

TOWARD VICTORIOUS AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION

by Stalinist Workers Group for Afro-American National Liberation and a
New Communist International*

Introduction

The Afro-American reader may ask with justification (due to the treacherous role played by the white "New Left" in the Afro-American national liberation movement), "What right do these white Marxist-Leninists have to intervene in the Afro-American national liberation movement?"

In this period, when the main contradiction facing US imperialism is the oppressed nations throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and within the present US boundaries, the first responsibility of Marxist-Leninists--as proletarian internationalists--is to support the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation from US imperialist oppression in every way possible. As members of white US imperialist society, the main oppressor of the world's peoples, we have a special responsibility in this regard.

Some Afro-American militants have told white radicals to stay out of the Afro-American communities, and to concentrate instead on organizing white supporters for the Afro-American national liberation struggle. It is good that these Afro-American militants have tried to keep the white radicals from contaminating the Afro-American masses. However, the suggestion that white radicals ("mother country radicals") mobilize US whites reflects great illusions on the part of many Afro-American militants as to the extent and nature of the bestial US imperialist society as well as to the real counter-revolutionary role actually being played by the "mother country radicals" themselves. At the present time, there is no mass base of whites from whom significant support for Afro-American national liberation can be drawn. The citizens of parasitic US imperialist society are more brutalized and degenerate than even the German people were at the height of Nazi power. One difference between the German people of 1942 and the "great American people" of 1970 is that the US victories over the oppressed peoples have not come about mainly through military might vis-a-vis the aroused, determined and powerful toiling masses of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Afro-America (as had Nazi Germany's victories over the European peoples), but mainly through the aid of an unprecedented fifth column--the present communist movement centered in Moscow and in Peking. As a result, the "great American people" are less openly chauvinistic and more clever, for example when they are around Afro-Americans, than were the Germans toward the oppressed and occupied nations. But because US imperialism is the unrivalled bastion of world capitalism today the "great American people" live a more parasitic existence than any other nation in history and they are more bribed, bought off and brutalized than even the German people under Hitler!

Because international revisionism has been the main ally of US

*Formerly Youth for Stalin

imperialism in its struggle to maintain and expand its political domination and economic enslavement of the powerful, determined and aroused oppressed peoples, the US imperialists have had to maintain a facade of "democracy" within the USA.

This facade of democracy "for whites only" is based on the crumbs which US imperialism gives the "great American people" from the super-profits that it reaps from the backs of the super-exploited workers and toiling peasants in the oppressed nations. US imperialism has used this facade of "democracy" to keep the US white oppressor nation mobilized for active participation in the brutal suppression of the oppressed peoples as in the massacre of the infants, children, women and aged men of Songmy village in south Vietnam, a massacre which was carried out by the "great American people" in their homes, on the jobs, at the ballot box, and on the battlefield.

But US imperialism is incapable of extending this facade of "democracy" to the oppressed Puerto Rican, Indo-Hispano and Afro-American nations imprisoned within the present US boundaries. One of the key tasks which US imperialism has assigned to its "New Left", has been to keep the Afro-American, Indo-Hispano and Puerto Rican national liberation fighters from exploding the myth of the "great American people" to their own oppressed nations and to their oppressed brothers and sisters in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

What is the real nature of US imperialist society, of the "great American people"?

Since the consolidation of the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" and the massive setbacks suffered by the national liberation fighters in Indonesia, in the Arab nation of Western Asia, in the Dominican Republic in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and in the Afro-American national liberation struggle (which has resulted in a setback for the Puerto Rican and Indo-Hispano national liberation struggles as well), the "great American people" have become more bribed and brutalized than ever.

The basis for this is the nature of the capitalist system in its imperialist stage, and especially of the unprecedented world empire which has been established by US imperialism since World War II. US imperialism invades the oppressed nations in order to exploit the natural resources of the nation, but more importantly, to super-exploit the greatest natural resource of the oppressed nations, the living labor of the toiling masses who become proletarians under imperialist domination.

For this reason, every defeat of the national liberation struggles strengthens US imperialist domination of the oppressed nations which facilitates the introduction and expansion of industrial plants in the oppressed nations and stimulates the replacement of factories in the USA by factories in the oppressed nations.

This means the increased super-exploitation of the working class in the oppressed nations and the increase in the numbers of workers (and of their concentration) in the oppressed nations; it means the decrease in the number and concentration of (white) workers in the USA and that the independent political strength of the white working class has diminished accordingly. It also means that extreme hardship in their homeland will force many workers from the oppressed nations (especially Afro-American and Puerto Rican workers) to emigrate to the US (north) replaci

more U.S. workers who then get petty bourgeois jobs.

The fundamental reason for the decrease in the US working class and the increase of the working class in the oppressed nations is the imperialists' profit motive--from the exploitation of the US workers the imperialists obtain profits, but from the backs of the workers in the oppressed nations (because of their status not only as workers but as members of a nation suffering under the yoke of imperialist national oppression), the imperialists are able to reap super-profits!

The more areas into which US imperialism gains access, and intensifies as well as expands its investments (industry), the greater number of US petty bourgeois forces to man its economic, civil, and military apparatus it needs. Thus, the same process by which the working class in the US imperialist oppressor nation is diminished, contains the basis for the increase in the number and impact of the (white) petty bourgeoisie (and also the basis for the mass of unemployed whites to become a professional imperialist army). And in fact, the parasitic culture, customs and morals of the petty bourgeoisie, which lives high off the backs of the oppressed peoples while doing no real work themselves, form the "fabric" of the "American Way of Life" today. This "fabric" is characterized by the extreme selfishness and nihilism of the parasite on human society.

To sum up-- Every defeat for the oppressed peoples in their national liberation struggles against US imperialism (and since the "Cultural Revolution" there have been many) means the intensification of the contradiction between the oppressed nations led by their increasingly numerous, concentrated, and organized working class on the one hand, and on the other, US imperialism and the US imperialist oppressor nation (the "great American people") containing fewer and fewer workers and an increasingly large extreme parasitic petty bourgeoisie completely dependent for survival on the perpetuation of US imperialist political domination and economic enslavement of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Afro-America. It is on this basis that we are compelled to expose to the peoples of the world that every defeat for the cause of national liberation makes it less possible that white US society will be able to contribute to the revolution even in the long run, and more likely that the decisive death blows to US imperialism will be struck by the "invading" oppressed peoples from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Afro-America.

The nature and direction of US imperialist society today, of the "great American people" necessitates that the oppressed peoples carry out ruthless struggle to isolate US whites from the rest of the peoples of the world, and that the oppressed peoples carry out merciless armed struggle against the US white citizen soldiers wherever US imperialism sends them.

It is only on the basis of victories for the national liberation struggles based on a recognition of the real nature of the "great American people" that, in the long run, the few US (white) Marxist-Leninists will possibly be able to mobilize a section of the US working class to the side of national liberation and socialism under the leadership of an Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party.

However, the main revolutionary task for the few US (white) Marxist-Leninists today is not to mobilize the fascistic "great American people", but to warn the oppressed peoples of the world about the real nature of the "great American people" and the need for the oppressed peoples to wage ruthless armed struggle in opposition to the "great American people" for the liberation of their oppressed nations and on behalf of the liberation of the masses of mankind.

A TRIBUTE TO SNCC

US imperialism and the entire citizenry of decadent, parasitic white US imperialist society (the "great American people") assassinated Ralph Featherstone and William (Che) Payne. It is likely that at the same time they murdered H. Rap Brown, the heroic Afro-American national liberation fighter and leader of his people. The surviving veterans of SNCC, in recognition of this fact, excluded all whites including William Kunstler from the memorial services for Ralph Featherstone. This act of excluding whites was a real tribute to the history of struggle carried out by SNCC prior to the assassination of Martin Luther King and prior to the ensuing setback in which the Afro-American national liberation struggle still finds itself.* It was an outstanding tribute to Ralph Featherstone, a fine young Afro-American national liberation fighter. Most importantly, it is a tribute to the revolutionary potential of SNCC cadre and a tribute to the power and determination of the Afro-American masses, to the strength and vitality of the Afro-American nation, a tribute to the determination of the Afro-American people to achieve national liberation from US imperialist domination in opposition to the "great American people."

The SNCC veterans' exclusion of whites from the memorial services is all the more significant, because it comes at a time when US imperialism has succeeded in effectively re-penetrating the Afro-American national liberation movement with its "New Left" servants. The "New Left" representatives of the "great American people" bring into the Afro-American national liberation movement (as well as to the national liberation movements of the heroic Vietnamese and Laotian masses) tremendous illusions about the predatory nature of US imperialism and the rotten bestial nature of the "great American people." (It is no accident that the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), the first "New Left" organization to repenetrate the SNCC-led Black Power Movement, brought with it the poison of imperialist electoral politics at precisely the time when the Afro-American masses had begun to consciously initiate boycott efforts in opposition to the sham democracy of US imperialist elections.)

Prior to the imperialists' assassination of King, from 1965-68, SNCC (which had adopted a policy of excluding white radicals from the SNCC organization) was in the vanguard of the Black Power Movement. The Black Power Movement represented the tremendous growth and development of the national consciousness and national unity among the Afro-American people. The Afro-American national liberation struggle made great advances in this period as reflected in the explosive growth in the number and intensity of urban Afro-American uprisings.

SNCC not only played a leading role in uniting the Afro-American masses against US imperialism and the "great American people" from 1965-68, but SNCC also continued to advance the basis (largely begun by Malcolm X) for uniting the national struggle of the Afro-American masses with the struggles of the oppressed Indo-Hispanic and Puerto Rican nations also imprisoned within the present boundaries of the US and with the struggles of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Under the guidance of the outstanding SNCC leader for international

*See Appendix

affairs, James Forman, SNCC made several significant internationalist initiatives. SNCC initiated a meeting with Alianza and several other Indo-Hispanic groups as well as with some American Indian representatives in October 1967. Even more significant was the genuine international solidarity which SNCC carried out in support of the Arab masses, when, following the terrible defeat perpetrated on the Arab people by US imperialism and the Zionist state of Israel in June 1967, SNCC called for the destruction of the white-settler state of Israel in a scientific (Marxist-Leninist) document. Most important was the powerful support for the heroic south Vietnamese masses which SNCC attempted to put into practice by helping to lay the conditions for an Afro-American revolt in the US imperialist army--a revolt of the Afro-American soldiers whom US imperialism had forced to kill and be killed by their heroic south Vietnamese brothers and sisters.*

Since the disorientation of the Afro-American leadership and defeats of the Afro-American national liberation movement in the aftermath of King's assassination however, the national activity of the Afro-American masses has been tremendously reduced as evidenced in the sharp decline in the number and intensity of Afro-American popular uprisings in summer 1968 and again in the summer 1969. In this period of setback, the "New Left" has effectively re-penetrated the Afro-American national liberation movement and led the Afro-American "leadership" back to integrationist, reformist, so-called "class struggle" negotiations with US imperialism and the "great American people." Even James Forman, a giant figure in the civil rights and Black Power Movements, with strong ties to the Black Belt homeland, has been disoriented to the extent of orienting the Afro-American masses back around the "good" white petty bourgeois liberal church "folks" and "New Left" through his Black Reparations Movement! And this, in the name of Black Liberation and revolution! The fact is, that if James Forman, one of the outstanding Afro-American leaders in the past, is carrying out this kind of activity, one can easily understand what has happened to the Black Panther Party which, in the name of revolution, now ties the Afro-American masses to white hippies and the "New Left" and carries out Breakfast Programs as its main "revolutionary" activity. The systematic destruction of the Black Panther Party which is being carried out by the imperialist storm-trooper police throughout the US has been facilitated by the alliance of the Panthers with the "New Left" PFP and with the Khrushchevite revisionist CPUSA in the United Front Against Fascism (UFASF) in America. The police attacks and murders have been coordinated with the "New Left" infiltration activities which have alienated most of the Afro-American populace from the Panthers and has exposed the Panthers in their "New Left"-led open legal peaceful activities, to the full brunt of the police attacks. The liquidation of the Black Panther Party by US imperialist storm-trooper lackeys has become a serious means by which US imperialism and the "great American people" have intimidated

*The fact that SNCC was not able to put this policy of solidarity with the heroic south Vietnamese people into practice was due not to a lack of determination on the part of SNCC or to a lack of vitality in the Afro-American and Vietnamese national liberation struggles, for there was an abundance of these qualities; it was due to the tremendous power and influence of Russian and Chinese revisionism which have blocked the coordination of national liberation struggles in their efforts to make a deal with US imperialism.

the Afro-American masses and forced them to submit to US imperialist domination without intensifying their spontaneous mass revolutionary actions in the past two years.

