



# HAMMER AND SICKLE

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*NOTE: The following is a resolution passed by the membership of the League for Proletarian Revolution for submission to the Continuations Committee to Call a Congress for the Formation of a Multi-National Marxist-Leninist Communist Party; this is in support of the resolution on the Negro Nation appearing in Marxist-Leninists Unite!*

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## FREE THE NEGRO NATION!

USNA imperialism oppresses nations around the world. Through the export of capital, wars of conquest, and terror, the USNA monopoly-capitalist class has sought to dominate all other countries and has enslaved entire nations, squeezing from them superprofits at the expense of their working masses. The liberation of these oppressed nations is fundamental to the victory of the international proletarian revolution.

Comrade Stalin described this relationship:

"The imperialist war has shown and the revolutionary experience of recent years has again confirmed:

1) That the national and colonial questions are inseparable from the question of emancipation from the power of capital;

2) That imperialism (the highest form of capitalism) cannot exist without the political and economic enslavement of non-sovereign nations and colonies;

3) That the non-sovereign nations and colonies cannot be emancipated without the overthrow of the power of capital; and

4) That the victory of the proletariat cannot be a lasting one unless the non-sovereign nations and colonies are emancipated from the yoke of imperialism... Hence the victory of the world proletarian revolution may be regarded

*"WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE  
OF THE WORLD UNITE!"*

as assured only if the proletariat is able to combine its own revolutionary struggle with the movement for emancipation of the toiling masses of the non-sovereign nations and the colonies against the power of the imperialist and for a dictatorship of the proletariat." ("The National Question Presented", *Selections from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question*, Calcutta Ed., p.135)

Of particular importance in the struggle against USNA imperialism is the national liberation struggle of the Negro Nation. Following the teaching of the great leaders of the international proletariat -- Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung -- and the (Third) Communist International (Comintern), we maintain that the key to unlocking the socialist revolution in the USNA lies in the revolutionary solution to the Negro National-Colonial Question. This revolutionary solution takes the form of a revolutionary alliance between the proletariat of the Anglo-American Nation and the people of the oppressed Negro Nation, and is embodied in the slogans: "Free the Negro Nation!" and "Independence for the Negro Nation!"

The specific features of this struggle are the following:

(1) According to the great Communist teacher of the national question, J. Stalin, "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." ("Marxism and the National Question", *Ibid.*, p.68) The Negro Nation conforms to these historically developed criteria of a nation.

(2) The Negro people form the stable human base for the Negro Nation. Negroes are the descendants of African slaves brought to North America by the millions. Under the brutal conditions of slavery the various tribal distinctions were stripped away. Over several hundred years, through the mass rape of female slaves by Anglo slaveholders and overseers, through intermarriage of runaway and freed slaves with Anglos, Native Americans, people of Spanish descent and Creoles, the African slaves evolved into the Negro people -- clearly distinct in language and culture and psychological make-up from their African forbears.

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\*To be as scientific and precise as possible, we have adopted specific terms to be used in reference to the various nations and peoples within what is now referred to as the United States of America or "USA". For clarification, we give the definition here of some of these terms. Others are defined in the text of the resolution.

*United States of North America (USNA)*--The name of the multi-national state in North America, usually referred to as United States of America (USA). The USNA includes the dominant Anglo-American Nation, the colonial nations of Puerto Rico and the Negro Nation, and the region of the Southwest, which was annexed from Mexico in 1848. The USNA also rules over the Native Americans, Alaskan and Hawaiian peoples who were the original inhabitants of its vast territory, as well as many national minorities. We use the term "USNA" instead of "USA" to oppose the national chauvinism of using "America" (and "American") to refer to only one state within the Americas (North and Latin). Historically the term "USA" has also implied "manifest destiny"--the assertion of the "right of the state apparatus of USNA to rule *all* of the Americas.

