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WRITING 65

WRITING 65

PRISONERS SPEECHES

MISC.



Coat of Arms  
of the Moraga Family

**MORAGA HISTORY CENTER**  
**GROUND BREAKING CEREMONY**

**FEBRUARY 17, 1999**  
**11:00-11:30 A.M.**

**Welcome and Opening Remarks by David Trotter, President,**  
**Moraga Historical Society**

I would like to welcome and thank everyone for attending and making this a special occasion.

We are fortunate that the weather has cooperated and that our collective prayers for a sunny day, after the pouring rains yesterday afternoon and evening, have been answered. Clearly, Someone up there is smiling on us and this auspicious undertaking.

After years of planning and hard work, the Moraga History Center is about to become a **reality**. Don't you just love how that phrase trips off the tongue? The Moraga History Center a reality--no longer a dream, but real bricks and mortar . . . or, in this case, wood and stucco with precious artifacts inside carefully catalogued and open for future generations of Moragans to appreciate and study.

This groundbreaking ceremony is the **culmination** of what has truly been a team effort. It is also, in a very real sense, a new beginning for the Moraga Historical Society. At long last, we have what all hope will be a **permanent home** for the historical archives of the Moraga area. A place, here at the Moraga Library, where the archives will be readily accessible for years to come to scholars, historians, and citizens interested in learning more about the history of our beautiful community.

Everyone here today--and countless others who are unable to attend, most notably Brother Dennis Goodman of St. Mary's College, whose presence is sorely missed--deserves credit and praise. Credit for having a dream . . . credit for having the vision of what it would take, in time and money, to build the History Center. . . and praise for having the drive and initiative to get the job done.



Coat of Arms  
of the Moraga Family

It would take more time than I have been allotted to name all of the good folks who have worked tirelessly over the years--in the Archives with Maggie Skinner, on the architectural plans and drawings with Jim Coy, on the Capital Campaign with Margaret Depriester and Glen Furlow, and on the Society's Board of Directors--in short, all of the members who have made the Historical Society a vibrant and growing organization for the past 34 years. I will rely on the other speakers on the program today to give individual recognition and credit where credit is due.

What I can and will say--for the members of our Board of Directors, for the Society as a whole, and for myself-- is **THANK YOU. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR EVERYTHING YOU HAVE DONE TO MAKE THIS DAY POSSIBLE!**

Casey: Is God the  
husband of Mother  
Nature?

Maybe he was at one  
time but looking at the  
shape the world is in  
they must be divorced  
now.

A YOUNG MAN had recently acquired a position at a large bank when he discovered that one of his colleagues was embezzling enormous sums of money. The young man took the matter straight to the bank president. "Sir," he said, "Mr. Smith is robbing this bank of thousands of dollars a day."

"Yes," said the president. "I know."

"You know? Then why don't you go ahead and fire him?"

"Fire him? We can't afford to," sighed the president. "He's our biggest depositor."

—Contributed by Emanuel Martin

Black movement today - Deep crisis

1. Resurgence of racism in U.S.
  - KKK, Nazis, police killings
  - ~~leg~~ attacks on gains of 1960s
  - Affirmative action, Bk studies, Desegregation of public education

2. Socio-Economic situation
  - ~~But~~ unemployment worse now than in 1960s
  - income gap wider, housing, cutbacks in social services, health, education
  - Blacks as "shock absorbers" of econ. instability. Undercuts class consciousness among whites. ("Reverse racism" mythology)

3. Attacks by state on Bk movement  
~~problems affecting movement~~
  - Repression of black radicals: students since 1960s
  - (COINTELPRO) <sup>prosecution</sup> Decryption of Bk identity: King, Malcolm X

Govts. Neo-colonial strategy of co-optation

Andrew Young - Neo-colonial liaison

(Jesse Jackson - Bandwagons of schools)

(Benjamin Hooks - FCC-NABP - Big Brother Party)

Search for Third Force: between reactionaries & revolutionaries, pro-U.S.