In this period of serious setbacks, H. Rap Brown has been one of the few Afro-American leaders to speak out against the "New Left" and against negotiations with US imperialism:

"Many people have had these principles (principles that speak to the needs of the mass of humanity) in mind as they were waging a struggle for independence, but having failed to win independence by defeating the enemy through armed struggle, it was necessary for them to negotiate with the colonial powers. In this process of negotiation, the colonial powers granted political autonomy but maintained economic influence, control and investments. The mere act of negotiating freedom means that the control necessary to appropriate the entire wealth of the country did not fall to the new leaders. We should have learned by now from history that the process of negotiating freedom and not winning it by armed struggle has built-in limitations. We must be prepared to fight to the death to destroy this system known as capitalism, for it is this system that oppresses the majority of mankind." (H. Rap Brown, "Die, Nigger Die!" p. 129, Our Emphasis)

When Rap Brown says that the Afro-American people "must be prepared to fight to the death to destroy this system," he is warning the Afro-American masses that the "great American people" are not "humane" decent citizens filled with "good will" for the Afro-American people, but brutalized, degenerate members of decadent, rotten, parasitic US imperialist society who are carrying out atrocities against the infants, children, women and aged men of Songmy village and against the heroic south Vietnamese people in the hamlets and villages throughout south Vietnam in order to keep their color TV's, their two cars, and their houses in lily-white neighborhoods. He is telling the Afro-American people that they must be ready to spill the blood of some of the "great American people" instead of integrating with them.

Brown recognized this fact when he stated in his book: "John Brown was the only white man I could respect and he is dead. The Black Movement has no use for white liberals." (p. 116)

The white "New Left" which has the task of prettifying US imperialism and especially the "great American people" to the Afro-American people and to all the oppressed peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Puerto Rico, Aztlan and throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America were exposed by Brown at the Guardian dinner, Dec. 5, 1968. Based on the setback, the Guardian, the organizing centre for the revisionists, Trotskyites, and reformists who make up the "New Left", was able to persuade Brown to speak. However, they were unable to control Brown's activities and dictate his speech. Only the needs of his people dictated Brown's activities that evening. Speaking to the Guardian audience and the Guardian staff, Brown said: "You were talking about reform. We're talking about revolution...and if you can't buy that ticket then you're not on our side and I have no business down here talking to you." When the white "New Left" audience reacted with their real white chauvinist, pro-imperialist hostility--Brown, flanked by bodyguards, left the dinner.

Unfortunately, these principled actions of Brown's have been the rare exception in this difficult period of disorientation, confusion and retreat in the Afro-American leadership and period of setback for the Afro-American masses. US imperialism has coordinated the tremendous numbers of police assassinations, jailings, beatings and harassment of the Black Panther Party with more and intensified "sympathies," legal defense funds, cries of righteous indignation, from the "New Left" wing of the "great American people." The "New Left's" deception and betrayal of the Afro-American masses has not been unmasked. On the contrary, as the Panthers are being murdered, the Afro-American masses see more and more whites expressing sympathy and "solidarity" with the Panthers' plight while they are losing confidence in their own ability to wage and win the Afro-American national liberation struggle (seeing the militant-sounding Panthers being liquidated with little effective resistance). This has all been done to get the Afro-American masses to rely on the "great American people" to grant them self-determination! to get the Afro-American masses back on the old familiar path of integration and non-violence and peaceful negotiation with US imperialism.

Now, because SNCC has maintained about the least weak orientation in this extremely backward period, the "New Left"--in order to keep the Afro-American masses from rising up to avenge the assassination of William Che Payne and Ralph Featherstone, two SNCC cadre, and quite possibly to avenge the murder of H. Rap Brown, outstanding leader of his people--has been forced to expose its true colors (white on white)! And once again it is the Guardian--that mouthpiece of the "New Left," i.e. the revisionists, Trotskyites and liberal reformists all united--which leads the way in attempting to stifle the revolutionary initiative of the Afro-American masses.

It is precisely because of the principled stand taken by the SNCC veterans in excluding whites from the memorial services for Ralph Featherstone that we are now able to make this contribution to the theoretical foundation for Afro-American national liberation. We will begin with an exposure of the Guardian's treachery and tricknology in its two articles in the March 21, 1970 issue on the murder of Ralph Featherstone, William Che Payne and quite likely H. Rap Brown by US imperialism and the "great American people."

THE GUARDIAN ANGELS OF US IMPERIALISM

The Guardian front page editorial entitled "Individual Terrorism?" begins "The movement mourns the deaths this month of at least five activists killed in bomb blasts in the US." With this introduction, the Guardian tells the Afro-American masses that the Afro-American national liberation fighters Payne and Featherstone were fighting the same war as the "New Left" Weathermen hippy anarchists and that the loss of Payne and Featherstone was not a serious loss for the Afro-American masses (the Afro-American masses are not even mentioned in the editorial) but that the murder of Payne and Featherstone was a loss for "the (all important) movement". In essence, this sentence tells the Afro-American masses that the Afro-American national liberation struggle has no importance--except as it is tied up with the white petty bourgeois parasitic "New Left" "struggle" against (on behalf of) US imperialism. This is the punchline.

Following this "Black and white unite" drivel, the Guardian has two paragraphs devoted to analysis of what happened to Payne and Featherstone in particular. These two paragraphs (consistent with the "New Left's" general role) are aimed at suffocating the revolutionary initiative of the Afro-American masses for retribution. The Guardian begins by saying "The tragedy of Ralph Featherstone and William (Che) Payne is particularly disturbing because of the clear possibility that the two black revolutionaries have been murdered." The rest of the paragraph proceeds to discuss the "inconsistencies" in the "official police theory". Later in this article the Guardian, which was founded as the openly white liberal mouthpiece for the Progressive Party in 1948 and has never self-critically explained why it changed to "radical" activities, now claims to speak in the name of Marxism-Leninism! But any genuine anti-imperialist fighter, (let alone a Marxist-Leninist) would recognize immediately that SNCC cadre killed by a bomb explosion were victims of a US imperialist assassination because of the bestial nature of US imperialism on the one hand and because of the vanguard anti-imperialist role played by SNCC on the other. Addressing itself to the Afro-American masses, the Guardian in the name of raising "doubt" about the official police theory, is actually attempting to raise doubt in the minds of the aroused Afro-American masses as to the "possibility" that the imperialist storm-trooper police did not kill Featherstone and Payne!

An examination of the second paragraph which contains two alternate "theories" to the "official police theory" further exposes the counter-revolutionary role of the Guardian. The second of these "theories" is "that far from being killed when their own bomb exploded the detonation was caused after Payne discovered the bomb under the seat and that it exploded when he touched it." This "theory", reeking of white supremacy is that the deaths of Featherstone and Payne were caused by Payne, by his (and the Afro-American masses') inability to handle explosives, technical equipment, etc. Blaming Payne and taking the heat off US imperialism and the "great American people" is the role of the Guardian Angels of US imperialism! The revolutionary truth is that Payne and Featherstone were killed by a bomb planted and detonated by US imperialism and the "great American people"! - from the KKK-Minutemen to Edward Kennedy, from Nixon-Agnew to Kunstler, from J. Edgar Hoover to the Guardian!

But there is another "theory" put forth, according to the Guardian, by mysterious "friends of Brown" who say that Brown "was the object of the blast and that he luckily was not in the car at the time." These "friends" were half right in implying that imperialist stooges planted the bomb to kill Brown and the other SNCC cadre, but the "Brown's friends" theory is, in the end, only another counter-revolutionary Guardian "theory" as it states that Brown was not in the car, that Brown has definitely not been assassinated.

This "Friends" theory contradicts the official statement of N.Y. SNCC which the Guardian buried in the middle of its second article on the "deaths" (not murders) of the SNCC cadre. N.Y. SNCC, as quoted in the Guardian, said in part, "We would like to publicly denounce the reports...that chairman H. Rap Brown is alive and safe at home. It is total speculation and rumor. This is not only illegal but very dangerous to the morale of his family who do not know his whereabouts."

It is a grave possibility that his body could have been seized or he could have been kidnapped." (Our Emphasis, S.W.G.)

One may ask, if the Guardian was going to contradict N.Y. SNCC, then why did the Guardian publish the SNCC statement? The reason is twofold: (1) because the Guardian had to publish the SNCC statement in order to indicate its "support" for SNCC, to suck the people around SNCC and the Afro-American masses into adopting the Guardian line on the assassination and to maintain the Guardian's influence with the SNCC organization in general, and (2) because the Guardian expected that it could count on the present backwardness of the Afro-American national leadership and period of setback for the Afro-American masses as a basis for no one recognizing and exposing the Guardian's real counter-revolutionary role.

This sums up the short run aim of the Guardian--to create doubt about the murders of the SNCC heroes, to dull the righteous wrath of the Afro-American masses--to keep the aroused Afro-American masses from creating a wave of revolutionary storms, of popular uprisings, throughout the USA to avenge the deaths of Ralph Featherstone and William (Che) Payne, and quite possibly to avenge the murder of the outstanding Afro-American leader H. Rap Brown.

But the Guardian's long range aim in relation to the SNCC cadre and to the Afro-American masses is of even greater significance. For SNCC has been one of the few organizations to expose the "New Left's" treacherous role in the Afro-American national liberation movement during the period of setback and in so doing has helped to lay the basis for the Afro-American people to overcome the setback and achieve Afro-American national liberation over US imperialism. Rap Brown's exposure of the Guardian and the "New Left" at the Guardian dinner in Dec. '68 is an outstanding example of this. The Guardian's long range aim is to link the nationalist anti-imperialist oriented SNCC veterans and the Afro-American people influenced by them to the "New Left" albatross and the "great American people."

The front page article which, as we have said, devotes the first few paragraphs to the murdered Afro-American martyrs is entitled "Individual Terrorism", for the whole remainder of the lengthy article is a polemic against individual terrorism. How does the Guardian make a lengthy analysis of individual terrorism relate to the murders of Payne and Featherstone? In reality, there is no relationship, but it is precisely on the basis of its lengthy polemic against individual terrorism that the Guardian attempts to get SNCC and the Afro-American masses to rely on the "great American people"!

The main argument of the Guardian runs this way: that to keep the government from using violence on the Black Panther Party and Young Lords and "of course" on the "entire Left", (the Guardian once again ties the Afro-American and Puerto Rican national liberation struggles to the white "New Left" but leaves SNCC out here) it is necessary to stop Weatherman and other "revolutionary groups" from using individual terrorism. The Guardian refers to Weatherman here as a "revolutionary group" to make it clear that there are only tactical differences between Weatherman and the Guardian.

In order for the Guardian, the "great white defender" of Afro-American and Puerto Rican national liberation, to keep the police from

committing violence against the national liberation fighters (in reality, in order for the Guardian to keep the Afro-American masses tied to the "great American people") the Guardian then begins its sham "struggle" against the Weathermen's individual terrorism.

The Guardian says that "Nothing would suit the ruling class better than to experience an increase in individual terrorist actions. At this point the existence of bourgeois democratic forms and the developing progressive and revolutionary politics of important sections of the American people [Guardian editors--have you forgotten the Sonomy massacre carried out by the "great American people"?] have created a relatively broad framework for revolutionaries to operate in the US. [Guardian editors--have you so soon forgotten Ralph Featherstone, William (Che) Payne and H. Rap Brown!]

Precisely at the time when SNCC might well go underground based on the recognition that it is the only way to organize the Afro-American vanguard leadership for Afro-American national liberation, the Guardian tells SNCC that there is a broad framework for open, legal peaceful activity!

The Guardian goes on, "One method of virtually eliminating that framework would be if the ruling class were able to convince the [great] American people that the entire left was organizing terrorist acts."

Here the Guardian says that the US imperialists would have to "convince the [great] American people" that the "entire left" was engaging in terrorist acts before the "great American people" would squelch the "left" and end "democracy" in the US. To prove further that the Guardian is here telling the Afro-American masses that democracy exists in this country today, we have the Guardian's own words once again: "Bourgeois democracy is bad enough."

This is the means by which the Guardian (and the "New Left" in general) creates illusions among the Afro-American national liberation fighters encouraging them to carry out open, legal and peaceful activities, in opposition to the real needs of the Afro-American masses which require the extensive use of revolutionary underground activity and armed struggle. This is the method that the "New Left" has used to set up the Black Panther Party for its systematic liquidation by the imperialist storm-trooper police states. This is the way that the "New Left" set up the SNCC cadre for the car bombing by the US imperialist storm-troopers. This is the way that the "New Left" in coordination with the organized armed forces of US imperialism intimidates the Afro-American masses to negotiate with "democratic" US imperialism, and ultimately forces the oppressed Afro-American masses to submit to US imperialist domination.

The Guardian correctly points out that "At best, individual terrorism has been inconsequential to revolutionary struggle; at worst it has destroyed or seriously delayed revolutionary potential." But the Guardian makes this correct point in order to give a revolutionary front for its main point (and it is the real punchline of the lengthy article) namely that there is no revolutionary justification for individual terrorism in US society because the "great American people" have great revolutionary potential!! This is the "big lie" that the Guardian throughout the entire article attempts to push on the aroused Afro-American masses.

The Guardian carries its polemic against individual terrorism even further: "It [individual terrorism] is a reaction against the seeming inability to make a dent, to win any measure of social change. And it is the product of a catastrophic misreading of revolutionary history."

And the Guardian, self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninists" are just the ones to correct a "catastrophic misreading of revolutionary history": "As socialists, we understand that capitalism can only be finally smashed in the US through the revolutionary violence of an oppressed people against the counter-revolutionary violence of the US ruling class

Here the Guardian sounds extremely revolutionary, mentioning such concepts as "ruling class", "revolutionary violence" and even "oppressed people". But who are these oppressed people, who will make the revolution? The Guardian fairly early in the article gives this list to tie up the "third world peoples within the US led by the Blacks" with the "great American people": "Third world peoples within the US, led by the blacks, are in ferment. The anti-war movement is a truly mass movement [sic]. Women are beginning to organize against their oppression [sic]. Students, youth and even many GI's are beginning to rebel [sic]. The conditions of the average workers are deteriorating [sic]."