*Anglo-American Nation*--The name of the dominant or oppressor nation within the multi-national state of the USNA. The Anglo-American Nation includes several peoples and nationalities, including the Anglo-American people, the Negro national minority, the Puerto Rican national minority and other national minorities and peoples. The base of this nation--the dominant people and culture--is Anglo which developed characteristics different from that of England under the specific conditions of life in North America. Aside from the cultural dominance and the fact that the first settlers were primarily from Anglo stock, the dominance of Anglos is also seen today in the fact that most of the monopoly capitalist class and bourgeois politicians are Anglos. The Anglo-American people itself is made up of many peoples from waves of immigration, mainly from Europe, all of whom had to assimilate, in the main, to the dominant Anglo culture.

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We use the term "Negro" rather than "Black" to clearly differentiate the Negro people on the basis of their historical development as a people, rather than on race. Although the term "Negro" originally meant "black" (in Spanish), with the growth of slavery in the South of the USNA the term came to refer specifically to the people forged out of that slavery. The term "Afro-American" makes no distinction between the Negro people and others of African ancestry in the Americas, such as the Haitians, Jamaicans, etc. Moreover, the term was first used by the Pan-African movement, which incorrectly says that Negroes share a common nationality with Africans.

(3) The nation is called the Negro Nation because the Negro people form the basis for the nation. However, there are other people in the Negro Nation -- the Anglo people of the Negro Nation, and Native American peoples (which may include some national minorities).

The Negro people have a common culture, developed from the shared historical experience of slavery. The Anglo and Native American peoples did not share the same experience of slavery, but the material basis for a common culture exists in the shared experience of super-exploitation of the Negro Nation by USNA imperialism. The technique used to enforce this super-exploitation, i.e. white chauvinism and Jim Crow segregation, forcibly divided the various peoples of the Negro Nation and prevented a completely common psychological make-up in the form of a common culture from developing. In spite of this, and because of the shared experiences of super-exploitation, commonality developed -- in food, some types of music, literature, and the concept of the South as the "homeland", the opposition to the "Yankee" culture, etc.

Stalin described this bourgeois technique of "divide and conquer" :

"There is an old, specific system of ruling, under which a bourgeois government makes certain nationalities its favorites, grants them privileges and humbles the other nations not wishing to be bothered with them. Thus by placing one nationality in a favored position it uses it to press on the others... Great Britain is now ruling India in this way... There are no less than eight hundred nationalities in India, and Great Britain decided that, rather than bother with eight hundred nationalities separately, it is better to pick out a few nations, grant them certain privileges and through them rule the rest; for, firstly, the discontent of the other nations would be directed against these favorites and not against Great Britain..." ("Report on National Factors in Party and State Development", *Selections from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question*, Calcutta Edition, p. 154-55)

In the case of the Negro Nation, this technique of divide and conquer is seen concretely in the division of the Negro and Anglo peoples through the use of white chauvinism. The privileges (more democratic rights, more and slightly better jobs, etc.) extended to the Anglo workers in the Negro Nation are the material basis for the white chauvinism towards the Negroes. The question is confused with race because the two peoples happen to be of different races, and the USNA imperialists try desperately to hide the fact of their common national oppression. White chauvinism serves to obscure the contradiction between USNA imperialism and the Negro Nation by dividing the peoples of the Negro Nation against each other.

(4) The common language of the Negro Nation is English, the same language as that of the oppressor nation. However, the criterion is a common but not necessarily different language. Many examples exist of nations whose common language is the same as that of the former oppressor nation -- for example, the language of Brazil is Portuguese, that of Mexico, Spanish, etc.

(5) The territory of the Negro Nation is the "Black Belt" areas of

the Southern region of the USNA, and those border areas of the "Black Belt" which historically have been economically integrated with the main concentrations of Negro people. Because economic exchange lays the basis for a common economic life of a nation, we cannot artificially separate the "Black Belt" from the surrounding areas and cities which are economically integrated with the Negro Nation, e.g. Atlanta, Georgia. Moreover, a large portion of the Negro industrial working class of the South lives and works in these surrounding cities and towns, and the leading role of this class in the Negro national liberation movement is of fundamental importance.