Linking of sectors of Bk identity to white bourgeoisie <sup>through Bk politicians</sup> ~~and an anti-rel. party~~

#### 4) Perspectives on movement

Problems no longer same  
Formal civil rights no longer  
issue (CK movement benefited mainly  
blk middle-class)

— Economic issues more the <sup>problem in</sup> ~~issue~~ 1980s  
Must develop programs/struggles based  
on need of blk workers  
Covert Discrimination by employer & unions  
(dis tests) (seniority systems)

— Fight racism as way to class solidarity  
(in organization labor) <sup>Disruptive issue</sup>  
<sup>need for ind. blk movement</sup>  
Day build mass orgs that combine <sup>organizing</sup> ~~mass~~  
fighting for rights/gains  
with concrete services to members  
(United League of Miss)

#### 5) Hopeful signs

— Growth of black united fronts  
which have ~~political~~ impact on  
political structure / mass issues (politics)

— Anti-~~KKK~~ work

problem is that most of this is  
local/regional work. Must build  
national org / network to link  
these together & to base the movement blk  
workers / class masses  
for greater international solidarity  
— ~~they~~ support each other

turn their discipline over to the computers and elections could be predicted before hand on a net income or net wealth accumulation scale. Blacks who were able to vote between 1880 to 1940 overwhelmingly chose Republican politicians, on ideological rather than purely economic grounds. Since the "Second New Deal," blacks at all income levels have tended to vote for Democrats, whether the candidates were perceived as being liberals or conservatives on economic policy. The essential question for all blacks has always been the question of race, and whether the white candidate seeking their votes was an opponent or supporter of civil rights legislation, affirmative action, open housing and school desegregation. Because racial oppression is so overwhelming against black people in this country, the primary response of black voters to all political questions is 'what does it mean for our race'—or 'will black folk benefit materially, socially and so forth?'

Contrary to the predictions of black sociologist William Wilson and the works of Nathan Glazer and Pat Moynihan, "race" has not declined in significance. It remains the *fundamental organizing theme within black culture and civil society*. What has occurred is a different meaning of race, and different usages for race, within the contextual framework of black politics.

The black majority, located within the working class, view themselves and their political activities through the prism of race, primarily because their children still attend largely black schools, they still live in mostly black neighborhoods, they still attend all-black civic associations, fraternal societies and churches; and because they still perceive whites as a whole discriminating against them because of their race. The black elite, on the other hand, employs race as an ideological and cultural tool to maintain and extend its own influence, its hegemony, over the bulk of working class black society. The N.A.A.C.P., for instance, projects an image of a multi-class, largely black organization; but in practice it carries out pre-corporate, pro-integrationist policies which cut against the real interests of the black majority.

The politics of the black elite can be described in two words, "equal opportunity." The new leaders of black society do not wish to transform what they view as fundamentally "a good thing." They are not interested even in structural *reforming* basic property relations. What it desires *above all else* is the *chance, the opportunity*,

to compete for society's surplus value, the economic profits obtained from black and white workers, on a roughly equal basis with white elites. Equal opportunity within the existing status quo, to the N.A.A.C.P., means lending support to the promulgation of nuclear power plants, so long as blacks are hired as engineers and industrial workers equally. Equal opportunity in Exxon corporation means providing affirmative action gains within the corporate hierarchy for black executives and middle managers, without having an overview on the relationship between Exxon's monopoly of energy sources and the dependence of blacks on this energy.

The challenge in the 1980s for black activists and scholars, black community organizers and trade unionists, is two fold—first, we must break the hegemony of the black elite within our cultural institutions, media, economic centers and educational institutions; and secondly, we must make a case not for equal opportunity but for full equality, and for the prerequisites of equality, in every aspect of economic, social and political relations, involving not just blacks, but every U.S. citizen. This will not be an easy task.

