

History of the Afro-American People's Struggle in Seattle



By the Seattle Branch--

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF U.S. MARXIST-LENINISTS



\$1.00

INTRODUCTION

The Afro-American people in Seattle and throughout the whole country have a rich and inspiring history of revolutionary struggle. Black people have continuously fought against the barbarous racial discrimination and violent repression imposed on them by the capitalist system. Black people have made great contributions to the struggle of the entire working class against man-eating capitalist exploitation and wage-slavery. The Afro-American peoples' movement has advanced over the years in bitter struggle against the capitalist oppressors, but complete emancipation remains to be won.

There have been victories and set-backs, heroism and treacheries. But through it all, one thing remains constant: The Afro-American people are determined to persist in delivering the U.S. fascists blow after blow until the whole system of monopoly capitalism is smashed into a thousand pieces by the united, iron fist of the American working class, oppressed nationalities and other revolutionary people! This conclusion is confirmed by history.

The Afro-American people's struggle in Seattle has always been part and parcel of nationwide movements that arose in opposition to economic exploitation, racial discrimination, and political oppression and persecution. This holds true for the pitched battles fought against the pockets of chattel slavery in the old Oregon Territory and the building of an underground railroad in the Northwest by pioneer Black freedom-fighters; and to the persistent struggle to build unity of white and Black coal miners in opposition to capitalist exploitation and violent repression of the government in the 1880s and 1890s; and to the revolutionary workers' movement that was engulfed in class warfare on the Seattle waterfront in the 1930s; and to the dauntless fight against Jim Crow segregation and violent state-organized attacks against Black people during and after World War II; and to the storm of national and class struggle that occurred in the Central Area in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Afro-American people's struggle has already made glorious contributions to shaping the revolutionary traditions of the working class and other oppressed people in Seattle.

This revolutionary movement cannot be crushed! No amount of capitalist tricks and deception, no amount of fascist violence can stop the revolutionary movement of the American people. The American working class, the Afro-American people and other oppressed nationalities, the Native American people, and all of the oppressed and exploited of this country will never relent, but will fight-on led by the revolutionary party of the proletariat, to overthrow the monopoly capitalist class by revolutionary violence and establish a bright red workers' socialist republic.

Today, the Afro-American movement is

developing to a higher level nationwide in resistance to the monopoly capitalists' fascist anti-busing movement, and in opposition to violent police attacks. The entire working class is becoming aroused to resist the attempt of the monopoly capitalists to shift the economic crisis onto their backs and to further exploit them. In addition, a massive movement of all progressive people is bound to develop all over the U.S. against the preparations for world war by the two superpowers. These three mass movements will break out into great storms in the near future.

Internationally, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are heroically rising in wars of national liberation against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and other reactionaries. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This is an irresistible historical trend. The revolutionary struggle of the American people is an important part of this world revolution against imperialism and against the plans of the two superpowers to unleash world war. Either revolution prevents the war, or war gives rise to revolution. We must cast away illusions and prepare for struggle!

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS MERITS ATTENTION

Seattle Branch of COUSML has produced this document on the Afro-American people's revolutionary history in Seattle, because a correct analysis of history is necessary to guide the revolutionary movement. We have come to this conclusion, not from books, but from our own participation in struggles against the monopoly capitalist class; from our own efforts to build the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, general staff of the revolution.

A summation of historical experience provides theory, a guiding light, to the revolutionary party and to the mass movement.

"Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working-class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice; for theory and theory alone, can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; for it, and it alone, can help practice to realize not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also

how and in which direction they will move in the near future. None other than Lenin uttered and repeated scores of times the well-known thesis that"

'Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.'"(5)

This document is presented in the light of the class struggle and the laws of motion of society. That is, history is analyzed from the theoretical standpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Comrade Lenin has said:

"Marxism has provided the guidance, i.e. the theory of the class struggle, for the discovery of the laws governing the seeming maze and chaos."
(6)

WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE

The American workers movement against capitalist exploitation and all reaction has as its

enemy the monopoly capitalist class The Afro-American movement against racial discrimination and violent repression also has the monopoly capitalist class as its enemy Both movements have the same enemy and are indivisible.