(6) The Negro Nation developed after the abandonment of Reconstruction by the USNA monopoly capitalist class, with the Negro people driven back into semi-slavery by an outright campaign of fascist terror.

The Civil War of 1860-65 was in the main a struggle between the Northern industrial bourgeoisie and the Southern slavocracy -- the Southern bourgeois planters whose wealth was founded on the slavery of the Negro people, forced to work as agricultural laborers. It is important to note that the slavery in the South was based not on feudal, but on capitalist economic relations, in which commodity production for the international market was primary. So, while the form of social relations (wage-labor vs. slave-labor) differed between North and South, the content of the economic relations (capitalism) was the same. The slavocracy was a major roadblock to the further development of industrial capitalism since its source of wealth lay in slave-labor as opposed to wage-labor, and its production was based on land rather than industry. Moreover slavery, in order to survive, required new land to exploit, and in this quest sought to dominate all the states and territories of North America, and expand into Mexico, Central and Latin America. It was this contradiction between capitalism based on slavery and capitalism based on wage-labor which dominated the 1800's up to the Civil War. This was a period of great chaos in which North and South openly fought for control of new territories.

The history of the USNA up to 1859 was marked by the successful aggressive drive of the slavocracy to expand slave territory and achieve hegemony within the USNA. However, as Engels stated:

"The world trade of the United States was limited to the import of immigrants and industrial products, and the export of cotton and tobacco, that is, of the products of slave labor. The Northern states produced principally corn and meat for the slave states. It was only when the North began producing corn and meat for export and became an industrial country, and when the American cotton monopoly had to face powerful competition from India, Egypt, Brasil, etc. that the abolition of slavery became possible." (Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, included in *A Handbook of Marxism*, Martin Lawrence Ltd., London 1937, Footnote by F. Engels to 1885 edition, p.357)

With these developments, the open conflict for complete domination of the area of the USNA became inevitable.

The slavocracy was able to gradually gain political domination of the USNA by means of an alliance with the Northern Democrats. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 expanded the geographical limitations of slavery set in the first Constitutional Congress of 1789-1790. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, which was written by the leader of the Northern Democrats, Senator Stephen Douglass, abolished all geographical and legal limitations to the extension of slavery -- replacing them with the determination by plebiscites of the settlers in each territory. In 1857 the US Supreme Court went even further in handing down the infamous Dred Scott Decision, which not only made slavery legal everywhere in the USNA, but imposed on the Federal government the duty of protecting slavery in all the states. Slave-owners organized armed bands to terrorize free settlers in the new territories and, supported by the Federal government, they opened up a full-scale assault to drive the farmers out of Kansas. Throughout the North a relief organization sent men, arms and money to support the Kansas



free-soilers. The bloody defeat of slavery in Kansas gave birth to the Republican Party which opposed any extension of slave territory. Douglass and the Northern Democrats were forced by popular demand to oppose the slavocracy demand that slavery be extended to all the states and territories, thereby ending the alliance of the Northern Democrats with the slavocracy.

The democratic upsurge in opposition to slavery included:

- a) Organized resistance by the small farmers and proletariat of the border states (the most famous being John Brown and the seizure of Harpers Ferry Arsenal).
- b) The formation of the radical Republican Party opposed to any extension of slavery, and based on the masses of free farmers who had settled in the Northwest and a section of the Northern industrial bourgeoisie.
- c) Increased uprisings and rebellions by Negro slaves.
- d) The growth of a popular Abolitionist movement based in the radical bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie of the North and closely allied with freed Negroes and underground organizations among the Negro slaves.

All of these developments gravely threatened the political domination of the slavocracy, and in 1859, with the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, representing the industrial bourgeoisie and small independent farmers, the contradiction between North and South broke into full-scale war.

