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The Rising Afro-American Masses Have Forced  
A NEW CRISIS IN AFRO-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP:

Stalinist Workers Group Exposes Two Conferences

The rising Afro-American masses are forcing a new crisis in Afro-American leadership. Evans and Novak, two top journalistic advisors to US imperialism, refer to this summer as "the terrible summer of '70". They point out that: "...the absence of any Watts-style mass riot has masked the fact that this has been the terrible summer of '70. Instead of headline-producing rioting, the pattern of black militancy has changed to ever better organized urban guerrilla warfare." They say further that "black guerrillas are...difficult to infiltrate. The hard fact is that police are losing the fight to control them." Evans and Novak conclude their article with the following: "The terrible summer of 1970 may be followed by escalated black guerrilla war year-around with frightful consequences that nobody can dare guess." And the growth and development (especially in the Black Belt) of the Afro-American people's armed struggle against US imperialism is not the only Afro-American revolutionary initiative worrying Evans and Novak and US imperialism. As we pointed out in "The Afro-American National Liberation Movement Heads Home" (SWC Bulletin #2), several important Afro-American organizations, notably the Republic of New Africa and the Nation of Islam which have significant influence among the Afro-American masses both in the Black Belt homeland and in the refugee camp ghetto communities in the US (North), have begun to concentrate their mass activities in the Black Belt, in Afro-America. It is the explosive combination of these two developments which is plaguing the US imperialists and their lackeys!

In addition to the armed struggle and to the new concentration in the Black Belt, the Afro-American working class, (the only class capable of leading the Afro-American people in their military-political struggle for the victorious liberation of their Black Belt Afro-American nation) has continued to develop rapidly its independent political strength.

Not only is there the highly developed politics of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers centered in Detroit, but there are many Black workers taking strike actions, particularly in the Black Belt, and in most cases, not only in opposition to the bosses, but of necessity in opposition to finky US white workers as well. This is a tremendous development! (For example, in Jackson, Mississippi on June 29, 1970 all 750 Black city employees (including sanitation workers, road repair crews, garage mechanics, janitors, and cleaning women) went on strike. No white workers joined them!!!)

What is so terrible for US imperialism about the summer of 1970 is that the Afro-American national liberation movement which has been mired in a period of setback for two years is in the process of overcoming the setback and advancing to victorious Afro-American national liberation.

However, as yet there is no Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party to give consistent revolutionary leadership to the Afro-American people's struggle. As a result, US imperialism may be able to once again decapitate the movement by pushing Afro-American misleaders on the rising Afro-American masses.

H. Rap Brown said that every Black man is a potential revolutionary, and every Negro is a potential traitor.

In any revolutionary struggle it is vital for the proletarian forces to know who are their real friends and who are their real enemies. In a national revolutionary struggle like the Afro-American people's freedom fight, almost all non-proletarian classes can and must be won over to the anti-imperialist movement for Afro-American national liberation; they must become "friends" of the Afro-American proletariat to such an extent that they take an active role in the struggle against imperialism. However, the fact that non-proletarian classes must play an active anti-imperialist role for the achievement of national liberation does not mean that these classes can lead the Afro-American national liberation movement to victory. On the contrary, proletarian leadership is vital to the success of the national liberation struggle. This is why the weapon of criticism (and self-criticism) is a necessary tool of the Afro-American working class in its struggle for leadership of the Afro-American national liberation struggle.

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On the weekend of Sept. 5, two conferences of Afro-American people will be held; each conference group claims to be the foundation of a successful struggle for the freedom of Black people. The Black Panther Party is holding a People's Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Pa. The Congress of African People is being held in Atlanta, Georgia.

Because there is as yet no Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party and principally because the international Marxist-Leninist movement is today dominated by modern revisionism centered in Moscow and Peking and is telling the Afro-American people to unite with the US whites, the butchers of Songmy, it falls to SWG, a white Marxist-Leninist group, to give strong political support to the genuine anti-imperialist Afro-American masses (especially to the Afro-American workers, poor peasants and proletarianized intellectuals) and to genuine anti-imperialist Afro-American organizations (including the Black Muslims, the Republic of New Africa, SNCC and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers) on the question of these two conferences.\*

Neither the People's Constitutional Convention nor the Congress of African People is the foundation for a successful struggle for Black liberation, nor even a small positive step, a small advance along the path of Afro-American national liberation. On the contrary, these two conferences are set up to provide the two new alternative vehicles for keeping the Afro-American masses pursuing essentially the same "non-violence and integration" strategy of Martin Luther King which the advancing Afro-American masses were on the verge of politically annihilating until US imperialism assassinated King, in April, 1968. The People's Constitutional Convention and the Congress of African People are efforts to keep the Afro-American masses involved in "safe" activities, which do not threaten the very existence of US imperialism. These two conferences are an attempt to keep the Afro-American masses in the period of setback!

\* SWG supports the revolutionary initiatives of the Afro-American working class including especially initiatives of political organizations of the Afro-American working class such as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. SWG supports petty bourgeois nationalist forces like the Republic of New Africa and SNCC and even the national bourgeois-led Black Muslims to the large extent that these groups are carrying out anti-imperialist

The People's Constitutional Convention is the continuation of the Black Panther Party's "ultra-class struggle" lumpen-proletarian line and policy which buries the national character of the Afro-American people's fight for freedom. The Congress of African People is the continuation of the national bourgeois line and policy which buries the class struggle, the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for power.

The essence of the Afro-American people's struggle is a national struggle--a struggle for the liberation of the Black Belt homeland of the Afro-American people and for national minority rights for those Afro-American refugees forced into exile in the cities in the US (North) who choose to remain. In the epoch of the imperialist stage of capitalism, such a national struggle is anti-imperialist: for the Afro-American people can achieve national liberation of Afro-America only by driving US imperialism out of the Black Belt.