Both movements are united in so far as they are directed against the monopoly capitalist class and its government. The working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist Party, has the responsibility to merge the workers movement with the Black people's struggle by adopting a revolutionary attitude toward the state on all issues and uniting with all of the struggles of the oppressed people. In this way revolution in the U.S. develops as a component part of world revolution, currently centered in the national liberation struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the duty of the working class in the U.S. to wage revolution and in this way provide direct support to the people of the world who are fighting against imperialism led by the two superpowers. The Afro-American people's struggle is part and parcel of the struggle for the liberation of all mankind.

CHAPTER I 1850 - 1900

Black people came to this country bound in chains. Plantation slavery in the U.S. was bondage in the true sense of the word. The rise of capitalism in Europe and America hinged upon the naked, shameless African slave trade and plantation slavery in the "New World". Karl Marx, founder of scientific socialism, pointed out that:

"Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their value; it is the colonies that created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance." (7)

The rising European capitalists prepared conditions for developing world trade by enslaving its own people, by ruthlessly forcing the peasants off the land. As early as the 12th Century, the British bought and sold Irish slaves in Bristol, England. Great class struggles erupted in the Americas between the slaves and the slave-owners. Slaves rarely died a natural death on the plantations, as they either gave their lives in slave rebellions or were worked to death. By around 1850, when the Northern capitalists produced agricultural products for export and the North had become industrialized; and when the cotton monopoly faced powerful competition on the world market, the abolition of slavery became possible. Then, the United States was engulfed in a red sea of civil war.

Prior to the Great War Against Slavery (1861-65), Black pioneers migrated to the West from the North and even Canada in search of a better life and at times to escape "fugitive" slave hunters. Some Blacks were brought bound in chains to the old Oregon Territory (which included the states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho). Both free labor and slave labor existed in the Oregon Territory, reflecting the deep-going struggle between the two social systems in the U.S. which was leading to an all-out armed conflict to resolve the question of which social system--capitalist "free" labor or slave labor--was to win out. In 1850, when California was admitted as a free state to the Union, all hell broke loose in the old Oregon Territory, especially south of the Columbia River, over the question of slavery.

Black freedmen largely outnumbered their brothers in chains, so the slaveowners organized racist gangs to launch vicious, murderous attacks against all the free Blacks in the Oregon Territory in a move to establish Oregon as a slave state by force of arms. With the help of "free soil" whites, Black freedmen counter-attacked. An underground railroad to British Columbia was built, an abolitionist newspaper

The Elevator was widely distributed, and the racist terror of the slave-drivers was met by the violent resistance of the freedmen and their allies. This heroic struggle lasted for over a decade until the slaveowners were crushed in the Civil War.

One participant in this anti-slavery struggle was Bill Gross, Black sailor and cowboy, who later became a hotel owner near 23rd and Madison where many Afro-Americans first settled in Seattle.

After 1850 Black pioneer farmers and laborers moved north of the Columbia River. They helped develop the interior land surrounding Puget Sound, establishing some of the first mills and townships, later linked to the coastal railroads. The Afro-Americans were an industrious and hard-working people who had to shoulder the added load of racial discrimination while struggling to make a living in the old West. For example, after much petitioning by neighboring farmers and laborers, Congress was obliged to legally establish land ownership rights for the George Bush family, who were among the first to develop the land and commerce in Washington state but who were denied any rights whatsoever because they were Black.

Through hard work and persistence, many Black people became property-owners and leading voices in some of the small communities throughout the state. From the rural communities and from the rest of the country came a small number of Black people to Seattle in 1860.