Before introducing the "oppressed peoples", the Guardian mentions that, "within the US our booming economy is in the beginning stage of crisis." The sentence at the conclusion of the list makes the same point.

Many Afro-American national liberation fighters recognize that the major portion of "oppressed people" that the Guardian lists are reformist and even openly counter-revolutionary sections of the "great American people!" The Guardian's talk of economic crisis is intended to mislead these Afro-American national liberation fighters into believing that the "great American people" will become revolutionary when the US experiences a new great Depression. The revolutionary truth is that an economic crisis in the US today could only have the effect of making the US society openly fascist; this reality is the very opposite of the illusion which the Guardian tries to create.

However, to make it clear that the third world peoples must rely on the "great American people", the Guardian, in the conclusion to the article, discusses "peoples war" and we finally find out exactly what "people" they have really been talking about:

"...peoples war means precisely that: peoples war.[brilliant] There cannot be a successful revolution in this nation without the support of conscious masses of people. Since revolution is not going to be imported in this country on the back of a Vietnamese peasant (haven't we already burdened that back enough?) [shades of white supremacy!!] or be handed to us by heroic black revolutionaries alone, or rise out of the ruins of one or a dozen corporate executive suites demolished by homemade bombs [the Guardian here once again ties up SNCC with the Weatherman], we must understand that we can only succeed by organizing the masses of America and creating revolutionary political instruments enjoying the support of those masses. [shades of reformism!!]"

The revolutionary truth is that the longer the Guardian and the

rest of the "New Left" (including the militant-acting Weathermen) are allowed to create and propagate illusions about the revolutionary potential of the "great American people", the more they will continue to mislead and disarm the heroic national liberation fighters in the oppressed nations and the more victories will US imperialism be able to achieve over the oppressed peoples. And, as we pointed out in the introduction, the more victories US imperialism achieves over the oppressed peoples, the greater the likelihood that whatever revolutionary potential still exists among the US working people will be liquidated once and for all. All of which means that it is precisely the Vietnamese peasantry (and not just their backs!) as well as the heroic Black revolutionaries (but definitely not the Weathermen) who will deliver the decisive blows to US imperialism in this period and probably the death blows to US imperialism as well!!

Now that the Guardian has established that the Afro-American people must rely on the "great American people" to grant them national liberation, the Guardian concludes the lengthy editorial: "If we are serious, we cannot 'leap' over the stage of agitation, education and organization of the masses of working people or substitute small armed bands for them. The conditions exist today for mass agitation and action, together with socialist education and organization. At this point, this is what must be done."

The Guardian's pretentious "Lenin-sounding" ending ("this is what must be done") is its cover for the vulgar reformist program which the Guardian vaguely outlines for mobilizing the "great American people" "for revolution."

But the Guardian makes its program more concrete in its second article entitled "Two SNCC Workers Dead [not murdered] in Blast". In spite of the article's title, most of the article is an attempt to glorify William Kunstler, the white lawyer and the "New Left" hero of the Chicago 8 Trial, as well as attorney for Rap Brown.

To take the heat off US imperialism and the "great American people" for the murders of the SNCC cadre, only the first third of the article even deals with the murders of Payne and Featherstone. And here the Guardian discusses the murder in the same way as it discussed the murders in the front page editorial, that is, to raise doubt among the Afro-American masses about the fact that Payne, Featherstone and quite likely Brown were actually murdered. The second third of the article deals with Brown's trial, and is presented in order to bury the New York SNCC statement, negating the possibility of Brown's death, a statement which the Guardian had to print, as we pointed out earlier, to get SNCC and the Afro-American masses to follow the "great American people" line.

This second section is also there to begin the glorification of Kunstler. For it is on the basis of the glorification of Kunstler that the Guardian raises the question of the initiative of the Afro-American masses precisely in order to cover up, to suffocate, to bury the national revolutionary initiative of the Afro-American masses. This is the key paragraph in the whole Guardian: "At the end of the week with Kunstler theorizing that Brown could be dead, services were held in Washington for blacks only in memory of Featherstone. And twenty black figures including some Congressmen demanded an impartial investigation into the death." [Our emphasis]

It is no accident that the Guardian's tying the Afro-American masses to Kunstler and the "New Left" leads to peaceful, legal, reformist activity not in opposition to the "New Left", to the "great American people", to the "enlightened" imperialists such as Kennedy and Lindsay, Getty, Hughes and Rockefeller, but only in opposition to the Agnew-H.L. Hunt "ultra-right". The Guardian's "program" for the Afro-American masses is no threat to US imperialism and is no basis for Afro-American national liberation.

This sums up the Guardian's strategy in relation to the SNCC veterans and the Afro-American masses, who have once again, in the murders of the SNCC cadre, been the victims of US imperialism and the "great American people"!--namely; to tie the Afro-American national liberation fighters to the "New Left", and through the "New Left" to the "great American people", and through the "great American people" to the "peaceful" protests and negotiations with US imperialism!

This is always the pattern for the "New Left" and this is why the "New Left" (including the Guardian) are the real Guardian Angels of US Imperialism.

* * *

Let us examine the nature of the present parasitic petty bourgeoisie of US imperialist (white) society and particularly the history of its "New Left" outgrowth with whom the Guardian is attempting to link the destiny of the SNCC veterans and with whom the Guardian is attempting to link the destiny of the Afro-American nation:

THE "NEW LEFT": A VALUABLE SERVANT OF US IMPERIALISM

The white petty bourgeoisie creates nothing of value in the US imperialist society and enjoys tremendous privileges and a life of ease without working. The white petty bourgeoisie makes up a vastly higher percentage of the population of US imperialist society than the petty bourgeoisie of any other country in the world and is the largest privileged class in the history of mankind. US imperialism has enabled this class to live in air-conditioned houses and expensive apartments, to enjoy color TV's, expensive stereos, one or two new cars every year or so, dishwashers, washing machines and clothes dryers and hundreds of other luxury goods. US imperialism has rewarded this class with long summer vacations with pay and high class "entertainment" throughout the year in return for their non-productive "jobs". US imperialism has enabled this class to send their sons and daughters to status colleges. US imperialism has provided this class with low-paid workers from the oppressed nations within the US to do their housework and to take care of their children in many cases. US imperialism has enabled this class to become fat and prosperous by giving it crumbs from the fantastic imperialist super-profits reaped from the labor of the toiling masses of the oppressed nations.

In light of the obvious fact that the "white hero" Kunstler was not the only force "theorizing that Brown could be dead" the fact is that the only reason for mentioning Kunstler in this paragraph is to bury the national democratic character of the Afro-American national liberation struggle, to bury the objective existence of the Afro-American nation. The national character of the Afro-American struggle is reflected in the united response of the Afro-American people, from the Afro-American Congressmen to the SNCC veterans themselves, in the face of the murder of Featherstone, Payne and quite likely Rap Brown, in opposition to the "great American people".

It is no accident that Kunstler, the "New Left" "hero" and symbol of the "great American people's" revolutionary potential, is precisely the person used to bury the objective existence of the Afro-American nation, the material basis for the tremendous determination of the Afro-American masses to win their freedom, and the material basis for their great power and strength with which they can win their freedom (not with the help of, but in opposition to, the "great American people").

The last third of the article deals with what happened in 1967 instead of with the murders this month of Payne, Featherstone and Brown by US imperialism and the "great American people". Mentioned in this section is the fact that Kunstler convinced Brown to surrender in 1967 but not that Kunstler set up Brown to be taken by the FBI. Also omitted is the fact that this resulted in Brown's being exiled from the Black Belt Afro-American nation and forced to reside in New York City, center of US imperialist Wall Street apparatus as well as the center of the parasitic petty bourgeoisie and its "New Left". Because of this, Brown has been isolated from his people and surrounded by "New Left" agents throughout this period of the setback. Considering his political exile, Brown's principled actions in opposition to the "New Left" and on behalf of the Afro-American masses are all the more remarkable. The Guardian's point in this section, however, is to glorify Kunstler and make him the hero of the Afro-American masses on the one hand and on the other hand to portray Spiro Agnew (the governor of Maryland in 1967) as the main enemy of the Afro-American masses.

The Guardian program (only vaguely outlined in the conclusion to the "Individual Terrorism" article) is concretized in its conclusion to the article "Two SNCC Workers Dead in Blast": "Last week, Kunstler announced he would subpoena Agnew as a witness."

The Guardian's program, revealed in the conclusion, is that the imperialists' courtroom (and not the swamps and the bayous, the rivers and the deltas, the fields and hills, and the forests and the mountains of the Black Belt) is the main arena of anti-US imperialist struggle, that Kunstler, the white petty bourgeois lawyer, is the savior of the Afro-American people (and not the national strength of the Afro-American masses themselves), and that Kunstler will "battle" Agnew and the "ultra-right" in the great courtroom "struggle" (in place of the peoples war of national liberation waged by the Afro-American masses)!!!

The privileged position of the US petty bourgeoisie and its very existence as a class is dependent on the continued existence of US imperialism which means first and foremost the perpetuation of US imperialist political domination and economic enslavement of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Afro-America. Because of this, the white petty bourgeoisie eagerly and willingly perform valuable services for US imperialism--in opposition to the revolutionary Afro-American masses--in order to help stave off the inevitable doom of US imperialism.

The white petty bourgeoisie as a whole is becoming increasingly fascistic. It is this class that is the dominant and leading element in Nixon's "silent majority" which supports the US imperialist government 100%. It is this class which has taken up arms and begun widespread training of white petty bourgeois housewives in the use of arms against the oppressed peoples within the US, especially against the oppressed Afro-American people. It is this class which provides the most enthusiastic support for their policemen neighbors and calls most vehemently for "law and order." And it is this class which provides the strongest base of support within white US imperialist society for the KKK, the national guard, the John Birch Society, policemen's auxiliary organizations and fascist military organizations like the Minutemen.

Although the white petty bourgeoisie as a whole is basically fascistic, there are two different sections of this class--a right-wing and a "left"-wing section--each of which uses opposite tactics. The objective basis for these two sides of the petty bourgeoisie are the needs of US imperialism at the present time--working hand in hand with international revisionism, the "liberal" section of the petty bourgeoisie, including the "New Left", is part of US imperialism's "carrot" in its "carrot and stick" policy toward the oppressed peoples whereas the more openly fascistic side of the petty bourgeoisie is part of US imperialism "stick." The activities of the "left"-wing section of the petty bourgeoisie with its thin veneer of "liberalism" are completely tied to the needs of US imperialism and international revisionism; they are completely tied to the struggle of the entire petty bourgeoisie to maintain its privileged parasitic existence; and they serve US imperialism by misleading and undermining the struggles of the oppressed peoples.

US imperialism has repeatedly called upon the "New Left" to serve their imperialist benefactors in this way. After World War II, the Truman administration began the anti-communist hysteria to brainwash out of the minds of the US people the fact that the Soviet Union had been an ally, a "comrade" in World War II, and to brainwash into their minds the need to increase US combat readiness to crush revolutionary insurrections that were bound to arise throughout the oppressed nations of the world against the new world colossus of empire, US imperialism.

US imperialism's need to mobilize the US masses for its imperialist war against the Korean people brought about the intensification of this anti-communist hysteria--the McCarthy period. During this period, all significant critical thought in all the colleges, and government, among scientists, intellectuals, etc. was eliminated by intimidation, firings, incarceration and, in the case of the Rosenbergs, execution. The petty bourgeoisie of white US imperialist society fell completely into line behind US imperialism!

But with the Korean War ended, the need for the hysteria was temporarily gone. Now, too, Stalin was dead. Now there was an opportunity for US imperialism to capitalize on the contacts, made in its wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, to support the Khrushchev revisionists in their attempt to seize power in the Soviet Union.

US imperialism could not afford to allow the entire US population to once again become sympathetic with the communists because the mass of the US people and the Afro-American people were needed as the cannon fodder for the US imperialist army and for its civilian administrative and economic apparatus--for its anti-communist wars on the oppressed nations.

US imperialism had a new and important job for the white petty bourgeoisie. For this reason the McCarthy Period was ended. A section of these parasites was now inspired to develop a new "left-wing" movement with no deep roots among the US masses. This "New Left" "movement" set about to prettify US imperialism to the Soviet peoples. The CPUSA in particular became an important liaison between US imperialism and the budding revisionist forces in Moscow. Such organizations as the Student Peace Union sprang up on liberal campuses across the US. These organizations were the bridge by which US imperialism and Russian revisionism established their infamous deal which was concretized by Khrushchev with his peaceful co-existence and "de-Stalinization" report to the 20th Congress CPSU in 1956, and was culminated in the 81 Party Statement of 1960.