Because the Afro-American national liberation struggle is anti-imperialist, it is an integral part of the class struggle between the international capitalist (imperialist) class on the one hand and the international proletariat on the other. In the epoch of imperialism, such national struggle of oppressed peoples is an important form of class struggle. Since World War II, the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples has been the main form of class struggle. This is the true relationship of the national struggle to the class struggle in this period. This true relationship can be consistently understood and implemented only by the proletariat of the oppressed nations.

In the Afro-American national liberation struggle, the Afro-American proletariat embodies the revolutionary content of the objective historical development of the national struggle as a class contradiction and of the class struggle into a national form. The Afro-American proletariat is the embodiment of the dialectical relationship between the class struggle and the national question.\*

Because modern revisionism has been successful in slandering J.V. Stalin and in burying his extremely important theoretical writings on the

activities, activities which are advancing the Afro-American national liberation struggle. We support conferences of the Republic of New Africa, SNCC and the Muslims which further this work, and we strongly advocate that the League think about initiating some kind of conference in the Black Belt to include Black workers especially from Afro-America.

\* Because of the Afro-American proletariat's concentration and organization in imperialist production, and because the Afro-American proletariat (though not the most victimized Afro-American class) is the main target of the imperialist oppressor (the main source of imperialist super-profits), the Afro-American proletariat can correctly understand the scope and character of the national oppression perpetrated on the Afro-American nation by US imperialism. Thus, the Afro-American proletariat is the only class capable of mobilizing the Afro-American masses and leading the Afro-American national liberation struggle to victory over US imperialism. Because the Afro-American proletariat is an integral part of both the oppressed Afro-American nation and the international proletariat, it is the only class capable of leading the national democratic revolution (leading to socialist revolution) and the only class capable of mobilizing the international support necessary to achieve Afro-American national liberation

national question, there is today great confusion among the revolutionaries in the oppressed nations throughout the world on the relationship of the class struggle to the national question. In addition, because US imperialism, with the help of its New Left stooges and international revisionism, has buried in all sorts of clever ways the historical development and objective existence of the Afro-American nation and because almost half the Afro-American people now reside in the US (North) after having been driven out of their Black Belt homeland by lynchings, terror and starvation, Afro-American national liberation fighters have been greatly confused on precisely this question.

In this period of setback in the Afro-American national liberation struggle, it is no accident that the two main forms of opportunism rampant in the Afro-American national liberation movement have been the line of national struggle without its class struggle content and the line of class struggle without its national form.

"Black Power" was a highly advanced political slogan. The first form of opportunism, "national" without class, ends up being a "cult of blackness" and the wiping out of the question of power. The "class struggle" form of opportunism removes the "Black" from the "Black Power" slogan and what is left is "power to all the people". This line cuts off the Afro-American proletariat from important anti-imperialist forces in the Afro-American refugee ghettos, and from the entire Afro-American Black Belt homeland including the powerful Afro-American peasantry; it ties up the Afro-American proletariat with the white working class which is today mainly a labor aristocracy, bribed and brutalized by US imperialism. In practice, the white working class is so bribed and brutalized and is openly so hostile to the Afro-American national liberation struggle that this "class struggle" line ends up tying the Afro-American proletariat to the white petty bourgeoisie and its New Left agents of US imperialism.

Before King's assassination, the SNCC-led Black Power movement was advancing the Afro-American national liberation struggle by leaps and bounds. A reflection of this advance was the growing understanding among the Afro-American people of the dual character of the Afro-American people's fight for freedom, of the dialectical relationship between the national and class struggle in the Afro-American people's fight for freedom. Since the disorientation and confusion following King's assassination, until the past few months, the Afro-American people have been given the alternatives of either national struggle or class struggle, either Black or Power, but not both. This is precisely the theoretical basis upon which the Johnson and Nixon administrations have been able to co-opt the "Black Power" slogan and concept. By promoting Afro-American national bourgeois advocates of "Black without Power" and by promoting Afro-American lumpen-proletarian advocates of "Power without Black", this is how US imperialism has been able to co-opt the Black Power movement.

This is how the Johnson and Nixon administrations have been able for the past two years to keep the Afro-American masses, who were rejecting Martin Luther King's leadership in 1968, tied to King's "non-violence and integration" strategy in its new militant "Black Power" dress!

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In order to understand how these conferences, different as they seem at first glance, both are organizing vehicles for perpetuating King's non-violence and integration strategy, for continuing to stifle the Afro-American national liberation struggle, we must proceed from the basic need of the Afro-American people, the need to be free.

The way that these two conference groups answer the burning need of the Afro-American people to be free exposes their real essence as mislead-ers.

In order for each Afro-American individual to achieve freedom, the Afro-American people as a whole must liberate their national territory, the Black Belt, from US imperialist occupation and oppression! The enemy is not only the US imperialist rulers, the monopoly capitalist class, but also the white settler occupiers in the Black Belt, and the US (northern) whites who are international parasites on the people of Asia, Africa, Arabia and Latin America and Afro-America. Because of the nature of the enemy, the Afro-American people's struggle to liberate the Black Belt must include, as a key feature, armed struggle. The liberation of the Black Belt, the Afro-American national territory, largely through armed struggle, is the main strategic task of the Afro-American people today.

The Panthers in their call for the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" are talking about seizing power, they even raise the question of armed struggle, without discussing the question of land, the need for liberation of their Black Belt homeland. The spokesmen for the Congress of African People, on the other hand, discuss the concept of "Black people" as an international grouping, sometimes even referring to all persons of African descent as forming some kind of "nation", but these largely bourgeois and bourgeois leaning petty bourgeois professionals do not speak at all about the need for armed struggle against the bestial oppressor US-nation; instead they are restricting their congress to the establishment of "institutions and instruments", openly reformist methods for "dealing" "within the framework" of US imperialist status quo domination.