The slavocracy initiated the war against the North. This war took the form of a secessionist movement in which the slavocracy established its own government, called the "Confederacy", which it hoped would become a rallying point to actually impose the system of slavery on the entire USNA. In the early years of the war the position of Lincoln and the Northern bourgeoisie was one of compromise with the "Confederacy", militarily fighting a defensive war and politically trying to reestablish the old balance. However, for the slavocracy there was no room for compromise, it was either domination or nothing. Faced with this fact the Northern bourgeoisie was pushed to wage a determined war; in this civil war the industrial capitalists were forced to rely on the strength and determination of the Negro people and the great mass of Northern workers.

Lincoln and most of the Northern bourgeoisie did not want to allow Negroes to fight in the Union army. But as Marx noted in a letter to Engels dated August 7, 1862, "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves." In order to win militarily, Lincoln was forced to issue the "Emancipation Proclamation" and encouraged Negroes to fight. In 1864 Lincoln himself admitted "Take from us and give to the enemy the hundred and thirty, forty, or fifty thousand colored persons now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers, and we cannot longer maintain the contest." The superior industrial capability of the North, and the popularity of the "Union" cause militarily finished off the slavocracy and its bid for power.

Militarily the slavocracy had been stopped, but politically they were still a force. In order to smash the independent political position of the former slaveholders, the Northern bourgeoisie initiated the period of Reconstruction from 1866-80. The democratic aspirations of the Negro and poor Anglo peoples were used and manipulated by the Northern industrial bourgeoisie to destroy the political power of the former slaveholders. The program of Reconstruction rested on the emancipation of the Negro people. Toward this end all slaves were freed, the South was placed under martial law, and laws were enacted to give the Negroes and poor Anglo workers and farmers political rights. During the period of Reconstruction, Negroes entered into politics and law, and public schools were established.

Despite newly gained political rights, most of the Negro and poor Anglos never realized their aspirations for agrarian reform -- for the breakup and redistribution of the plantations. In some cases the Negroes did move on to and claim the land for their own, -- for example, the Sea Islands, off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. But the Northern bourgeoisie sabotaged the Negroes' rightful claim to the land

they had been forced to work all their lives. The Northern bourgeoisie was only interested in destroying the political power of the Southern landlord planters. They did not want to provide a material basis for the independent development of the Negro and poor Anglo peoples.

The Civil War and Reconstruction periods were also times of transformation of industrial capitalism into monopoly capitalism. From 1860 to 1900 the number of business establishments fell by 50% while the output of the economy increased by over 500%, indicating the concentration of small-scale production into monopolies. This was the era of the formation of the Standard Oil Company, AT&T, and the rise of the big banks. Accordingly, this concentration of economic power could only lead to a concentration of political power of the Northern capitalists, and with this power they were more able to bring under heel the slavocracy.

(7) By 1879 the Northern capitalists had achieved their main goals of destroying the political power of the slavocracy and expropriating this class by taking their lands directly or by subjugating them to Wall Street corporations and banks. The slavocracy as a class was destroyed, and the developing finance capitalists of the North were in complete control throughout the USNA. As they consolidated their control, the Northern bourgeoisie began to dismantle Reconstruction, attack the Negro people, and destroy the alliance of the Negroes and poor Anglos by the use of terror, bribery and the ideology of white supremacy.

The subjugation of the Negro people was swift and brutal. The finance capitalists launched a campaign of terror using the Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary para-military groups as their storm-troopers. The presidential election of 1876 and the Hayes-Tilden agreement consummated this destruction of the Reconstruction as Federal troops were withdrawn from the South. The democratic gains of the Negro people and the poor Anglo people were eradicated, and political power was turned over to the Democratic Party, which was now directed by Wall Street.

(8) The break-up of Reconstruction forced the mass of Negro people back to the land as a mass of disenfranchised peasants, agricultural laborers and small farmers concentrated in the "Black Belt" areas of the South. There for decades the Negro people lived under conditions of Jim Crow segregation and terror. It was during this period, from the 1880's to the 1920's, that the Negro Nation took form, and in this nation there developed a distinct Negro bourgeoisie. One section of this Negro bourgeoisie became the willing servants of USNA imperialism; the other section was a national bourgeoisie, willing to fight against USNA imperialism. It was from the Negro national bourgeoisie that the Negro bourgeois democratic national movement arose.