The Great War Against Slavery, the second American revolution, led by the northern capitalists and whose main fighting force was the slaves, white workers, and small farmers smashed up the slave system of production and allowed the capitalist productive forces to rapidly expand, spreading into the West like wildfire. Railroads, coastal commerce, and large-scale production in mines, mills, and factories came to Washington only two decades after the Civil War. The class struggle that overthrew the political power of the southern slaveowners amid the fire and thunder of the revolutionary Civil War was the real moving force in the last part of that century. It further proved what Karl Marx had said that "revolutions are the locomotives of history." (8)

By 1876, the northern monopoly capitalists controlled both the Democratic and Republican parties and consolidated their dictatorship over the working class and oppressed people. They betrayed the heroic Reconstruction movement in the South, drowning it in blood and forcing many Black people to flee their oppressed nation in the South in the decades to come. By 1890, about one million Blacks lived in the North and West, most of them proletarians, while nine million Blacks were concentrated in the South.

The Black Belt South was turned into a segre-

gated prison for the "emancipated" slaves, locked into a peasant sharecropping economy on the plantations. Black people were subjected to special terroristic forms of super-exploitation based on their nationality. Widespread racist attacks against Afro-Americans were instigated by and carried out by the capitalist state. The purpose of these attacks was to: 1.) deprive Black people of the land they rightly seized from plantation owners after the Civil War and force them into semi-feudal oppression as sharecroppers; 2.) politically persecute Black people to the maximum in order to combat their heroic struggle to liberate their homeland in the Black belt; 3.) force a certain number of Black people to flee the South, which would provide cheap labor and able workmen for industry and agriculture in the North and West; and 4.) create competition among laborers already present in the North and West by bringing in laborers who were stripped of all social and political rights (by means of the Jim Crow system) and who were forced to sell their labor power at whatever price the capitalists were willing to pay. Black people in the South heroically stood up against racist attacks and carried on a ceaseless struggle for liberation. The Afro-Americans who left the South carried with them these heroic revolutionary traditions which the capitalists feared like the plague.

At the turn of the century, small-scale production (or free competition) was overwhelmed by monopoly, giving rise to monopoly capitalism (or imperialism). Economic monopoly revealed itself in huge trusts and gigantic banks, in the cornering of the sources of raw material, in the concentration of and export of capital, and the heightened contention between the Great Powers for world domination. Politically, it revealed itself as reactionary violent suppression of the American people down the line as well as war and aggression abroad. Monopoly capitalism developed, disciplined, and organized the modern proletarians (wage-workers) on a higher level, in large industrial places of work. It shaped the revolutionary character of the workers by mercilessly exploiting and oppressing them, leaving the workers no choice but to prepare to abolish the man-eating capitalist system.

In Washington state, what these post-Civil War developments meant were sharpening class struggle, speedy growth in the productive forces and industrial development, and mass migrations of Blacks to the Seattle area. In the 1880s, big finance capitalists from the East and from San Francisco became interested in extracting the natural resources in the state because of the huge profits that could be realized. Consequently, Northern Pacific Railroad spread its spurs into the interior; steamship, timber, and coal companies, to name a few, realized big growth too. Of particular importance for the first mass migrations of Afro-Americans to the Seattle area was the violent class struggle between workers and capitalists in the Green River and Roslyn coal fields.

FIRST MIGRATIONS OF AFRO-AMERICANS TO SEATTLE AREA

From 1880, these coal fields became a major coal source for San Francisco and Seattle, also supplying energy for coast steamships and the Northern Pacific Railroad. The four Principal mines (Newcastle, Franklin, Roslyn, and Black Diamond) were owned by big finance capitalists; and they employed up to 2,000 workers at their peak in the 1890s. The workers were forced to live a miserable existence marked by frequent mining accidents, starvation wages, constant layoffs, and indebtedness to the company stores. However, resistance to capitalist exploitation started to develop with great vigor in 1885 when a local union of the Knights of Labor (KofL) was established by the miners at the main mines. For seven straight years, 1885-91, the workers relentlessly rebelled against their miserable conditions, doggedly pursued the line of class struggle as tactics, countered the counter-revolutionary violence of the capitalist's hired gangmen with the revolutionary violence of the armed proletariat, and heroically moved to unite the class in struggle against the capitalists. The capitalists, finding the proletariat too stubborn to be broken by armed force alone, seized upon weaknesses and opportunist elements in the workers' movement to divide the miners along nationality and race lines--first with Chinese workers, then with non-English speaking European immigrant workers, then with Black workers.