By 1960, while US imperialism had the world Marxist-Leninist movement "in the bag", the Afro-American people were rising up especially in the Afro-American Black Belt nation under the impetus of the national liberation movements that had developed in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Sit-ins and bus boycotts had been carried out and in certain areas some of the Black middle class token demands were met, usually after a great deal of physical harm had been inflicted on the protestors. Early "New Left" whites in the civil-rights movement helped to keep the Afro-American protestors unarmed and completely vulnerable to imperialist and KKK attacks on their non-violent demonstrations. In 1958, Robert Williams established the first organized armed self-defense units to protect the Afro-American community in Monroe, N.C. from KKK terror. At that time, Williams was the head of the Monroe branch of the reformist NAACP and his demands on behalf of the Black community in Monroe were not qualitatively different from the middle class demands of the movement as a whole. However, his tactic of armed self-defense and its success and the possibility of a coalition between Robert Williams and the newly established S.C.C. was such a threat to US imperialism that US imperialism sent in a group of non-violent white "New Left" students to disrupt and disorient the developing revolutionary situation there. It was at this time that US imperialism framed Williams on a phony kidnap charge and he was forced into exile. With this maneuver, US imperialism and the "great American people" were able to temporarily halt the rise of the armed struggle of the Afro-American people in their native land.

The CPUSA led the still-dispersed and disorganized "New Left" in their efforts to aid US imperialism's cause. At a time when Williams

and the Afro-American movement needed support, the CPUSA supported Martin Luther King in order to isolate and bury Robert Williams.

The exile of Williams and the concentration of the main activities of the white "New Left"-dominated civil-rights movement in the Black Belt were serious impediments to the development of the Afro-American national liberation movement in the Black Belt homeland. However, in the Afro-American ghettos of the north and west, Malcolm X developed through and beyond the Black Muslims into an heroic leader of the Afro-American masses and into a great internationalist. Malcolm X not only brought greater Black pride and national consciousness to the Afro-American masses--which he and the Muslims had been doing for quite some time--but Malcolm X also developed among the Afro-American masses a great consciousness that Black Power gains its great strength through international solidarity with the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At a time when US imperialism was preparing to invade south Vietnam with tremendous numbers of US imperialist combat troops, including 40% Afro-Americans on the front lines, US imperialism had to silence Malcolm X. The only way US imperialism could silence him was to kill him.

One of the main reasons that US imperialism was able to assassinate him was that, as Malcolm X became conscious that the imperialist social-economic-military state apparatus was the main enemy, and not "race", he unfortunately began to be influenced by "New Left" groups including the Trotskyite SWP which carried out a shadow "struggle" to reform US imperialism in order to mislead revolutionary Afro-American leaders like Malcolm X into reliance on open legal work and on the "great American people". The contribution of the "New Left" to the assassination of Malcolm X was a great service to their US imperialist masters.

At the time of his death, Malcolm X was developing so rapidly that in spite of the fact that he had a tremendous following already established in the northern cities, he had decided to begin organizing in the Black Belt homeland and had been scheduled to begin this extremely difficult and dangerous task only two weeks following the date of his assassination. (This was another important reason why Malcolm X was assassinated at that time.)

The SNCC Black petty bourgeois freedom fighters, inspired by the heroic south Vietnamese people, by the rising struggle of the Afro-American masses, and by Malcolm X, were becoming disillusioned with the white "New Left" civil-rights "workers" who were supposed to be their "comrades". After the enormous Mississippi summer project of 1964, which was aimed at the very heart of the Afro-American national liberation struggle, to disarm those who have the deepest roots in the national liberation movement--the Afro-American Black Belt peasantry, many of the dedicated Afro-American SNCC freedom fighters adopted a bold new course--the Black Power Movement was begun! With Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and James Forman as their main spokesmen, and SNCC as its vanguard, a petty bourgeois leadership, the Black Power Movement drove the "New Left" out of the Afro-American national liberation movement and the movement experienced a tremendous upsurge. This upsurge was reflected in the large-scale rebellions which took place in the northern ghettos; in the discrediting of such Black bourgeois misleaders as Wilkins, Rustin, Farmer and King, (of all those who had been the Kennedy-supported "Negro leaders" at the "Farce on Washington" as

Malcolm X called it); it was reflected in the new militancy of organizations such as CORE and SNCC and the establishment of new militant organizations such as the Black Panther Party in the US (North) and the Deacons for Defense in the Black Belt Afro-American national homeland; and finally it was reflected in the rapid political development of the Black working class especially in the US (North).

From 1961-1966, the Chinese Communist Party began to lead the oppressed nations in the struggle against Russian revisionism and US imperialism. By the beginning of 1965, it was not only far more difficult for the white "New Left" to infiltrate the Afro-American national liberation movement, but now US imperialism had an even greater need for its "New Left" agents in trying to avoid the tremendous defeat which the heroic south Vietnamese people were inflicting on them. By the end of 1964, the Saigon puppet army of US imperialism was already a long way into the process of retreat, chaos and disintegration. In early 1965, the US began bombing north Vietnam and then, more importantly, introduced US troops into south Vietnam on a massive scale. At the same time, US imperialism "inspired" its "New Left" stooges to begin an "anti-war" movement in the US. The main purpose of their "movement" was to lull the heroic south Vietnamese people into thinking that the extreme parasitism and decay, the utter degeneracy, characteristic of the main imperialist country in the world did not exist, that the "great American people" of the US were not indeed brutalized beasts who are enemies of the heroic south Vietnamese people, and consequently that it was not necessary to destroy the US imperialist army of occupation as the new main target of the heroic south Vietnamese war of national liberation. In its beginnings the US movement "against the war" loudly and proudly proclaimed its "humaneness" by protesting the bombings of north Vietnam, while US imperialism quietly invaded south Vietnam with its vicious, massive imperialist army of occupation.

The effectiveness of the "New Left", with the powerful help of Moscow and Chinese revisionism, in spreading illusions about US "democracy" and "reasonableness" and the "humanity" of the "great American people" is dramatized in the fact that the Worker's Party of north Vietnam, and under its influence the NLF, have still not adopted the orientation of destroying US combat troops as the foundation of its military strategy even though it has been five years since the war changed from being an indirect US imperialist war, waged by the US imperialist Saigon puppet army against the Vietnamese people (a US imperialist war in essence, but having a "civil war" form), to a direct US imperialist war of occupation!

Thus, the "New Left" played a large role in coordination with the US imperialist army to aid US imperialism in its successful effort to avoid defeat and to achieve a military stalemate with the south Vietnamese people. Once the military stalemate was achieved, the US "New Left's" anti-war movement began to press hard for negotiations--the Paris Peace talks have come about with a large amount of help from this movement.

In late 1965, US imperialism sent its "New Left" emissaries, Hayden Apptheker and Lynd to Hanoi to mislead the heroic south Vietnamese people into relying on the "New Left" as allies instead of mobilizing their brothers and sisters in the DRV and throughout the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Afro-America for national liberation

struggles in coordination with the south Vietnamese national liberation struggle.*

The Dave Dellingers and Sanford Gottliebs who have had many talks with the Vietnamese leaders always report back to US imperialist ambassadors and other agents. Wilfred Burchett, though not a US native, was the closest white man to Ho Chi Minh and the north Vietnamese leadership and thus became the closest white man to the NLF leadership. Burchett is a reporter for the "Guardian", the chief mouthpiece of the US "New Left". Burchett has been attempting, from the beginning, to bring about a "deal" between US imperialism and the leadership of north Vietnam and the south Vietnamese NLF--a deal whereby the Vietnamese people could be kept enslaved by US imperialism without US imperialism having to continue to drain its resources to the very breaking point.

At the annual "Guardian" dinner in Dec. 1968, H. Rap Brown, in his speech, courageously exposed the "New Left" as an enemy of the Afro-American people, and he walked out after being politically attacked by the white "New Left" audience. Before he walked out, Brown said: "My position on the Guardian is that you cannot be revolutionary on Vietnam and be only militant or radical on the continental liberation struggle in this country. You have to be either/or." Based on his own experience, Brown recognized the treacherous role played by the "New Left" in the Afro-American national liberation struggle. But because of the "big lie" perpetrated by Russian and Chinese revisionism and especially the "New Left", Brown did not recognize the treacherous role they were playing in Vietnam. The truth is that the "New Left" has played

* These treacherous "New Left" servants of US imperialism and the "great American people" play the same role of betrayal in the Afro-American national liberation struggle. Lynd was one of the directors of the 1964 massive invasion of Mississippi by the "New Left" and boasts about disarming the Afro-American masses--preventing discussion in the "Freedom schools" of Afro-American unity with the Vietnamese and tricking the Afro-American people into reliance on the "New Left". When the tremendously revolutionary Afro-American people began to reject non-violence and integration and threw the "New Left" out of the movement, US imperialism called on the "New Left" to change its tune. Hayden and his SDS organization switched easily on cue from their US imperialist masters from a non-communist "New Left" group preaching non-violence, integration and reform in the early 1960's to the present so-called communist SDS preaching "revolution" and claiming to support Afro-American self-determination. Hayden and the other "Chicago 8" defendants with all their "revolutionary" rhetoric about kangaroo court persecution and the need to overthrow US imperialism, have attempted to focus the attention of the Afro-American masses on their courtroom "battle" as a basis for keeping the oppressed Afro-American and Vietnamese people relying on the "New Left" and the "great American people".

Aptheker and the Khrushchevite CPUSA have concentrated their efforts recently on linking the BPP with the "great American people". US imperialism did not assassinate the Panthers for fear of reprisals from the Afro-American masses until it sent in the "New Left" PFP to split the Panthers from their people. Following the establishment of the Aptheker-CPUSA & Panther UFAF coalition, US imperialism has stepped up its attack on the Panthers to intimidate and terrorize the Afro-American people and further tie them to the fascistic "great American people".

basically the same role in subverting both the Vietnamese and the Afro-American national liberation movements.

Once the Vietnamese leadership was at the negotiating table, US imperialism could take a breath. But within the very heartland of US imperialism, the imperialists were being threatened with destruction from the powerful Afro-American national liberation movement.

US imperialism once again called upon the "New Left" with help from the rest of the international revisionist movement (the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" was already in power) to pull the US imperialist chestnuts out of the fire. First, US imperialism gambled and assassinated King so that his "non-violent" tactic, which was just about dead in the movement, could be resurrected. L.B. Johnson and especially the white petty bourgeoisie of US imperialist society cried well-publicized "crocodile tears" over King. Then in King's memory, and to give non-violence credence once again, certain concessions were granted to the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie which was then in the vanguard of the Afro-American national liberation movement. The Kerner Commission identified "white racism" as the culprit; more jobs in all the arts, on TV, in community social services, etc. were created or opened up to petty bourgeois Afro-American militants. Black studies programs in colleges opened up many new job opportunities for Black educators and were an important concession to Black students. This was another token to the Black petty bourgeoisie. With the petty bourgeoisie now disoriented and disarmed, Black Power was re-interpreted in light of the resurrection of King's non-violence. In other words, the Power was scooped right out of the slogan! Black Capitalism, the cult of Blackness, Black fashions, "do your own thing" all rose up to replace revolutionary (petty bourgeois) Black nationalism, the embryonic struggle for Afro-American national liberation. "Black Power" was co-opted by US imperialism and US imperialism entered an "era of negotiations" not only with the south Vietnamese masses but with the Afro-American masses as well!

Due to the illusions about the "great American people" and US imperialism fostered by the "New Left" and by international revisionism among the oppressed Afro-American people, US imperialism's gamble paid off! US imperialism's assassination of Martin Luther King marked the beginning of a period of setbacks and retreat for the Afro-American national liberation struggle. No Afro-American organization has yet faced up to the disorientation and defeat which followed King's death, nor to US imperialism's successful effort to empty the "Black Power" slogan and the present Afro-American national liberation movement of revolutionary anti-imperialist content. By and large, the failure of these Afro-American organizations to criticize King and his philosophy after his death as they had begun to criticize him increasingly in life had the effect of eliminating the absolutely necessary weapon of criticism and self-criticism from the arsenal of the Afro-American national liberation movement. * Thus, following King's assassination, the Afro-American national liberation movement became extremely vulnerable to all forms of opportunism and to the re-penetration of the "New Left" agents of US imperialism. Today, the parasitic "New Left" remains in the midst of the Afro-American national liberation movement sucking the revolutionary life out of it, and the Afro-American national liberation movement remains in a period of setback and retreat.

*See Appendix for excerpts from a speech delivered by Malcolm X in 1963 and contrast Malcolm's effective use of the revolutionary weapon of criticism with the level of ideological struggle in the Afro-American national liberation movement today.

The reason that the "New Left" devotes so much energy to the Afro-American nation, that the "New Left" hangs like an albatross about the neck of the Afro-American masses, is because the oppressed Afro-American nation is of strategic importance to US imperialism (and to the international liberation struggles of the oppressed nations which will destroy US imperialism.) One reason for its strategic importance is its location in the heartland of US imperialism. In addition, Afro-American soldiers press-ganged into the service, make up 40% of the front-line fighting force of the US imperialist army in south Vietnam; and US imperialism plans to use Afro-American soldiers as cannon fodder in its attempts to crush any and all wars of national liberation waged by their oppressed brothers and sisters throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America in the future.