Jim Crow was the form of imperialist domination imposed on the Negro people and the Negro Nation. Politically and socially the cornerstone of this domination was the segregation and almost complete disenfranchisement of the Negro people. Economically, Negroes were driven back to the land to work as tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and agricultural laborers. During this period of Jim Crow, which lasted right up to the 1960's, Negroes suffered thousands of lynchings, numerous other murders and acts of terror and rape, and hundreds of thousands of Negroes were returned to actual slavery in the prisons. The Negro Nation suffered from imperialist domination as savage as anywhere else in the world.

Out of the segregation of Jim Crow developed a Negro bourgeoisie which had its origins in the house slaves, freed Negro businessmen, and artisans of the old slave South. This Negro bourgeoisie developed to meet the needs of the segregated market among the Negro people. Almost from the beginning the Negro bourgeoisie had two wings. There was a comprador Negro bourgeoisie, which worked in the interest of USNA imperialism. The comprador Negro bourgeoisie was represented by such figures as Booker T. Washington, and presently by the likes of Charles Evers. This comprador bourgeoisie has its power in the segregated educational, social and political institutions of the Negro Nation. The other wing was the Negro national bourgeoisie, based

among businesses such as insurance companies, banks, savings and loan, real estate, mortuaries, catering and other service industries. This national bourgeoisie had a basic interest in the freedom of the Negro Nation which they could then exploit on their own. It was this Negro national bourgeoisie which provided the leadership for the democratic struggles of the Negro people. Frederick Douglass was perhaps the earliest and one of the most respected representatives of the Negro national bourgeoisie. His activities were later paralleled by W.E.B. DuBois and more recently by the "Nation of Islam". All of these representatives led the Negro national bourgeoisie in the struggles which gained the full support of the Negro people. However, while the Negro national bourgeoisie was often revolutionary in its outlook as far as its opposition to U.S. imperialism and imperialist wars and colonial domination, its methods were clearly reformist. With the Negro national bourgeoisie in the lead, the cause of the Negro Nation was always restricted to legal channels -- petitions, lawsuits, lobbying, moral and religious crusades, etc. On those occasions when the Negro national bourgeoisie initiated struggles which went beyond legal means, the masses of Negro people were spurred into action, and in such actions it was the Negro proletariat, not the national bourgeoisie, which demonstrated its strength and clear revolutionary outlook.

While the Negro national bourgeoisie was capable of initiating the struggle for democratic rights, it was incapable of winning without the strength of the Negro proletariat. The imperialist bourgeoisie co-opted the Negro national movement led by the national bourgeoisie with the formation of such organizations as the NAACP (which was backed by monopoly capitalists like Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, Harvey Firestone, and the Duponts). The bourgeoisie of the USNA seized on the purely racial standpoint of the Negro bourgeoisie in order to co-opt the movement and was able to take up the banner of "equal rights" and "racial equality" to cover up the national oppression of the Negro Nation. As a result of the October Revolution, the co-optation of the bourgeois leadership, and the discrediting of the strategy of "non-violence", the Negro proletariat began to take leadership of the movement. The Negro proletariat was the only consistently revolutionary class, the only class able to lead and carry out the Negro national liberation movement.

(9) The Negro Nation was born following the smashing of Reconstruction in the 1880's, when the era of USNA imperialism had begun. From the beginning USNA imperialism exported capital (i.e. capitalist relations of production) to the Negro Nation. Thus the Negro Nation could only be a colony.