Because there is a dual character to the Afro-American people's fight for freedom--because there is a dialectical relationship (1) between the class and national struggles, (2) between the Power and Black aspects of the Black Power movement, because of the absolute need to liberate the Black Belt in order that each and every Afro-American individual can be free, and therefore because of the absolute need for armed struggle led by the Afro-American working class to liberate the Black Belt from occupation and plunder by predatory US imperialism and the brutal, degenerate "great American people", because of this fundamental objective reality, any forces who bury one aspect of the struggle, in the end bury the struggle altogether.

Only a Marxist-Leninist Party of the Afro-American working class can in the course of the protracted war for Afro-American national liberation, develop the correct relationship between the two interdependent aspects of the Afro-American people's fight for freedom, between the need to liberate the Black Belt and the need for armed struggle to liberate the Black Belt. However, in the Afro-American national revolutionary movement, there are many positive non-proletarian forces who, while placing too little emphasis on either the national or the class aspect, do not bury either; SWG supports these forces because they advance the Afro-American national liberation movement. For example, the Nation of Islam and the Republic of New Africa tend toward bourgeois nationalism. They underemphasize the class aspect of the struggle, i.e., (1) the need to wage armed struggle against the national enemy because of the objective economic (class) need which drives the US imperialist class to expand and intensify its national oppression of the Afro-American people by any means necessary and (2) the need to wage principled struggle within the Afro-American national liberation movement for working class thoroughgoing revolutionary victorious leadership of the Afro-American national liberation movement. Yet they

are making great new initiatives to obtain and control land in their Black Belt national territory; they are the embryo of the Afro-American National Liberation Front (NLF)! There are also many small underground guerrilla bands operating effectively in the Black Belt against the armed forces of the US imperialist state apparatus, the police, etc. These forces (mainly from among the poor peasant masses) are not, however, tying their armed struggle to a political and economic national program and organization for the liberation of their homeland. Though they underemphasize the national struggle, these guerrilla bands too are a positive revolutionary force--they are the embryo of the Afro-American People's Liberation Army (PLA)! Ultimately, from among forces like the League and the Jackson, Mississippi city workers (discussed above) will emerge the Afro-American Marxist-Leninist Party capable of leading the NLF and PLA to victorious Afro-American national liberation.

There is a world of difference between these positive forces and the two conference groups which we are exposing in this Bulletin. The Panthers' "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" which completely buries the Black Belt in the name of armed struggle, ends up burying armed struggle as well!! And the "Congress of African People" which completely buries armed struggle in the name of Blackness, the "great Black (international) Nation" etc. ends up burying the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt as well!!

Both these "alternatives", it turns out, are merely new versions of Martin Luther King's non-violence and integration, totally safe channels in which US imperialism can "contain" the revolutionary Afro-American people.

The Panthers who talk about armed struggle while burying the need to liberate the Black Belt, end up with a completely legalistic, pacifist conference (dominated by the White Left) --with demagogic ultra-militant references to "Revolutionary Suicide" "in the long run", if this "final" reformist effort is unsuccessful. The Afro-American people (and the Black Panther Party itself) have suffered too much under the boot of bestial US imperialism to be developing a new "last chance" reformist program with which to keep the advancing Afro-American masses mired in the period of setback and defeats! In reality, the Panthers' talk about "Revolutionary Suicide" is merely a cover for the vulgar reformist of "peaceful transition" which is the real essence of the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention".

Listen to the reformism of this statement by Huey P. Newton\*:

"We feel that the only way that we can get freedom at this time, after observing and experiencing the conditions of the country, is to have a Proportional Representation in a socialist framework.

"This means that the industries that now are held by a small ruling circle should be nationalized, and all ethnic groups, including all minority groups, will be guaranteed a place in proportion to their number in the country, at the administrative level and at the worker's level. Anything short of this would be compromising our freedom again, and we will not stand for it...

"So, we are demanding a Constitution that reflects the ethnic and the pluralistic nature of the society. We demand a Constitution that would guarantee us the right to live. We demand a Constitution that has respect for the people, and a Constitution that serves the people instead of a Constitution that serves the ruling class." ["Towards a New Constitution", "The Black Panther", 6/13/70]

\* Footnote next page.

Huey Newton's reformism is only surpassed by Eldridge Cleaver's "Message to America" June 19, 1970 which includes the following:

"The Black Panther Party believes that the American people are capable of rising to the task which history has laid before the nation. We believe that the American people are capable of rejecting the fascist solution to the national crisis which the fascist Nixon clique, the George Wallaces', Lester Maddoxes', Ronald Reagans', Spiro Agnews', etc. hold out to the people.

"WE THEREFORE, CALL FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, TO BE CONVENED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO WRITE A NEW CONSTITUTION THAT WILL GUARANTEE AND DELIVER TO EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN THE INVIOLEABLE HUMAN RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS!

"We call upon the American people to rise up, repudiate, and restrain the forces of fascism that are now rampant in the land and which are the only real obstacles standing between us and a rational resolution of the national crisis." [ Our underlining, Cleaver's emphasis."The Black Panther" 6/19/70]

"A rational resolution of the national crisis"; what an openly reformist bag of tricks this is. Not only does Cleaver bury the existence of the oppressed Afro-American nation within the present boundaries of US imperialist society and thus bury the tremendous revolutionary strength of the Afro-American people, but he also talks, at this late hour, about a "rational resolution" to the "national crisis"--shades of the US imperialist Kerner Commission! Shades of white liberals!