Furthermore, the oppressed Afro-American people are a source of great super-profits for US imperialism. Since World War II large numbers of exiled Afro-American peasants have been driven into northern cities to become a tremendous source of workers and of unemployed lumpen-proletarians. Emboldened by its successful (temporary) defeat of the Afro-American national liberation movement, US imperialism has in the past year introduced tremendous numbers of new factories into the Black Belt Afro-American nation (vantly expanding the base of a native stable Afro-American industrial proletariat capable of leading the Afro-American national liberation movement to victory!) Today Afro-Americans make up a large part of imperialism's work force in cities across the US, and unemployed Afro-Americans constitute an important reserve labor force with which US imperialism keeps down the wages of all the Afro-American workers.

For all these reasons, the imperialists and revisionists and especially the "New Left" have worked desperately to prevent the development of a powerful Afro-American national liberation struggle--a struggle based on the liberation of the Afro-American Black Belt nation, and linked with the struggles of the oppressed nations all over the world for national liberation from US imperialist occupation and oppression.

The main contradiction facing world capitalism today is the struggle of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Afro-America against US imperialism. The main protagonists in the world are the imperialists, chiefly the 30 billionaire US families and their "New Left" lackeys and the "great American people", (the mobilized people of the US imperialist oppressor nation), on the one hand, and on the other, the proletariat of the oppressed nations and the masses of their people (mainly the peasantry) of their respective nations whom the proletariat is able to mobilize for national liberation. A Marxist-Leninist theoretical understanding of the national question is vital to the proletariat of the oppressed nations in order to lead their oppressed people to national liberation, new democratic revolution leading to socialism--and to lead the world communist movement to victory.

The Khrushchevite revisionist 81 Party Statement, which negates the primacy of the national liberation movements and buries the national question, is still the program of both the Russian revisionist international movement and the new "Cultural Revolution"-led Chinese Revisionist International Movement. These modern revisionists and especially the US "New Left" have buried the importance of the national question precisely in this period when national liberation struggle is the main

form of class struggle, the most revolutionary force in the world.

US imperialism has used lynchings, armed terror and starvation to drive large numbers of Afro-American people off of their land and many out of their nation, as in Azania (South Africa) and Palestine, in order to maintain US imperialist control of the oppressed Afro-American nation. Justifying the forced exile of the Afro-American masses in northern ghettos (where conditions approach those in the Arab refugee camps and the Azanian compounds), international revisionism and especially the white "New Left" "friends of the Afro-American people" have spread the lie that the Black Belt territory does not belong to the Afro-American people and that the Afro-American people do not constitute a nation.

The "New Left" civil rights movement (with help from Martin Luther King) pushed the idea that the Afro-American struggle was against "racism and for "integration" into white US society to bury the objective existence of the Afro-American nation and thus to defuse the powerful Afro-American national liberation struggle. The SNCC Black Power movement swept the "New Left" activists of the early civil rights movement into the dung heap of history.

In order to continue to serve US imperialism by subverting the Afro-American national liberation movement, the "New Left" in the face of the Black Power Movement now had to cover the reformist content of its program and activities with a new "revolutionary" shell. This "revolutionary" shell is "Black and White Unite and Fight the Class Struggle for Socialism in the USA."

The Khrushchevite 81 Party Statement of 1960 provides a tremendous impetus for this "class struggle" line as a basis for burying the national struggle of the Afro-American people. The CPUSA followers of Russian Revisionism actively pushed this line even before the advent of the Black Power Movement and so did the Trotskyite organizations of the "New Left" including both YSA-SWP and Workers World. They led the rest of the "New Left" to this "revolutionary" position.

Prior to the "Cultural Revolution" when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was struggling against Russian Revisionism, the Chinese Party provided great impetus, along with the heroic south Vietnamese people, for the advancing Afro-American national liberation movement which developed to the Black Power Movement stage. However, since the "Cultural Revolution", the CCP has undermined the Afro-American national liberation movement and provided much of the basis for the present setback. Following King's assassination, in the midst of the Chinese "Cultural Revolution", the outstanding living Marxist-Leninist--Mao Tse-tung--leader of the leading Party, the CCP, issued a second statement expressing "support" for the Afro-American people* At that time Mao stated: "The contradiction between the Black masses in the US and the US ruling circles is a class contradiction." The "Cultural Revolution" leadership has used this statement to bury the national character of the Afro-American people's liberation struggle. In "Peking Review" #17, April 25, 1969

* Mao had previously issued a mainly positive statement in 1963.

the Revisionist "Cultural Revolution" leadership tells us:

"As the Black workers in the US mount on the political stage of the country still further, the Afro-American struggle is bound to merge further with the US workers' movement to hasten the end of the criminal rule of the US monopoly capitalist class...."

"They [the advanced Black Americans] also repudiated the racialism the monopoly capitalist class spreads among the white working people as well as the 'cultural nationalism' it spreads among the Black people. All this, they stress is a conspiracy of the monopoly capitalist class to split the unity between the Black people and the white working people and to lead the struggle of the Black people astray."

In light of the hostile political demonstrations staged by the white construction workers from Seattle to Chicago to Pittsburgh against the Black construction workers, the "Cultural Revolution's" remarks on cultural nationalism are a one-sided attack on the Afro-American people by which the "Cultural Revolution" leadership is attempting to isolate the Afro-American workers from the rest of the Afro-American people and to link them up instead with the hostile white working class and the fascistic "great American people"--in reality with the white petty bourgeois "New Left" which the "Cultural Revolution" fully endorses. This is the logical result of the "Black and White Unite and Fight" line.

The "Cultural Revolution's" followers in the US, notably Progressive Labor and the Worker-Student Alliance openly attack all forms of nationalism, precisely in this period when the main contradiction facing US imperialism is the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Afro-America! And almost the entire "New Left"* has essentially the same position--that is, they attack the national character of the Afro-American people's liberation struggle. In essence, the "New Left" tells the Afro-American people that they have to rely on and wait for the "great American people" to make a socialist revolution before they can be granted freedom (of course the Afro-American people are not strong enough to win their own freedom, says the "New Left"). In reality, the "New Left" is helping to prevent the most powerful revolutionary force in North America--the Afro-American nation--from threatening the very existence of bestial US imperialism!

In order for the Afro-American proletarian vanguard to understand the essence of the national question and lead the oppressed Afro-American people in the liberation of the Afro-American nation, the Afro-American proletarian vanguard must carry out struggle against US imperialism and against US imperialism's main allies, Russian Revisionism and its new (and potentially most dangerous) ally, the "Cultural Revolution" leadership of the CCP. But most importantly, the Afro-American proletarian vanguard must struggle in opposition to the treacherous "great American people", the corrupt, degenerate, brutalized people of the US imperialist oppressor nation and the "New Left" parasites who latch onto revolutionary national liberation movements to attempt to suck the revolutionary life out of them and make them vulnerable to "negotiations" and

*(See Appendix)

"peaceful deals" with US imperialism and then, based on brutal atrocities committed by the "great American people" (such as the Songmy massacre), force them to submit to US imperialist political domination and economic enslavement.

Under the treacherous influence of the "New Left" and under "Cultural Revolution" influence during the past year, the Black Panther Party, speaking in the name of the "Cultural Revolution", has attempted to lead the Black workers and the entire Afro-American nation into this revisionist trap. More recently, the CPUSA has sucked the BPP into an alliance in the UFAF in America in a desperate attempt to unite all the followers of Russian Revisionism and "Cultural Revolution" Revisionism in the US "New Left" and in the Afro-American national liberation movement in a coordinated effort to keep the Afro-American proletarian vanguard from mobilizing the Afro-American people into a successful National Liberation Front and Peoples Liberation Army based in the Black Belt homeland. The systematic liquidation of the BPP through the co-ordinated efforts of the police and "New Left" agents of US imperialism reveals the consequences for all Afro-American organizations and movements which get sucked into alliances with the "New Left" and reliance on the "great American people" and fail to mobilize the most powerful revolutionary force in North America--the Afro-American nation!

For the Afro-American people to achieve national liberation, the proletarian vanguard must struggle against modern revisionism and especially against the "New Left", and achieve a thorough understanding of the national question.

This understanding includes, first and foremost, knowledge of the historical development and the tremendous power of the Afro-American nation located in the Black Belt. Armed with this understanding, the Afro-American proletariat can, through its Marxist-Leninist Party, mobilize the Afro-American masses (especially the Black Belt peasants) into an Afro-American NLF and Afro-American PLA located in the Black Belt homeland with auxiliary branches in the refugee camp-ghettos of the northern and western US cities.

The objective existence of the Afro-American nation, the Afro-American people's historical creation, through their labor and struggle, of themselves as a national entity, is the material foundation for the Afro-American proletarian-peasant alliance and the establishment of a powerful Afro-American national liberation movement with which the Afro-American people can win their freedom.

And a powerful Afro-American national liberation movement--leading an alliance with a powerful Indo-Hispano national liberation movement in Aztlan (the present southwest US) and a powerful Puerto Rican national liberation movement based in Puerto Rico* (in both of which the proletarian-peasant alliance is also the core)--is the material foundation upon which an effective genuine anti-US imperialist United Front can be built within the present US boundaries.

*but including the Afro-American--Puerto Rican worker alliance in the US (North) as a key to the struggle in Puerto Rico as well as in the US (North).

Furthermore, a powerful Afro-American national liberation movement is the material foundation for genuine international solidarity of the oppressed peoples for an alliance between the oppressed nations within the heartland of US imperialism and the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, an alliance which can lead to the victory of national liberation struggles worldwide and ultimately lead to the destruction of US imperialism.

And it is precisely in order to save US imperialism from the powerful Afro-American national liberation movement and to save its own parasitic life of luxury at the expense of the oppressed Afro-American people (and the oppressed peoples of the world) that the US "New Left" has attempted to bury the objective existence of the Afro-American nation

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SUGGESTED READING LIST -- "TOWARD AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION"

Marxism and the National Question

Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question"
"Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism"
"The Right of Nations to Self-Determination"
"Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution"

Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question"
"The National Question and Leninism"
"October Revolution" (series of articles, including "The International Character of the October Revolution")

Liu Shao-chi, "Internationalism and Nationalism" (1948)

Mao Tse-tung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party"
"On New Democracy"

Marxist-Leninist View of the Afro-American People as an Oppressed Nation

Cyril Briggs, "On the Negro Question" (1959)

Harry Haywood, "Negro Liberation"

William Z. Foster, "The Negro People in American History" (especially chapter 43, "The Negro People as an Oppressed Nation")

Other Good and Important Material Toward Afro-American National Liberation

W. E. B. DuBois, "The Souls of Black Folk"

E. Franklin Frazier, "Black Bourgeoisie"

Robert F. Williams, "Negroes with Guns"

Malcolm X, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X"

James Forman, "1967: High Tide of Black Resistance"

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THE OBJECTIVE EXISTENCE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION

J.V. Stalin,* the principal Marxist-Leninist theoretician on the national question defined a nation as follows:

"A nation is a historically evolved stable community of people with a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."

The Afro-American nation has been created by the labor and living struggle of the Afro-American masses who have developed their common language, economic life and culture in their home territory--the Black Belt of the South where they have resided for several hundred years.

Though US imperialism occupies the Black Belt, controls the land and economy and is attempting to drive the Afro-American people off their land and to destroy their language and culture, the Afro-American people (including the refugees in the ghettos of the US (North)) do constitute a nation based in the Black Belt separate and distinct from the rest of the US.

Like all other nations, the oppressed Afro-American nation has the right to self-determination, to nation-state power in the Black Belt territory, including the right to secession from US imperialist society.

To win Afro-American national liberation, the Afro-American proletarian vanguard must utilize all the strengths of the nation. The Afro-American people, who have a "common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture", must implement these reservoirs of strength in their struggle for national liberation.

The following is a brief discussion of the main attributes of the Afro-American people, which not only prove that they constitute an historically developed, objectively existing nation, but which attributes also serve as the basis for the proletarian vanguard to mobilize the entire Afro-American nation to carry out a successful national liberation struggle.

1) The Afro-American people have a common language:

The Afro-American people have a unified common language, a language with which all the Afro-American people communicate. The Afro-American

*J.V. Stalin came from the working class of an oppressed nation. Stalin was a member of the nation of Georgia, oppressed by Tsarist Russian imperialism. His mother was the daughter of a peasant serf and his father was a Georgian of peasant stock who was a cobbler and later a worker in the Adelkhanov shoe factory in Tiflis province in Georgia. Among other things, Stalin was the first Peoples Commissar of Nationalities in the Soviet Union and the author of the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, the historic document which granted the right of secession to all nations formerly oppressed by Russian tsardom. Stalin's "Marxism and the National Question" is the classic Marxist-Leninist scientific thesis on the national question.

national language is a form of the English language, synthesized with the Afro-American national experience.

Lackeys for imperialism say that the Afro-American people speak the same language as white US society and that they therefore cannot constitute a separate nation. But the fact that the Irish people and US whites speak the same language as the English does not negate the objective existence of Ireland or the USA (1) and does not indicate that England should rule these countries! Nor does the fact that the Afro-American people speak the same language as their white oppressors negate the independent existence of the Afro-American nation.*

In spite of efforts by white revisionists and liberal reformists to integrate the Black people through teaching them the "white" (pronounced "right") way to speak, they have resisted these agents of US imperialism and have acquired a great pride in the distinct dialect, vocabulary and colloquial expressions based on their national experience with which they have created the Afro-American national language.

The Afro-American national language is not only the spoken language of all the Afro-American people but it is also written and read by most Afro-Americans.