Stalin notes three periods in the development of the national question. First is the break up of feudalism and the triumph of capitalism. In Western Europe nation-states were formed. But in Eastern Europe, states were formed before the formation of peoples into nations was complete and multi-national states with oppressed nations within their borders were formed. The second period is that of imperialism and the division of the entire world among a few advanced capitalist nations. The third period is that of socialism and the destruction of national oppression. Stalin notes the difference between the first and second periods:

"... in the second period the national problem became converted from an internal problem of each particular state into a problem mutually affecting several states -- into a problem of war between imperialist states waged with the object of retaining the non-sovereign nationalities under the sway of the latter and of subjugating new nationalities and tribes outside Europe. Thus the national problem, which was formerly of significance only in the more cultured countries, lost its isolated character in this period and merged with the general problem of the colonies." ("Report on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem," Calcutta Edition, p. 129).

Thus in the present era of imperialism, the distinction between oppressed nations and colonies no longer exists.



To refer to the Negro Nation as only a "dependent" or "oppressed" nation is to relegate it to the position of a particular and internal state problem rather than as part of a general and international problem. What was formerly considered to be simply a national question, now is part of the world wide national-colonial question, which is part of the general question of proletarian revolution.

(10) As an oppressed nation and colony of USNA imperialism there is only one solution for the Negro Nation -- it must win its freedom from colonial subjugation.

Communists recognize that no nation can be free that oppresses another nation. Therefore, in a world in which imperialism has enslaved nations everywhere, the basis of unity of the international proletariat must start with the liberation of oppressed nations. For this reason communists uphold the right of all nations to self-determination. However, the opportunists of the Second International interpreted this slogan to mean "national autonomy" or even "cultural autonomy", and used it to justify imperialist wars and annexations. Therefore the Bolsheviks sharpened the slogan: "...the vague slogan of the right of nations to self-determination has been replaced by the clear revolutionary slogan of the right of nations and colonies to political secession and the formation of independent states." (Stalin, "The National Question Presented", Calcutta Edition, p.133)

In the case of Ireland, Marx advocated complete separation from England, although he recognized that federation might follow afterwards. This was because: a) Ireland was the bulwark of the English landlords and therefore of reaction in England; b) the national liberation movement in Ireland was stronger than the workers' movement in England, which had fallen under the leadership of the liberals; and c) most importantly, because of the split in the English working class along national lines, its division into two hostile camps. The English working class could accomplish nothing without unity with the Irish, and therefore Marx put forward the demand for separation of Ireland from England in the interests of the English working class and its struggle for emancipation.

As Lenin noted, in the case of the imperialist countries the tasks of the proletariat:

"... are the same as those of the proletariat in England in the nineteenth century in relation to Ireland". [and] "Socialists must not only demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation -- and this demand in its political expression signifies nothing else than the recognition of the right to self-determination; they must also render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist their uprising -- or revolutionary war, in the event of one -- against the imperialist powers that oppress them." (Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations", Calcutta Edition, pp. 36 & 37)

There is only one scientific and revolutionary demand in relation to the Negro national-colonial question -- *Independence for the Negro Nation!* We call for independence for the Negro Nation as a component part of the strategy of the Anglo-American proletariat's struggle to overthrow USNA imperialism. We call for independence for the Negro Nation because it is the only way to unite the proletariat and fight national chauvinism which has split the working class. It is our internationalist duty as communists in the oppressor nation to explain and fight for this slogan, particularly among Anglo-American workers. This is important not just to insure the rights of the Negro Nation, but also because it is the only way the Anglo-American proletariat can overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Free the Negro Nation" must be a demand from the Anglo-American proletariat.