Equality, as I am defining the term, must become the principle theoretical foundation for a new humanistic Movement within society, a movement which will stand on the shoulders of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s and the Black Power Movement of the late 1960s. Equality within the mode of production means an equal share of decision making power from the shop floor of a factory to the upper echelons of the managerial elite. Equality, defined as the principle of human *fairness*, must take the place of equal opportunity, which is defined as an equal chance to become our own oppressors.

Equality must mean more than simply the attainment of full employment, the guarantee of a job for each individual. Equality must also involve the responsibility of work, of training black youth to view work as a means toward redefining themselves in relationship to their environment, and in contributing to a better kind of society for everyone. We have to teach our youth that the ultimate dehumanization is life without work; that work provides us with a way of confronting ourselves and others toward building a new world.

Equality should mean that the federal government should commit itself to the pursuit of the prerequisites of a fair and just life for all people, without turning people into dependents and non-

productive individuals. Part of the solution toward real economic equality might mean that the federal government would provide several billions of dollars in interest-free loans and outright grants to minority businessmen and contractors and to black economic cooperatives, not as a dole, but to allow them to have the prerequisites to compete more equally with larger, white-owned corporations. Cultural equality would mean in part, massive federal fiscal support to all traditionally black colleges, without federal pressure to desegregate these institutions.

Equality must revive the ideal of poverty and self sacrifice. This is in direct conflict with the natural assumption of wealth which is part of the American Dream. We cannot all be wealthy. We should not all be wealthy. In an ideally democratic society, no one should have an income or an accumulation of wealth which he does not personally need, nor acquire economic power sufficient to destroy the aspirations and lives of others. As in everything, absolute power corrupts absolutely. "If civilization is to turn out millionaires," DuBois wrote, "it will also turn out beggars and prostitutes. A simple healthy life on limited income is the only responsible ideal of civilized folk."

If we devote all our energies simply in the acquisition of individual wealth, we will neglect the ideals of philanthropy and service. It was not too many years ago that the majority of black middle class people devoted a regular portion of their incomes toward the construction of black colleges and trade schools, black churches and civic organizations. We must instill in our young adults the gift of giving toward others less fortunate within our communities. Equality must promote a certain depth of purpose, a belief in sharing and assistance.

Equality must connote, more than everything else, the construction of a sensible, democratic economic alternative for U.S. society, an alternative which socializes the accumulation of capital. We must stop thinking of ourselves as "minorities" and calling our interests "special interests," and begin to view our demands as the basis for a new beginning to the needs of the oppressed and exploited classes of the United States. As Martin Luther King wrote in 1966, "the long journey ahead requires that we emphasize the needs of all America's poor, for there is no way merely to find work, or adequate housing, or quality-integrated schools for Negroes alone. We shall eliminate unemployment for Negroes,"