Thus the Afro-American national language is an important attribute with which the Afro-American proletarian vanguard can mobilize the entire Afro-American nation for the liberation struggle.

2) The Afro-American people have a common psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture:

The Afro-American people have a common culture, distinctly different from white-US culture and also different from the rich national cultures of the African peoples. Afro-American culture has its distant roots in Africa, but it is primarily a product of the Afro-American people's experience in the Black Belt, the suffering under slavery and since then under national oppression by US imperialism.

In religious expression, in athletics, in painting, drawing and sculpture, in dance, in story and song, the Afro-American people have made outstanding contributions to the culture of the world. Afro-American cultural expression has been so outstanding and so distinctive that there are few people anywhere who would deny the objective existence of this important national attribute of the Afro-American people.**

* The fact that the whites who reside in the Black Belt speak much more like the Afro-American people than they speak like whites from the rest of the country is a further indication of the independent existence of the Afro-American nation.

** Therefore, we will not discuss the historical development of Afro-American culture and the attempts of US imperialism to pollute and subvert it. Nor will we discuss the various Afro-American art forms and Afro-American artists produced by the struggles of the toiling Afro-American masses.

However, cultural expression is a mixed blessing. Cultural expression can serve to advance the liberation struggle of an oppressed people or to undermine it; it can help to unify the Afro-American people or encourage disunity. (See Appendix)

In the period of setback since the assassination of Martin Luther King, the Kerner Commission report, and the granting of "crumbs" to a limited number of Afro-American petty bourgeois intellectuals, US imperialism has attempted to subvert the genuine culture of the Afro-American people, attempting to turn it from a tool for Afro-American national liberation into a tool for continued imperialist domination of the Afro-American people.

Cultural nationalism has been sponsored by US imperialism in order to divorce the Afro-American petty bourgeois cultural workers, writers, artists, etc. from the lifeblood of the Afro-American revolutionary struggle, the Afro-American masses.

Afro-American culture is not automatically good; it is not necessarily a genuine expression of the historical experience and struggle of the Afro-American people. In this period when many of the best Afro-American petty bourgeois artists have become "hung up" on cultural nationalism, "do your own thing" "art for art's sake", individualist, selfish art--art that undermines the unity and collective purpose of the Afro-American people, it is important to remember that good art is art that serves the people.

Enmeshed in a national liberation war against Japanese imperialism in many ways similar to the Afro-American national liberation struggle against US imperialism of today, Mao Tse-tung said in 1942:

"Our literature and art are first for the workers, the class that leads the revolution. Secondly they are for the peasants, the most numerous and steadfast of our allies in the revolution. Thirdly they are for the armed workers and peasants... which are the main forces of the revolutionary war. Fourthly they are for the labouring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and for the petty bourgeois intellectuals both of whom are also our allies in the revolution and capable of long term cooperation with us."

He went on:

"To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petty bourgeoisie. Today writers who cling to an individualist, petty bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers." ("Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art")

Such is the task for those who labor in the cultural field--for those Afro-Americans responsible for helping to mold the new revolutionary psychological make-up of the Afro-American people, manifested in a community of revolutionary culture.

There can be no doubt that the Afro-American people have a cultural heritage. But there must be vigilance and class conscious effort if this important national attribute of the Afro-American people is to

be used as an important tool for uniting the Afro-American people in the Afro-American national liberation movement.

3) The Afro-American people have a common economic life:

The economic origins of the Afro-American nation were in the slave economy of the old South. Until 1850, the Black Belt was a part of the British colonial system--supplying cotton for England's textile industry. The New England merchants (shipowners) made a fortune in the slave trade, and when they began to develop northern industry with this blood money, they needed to control the Southern economy in the same way their capitalist competitor, England, controlled it, as a colony, in order to expand. This contradiction led to the Civil War, the result of which was that the US replaced England as the "mother country" to the South. A new colonial relationship between the northern industrialists--the Wall Street capitalists--and the South was established. The old Southern slave system was replaced by a semi-feudal plantation system where the old slave owners were the semi-feudal landowners and the Afro-Americans, former slaves, developed the land as sharecroppers and tenant farmers.

As US industrial capitalism thrived, expanded and developed into monopoly capitalism--into US imperialism--the Black Belt became an oppressed Afro-American nation. With the development of US imperialism, the relationship changed from a colonial relationship where northern US industrial capitalism controlled the resources and agriculture of the South to a neo-colonial relationship characterized by the super-exploitation of Afro-American labor, and national oppression. The South was industrialized under the neo-colonial rule of US imperialism.

It was under Wall Street imperialism that the Afro-American people developed as an oppressed nation. The Afro-American people built the south--they developed the land and built the industrial cities. Under the rule of the Wall Street imperialists, the Black Belt developed all the elements of modern capitalism. There are numerous cities within the Black Belt serving as outlets for the agrarian countryside. There are highly developed and rapidly growing industries. There is a unified system of transportation, communication, banking and credit.

The Afro-American nation has developed with all the classes found in oppressed nations. The Afro-American sharecroppers, tenant farmers and plantation hands--the masses of the Afro-American people--make up the peasant classes. The Afro-American proletariat developed in the process of the industrialization of the South--the growth of coal mines, steel mills, cotton mills, railroads, the construction industry, etc. There is a tiny Afro-American national bourgeoisie, and Afro-American petty bourgeoisie and an Afro-American lumpen-proletariat. The national bourgeoisie consists of the extremely small number of Afro-Americans functioning in the service fields for the Afro-American community of, for example, insurance, undertaking, small scale banking and real estate. The petty bourgeoisie is a larger group--the Afro-American professionals shopkeepers, teachers, ministers, lawyers, doctors, entertainers, athletes, etc. The lumpen-proletariat is composed of Afro-American former peasants who were driven into the city ghettos, mainly in the North, to become an unemployed reserve labor force for US imperialism.*

* There is no Afro-American comprador class. Whites hold managerial, bureaucratic positions in US imperialist industry and agriculture throughout the Afro-American nation.

Like all other oppressed nations, the Afro-American nation possesses a unified system of agriculture and industry and all the classes which make up a nation--it has a common economic life. The task of the Afro-American proletarian vanguard is to utilize the common economic life of the Afro-American people, their national oppression, as the basis for mobilizing all the classes of the Afro-American nation (including even a large section of the national bourgeoisie) to participate in an Afro-American National Liberation Front (NLF) based on the proletarian-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the Afro-American working class.

4) The Afro-American people have a common territory:

This attribute of the Afro-American nation is the real "guts" of the Afro-American national liberation struggle. In 1966, while L.B. Johnson was President, he was faced with the rising Afro-American national liberation movement which threatened to explode in his face. In order to head off the tremendous defeat that was coming his way, he admitted that the Afro-American people constitute "a nation within a nation." However, since he was trying to retard the Afro-American national liberation movement, he did not divulge where the territory of the Afro-American nation is located.

The Afro-American nation is a "historically evolved, stable community of people" who have lived, developed their language and culture, labored and died building the Black Belt. Under slavery and the plantation system, Afro-American labor developed the land. Under US imperialist rule, the Afro-American people built the industrial cities of the Black Belt.

Wall Street banks and insurance companies own the land, industry and the transportation and communication network. But because the Afro-American people developed the countryside and cities--because it is their labor that transformed the territory from woods and swamps into a nation--the Black Belt territory rightfully belongs to the Afro-American people.

Today, US imperialism is driving Afro-Americans off their land and many out of the Black Belt in an attempt to keep control of the land and industry in the Afro-American nation. They fear that the Afro-American people will seize control of the Black Belt. Recently US imperialism has used agricultural machines to replace huge numbers of Afro-American plantation workers, Afro-Americans are being systematically starved and driven off their land.

The ties of the Afro-American peasantry to their land and their home--to the Black Belt territory--are so strong, however, that in the face of starvation and terror, many have refused to leave their Black Belt homeland. In recent years, there have been several specific incidents where, after having been driven off their land, groups of Afro-American peasants have expropriated imperialist land. Their heroic struggles have been, in almost all cases, individual, isolated and defensive struggles and thus largely unsuccessful. Examples of this are the occupation of an abandoned US army base in Greenville, Mississippi and the establishment of Tent City in Mississippi. However, all of these efforts were immediately subverted and taken over by the white "New Left" and were changed into harmless reformist activities.

The cry of the Afro-American peasantry for land, for the liberation of the Black Belt territory, is the central demand of the Afro-American national democratic revolution. As Malcolm X said: "There can be no revolution without land." And as Cyril Briggs* stated in his article, "On the Negro Question", "The Negro agrarian question in the Deep South is the most explosive question in the United States--the point of sharpest social contradiction within the entire country, because it involves the unfinished agrarian-democratic revolution. It is the central question in the South, and particularly in the Deep South." [page 7]

The Afro-American peasantry, the rural proletariat (agricultural wage laborers) and the Afro-American Black Belt proletariat (many of whom now work in the cities in the Black Belt but who still make their homes in the countryside) are the Afro-American people who have built their homeland and know it best. In carrying out rural guerrilla warfare, which is so vital a part of the Afro-American national liberation struggle, these classes will be the "ocean of the masses", and it is these classes which will produce most of the heroic Afro-American national liberation fighters who will be the "fish swimming" in that ocean. It is these classes in particular that must be mobilized into a NLF and People's Liberation Army (PLA) by the Afro-American vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party.

Many of the Afro-American refugees who reside in the US (North) will also actively participate in the Afro-American national liberation movement. Almost all are first or second generation refugees from their Black Belt homeland. Most maintain strong ties with their families, friends and hometowns, and visit "down home" every chance they get. Many support their whole families in the Black Belt while working two jobs in the North. The Afro-American people in forced exile in the US (North) are tied to their Black Belt homeland just as surely as the Palestinian Arab refugees are tied to Palestine.

Many Afro-American refugees imprisoned in the ghettos in the US (North) will return to the Black Belt territory to help carry out the rural guerrilla warfare and other phases of the armed struggle that will be waged for the liberation of the Afro-American national territory. Many others will return to the liberated areas as the struggle develops to support the Afro-American PLA from the revolutionary base areas. Still others will remain in the northern ghettos during the war of Afro-American national liberation to wage urban guerrilla warfare coordinated with and subordinate to the rural guerrilla warfare in the Black Belt, and will return to their homeland when liberation is achieved. Finally, after liberation there may be some Afro-Americans who choose to remain in the US (North); they will then no longer be refugees, but a national minority of the free Afro-American nation, and thus in a position to win national minority rights such as have been won by the Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, etc.

* * *

Had Malcolm X lived and begun to organize in the Black Belt as he had planned, it is quite possible that he would have begun to undertake the strategic revolutionary task of mobilizing the Afro-American peasantry and put teeth into the Afro-American national liberation movement. However, no militant Afro-American organization has yet adopted the revolutionary demand for land for which the Afro-American

*In 1959, when he wrote the outstanding Marxist-Leninist document "On the Negro Question", Cyril Briggs, then an Afro-American communist, was struggling against Russian revisionism and the CPUSA stooges.

peasantry cries out, and used it to mobilize the peasantry to a program which can lead to the fulfillment of their demand for LAND. Only the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the Afro-American working class will be capable of mobilizing the Afro-American peasantry into an NLF and PLA, and lead the Afro-American peasantry to the fulfillment of their demand for land--the liberation of the Black Belt.

The Black Belt region located in the so-called "southeast section of the US" is the common territory of the Afro-American people. It is here that the Afro-American people have given birth to their nation. The Black Belt is a part of the "world's countryside" where US imperialist control is weakest. The Afro-American peasant masses know their land and are willing to fight for it. The massive introduction of factories in the Black Belt is creating a large stable Afro-American industrial proletariat in the heart of the Afro-American national territory that is fully capable of leading the peasant masses in the protracted war for Afro-American national liberation. The Black Belt territory, the Afro-American homeland, is the favorable terrain on which the Afro-American people can meet and defeat US imperialism.

We believe that the above discussion not only proves that the Afro-American people constitute an historically developed, objectively existing nation, but also that it demonstrates the substantial material basis for mobilizing almost the entire Afro-American nation for carrying out a victorious national liberation struggle.

* * * * *

But there is only one class capable of leading the Afro-American nation to victorious liberation--the Afro-American working class.

The objective nature of the struggle between imperialism and the oppressed nations makes it necessary that the proletariat of the oppressed nations lead the struggle against imperialism both within their individual oppressed nations and (because of the betrayal by the world's "socialist" countries) internationally, in order to achieve national liberation and the eventual destruction of imperialism.

The proletariat of the oppressed nations around the world are engaged in common production--the same giant US corporations operate in all the oppressed nations. Based on this common production, the proletariat of the oppressed nations is capable of common action--of coordinating the liberation struggles of the various oppressed nations to destroy the common enemy. (Thus far, modern revisionism and especially the US "New Left" has prevented this coordination from taking place by substituting the "great American people" as the main ally of each individual oppressed nation.)

Only the proletariat of the oppressed nations is capable of understanding the contradiction between their nations and imperialism and of mobilizing the anti-imperialist peoples of their nations to wage an effective and uncompromising armed struggle to drive the imperialist occupiers out of their nations.