Due to the rising revolutionary tide of the Afro-American people at this juncture, in order to have an appeal for a significant section of the Afro-American people, Newton in "Towards a New Constitution" is forced to pay lip service to both the national and class aspects of the Afro-American people's fight for freedom, to both the concept of a "Black Republic", and the concept of "Revolutionary Suicide", i.e. the need for armed struggle:

"I think it goes without saying that Blacks are perfectly justified in declaring a Republic or a Liberated Territory, if we find that we cannot, through some mutual coalition, bring about this type of Pluralistic Society that is desired. The only other alternative is to declare a Republic, and, as I said, face the cowardly imperialistic army, and thereby either defeat them or suffer Revolutionary Suicide, which is glorious simply because it would be our choice, and we won't stand by and let us be killed one by one."

But Newton says "later for all this", until we try our new reformist "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention".

\* Huey P. Newton was an outstanding young militant Afro-American leader before the period of setback (and hopefully he will be again). However, while he languished in prison, with the beginning of the setback Eldridge Cleaver emerged and led the Panthers into an alliance with the White Left, a maneuver which has wreaked havoc ever since in the Afro-American national liberation movement. Newton gradually was brought around to support for the hippies and yippies, Weathermen and white lawyers, etc. as the Black Panther Party lost its independence and strength from its ties to the Oakland "brothers on the block" and became a "national Black organization" publicized by US imperialism and dominated by the white petty bourgeois New Left!

Cleaver too pays lip service to armed struggle, to Armageddon, if the present reformist program doesn't work out. However, it is not the rhetoric about the future, but the Panthers' so-called "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" which is being put into practice; and the Panthers' present reformist program is disarming and disorienting the oppressed Afro-American masses, not only facilitating their continued enslavement but making it that much more difficult for the Afro-American masses to wage a successful revolutionary war for Afro-American national liberation in the future.

The "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" is just the most recent of the "last chance" reformist programs (following the Peace and Freedom Party, and the United Front Against Fascism in America) which the white New Left agents of US imperialism have used as vehicles for getting the Panthers to mislead the Afro-American masses in the period of setback!

But the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" is even more perfidious than the PFP and the UFAF, because (as we pointed out in SWG Bulletin #2) the Afro-American national liberation movement is heading home, and the Panthers' convention is aimed at undermining and reversing the new great concentration of national revolutionary activity in Afro-America! In Huey Newton's "Message to the Planning Session", he says:

"We must also penetrate the South, brothers and sisters. We still have 51% of the Black people in the South. We're not planning for them to leave the South. The North is no different than the South--it's just that we must unite the North and the South. We can do this by sending delegates to the South to register people for the Convention. We can also communicate with the various liberal, progressive and radical organizations in the South..."  
["The Black Panther" 8/15/70]

Here, Newton reveals that the Convention will attempt to link the tremendously strong revolutionary Afro-American people to the Southern white liberals! US imperialism through the Panthers' convention is attempting to provide a "revolutionary" integrated alternative to an Afro-American working class-led war of national liberation for the 750 Jackson, Mississippi city workers who were forced to fight not alongside of, but in opposition to white liberals!

Not only has the white New Left dominated the Panthers to the extent of making them misleaders of the long suffering Afro-American people, but the Black Panther Party, and Cleaver in particular, have used the prestige of the revolutionary Afro-American people which they have tried to suffocate, as a basis for helping US imperialism and the New Left try to suffocate national revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples throughout Asia, Africa, Arabia and Latin America. Just before the Nixon administration made its Songmy revelation, Cleaver, from north Korea, using the prestige of Kim Il Sung and especially of the Afro-American people, sent greetings to the Vietnamese people from the "great American people", the butchers of Songmy!!! (Arab comrades in the Palestinian National Council please take warning.)

To succeed in winning national liberation, the Afro-American people must have international support of their political-military struggle in opposition to US imperialism and to the "great American people", including international military support. Instead of helping to coordinate the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa, Arabia and Latin America

with the Afro-American national liberation struggle, the Panthers are helping to disarm these national liberation movements in the face of the organized, brutal US imperialist war machine of the "great American people" by tying them to the "great American people" who oppose Afro-American national liberation!!

Because US imperialism's main aim with the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" is to keep the rising Afro-American masses tied to the White Left, and uprooted from their Black Belt homeland, and therefore tied to peaceful protest, legal court battles, breakfast programs, the "fight" for civilian review boards, etc. and because the Afro-American masses are themselves so anti-US white and correctly so, the Panthers, in order to mobilize significant numbers of Afro-Americans to their convention, have put off until the last possible moment their wide-open invitation to all the white agents, provocateurs and the rest of the white New Left scum and riffraff.

In the August 15, 1970 issue of "The Black Panther" there is a brief report from the Planning Session, the substance of which follows:

"Lee Faye Mack is a hot momma from Winston-Salem, North Carolina. She ain't got no money, she's over 33 and she's a crazy nigger. Lee Faye is also the Southern Representative of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

"At the Planning Session, (this weekend) of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, Lee Faye told us 'what do those racists think we'll be doing while they're beating and killing our children.' There were high school students from Richmond, Virginia, gay people from East Bronx, SCLC presidents, urban leaguers, there were 'greasers' from Chicago who said later for fascist Daley. All came to map out strategy for the Plenary Session of the New Constitution."

In the same issue and on the same page, Huey Newton makes what to our knowledge is the first explicit Panther appeal to "whitey" to participate in the Convention in his "Message to the Planning Session":

"So we're asking all of the organizations who are willing to participate--the Anti-War Movement, the various Peace Movements, all progressive groups or parties to open up Registration Departments and sections in their organizations, so the people in the various communities can come to their organizations and register for the Convention."

