS BLACK POLITICAL DILEMMA WITHOUT BUILDING A BLACK POLITICAL MOVEMENT. Such a movement must avoid the error of the past: white or self-appointed Black political representation. And it must build accountability into the process.

Political education must precede relevant political organizing or it will degenerate into the old bag of personality politics. Without this education black politics will remain as personality-oriented as white. In order to mobilize the black community, a platform is required that represents all of its different interests. In the past the black community has been fragmented by a myriad sectarian struggles: around housing, schools, police, etc. Concrete programs around each of these issues should be put into an overall freedom program which would serve as the basis of independent political organizing of blacks.

But more than this is required. When Averell Harriman, Cyrus Vance, Clark Clifford and David Rockefeller protest administration policies, it is because their historical surrender to the "Invisible Government" has created a rival power structure they are unable to control. They must now support the Peace Movement to protect their own interests. That is why the Senate was able to successfully pass a bill to cut financial support of the War in Cambodia. Vietnam is the central contradiction in the white camp at this time. While that contradiction exists, blacks have an unparalleled opportunity to make gains. If they fail to move forward now, whites will eventually get back together and leave us facing a united white front. Therefore black politics must see as its goal national leadership. The Black Struggle is now the only Left in the country. It must put forth a program of national social change which spells out

the structural changes necessary to reconstruct American society. *

Tactically, we must seize leadership over whites in the same way that we held it in the 60's. But we must do it from a black base first and foremost. . .

In the face of this analysis what can IBW do? Certainly it cannot take to the streets and organize the nation. My suggestion is that we assume the role of propagandist, pamphleteer, do the things we can do best: propagate the analysis of what is happening. To wit, the disintegration of the American political system. A deficiency which can only be STRUCTURALLY CURED.

We must put forth a program to stop/control irresponsible military force in America and without, to stop police dictatorship from assuming political power, attack the malfeasant managers of the economy, place the ecological/pollution question in its proper perspective: (no cure outside the regulation of industry by government), etc. Ultimately. . . SURVIVAL THROUGH POLITICS is the question blacks must face up to. For no matter how they twist and turn, blacks cannot evade the responsibility for building the national liberation struggle here in America.

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