Because the proletariat of the oppressed nations is the main source of profits for imperialism and the reason for the creation of oppressed nations, the proletarian class can recognize the true identity of the main enemy--US imperialism--and the need to smash US imperialism. There can be no compromise--no deal--between imperialism and the proletariat of the oppressed nations. This class can understand that it is economic necessity and not "racism" or some innate evil of whites that motivates and rules imperialism. The proletarian class of the oppressed nations can fully understand that the imperialists cannot be "educated" or

"reasoned with" to see the error of their ways. No compromise which permits continued super-exploitation of the oppressed nations is in the interests of the proletariat. The fact that the drive for super-profits motivates imperialism guarantees that the proletariat must aim for total victory over imperialism and ensures that any national liberation movement led by the proletariat will carry through its struggle against imperialism to the end without fatal "half way" compromise solutions.

The proletarian class of the oppressed nations can fully understand that the imperialist rulers of their nations will never cease their exploitation and plunder of the oppressed nations until they are decisively driven out of the oppressed nations and that imperialism will never give up hopes of re-conquering any of the oppressed nations until the world-wide imperialist system has been smashed and destroyed.

Because it is a vital part of imperialist production, the proletariat of the oppressed nations can understand and take full advantage of the vulnerability of imperialism. This class knows the nature of an advanced technological society--it understands the role of electricity, transportation and communication in imperialist production and has no awe of industrial society.

Because a minimum amount of education is required to participate in advanced technological production (to read blueprints, to run machines, etc.), the proletariat of the oppressed nations has the basic tools with which to develop and propagate the theoretical understanding needed to destroy the world-wide imperialist system. Because the proletariat of the oppressed nations is organized in production--working together in a system where no individual can accomplish the whole task--this class can understand the strength of a collective, the importance of discipline, and is capable of effectively organizing the masses for revolution.

Because the proletariat of the oppressed nations understands so well the life and death no-holds-barred struggle between US imperialism and the oppressed nations, the proletariat can recognize the need for and can carry out underground work. Underground work means that US imperialism is ignorant of the Party, its membership, leadership, and activities (except for the results) etc; but the Party is able to find ways to clearly lead the oppressed masses in the struggle.

Fully recognizing the predatory nature of imperialism, the proletariat of the oppressed nations can also understand the need for an arduous violent and protracted struggle against the imperialist beasts and the vital importance of a correct program and of careful preparation for the struggle through educating and politicizing the masses of its nation against the twin dangers of imperialism and revisionism. The proletariat can take advantage of the weaknesses of imperialism in order to defeat imperialism. With this capacity, the most advanced section of this class--the Marxist-Leninist Party of the proletariat--can organize the NLF made up of the various anti-imperialist forces in its nation, and its armed wing--the PLA, and it can unite with the international proletariat to cement a fighting international alliance against US imperialism and the "great American people."

In spite of the setback, the Afro-American working class has shown great signs of independent political strength in recent years. Not only has there been a great upsurge in the numbers and impact of the Black Caucus Movement, but more significantly, Revolutionary Union Movements such as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers have been established which have begun to tie their "class struggle" activity, not to the "finky" hostile white workers, but to their real source of strength, the powerful masses of the Afro-American communities. Once the developing Afro-American proletarian vanguard is organized in an Afro-American Marxist Leninist Party, its first task will be to utilize all the attributes, the great strengths, of the Afro-American nation to unite the Afro-American people and mobilize them into an Afro-American NLF and PLA for the war of national liberation against US imperialism.

The Afro-American Marxist Leninist Party will speak plainly to the Afro-American people in their common national language. In the pamphlets, leaflets, speeches, directives, etc. that are addressed to the masses and in discussion with the Afro-American rank and file, the Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party will not need ornate speech and esoteric words to cover up a reformist or counter-revolutionary program. The Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party will master the Afro-American national language as Malcolm X did in order to be able to explain their revolutionary program fully to the Afro-American masses and mobilize them for victorious national liberation struggle.

The Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party will take leading responsibility for revolutionizing the common psychological make-up of the Afro-American people. They will encourage the Afro-American artists to learn from the people, and then to serve them through revolutionizing their cultural products and propagating revolutionary culture among the Afro-American masses. The Party will develop Party and non-Party anti-imperialist artists who can not only reflect the new revolutionary unity of will, purpose, and spirit of self-less dedication already developing among the Afro-American masses, but who can, through their particular artistic mode, strengthen and spread revolutionary Afro-American culture, the new character of Afro-American men and women--the culture of the revolutionary Afro-American people.

The Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party will utilize the common economic life of the Afro-American people--the national oppression of the Afro-American people by US imperialism--to mobilize all the classes of Afro-American society, including a large section of the Afro-American national bourgeoisie, to participate in the Afro-American national liberation struggle. The Party will "unite with and struggle against" the progressive left-wing section of the national bourgeoisie in order to safeguard proletarian class leadership of the struggle. With the working class leading the NLF and with the proletarian-poor peasant alliance as its core, the Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party will be able to effectively utilize the many positive qualities of the petty-bourgeois and lumpen-proletarian classes as well as the more modest positive qualities of the vacillating national bourgeoisie and most importantly to realize the tremendous revolutionary potential of the peasantry to

contribute to the Afro-American national liberation struggle.

The common economic life of the Afro-American people based on their common national oppression, no matter from which class they come, is the material basis for mobilizing the overwhelming mass of the Afro-American people in support of the sharp struggle for Afro-American national liberation from US imperialism.

Many members of the Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party will probably be drawn initially from the Afro-American working class and proletarianized intellectuals (or intellectualized proletarians) such as SNCC veterans, who presently live in the refugee ghetto camps in the US (North). However, in spite of the difficulties involved, the Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party will have to concentrate most of its activities and membership in the Black Belt territory, the common territory of the Afro-American people. There can be no revolutionary struggle without land. The Black Belt territory is the fertile soil, the good black earth, upon which the seeds of the Afro-American national democratic revolution can ultimately blossom into the free Afro-American nation.

March 24, 1970

"It is precisely because the national-colonial revolutions took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism that pariah nations, slave nations, have for the first time in the history of mankind risen to the position of nations which are really free and really equal, thereby setting a contagious example for the oppressed nations of the whole world.

"This means that the October Revolution has ushered in a new era, the era of colonial revolutions which are being conducted in the oppressed countries of the world in alliance with the proletariat and under the leadership of the proletariat...

"The era of undisturbed exploitation and oppression of the colonies and dependent countries has passed away.

"The era of revolutions for emancipation in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the proletariat in these countries, the era of its hegemony in the revolution, has begun." [J. V. Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution" 1927]

APPENDIX

NOTES ON THE SETBACK IN THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

This entire Appendix is made up of a series of notes dealing with various aspects of the present setback in the Afro-American national liberation struggle. Thus, the Appendix as a whole serves as background material for the setback cited on page 1.

Less than two months prior to King's assassination, Evans and Novak, two syndicated columnists who serve as unofficial spokesmen for and advisors to US imperialism wrote an editorial on the imminent Poor People's March on Washington. These were some of their observations: "What makes King particularly susceptible to Carmichael's embrace is his present desperate condition within the movement. Once the country's most prestigious Negro leader, he has been declining since the failure of his Chicago campaign of 1966. The April March of the Poor is widely regarded in Negro circles as King's last opportunity.... Fear is growing among top officials in the White House and Justice Department that Dr. Martin Luther King's April March of the Poor on Washington will result in a stunning victory for Stokely Carmichael." At that time Stokely Carmichael was one of the most advanced Afro-American militants and he stood as a symbol of the SNCC-led Black Power Movement. Since King's assassination, he has unfortunately retreated from the front lines of the Afro-American national liberation movement. Evans' and Novak's advice is clear: The only way for US imperialism to get off of this "dead end street" was to eliminate King and make him a martyr.

On June 8, 1968, (as Youth for Stalin), we published a leaflet entitled "Poor People: Resurrection City is a Trap!!". In this leaflet, we attempted to warn the Afro-American masses about the danger of a setback. We said, "US imperialism murdered King to create a martyr -- to put the philosophy of non-violence and integration above criticism by the Afro-American people. US imperialism murdered King to try to stifle the developing consciousness among the revolutionary Afro-American people of the need for a scientific program for the liberation of the oppressed Afro-American nation."

Unfortunately, US imperialism's plot has been successful! The SNCC-led Black Power Movement was disoriented, Carmichael eventually fled the country (and the Afro-American national liberation struggle), the Panthers made alliances with the treacherous "New Left" and the "New Left" has led to the liquidation of the Panthers (as well as to the paralysis of SNCC) and this has led the Afro-American masses to a state of demoralization and temporary defeat.

The extreme backwardness of the Afro-American national liberation struggle is reflected in the diminishing number and intensity of mass Afro-American uprisings in the cities. The Afro-American masses are ripe for revolution. They cry out for a program for Afro-American national liberation. The present militant Afro-American organizations, however, are vulnerable to opportunism and especially to the fatal embrace of the "New Left" albatross because they have forsaken the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in the Afro-American national liberation movement.

No Afro-American organizations are exposing the reformist character of any other Afro-American organization's activities, and all Afro-American organizations are engaged in reformist activity!

Contrast the non-existent ideological and organizational struggle in the present Afro-American leadership--the leadership of the Afro-American setback--with the following excerpt from a speech made by Malcolm X, the outstanding heroic Afro-American leader, exposing Martin Luther King and the "Kennedy Negro leadership" in 1963 when the Afro-American masses were in motion and when the Afro-American national liberation struggle was in a period of advance:

[Cited on page 16]

EXCERPT FROM MALCOLM X'S SPEECH
AT THE NORTHERN NEGRO GRASS ROOTS LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE IN DETROIT

"I would like to mention just one other thing quickly, and that is the method that the white man uses, how the white man uses the 'big guns' or Negro leaders, against the Negro revolution. They are not a part of the Negro revolution. They are used against the Negro revolution.

"When Martin Luther King failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia, the civil-rights struggle in America reached its low point. King became bankrupt almost, as a leader. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was in financial trouble; and it was in trouble, period, with the people when they failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia. Other Negro civil-rights leaders of so-called national stature became fallen idols. As they became fallen idols, began to lose their prestige and influence, local Negro leaders began to stir up the masses. In Cambridge, Maryland Gloria Richardson; in Danville, Virginia, and other parts of the country, local leaders began to stir up our people at the grass-roots level. This was never done by these Negroes of national stature. They control you, but they have never incited you or excited you. They control you, they contain you, they have kept you on the plantation.

"As soon as King failed in Birmingham, Negroes took to the streets. ...The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham--remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head--yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the television and said 'this is a moral issue.' That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking--about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.

"It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C. to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller

was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, 'Call it off.' Kennedy said, 'Look, you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.'...

"Once they formed [the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership] with the white man over it, he promised them and gave them \$800,000 to split up among the Big Six; and told them that after the march was over they'd give them \$700,000 more. A million and a half dollars--split up between leaders that you have been following, going to jail for, crying crocodile tears for. And they're nothing but Frank James and Jesse James and the what-do-you-call-'em brothers.

"As soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public-relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal, which then began to project these Big Six as the leaders of the march. Originally they weren't even in the march. You were talking this march talk on Hastings Street, you were talking march talk on Lenox Avenue, and on Fillmore Street, and on Central Avenue, and 32nd Street and 63rd Street. That's where the march talk was being talked. But the white man put the Big Six at the head of it; made them the march. They became the march. They took it over. And the first move they made after they took it over, they invited Walter Reuther, a white man; they invited a priest, a rabbi, and an old white preacher; yes, an old white preacher. The same white element that put Kennedy into power--labor, the Catholics, the Jews, and liberal Protestants; the same clique that put Kennedy in power, joined the march on Washington.

"It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What do you do? You integrate it with cream, you make it weak. But if you pour too much cream in it, you won't even know you ever had coffee. It used to be hot, it becomes cool. It used to be strong, it becomes weak. It used to wake you up, now it puts you to sleep. This is what they did with the march on Washington. They joined it. They didn't integrate it, they infiltrated it. They joined it, became a part of it, took it over. And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all. You had one right here in Detroit--I saw it on television--with clowns leading it, white clowns and black clowns. I know you don't like what I'm saying, but I'm going to tell you anyway. Because I can prove what I'm saying. If you think I'm telling you wrong, you bring me Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph and James Farmer and those other three, and see if they'll deny it over a microphone.

"No, it was a sellout. It was a takeover...Reuther and those other three devils should get an Academy Award for the best actors because they acted like they really loved Negroes and fooled a whole lot of Negroes. And the six Negro leaders should get an award too, for the best supporting cast."

The left-wing section of the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie was the main class force in the leadership of the SNCC Black Power Movement, prior to the setback. Under the impetus of the Black Power Movement the left-wing of the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie became extremely large and the Afro-American cultural heroes including the athletes, artists, writers, actors, etc. became an active political force in service to the Afro-American masses. As a result, many outstanding Afro-American cultural phenomena were produced prior to the assassination of Martin Luther King.

The following note providing background on contemporary Afro-American culture reflects the impact of the advances and setbacks of the Afro-American masses' struggle on the Afro-American cultural figures and on Afro-American culture.