Because many of the large numbers of whites who will be at the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" will be paid agents, (and the rest will be unpaid agents), SWG does not advocate that genuine revolutionary Afro-American people go to the Convention even to expose it; we do not believe that it is worth the risk, to openly expose the Convention in the Convention. If SWG had come out earlier on the question of the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention", we would have advocated an Afro-American mass movement for a Black Boycott of the convention. Now, we believe, politically advanced Afro-American revolutionaries can most effectively win those genuine Afro-American revolutionaries who still remain in the Black Panther Party, and those Afro-American people still influenced by it, away from the convention and its reformist program to a scientific program for Afro-American national liberation by carrying out underground as well as semi-legal revolutionary propaganda and agitation using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

During the entire two year period of setback (in spite of their own bitter experience at the hands of White America), the Black Panther Party, which has symbolized the militant spirit of armed struggle among Black people, has been preparing the Black masses not for warfare against White America, but for peaceful petitioning, legislating and negotiating and even for making alliances with the brutal degenerate US whites and the predatory US imperialists! When the Panthers bury the Black Belt, they bury the armed struggle with it! The Panthers in the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" are once more tying up with US whites in a "struggle" for integration using the totally legalistic non-violent method of creating a new constitution. Is this not King's non-violence and integration resurrected in a new Black Power Dress!\*

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The Congress of African People which talks about nationalism, "Blackness", etc. and is being held in Atlanta, Georgia, is based on the premise that there is no need for armed struggle to win Black national freedom from US imperialism, and in its effort to avoid armed struggle, ends up burying the objective existence and tremendous strength of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt using demagogic references to "internationalism" as a substitute for revolutionary nationalism.

There will be Black speakers and delegates from many oppressed nations at the Congress of African People which can be a very good thing. However, the Congress is being run by the Afro-American national bourgeoisie. This means that instead of mobilizing international support for and thereby tremendously strengthening the armed struggle of the Afro-American people in the heart of the imperialist beast for the liberation of their oppressed nation in the Black Belt, the Congress of African People is using "internationalism" as a means of belittling, undermining, and burying the Afro-American people's struggle for the Black Belt, as a means of demobilizing the aroused Afro-American peasants and workers in the Black Belt.

The national bourgeois and bourgeois-aspiring petty bourgeois who are running this congress are anxious to make a peaceful deal with US imperialism. Julian Bond and others are deep "into" the white imperialist Democratic and Republican parties. They have already made their individual deals with the imperialists and are a conveyor belt from US imperialism to the Black bourgeoisie. Forces like Roy Innis are "enlightened" Black capitalists (and aspiring Black capitalists). They advocate separatism (through negotiations), at least economically, because they recognize that all capitalist economic efforts by Afro-American entrepreneurs within the present social-political framework are at the mercy of the white US imperialist monopoly capitalists. Stokely Carmichael represents those bourgeois forces in Black Africa who are attempting to recruit Afro-American people as active political supporters for their bourgeois national states (and, in the case of Nkrumah, for his effort to regain his rule in Ghana). Carmichael also represents the "Back to Africa" neo-Carveyite effort to take the trained minds and skilled labor of the Afro-American people out of Afro-America, and out of the refugee Afro-American ghettos, and bring them "Back to Africa". Carmichael and the Congress as a whole are doing this precisely at this critical juncture when the Afro-American

\* See Appendix for Class Analysis of the Black Panther Party.

people are rising in the Black Belt, when there is a new concentration of national revolutionary activity in the Black Belt (when "the Afro-American national liberation movement is heading home"), and when there is the beginning of a migration of the Afro-American refugees back home to the Black Belt. The Congress of African People is taking place, in the Black Belt, with the express purpose of disorienting the aroused Afro-American people away from their war of national liberation to look "Back to Africa."

Coretta King, Jesse Jackson, and Ralph Abernathy of SCLC are classic misleaders in the Martin Luther King tradition, the tradition of disarming the Afro-American people in the face of the brutal oppression and occupation by US imperialism.

Their presence in leadership roles at the Congress is a telling sign of the main significance of the Congress--to keep the Afro-American masses from advancing their cause of national liberation, from threatening the very existence of US imperialism.

We said above that the "Congress of African People" as well as the Black Panthers' "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" is, in essence, Martin Luther King's non-violence and integration in a new Black Power Dress. In the case of the Panthers, it was obvious that they are "integrationists", like King. But it was not until we closely examined their rhetoric about "armed struggle" that we found that the Panthers' Constitutional Convention is non-violent in relation to US imperialism as well.

In the case of the "Congress of African People", it is clear that their line and policy includes non-violence as their method of "struggle". This bourgeois leadership views "racism" as the main enemy of the Afro-American people. Since "racism" is only an "idea", it cannot prevent the Afro-American people from building something positive for themselves; therefore, the Congress sees no need to break the enslaving chains of the oppressor. Thus, the leaders of the Congress have set as its main task the creation of "institutions and instruments", "instruments and institutions" "within the framework", i.e. not endangering the vital interests of US imperialism, so as not to antagonize US imperialism etc.

As Lenin so correctly pointed out:

"The more complete, determined and consistent the bourgeois revolution is, the more secure will the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and for socialism become...it is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to rely on certain remnants of the past as against the proletariat, for instance, on a monarchy, a standing army, etc. It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie if the bourgeois revolution does not too resolutely sweep away the remnants of the past, but leaves some, i.e., if this revolution is not fully consistent, if it does not proceed to its logical conclusion and if it is not determined and ruthless. Social-Democrats often express this idea somewhat differently by stating that the bourgeoisie betrays itself, that the bourgeoisie betrays the cause of liberty, that the bourgeoisie is incapable of being consistently democratic. It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie if the necessary bourgeois-democratic changes take place more slowly, more gradually, more cautiously, with less determination, by means of reforms and not by means of revolution; if these changes spare the "venerable" institutions of feudalism (such as the monarchy); if these reforms develop as little as possible the revolutionary initiative, the initiative and the energy of the common people, i.e., the peasantry, and especially the workers, for otherwise it will be easier for the workers, as the French say, 'to pass the rifle from one shoulder to the other,' i.e., to turn the guns which the bourgeois revolution will place in their hands, the liberty which the revolution will bring, the democratic institutions which will spring up on the ground that will be cleared of feudalism, against the bourgeoisie."