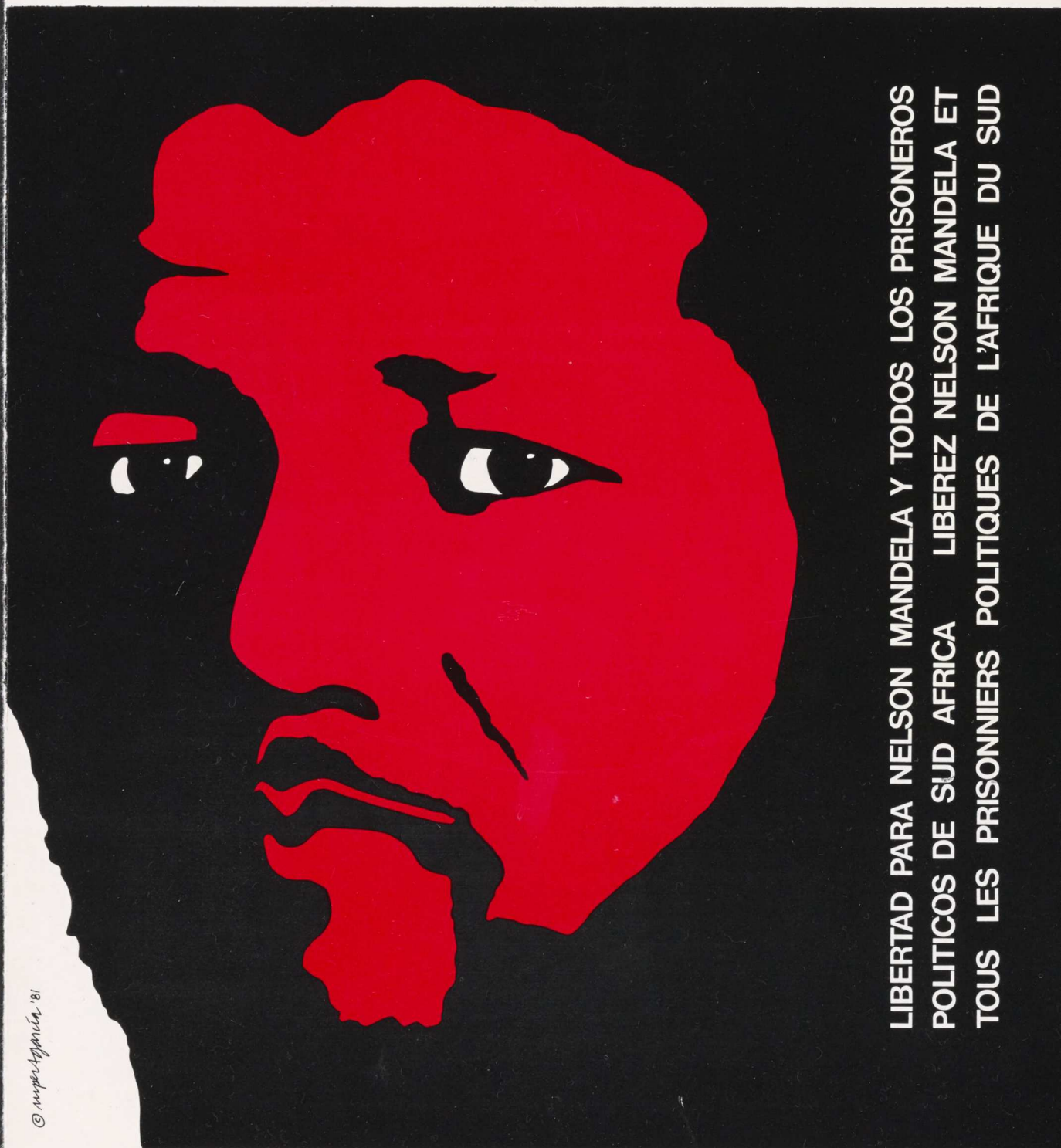
Martin believed, "when we demand full and fair employment for all."

The central problem of the twentieth century was in large measure, as DuBois accurately termed it, the problem of the color line—the relations of the darker to the lighter races in Africa, Asia, the United States, and throughout the world. Many of the problems within societies are still racial or ethnic confrontations. But in our country, in our time, an even greater problem has emerged that underlies even the crisis of race—can we achieve real equality for all people, in every aspect of economic, social and political relations? As we destroy the economic illusions of U.S. society, the crisis of equality looms as the great unresolved riddle for democracy in the U.S. For the sake of our children, and for the future of the world, we must address the problem and master it, without uprooting the best of black cultural and social traditions which were created during the former period of segregation and inequality. We must resolve ourselves to struggle for the basic principles of fairness and equality for all people.

\$3.00

# THE **BLACK** SCHOLAR

## War and the Third World



LIBERTAD PARA NELSON MANDELA Y TODOS LOS PRISONEROS  
POLITICOS DE SUD AFRICA LIBEREZ NELSON MANDELA ET  
TOUS LES PRISONNIERS POLITIQUES DE L'AFRIQUE DU SUD

**FREE NELSON MANDELA**  
AND ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

## REAGAN AND THE THIRD WORLD

In the first months of the new Administration the mass media criticized President Ronald Reagan for having no clear foreign policy. Now it is all too clear that Reagan does indeed have a very sharply defined and dangerous foreign policy—a policy of confrontation and intervention in Third World countries combined with stepped up antagonism toward the Soviet Union.