The necessity of the Anglo-American proletariat fighting for the



liberation of all the colonies of USNA imperialism becomes increasingly clear -- especially in the case of the Negro Nation -- when we examine the role and character of national chauvinism. National chauvinism is the bourgeois ideology which asserts the superiority of one nation over others. In the USNA the specific and dominant form of national chauvinism is white chauvinism. White chauvinism has its roots in the bourgeois ideology of white supremacy, which arose as a justification for the slavery of the Negro people, and the brutal oppression and annihilation of other peoples, such as the Native Americans. But white chauvinism is not merely an ideology of racial superiority; it is an ideology which asserts the superiority of one nation, whose dominant people is white, over other nations and peoples, who are predominantly colored. White chauvinism uses the "color" differences within the proletariat in much the same way that religious differences are used to divide the English proletariat. The material basis for white chauvinism is the fact that the bourgeoisie devotes a portion of the superprofits derived from the superexploitation of the colonies by USNA imperialism to the bribery of the Anglo-American proletariat. The entire Anglo-American proletariat receives greater economic, social, and political benefits than does the proletariat of the colonies. For most of the Anglo-American proletariat this bribery is temporary and relatively small; however, there is a small, upper stratum of very highly privileged workers.

When we call for independence for the Negro Nation, we are not talking about an abstract right or a slogan for propaganda purposes only, but a practical demand. It is necessary for the Negro Nation to separate, to set up a governmental apparatus, in order to decide its own future -- as a separate republic, as part of a federation, etc.

We recognize that full equality and democratic rights for the Negro national minority of the Anglo-American Nation cannot be realized without the independence of the Negro Nation. The oppression and exploitation of the Negro national minority has its material base in the oppression of the Negro Nation. Therefore, we recognize the struggle of the Negro national minority workers as the link between the struggle of the Negro Nation for liberation and the struggle of the Anglo-American proletariat for socialism. And through the Negro national minority workers, the Anglo-American proletariat is directly linked not just to the struggle of the Negro Nation, but also to the struggles of all the colonies for liberation.

Raising this slogan does not depend on whether or not the slogan has been raised within the oppressed nation itself. We base our policy on the national question on the general right of all nations to political secession, i.e. to independence, and on the concrete conditions in the imperialist USNA, i.e., the split in the working class along national lines. As Stalin explained,

"When in 1912 we Russian Marxists were drawing up the first draft of our national programme, no serious movement for national independence yet existed in any of the border regions of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, we deemed it necessary to include in our programme the point on the right of nations to self-determination, i.e., the right of every nationality to secede and exist as an independent state. Why? Because we based ourselves not only on what then existed, but also on what was developing and impending in the general system of international relations..." ("The National Question in Yugoslavia", Calcutta Edition, p.172)

Basing our slogan in the interests of the international proletariat, we call for "Independence for the Negro Nation!" or "Free the Negro Nation!".

(11) The Comintern Resolutions of 1928 and 1930 put forward the position that Negroes in the "Black Belt" constituted a nation. We take the Comintern position as the foundation of a scientific investigation of this question.

In 1930, after severe criticism from the Communist International, the Communist Party USA was forced to adopt the position that Negroes in the "Black Belt" constitute a nation and have the right of self-determination. But the CPUSA never internalized this line or put it into practice. They continued to maintain that slavery in the South was based on feudal economic -- ~~not social~~ -- relations. As a result, the CPUSA ignored the fact that during the period of rising capitalism in the South, the slaves were forged into a stable community of people, which later formed the basis of the nation, and which tie the nation to a specific territory. Instead, the CPUSA reduced the Negro National-Colonial Question to one of racial discrimination and a struggle against racism. They interpreted the right of self-determination to mean that Negroes were entitled to equal rights and the right to elect Negro candidates to office.

Therefore the CPUSA considered the Negro National-Colonial Question as an internal state problem, thereby divorcing the struggle of the Negro Nation for liberation from the struggle of other colonies for liberation. The CPUSA chose to ignore the significance of the Great October 1917 Socialist Revolution and World War I, which, as Comrade Stalin pointed out,

"...consists in the fact that:

- 1) It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating national oppression into the general question of emancipating the oppressed nations, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism;
- 2) It has opened up vast possibilities and revealed the proper way of achieving emancipation, and thereby greatly helped the cause of emancipation of the oppressed nations of the West and the East, having drawn them into the common channel of the victorious struggle against imperialism;
- 3) *It has thereby erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new line of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed nations of the East.* ("The October Revolution and the National Question", Calcutta Edition, p. 114)