[V.I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" p. 39-40.]

It is fully understandable that the Black Bourgeoisie, whose main aim to exploit its own workers and peasants, finds common cause with US imperialism in its attempt to stifle the revolutionary initiatives of the Afro-American workers and peasants, to keep them pursuing the path of "non-violence". This is why misleaders like King, Abernathy, et al., have been pushed and even sponsored by US imperialism.

But how can SWG be right in its claims that these bourgeois nationalists, (and so-called "internationalists"), at a Black Congress which is excluding whites, are pushing the "integration" of Martin Luther King!

Precisely because King's integration was, even in its highest ideal form, merely peaceful co-existence between Blacks and whites. There can be no freedom for the Afro-American people without struggle and sacrifice. It is not "racism" but the imperialists' drive for super-profits which is the source of their brutal national oppression of the Afro-American people. It is not an "idea" but an imperialist army and a mobilized oppressor nation which is the chief obstacle to Afro-American national liberation--to freedom for the Afro-American individual! The Congress' positive act of excluding whites is, in reality, a mask behind which the Congress leadership pushes its real approach to whites, the classic bourgeois approach to the struggle which is life, i.e., "ignore them and they'll go away."

The Congress leadership, with this approach, leaves the Afro-American people unprepared to deal with the cultural, ideological, religious and social warfare (financial), aggressions of the white oppressor nation in the US (North) and the white settlers in Afro-America. These aggressions once again put the whites right next to the Afro-American masses under the banner of the Congress's version of Martin Luther King's integration; these aggressions are used in an attempt to keep the Afro-American people defenseless in the face of the physical aggression of the white enemy, the aggressions by which US imperialist society keeps the Afro-American people enslaved.

Because the Afro-American nation is of such strategic importance to imperialism, these bourgeois "nationalist" misleaders dare not even raise the question of the Black Belt [beyond a whisper] for fear of arousing even further the already highly developed national liberation movement in the Black Belt, and for fear of antagonizing US imperialism!

Thus it is that bourgeois nationalists among the Congress leadership deny the existence of their nation! This is how those who shout loudest for "Blackness", once the surface is scratched, turn out to be Martin Luther King integrationists!\*

Because the Congress of African People excludes whites and speaks in the name of nationalism, and especially because the Afro-American masses in the Black Belt are rising up so strong, SWG believes that constructive results could be achieved by politically advanced Afro-American revolutionaries who go to this Congress to expose it. There is probably even a slight chance that it can be taken over by revolutionary nationalists who wage a principled struggle there. However, this possibility seems remote, because powerful imperialist and bourgeois nationalist forces are running the Congress. Thus, we advocate that only those Afro-American revolutionary nationalists attend the Congress who will not be financially or otherwise "drained" by going to the Congress, who will not be taking unnecessary security risks in order to expose the Congress. Good Luck! Comrades!

For those of our comrades who do go to the Congress, we would like to suggest a few basic issues that we feel should be raised and fought on if this proves possible: (1) the central importance of the liberation of the Afro-American national territory, the Black Belt; (2) how to win the liberation of the Black Belt, including the question of military struggle and international military support.

\* See Appendix for further class analysis of the Congress of African People.

These are the two basic questions which the Afro-American masses have brought to the fore, and are today beginning to answer in decisive fashion. It is the responsibility of the Afro-American leadership to grasp and develop further the fight on these issues. This raises the third issue:

(3) the role of CRITICISM within the Afro-American national liberation movement. Because of the tremendous difficulties involved in the process of waging and winning the Afro-American people's war for National Liberation, criticism (and self-criticism) must be practiced, especially by the Afro-American working class, in order to win leadership of the national struggle and then in order to avoid serious errors and the repetition of small errors, errors for which the Afro-American masses have had to pay a high price in the past, under non-proletarian leadership.

Criticism and self-criticism must be immediately put into practice on an evaluation of the origin and development of the setback of the Afro-American national movement over the past two years. Criticism must begin with why Martin Luther King was assassinated, what King's role in the Afro-American people's struggle for freedom really was when he was alive and then as a dead martyr?

As SWC pointed out in "Toward Victorious Afro-American National Liberation" (Part I) (p.16): "By and large, the failure of those 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."

In our enclosed supplement, entitled "Present Situation & Crisis in the Afro-American National Liberation Struggle", written at the very beginning of the setback for the Afro-American national liberation movement in 1968, we discuss King. Unfortunately, we did not publish this material until today. Even more unfortunate is the fact that now, two years later, the material is still timely, for the situation of leadership has not changed much for the better, especially on the question of the responsibility of Afro-American leaders to the Afro-American masses. In spite of the fact that the Afro-American masses are struggling might and main to break through the period of setback, Black leaders still are reluctant to wage principled internal class struggle for leadership of the national movement. However, a revolutionary Black leadership is beginning to emerge and will grow strong in the process of struggling against forces like those leading the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" and the "Congress of African People".

It is no accident that US imperialism (through Time Magazine) released information less than a month before the conferences are to be held, "revealing" that Martin Luther King played "games" with J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI from 1964 on in order to keep knowledge of alleged extra-marital activities from the public. US imperialism raises the question of King's alleged immorality in his personal life, in order to bury his real significant and treacherous immorality in relationship to the lives of millions of Afro-American people!!!

US imperialism released this information at this time because it fears that its latest opportunist, reformist channels for the Afro-American people in the form of these two conferences, will, under the impetus of the rising Afro-American masses, be met with principled criticism of King and of his brand of misleadership, and with principled opposition to the programs which will be put forth at these conferences.

(continued on page A-5)

## APPENDIX

### CLASS ANALYSIS OF THE "CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE" & THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"The Congress of African People" is a reflection, in practice, of the line of opportunism which pushes the national struggle emptied of its class content; this is the line of the tiny Afro-American national capitalist (not imperialist) class and of the larger (but still small) right wing section of the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie which aspires to become capitalist. This is the line of bourgeois nationalism and reactionary cultural nationalism.