In Latin America the Administration has been hostile toward Nicaragua while escalating its repressive involvement in El Salvador. While claiming that Cuba and the Soviet Union are exploiting the situation in El Salvador, it is actually U.S. arms and money which have prolonged and expanded the civil war in that country. U.S. intervention is the prime reason that an almost universally hated junta is still murdering and maiming thousands of people in El Salvador.

This summer Cuba suffered an epidemic of the mosquito-transmitted Dengue fever. During a four week period some 273,000 Cubans were affected by the fever, and 113 died—most of them children. In a speech celebrating the 28th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, which launched the Cuban revolutionary struggle, Cuban President Fidel Castro expressed his suspicion that the fever was deliberately introduced in Cuba by the CIA. Of course the U.S. State Department denied Castro's charge, but we should recall that since the early 1950s the U.S. Army has been deeply involved in biological warfare plans, including the use of mosquitos to spread disease. Moreover, congressional investigations have exposed the CIA's role in introducing the swine fever into Cuba, and saboteurs have been captured on the island while disseminating biological warfare agents. One does not have to look far to find other evidence of the Reagan Administration's increased harassment of Cuba.

In Africa Reagan was quick to voice his support for the racist regime of South Africa, praising them as "a country that has stood beside us in every war that we have ever fought." South African military leaders met with U.S. officials last spring, and this summer South Africa launched a major invasion of Angola using tanks, planes and tens of thousands of troops. The South Africans claim they are trying to destroy Namibian guerilla bases in Angola, but they would also like to topple the present socialist Angolan government. In effect, the South Africans are fighting a proxy war for the U.S., since the Clark Amendment (see article in this issue) prohibits direct U.S. intervention in Angola without congressional approval. An effort to repeal the Clark Amendment will be made in Congress this fall. If repealed, this would open the way for direct U.S. intervention and an all-out U.S. and South African military campaign against Angola.

Also in Africa the Reagan Administration deliberately scheduled a "war games" practice by Navy ships and planes in an effort to intimidate Libya. When Libya refused to be intimidated and instead attempted to defend itself from U.S. planes that had violated its territorial waters, the Libyan planes were shot down.

In the Middle East, the U.S. continues its refusal to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization while providing arms with which Israel attacks Palestinians and other Arab countries. Israel, the U.S. proxy in the Middle East, has increased its aggressive activities since Reagan was elected. Israel is the chief threat to peace in the Middle East, and it is apparent that Israel's aggressiveness has the tacit, if not overt, approval and encouragement of the Reagan Administration.

Clearly the Reagan Administration has adopted a policy of provocation and intervention against leftist and progressive governments in Africa and the Third World. If not opposed by the public this policy inevitably will lead to another major war.

Black Americans in particular must speak out against the militarist policies of Reagan. It was the sons of the black community who died in disproportionate numbers on the battlefields of Vietnam. Our communities are now filled with unemployed (and often crippled) Vietnam vets who can only wonder what they fought for. The Vietnam war was not only unjust—it was a major disaster for the black community. Black people have no interest in supporting U.S. imperialism by providing cannon fodder for the war machine. And we have no interest in fighting wars against people who are simply struggling for their own independence and liberation. Through demonstrations, marches and messages to Congress we must make known our firm opposition to Reagan's war policy.

# REAGAN AND REPRESSION

The election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States represents a major challenge to black and progressive movements in this country. Although Reagan's election does not reflect an overwhelming "mandate" as his publicists have claimed (Reagan won the support of only 26 percent of the eligible voters; many stayed away from the polls due to disillusionment with both Reagan and Carter), still his rise to power represents a right-ward shift by the bourgeoisie.