Regarding the liberation of the Negro Nation as an internal state problem, the CPUSA follows in the infamous footsteps of the social-chauvinist Kautskyites and the opportunists of the Second International. Taking up the ideology of white chauvinism, the CPUSA has consistently defended the annexationist policies of the USNA imperialist bourgeoisie with regard to the Negro Nation. Under the guidance of William Z. Foster and his line of "American Exceptionalism", the CPUSA put forward the theory of a "nation within a nation", which suggests that since Negroes, due to migration to the border regions and the Anglo-American Nation, have ceased to be a majority in the "Black Belt", and are dispersed throughout the country, they form a new type of nation not bound to any specific territory and part of a single "USA" proletariat.

The "nation within a nation" theory is a blatant attempt to revise Marxism on the national question, and in doing so to tie the colonies and semi-colonies to the domination of imperialism. Neither Lenin nor Stalin ever discussed or made a matter of scientific socialism the requirement that nations can only exist where a majority of a given people live in a given territory. The matter of the stability of a nation rests with the existence of a peasantry anchoring a given people to a specific territory. In the case of the Negro Nation, it is the Negro peasantry which anchors the nation to its territory. While, as in all nations, there has been a decline in the peasantry in the Negro Nation due to industrialization, a peasantry still exists. This is just as much the case in the USNA, where capitalism exists in its most developed form, as it is in the colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies where capitalism is just developing.

From this theory of a "nation within a nation" logically follows the current national-chauvinist position of the CPUSA -- the Negro Nation no longer exists, but Negroes still have the right of self-determination! By self-determination the CPUSA means that Negroes should struggle for "community control". This is nothing more than the policy of cultural national autonomy which Lenin and Stalin so clearly condemned. This policy of setting up separate national institutions with jurisdiction over cultural, but not political, questions begins by assuming the integrity of the imperialist state, divorces the people of a given nationality from any specific territory, and reduces nationhood to a state of mind by ignoring the question of territory and boundaries. Lenin described this sort of opportunism when he wrote:

"...they defend the right to self-determination hypocritically and by words alone: they consider 'excessive' the demand for free political separation, they do not defend the necessity for revolutionary tactics on the part of the socialists of the oppressor nations in particular but, on the contrary, obscure their revolutionary obligations, justify their opportunism, make easy for them their deception of the people, and avoid the very question of the frontiers of a state forcefully retaining underprivileged nations within its bounds, etc.

"...they prostitute Marxism, having lost all ability to understand the theoretical significance and practical urgency of the tactics which Marx explained with Ireland as an example." ("The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", Calcutta Edition, p. 37)

The opportunism of the CPUSA on the Negro National-Colonial Question has laid the basis for the numerous deviations which have emerged from the "new left" on this question. In one form or another, these deviations take as their starting point the position of the CPUSA. They commit the same fundamental errors and depart from Marxism-Leninism in the same ways.

This national-chauvinist line of the CPUSA and its conciliators has been successful in preventing the unity of the Anglo-American proletariat, and the unity of the Anglo-American proletariat with the people of the oppressed Negro Nation. The deviations from the science of Marxism-Leninism on the Negro National-Colonial Question historically has been one of the main weaknesses of the communist movement in the USNA.

#### SUMMATION

We recognize the existence of the Negro Nation, in the "Black Belt" and the bordering areas of the South, based on the Negro people and formed after Reconstruction. The Negro Nation also includes the Anglo people of the Negro Nation and Native American peoples.

To forge the unity of the working class in the USNA, to educate the proletariat as to its internationalist duties, and to oppose the opportunists and bourgeois reformists, we call for "Independence for the Negro Nation". We also recognize the struggle of the Negro people who have immigrated to the Anglo-American Nation as that of a Negro national minority, and will fight for "Equal Rights for the Negro National Minority".

INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NEGRO NATION!  
EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO NATIONAL MINORITY!  
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE!  
BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!