The bourgeois nationalists (the Black capitalists) approach US imperialism as a "reasonable" "competitor". They seek capital from white US imperialist banks and from various government programs. In their efforts to develop Black capitalism under the aegis of white US imperialist capitalism (which means that they exist completely at the mercy of the US imperialist monopolies), the main result of their activities has been to perpetuate the illusion that Blacks can "make it" in US imperialist society. US imperialism and modern revisionism support Afro-American national bourgeois leadership of the Afro-American national liberation struggle in order to spread this illusion in the Afro-American movement and to disarm the Afro-American people. Nixon has made a small amount of loan capital available to aspiring Black businessmen through the Small Business Administration for precisely this reason.

The Black capitalists (or more accurately, aspiring Black capitalists) have latched onto the "Black Power" slogan mainly to mobilize Black people behind the peaceful "deals" which they constantly attempt to strike up with US imperialism. Now they do it in the name of "blackness" and in the name of "doing your own thing"!

The main exponents of cultural nationalism are petty bourgeois artists (in all art mediums) who vacillate between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie. When the national liberation movement is in a period of advance and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie take leadership from the revolutionary proletariat, cultural nationalism is the expression of the humanity of an oppressed people--it is the declaration of an oppressed people to each other and to all mankind that they will no longer endure imperialist enslavement. But in a period of setback including the present period until the last few months, the petty bourgeois artists abandon the revolutionary proletariat en masse and follow the lead of the capitulationist national bourgeoisie.

By de-emphasizing the plight of the Afro-American masses and their need to struggle for power and by heaping praise on "Blackness" as a thing in itself, "doing your own thing", art for art's sake, dashikis, "psychological revolution" etc. the reactionary cultural nationalists are giving leverage to the Black bourgeoisie and their always frustrated efforts to deal with US imperialism on an "equal footing", as two "equal" nations (instead of the oppressor and oppressed nation). In the period of setback, cultural nationalism expressed the Black bourgeoisie's attempts to make a peaceful deal with US imperialism. However, under the impetus of the rising Afro-American masses in the Black Belt, many petty bourgeois forces may become critical of, and struggle against, the bourgeois leadership of the "Congress of African People".

Reactionary cultural nationalism and Black bourgeois nationalism are not "so bad" in themselves. Many of the Afro-American national bourgeois and petty bourgeois proponents of bourgeois and reactionary cultural nationalism can be won over to an anti-imperialist position and to participation in the Afro-American NLF under Afro-American proletarian leadership. However, when they are leading the struggle and when their political line of national struggle without its class content dominates the Afro-American national liberation movement, the Afro-American masses are disarmed and rendered helpless in the face of US imperialist oppression.

The Afro-Americans who are scheduled to lead the "Congress of Africa People"--including Ralph Abernathy, Jesse Jackson and Coretta King, Julia Bond, Leroy Jones, Roy Innis, Lou House and Len Chandler, and even Haywood Henry and Stokely Carmichael--are representatives of the right wing of the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie or the Afro-American national bourgeoisie. They are all exponents of reactionary cultural nationalism or bourgeois nationalism at the present time. The "Congress of African People" itself is an effort by US imperialism to consolidate all the Afro-American "nationalist" forces of misleadership and to use them to "control" the rising Afro-American masses with militant "nationalist" versions of King's strategy of non-violence and integration!

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The "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" is an unholy alliance ("Black and white unite") in which the Black Panther Party is serving as a means for the repenetration of the White Left agents of US imperialism into the advancing Afro-American national liberation struggle

The Black Panther Party has not always played a counter-revolutionary role. In its beginning in fact, the Black Panther Party played a progressive role. From 1963-67, the Afro-American national liberation struggle was developing rapidly with Malcolm X and later the SNCC Black Power movement in the vanguard. In 1966, out of this favorable situation, the Black Panther Party was founded under the leadership of Huey P. Newton. The original Ten-Point program expounded by the Panthers in 1966, though not oriented around the need to liberate the Black Belt, did advance the demands for national minority rights of the Afro-American refugees in the US(North).

Every major Afro-American liberation organization seriously degenerated in the aftermath of US imperialism's murder of Martin Luther King. However, the lumpen-proletarian class base of the Black Panther Party made it particularly vulnerable to imperialist pressure and revisionist penetration. Following King's assassination, US imperialism assaulted the Panthers with both its "carrot" and its "stick." First US imperialism sent in its "carrot"--the revisionist-reformist white New Left which offered the Panthers "support" and "aid" in their struggle against the imperialists' attack--as long as the Panthers would rely upon open, legal work. On the basis of the Black Panther Party-Peace and Freedom Party alliance, US imperialism was able to co-opt the acting leadership of the Black Panther Party and use this organization in particular to retard the Afro-American national liberation struggle.

The class base of the Black Panther Party also made it vulnerable to the "class struggle to the exclusion of national struggle" line. The "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" is a reflection, in practice, of the line of class struggle replacing and burying the national struggle. This is the line of the Afro-American lumpen-proletariat.

The leadership of the Panthers is predominantly from the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class and from the left wing of the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie (especially teachers and former students). Its membership is predominantly from the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class--former peasants who were driven into the city ghettos mainly in the US (North) to become the unemployed reserve labor force for US imperialism. The line of the Panthers is predominantly that of this Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class.

In a period in which the Afro-American national liberation struggle is advancing, the Afro-American lumpen-proletariat can become a valuable ally of the Afro-American proletariat in the struggle for national liberation. Driven from the land of its nation, the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class has a great stake in liberating that nation from imperialist occupation. Being unemployed most of the time, this class is among the "have nots" and can become brave and determined fighters against US imperialism under the political leadership of the Afro-American proletariat.