Moreover, the Reagan presidency is intensely ideological. Reagan openly endorses the right-wing assault on basic human and social rights. He has appointed cabinet and sub-cabinet members whose basic qualification seems to be their fidelity to the right-wing catechism: anti-labor, anti-human and civil rights, anti-abortion, hostility to environmental protection, anti-communist, etc., etc. His economic program springs from an ideology that denies the ideal that democratic government should seek the greatest good for the greatest number. Instead, for Reagan, as for his hero Calvin Coolidge, "the business of America is business," and the purpose of government is to promote business. Expansion of public and human services is not the concern of government, according to this view, and the new administration is rapidly dismantling the public sector.

Faced with an objective crisis - the growing stagnation of the U.S. economy over the past decade - the bourgeoisie is abandoning the old welfare state policies that have characterized the federal government since the New Deal. Instead the Reagan Administration is introducing reactionary and repressive policies in an all out attempt to shore up big business at home and enhance U.S. imperialism abroad. Black people - and working people of all races - will be forced to pay the price.

Consider the following. After only a month in office Reagan has announced sweeping plans to make major cutbacks in programs providing needed human services, including Medicaid, Food Stamps, aid to education, CETA, child support programs, and unemployment insurance among others. Moreover, the undermining of the minimum wage will have a further adverse effect on the working poor and, indeed, everyone who works for a wage.

At the same time the President has proposed tax cuts for the corporations (retroactive to January 1st) and tax cuts for individuals that will mainly benefit upper income persons. Moreover, de-regulation of oil and gasoline prices has already led to a sharp jump in prices at the pump, which means a profits bonanza for the giant oil companies. Finally, while human services are being cut the Department of Defense's budget was left intact and even increased.

Summing up the policies of the new Administration, Representative Ronald V. Dellums said: "The President's program... is one deliberately designed to benefit the rich, the powerful and the corporate elite. It will be financed at the expense of the working class of all races, the young, the poor and the powerless... The President has presented an Administration world view which stresses militarism and nuclear arms escalation as the proper method of dealing with our great power adversaries. He supports interventionism and, *a priori*, fundamental disregard for human rights and human suffering in dealing with the complex problems of the Third World. In effect, he is seeking to return America and the world to the simplistic formulations of an earlier era which promoted anti-Communist hysteria abroad and 'Red Scare' at home."

The signs of increased violence and repression under the Reagan Administration are ominous. Already racist and reactionary organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan have taken Reagan's election as a go-ahead signal and incidents of terrorist violence are on the upswing. Moreover, Reagan and his supporters are taking steps to attack any potential mass resistance by dissident citizens by unleashing the FBI, increasing "anti-crime" measures, and developing repressive mechanisms such as the so-called criminal reform code, successor to the infamous S-1 bill, and the revival of the discredited Un-American Activities Committee, now to be called the Sub-committee on Security and Terrorism.

We must not be intimidated by the axe-wielding, sabre-rattling posture of the new Administration. In actuality Reagan is standing on very shaky ground: He does not have a mandate from a majority of the people, his policies will anger millions while not solving the basic economic problems of the country, and despite his demagogic attacks on Cuba, Nicaragua and the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, he will not be able to reverse the erosion of America's position as international policeman.

Ironically, in what he is doing Reagan is helping to create a mass base for a new progressive coalition that can fight his reactionary program. Reagan's proposals will hit hardest on blacks and other racial minorities, working people of all races, women, the elderly, students, the poor, cultural workers and others. These groups have a common stake in fighting the cutbacks and the repressive measures being introduced by the new Administration.

It is urgent to begin building the kind of broad unity of black and progressive forces that can oppose the right-ward drift. Not only must we fight against repression and cutbacks but we must also counter Reagan's ideological offensive by projecting a vision of a humane society in which the function of government is the promotion of the well-being of all citizens. Already among black activists steps have been taken toward the formation of an independent black political party and a black united front on a national basis. These are encouraging developments. And they demonstrate the kind of organizing efforts that must be taken in to combat racism and reaction in the 80's.

D. A. Bell  
Washington