[Cited on page 24]

NOTE ON AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURE

Probably the greatest cultural hero in the history of mankind is Paul Robeson, an Afro-American communist, who was able to channel his love and dedication to his people and some of his mighty efforts to help them win freedom into his almost unparalleled excellence in athletics (including his all-American prowess in football, baseball, and other athletic fields), into his tremendous acting ability (as in his immortal portrayal of Othello), and above all into his ability to reflect the tremendous power and strength of the Afro-American people in his singing. When he sang, he sang for the oppressed Afro-American people, for the oppressed toiling masses of mankind--when he sang, he sounded like all mankind singing.

It is no accident that Paul Robeson was a communist, a man totally dedicated to Afro-American national liberation and to the liberation of all mankind from the bestial rule of world capitalism in its imperialist stage. Robeson carried out his great cultural battles in a period when the Afro-American national liberation struggle was not yet as advanced as it is today. Yet Paul Robeson remains the great figure of world revolutionary culture who should be the standard by which Afro-American cultural figures are judged, and their model for emulation in the service of Afro-American national liberation.

In the past decade of active Afro-American struggle, the Afro-American masses have produced new cultural heroes who have attempted to advance the Afro-American struggle through their plays and theater groups, poetry, painting, drawing and music.

To combat this, US imperialism has fostered reactionary Afro-American culture and cultural heroes.

In TV, the only dramatic parts open to Afro-Americans have been as imperialist FBI, CIA, and Police Agents. Now Julia, the Bill Cosby Show and Room 222 carry the Sidney Poitier film tradition into TV. On TV appear also Afro-American comedians, almost all of whom perpetuate the stereotype Stepin Fetchit tradition of earlier years.

The Sidney Poitier films and Jimmy Brown films (Brown had previously been a genuine Afro-American cultural hero in athletics) have

been used to bury the few good films such as "Nothing But a Man."

In literature, the esoteric writings of James Baldwin were pushed by US imperialism in the early 1960's to discourage most Afro-Americans from reading books and to discourage Afro-American writers from creating character heroes from among the Afro-American masses in their novels such as new fighting versions of Langston Hughes' classic character, Simple.

In art, US imperialism has pushed abstract paintings in order to stifle the creation of more paintings portraying the oppression of the Afro-American people and their struggles against it.

In the period of sharp advance for the Afro-American national liberation struggle especially during the period of the SWCC-led Black Power Movement, the Free Southern Theatre was established and began touring throughout the Afro-American nation attempting to develop fighting unity of the Afro-American masses. Under the impetus of the Free Southern Theatre, local liberation theatre groups began to spring up throughout the Afro-American nation. The Free Southern Theatre was the embryo of the touring theatre group units of the Afro-American Liberation Army which are still to come.

In athletics, the world heavyweight champion of boxing, the most important single athlete in the present United States is Muhammad Ali. Because Ali was not only probably the best boxer of all time, but was also the most articulate and most forceful fighter for his people to ever hold the boxing crown, US imperialism stripped him of his title and prevents him from boxing. Though he is, of course, still the champ, the official crown is now being held by Joe Frazier, an Afro-American who has been willing to help US imperialism attempt to ridicule and discredit the great Afro-American culture hero, Muhammad Ali.

Of all modes of cultural expression, music has the greatest impact in the Afro-American community. Thus in recent years US imperialism has concentrated its cultural aggression against the Afro-American people in this area.

The real soul music, most of it composed as well as sung by Oscar Brown Jr. such as "Jork Song", "Brown Baby", "Brother Where Are You?", "Afro-Blues", "Ernest Boy" and "Forty Acres and a Mule", is a real synthesis of Afro-American folk, gospel, jazz and blues music and is a potent force for unifying the Afro-American people in their arduous struggle. "Tobacco Road", "My Ancestors", "My Son"--sung by Lou Rawls also contribute to the advance of the Afro-American people.

But most of the soul music and especially the psychedelic rock now being pushed on the Afro-American people by US imperialism and the "New Left" seriously undermines the Afro-American people's unity, fosters jealousy, dope addiction, envy and divisions among Afro-American men over the women, among Afro-American women over the men and between Afro-American women and Afro-American men by dealing almost exclusively with selfish, self-seeking sex, unrequited love, etc. For example, Lou Rawls' biggest hit, his recent "Your Good Thing's About to Come to an End" is a good example of this. How come "Tobacco Road" wasn't such a big hit for him?

The symbol of this reactionary cultural expression is the "King of Soul", James Brown. Two years ago, when he made a hit song "America is my Home" about the glories of US imperialism, Brown went too far. The Afro-American masses made their feelings known to Brown. Immediately, he made his one positive "hit", "I'm Black and I'm Proud". With this song, James Brown was able to cover his tracks and increase his influence on the Afro-American masses. All his songs, like his very next hit, "It's a Man's World", have played a treacherous role in dividing Afro-American men from Afro-American women. Today he remains US imperialism's main servant in Afro-American culture and his influence on the style and content of all the music now being pushed in the Afro-American community is tremendous and treacherous.

The SNCC "Freedom Singers" are an inspiration to the Afro-American masses. Their music expresses the depth of the oppression of the Afro-American masses on the one hand but emphasizes the determination of the Afro-American people to fight for liberation on the other. Their music has its roots in the centuries-old struggle of the Afro-American masses against oppression in the Black Belt Afro-American homeland. The SNCC "Freedom Singers" played an important role in unifying the Afro-American masses against US imperialism and the "great American people" as a part of the SNCC vanguard at a time when the Afro-American national liberation struggle was in a period of rapid advance. There will be an entire Afro-American nation of Freedom Singers!

All of the positive cultural activities discussed here were produced out of the struggle of the Afro-American masses in a period of advance. Since the setback following King's assassination, US imperialism has been able to temporarily stifle the cultural development of the Afro-American masses by fostering reactionary Afro-American cultural heroes and Afro-American culture perverted, distorted, and dominated by the parasitic petty bourgeois (white) culture of the "great American people"

One important task for the Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party when it is established will be to expose phony Afro-American cultural heroes (such as James Brown) and to stimulate and guide the development of revolutionary Afro-American culture and revolutionary Afro-American cultural heroes who will win the hearts and minds of the Afro-American people for the revolutionary Afro-American national liberation movement. Remember Robeson!

* * *

As we point out in the article, the US "New Left" has played a key role in burying the objective existence of the Afro-American nation, in undermining the national unity and strength of the Afro-American people in opposition to US imperialism and the "great American people" and has thus played a key role in bringing about and perpetuating the present setback for the Afro-American national liberation struggle.

The following Note on Hammer & Steel appears because Hammer & Steel is the only significant "New Left" organization assigned to mislead advanced Afro-American workers who recognize the importance of Stalinism and the Black Belt.

[Cited on page 19]

NOTE ON HAMMER & STEEL

Since King's assassination, the division of labor between US imperialism and the "New Left" has basically been to have US imperialism attempt to buy off the bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists--"to strike a bargain with them"--while the "New Left" has been assigned to unite with the lumpen-proletarian ultra-militant section of the Afro-American national liberation movement in the "extra-acute class struggle" to mislead the Afro-American working class which has been developing its independent political strength rapidly and is the only class capable of overcoming the setback.

However, just to make sure that none of the nationalistic Afro-American militants come to recognize the dialectical materialist reality of the Afro-American struggle--(namely, that the Afro-American nation (under proletarian leadership) is an integral part of the main class contradiction which world capitalism has created in its imperialist stage--the toiling masses of the oppressed nations in their proletarian-led national liberation struggles vis-a-vis US imperialism)--US imperialism has inspired Hammer & Steel, an editorial board, to talk about the Afro-American Black Belt nation in such a weak fashion that it would turn the militant Afro-American nationalists away from their real source of strength, the Afro-American masses on the good black earth of the Afro-American nation.

Produced in the struggle against Khrushchev Revisionism in the early 1960's, Hammer & Steel was the only Marxist-Leninist organization in the US, until the "Cultural Revolution" setback followed by the setback in the Afro-American national liberation struggle, and it pointed out and fought for the Afro-American national liberation movement in the face of tremendous opposition from the organized "New Left".

Among other things, Hammer & Steel exposed the treacherous role of Russian Revisionism and the CPUSA in the Afro-American national liberation movement and supported Malcolm X and Robert Williams and exposed Martin Luther King when the Afro-American national liberation struggle was on the rise. When US imperialism murdered Malcolm X, Hammer & Steel implicated King in the assassination! But when Hammer & Steel changed color (from crimson red to a sickly pinkish-white), it attacked the vanguard role of Stokely Carmichael and the SNCC Black Power Movement while praising the martyred King as the kind of leader that the Afro-American people deserved! In the same article, instead of pointing out and encouraging the revolutionary initiative of the masses of Afro-American garbage workers in Memphis who had rejected King's leadership, Hammer & Steel points to the few white garbage workers (who followed the militant Afro-American workers on strike) as the real new and rising revolutionary force in the Afro-American nation!!

Hammer & Steel is telling the oppressed Afro-American masses in the name of Stalin and in the name of the struggle for Afro-American national liberation in the Black Belt! that bourgeois national leadership--the kind of leadership that "strikes up a bargain" with US imperialism--is capable of leading the Afro-American masses in their unimportant struggle ("unimportant" when compared to the struggle of the white workers and the "great American people"). Since national bourgeois leadership can only lead to compromise and defeat for Afro-American national liberation,

Hammer & Steel ends up leading the Afro-American people back to reliance on the "great American people"!

Hammer & Steel in the past year has influenced a small section of SDS to adopt the rhetoric of "self-determination" for the Afro-American nation--thus preparing an organized section of the "New Left" to attempt to head off any Afro-American workers' group which threatens to develop into an Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party.

Because Stalin and the Objective Existence of the Afro-American Nation are key to the establishment of an Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party capable of leading the Afro-American masses out of this period of setback and down the path of victorious national liberation, Hammer & Steel speaks and acts in the name of Stalin and "in support of" the concept of the Afro-American "nation" in the Black Belt, in order to bury their revolutionary significance. As a result, Hammer & Steel is an important roadblock on the path to Afro-American national liberation!

What the Hammer & Steel-sponsored bourgeois national leadership which mentions the Afro-American nation without mentioning the (class) struggle against US imperialism, has in common with the rest of the "New Left" sponsored lumpen-proletarian ultra-class "struggle" without the national power of the Afro-American masses is that both positions lead the Afro-American masses into the lap of the "great American people" and render the Afro-American national liberation struggle helpless in the face of bestial US imperialism!

* * *

Our final note is on the concept of "genocide". We publish it here for two reasons: (1) because it reveals the basic means used by the "New Left" to undermine the Afro-American national liberation struggle and to get the Afro-American people to rely on the "great American people" and to negotiate with US imperialism; and (2) because the "New Left" has so successfully pushed this concept that "resistance to genocide" is today the basis for the programs of almost all Afro-American organizations operating in this period of setback.

NOTE ON "GENOCIDE"

The US "New Left" servants of US imperialism have propagated the term "genocide" in order to push the "defensive" strategy of "resisting genocide" on the Afro-American masses in an attempt to intimidate the toiling masses of the oppressed Afro-American nation into relying on the "great American people" and into negotiating with the US imperialist beasts. The "New Left" uses the term "genocide" as a basis for telling the Afro-American masses that US imperialism has unlimited firepower which US imperialism could use to kill off all the oppressed peoples (e.g. nuclear blackmail) if it desired--and that the Afro-American masses (and all the oppressed peoples who make up the vast majority of mankind) have no strength vis-a-vis US imperialism!

If we examine the objective situation, however, we see that on the one hand, it is true that US imperialism knows no bounds of humanity in

their relentless drive for super-profits--They have mobilized the "great American people" to systematically liquidate the Black Panther Party; they have subsidized the horrible slaughter of one million communists and anti-imperialist fighters in Indonesia; they have mobilized the "great American people" to murder the infants, children, women and aged men of Songmy and throughout Quang Ngai Province, the "Cradle of Vietnamese Revolution"!!! On the other hand, US imperialism is plagued with a fundamental contradiction: US imperialism and the "great American people" need the toiling masses of the oppressed nations in order to survive, while the toiling masses themselves threaten the very existence of the US imperialist class and the imperialist capitalist system.

When we uncover the smokescreen of imperialist lies that the "New Left" attempts to foist on the Afro-American masses with the term "genocide", we find that in reality, US imperialism cannot use its firepower to commit genocide on the oppressed peoples because if it wiped out the oppressed masses it would be defeating its very purpose in invading the oppressed nations, namely to control and super-exploit the living labor of the oppressed masses. Furthermore, we find that far from being helpless in the face of mighty US imperialism--the Afro-American and other oppressed peoples provide the brains and muscles and the backbones which are feeding, clothing and sheltering mankind. In reality, US imperialism cannot survive without its super-exploitation of the living labor of the oppressed masses, whereas the toiling masses of the oppressed nations could thrive on the product of their labor. US imperialism needs the oppressed peoples, but the oppressed peoples need--to get rid of US imperialism!

The "New Left" in propagating its myth about "genocide" thus plays an insidious role in the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples. By emphasizing the brutality and violence with which US imperialism assaults the people of the oppressed nations (the tactical strength of US imperialism vis-a-vis the oppressed nations) and burying the fundamental contradiction that plagues US imperialism, the "New Left" uses the concept of genocide to bury the strategic weakness of US imperialism and the tremendous strength of the Afro-American and other oppressed peoples in their national liberation struggles.