However, the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class cannot carry out an effective struggle against US imperialism for any length of time without proletarian leadership; for this class has only an indirect relationship to the main enemy, US imperialism. Having no direct role in production, this class cannot consistently identify the main enemy--US imperialism--nor understand its economic-political nature. While the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class can at times formulate progressive (though limited) political programs, it has no social basis--no basis in production--to establish the priorities necessary to carry out these programs. In a period of retreat and under the pressure of US imperialist and modern revisionist attack, organizations representing the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class can be easily "co-opted" to become counter-revolutionary forces in the Afro-American national liberation struggle.

In leading the Chinese national democratic revolution Mao Tse-tung pointed out that:

"There is the fairly large lumpen-proletariat, made up of peasants who have lost their land and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. ...One of China's difficult problems is how to handle these people. Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance." ["Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society", March 1926, "Selected Works" Vol. I, p. 19]

In the explanatory footnote to this article, the editors state:

"They could easily be controlled and utilized by the landlords and local tyrants and, because of this and of their blind destructiveness, some turned into reactionary forces. In his counter-revolutionary coup d'etat of 1927, Chiang Kai-shek made use of them to disrupt the unity of the labouring people and destroy the revolution. As the modern industrial proletariat arose and grew from strength to strength, the peasants, under the leadership of the working class, gradually formed themselves into organizations of an entirely new type, and these primitive, backward societies [of lumpen-proletarians] lost their raison d'etre." [p. 21]

The alliance between the Afro-American working class and peasantry will spell doom for the bankrupt lumpen-proletarian "class struggle" line and will be the strong foundation for the victorious Afro-American national liberation movement.

Located primarily in the ghettos of the US (North) and having no direct relationship to US imperialism, the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian

class tends to emphasize the struggle for national minority rights in the US (North) to the exclusion of the struggle for land and self-determination of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt, negating the essence of the Afro-American national struggle. And being among the "have nots" with only an indirect relationship to their main enemy, US imperialism, the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class tends to see all the "haves" (the Black bourgeoisie as well as the US imperialists) as the enemy. Thus, the Afro-American lumpen-proletarian class, because of its objective relationship to its nation and to US imperialism has a material basis for the "class struggle to the exclusion of the national struggle" line.

Today, Russian revisionism is discredited among large sections of the Afro-American proletariat and the Afro-American masses. Like all the oppressed peoples around the world, the Afro-American masses look to China for leadership in the international arena. --For China is a former-colonial country which has achieved national liberation from US imperialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. This great experience and the tremendous achievement of the establishment of the People's Republic of China through a national democratic revolution has created the situation in which the Chinese Communist Party is objectively the leading Party in the world communist movement and the world revolutionary movement

In 1963, Mao Tse-tung issued a statement in support of the Afro-American people's struggle. Mao was the first leader of a nation to state his support for the Afro-American struggle in many years. Further, Mao spoke not only as the representative of the most populous country, of one quarter of mankind, but as the leader of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

Mao's 1963 statement, though burying the national aspect of the nature and the tasks of the Afro-American national liberation struggle, was still a source of great encouragement to the rapidly developing Afro-American national liberation movement which was then being led by Malcolm X and later by Stokely Carmichael, James Forman and H. Rap Brown and SNCC.

But in 1968 in the midst of the "Cultural Revolution" in China, the Afro-American national liberation movement had entered a period of setback and the question of what path for the Afro-American national liberation movement was key to overcoming and advancing beyond the setback. At this critical point, Mao Tse-tung, speaking for the "Cultural Revolution"-dominated Chinese Communist Party, and denying the rich revolutionary experience of the Chinese national revolution, issued a second statement on the Afro-American question in which he declared that "In the final analysis, all national struggle is class struggle." In the overall long, long run historical perspective this is true, but when the main strategic task facing the Afro-American people is the achievement of national liberation and there already existed tremendous confusion on just this point, this statement by the leader of the Chinese Communist Party served to further disarm and mislead the revolutionary Afro-American masses and their leadership.

In practice, this "class struggle to the exclusion of national struggle" line--the "Black and white unite and fight" line which is now supported by both the Russian and Chinese revisionist movement means the negation of the Afro-American national liberation struggle and the linking up of the Black liberation fighters with the pernicious white New Left.

Today, the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" is pushing the lumpen-proletarian Black Panther Party, and Eldridge Cleaver in particular, as the vanguard of the Afro-American people's struggle in direct contradiction to

Mao's teaching that the industrial proletariat is the leading force in the national revolution! (Those that bury the national struggle in the name of the class struggle, end up burying the class struggle as well.)

Today the Black Panther Party is carrying out this "class struggle" line with the powerful backing of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. Applying this "class struggle" line, the Black Panther Party has been (first through its alliance with the white Peace and Freedom Party, then through the United Front Against Fascism in America and now through the "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention") the main vehicle for the repenetration of the white petty bourgeois "radical" New Left into the Afro-American national liberation struggle. It has been the main vehicle which US imperialism has used to keep the Afro-American masses tied to the treacherous non-violence and integration strategy of Martin Luther King.

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Failure to criticize King from April 1968 on has led to the degeneration of most of the Afro-American "movement" organizations and leaders and, most important, has kept the Afro-American masses mired in a period of setback and defeats. Today, Afro-American organizations and leaders who are genuinely concerned about their people's liberation have to criticize King and criticize themselves for being (like SWG) two years silent or worse on King. This will lay a principled basis upon which Afro-American revolutionaries can expose the counter-revolutionary essence of the TWO CONFERENCES and to begin a principled struggle for a revolutionary line and policy, which really serves the interests of the Afro-American people, a line and policy which will lead to the achievement of Afro-American national liberation.

Stalinist Workers Group For Afro-American National Liberation  
and a New Communist International