The American workers' movement, which grew by leaps and bounds after the Civil War, was however plagued by many problems. Comrade Karl Marx pointed out:

"In the United States of North America every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed as long as slavery figured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin while in the black it is branded." (9)

After the Civil War, Afro-Americans were still branded, as were the immigrant workers. Laboring in the basic industries, immigrants worked for a mere crust of bread and were segregated according to nationality and national language. Using both Afro-Americans and immigrant workers as extremely cheap sources of labor, the capitalist class promoted the ugliest racist and national chauvinist ideas in society in order to pit one section of the proletariat against the other. To hide the fact that racial discrimination and racist attacks are the product of the capitalist system, the capitalists left no stone unturned in attempting to disrupt the workers' movement by means of Anglo-American chauvinism.

The workers' movement had the duty of taking up the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations as its own, especially those of the

Black people who faced all-round Jim Crow segregation and exploitation. To unite the workers and oppressed people into a powerful revolutionary movement against the monopoly capitalists, it was necessary for the Communists, the most advanced section of the proletariat, to solve in theory and in practice these problems facing the proletarian movement for emancipation. Though the Marxists played a leading role in opposing racial discrimination and in the midst of the surging mass movements in the late 19th century, (mass strike movements, struggle for the eight hour day, the huge populist agitation of the middle class and workers against the monopolies), they were unable to defeat the opportunist ideology in the socialist parties which held that Black people did not face any special oppression and that "there is no color line in exploiting the workers" (Socialist Party line). To the opportunist "socialists", the national question was only a "working class question" (i.e. they were simply wage-slaves like other workers)

Without a genuine revolutionary party, the Marxists were unable to build really powerful mass workers' organizations trained in the class struggle and in the Marxist world outlook that "workers have no country", "workers have nothing to lose but their chains", and "workers of the world, unite!".

In the Seattle area in 1885, the Marxists had no influence in the workers' movement. The Knights of Labor (K of L) actively organized among the proletariat, but the organization was scarred by opportunism. While their slogan was "an injury to one is the concern of all", the top leaders were actually conductors of capitalist influence among the workers. They pushed collaboration with the enemy on the economic front, denied the importance of the workers' revolutionary political struggle, and failed to fight for equal rights for national minorities in basic industry. After the nationwide struggle for the eight-hour day in 1886, when the K of L had over 600,000 members--10% of whom were Black, the organization steadily degenerated.

The Anti-Chinese Riots occurred in the Seattle area in 1885 and 1886. Chinese people, driven from their oppressed homeland because of the poverty created by foreign imperialism and the feudal landlords, worked in the coal field areas and on the railroads. After thoroughly exploiting the Chinese workers, the local ruling circles whipped-up a big campaign of terror against the Chinese, blaming them for the low wages and unemployment prevailing among the working class as a whole. This occurred at a time when the miners were getting organized to fight the capitalists. The K of L local leaders joined in the racist chorus of abuse against the hardworking Chinese workers, as did other bad elements posing as "labor leaders". In 1885, 28 Chinese workers were massacred in Wyoming and in 1892 three Chinese were murdered in Issaquah, Washington. Many Chinese workers

were forced to flee due to the company-inspired racist attacks. The majority of the miners resented this terror, which occurred just as a big strike movement was unfolding in the mines in 1886.

Curing the miners' struggle, the coal owners followed a policy of starvation of families and armed suppression. As this did not break the workers' fighting spirit, they then brought in non-English speaking European immigrant workers and viciously used them to break the strike. They also infiltrated their agents into the miners' union in order to split and wreck it. The workers defiantly continued their strike for weeks at Franklin, Newcastle, and Black Diamond. Finally, they were forced back to work on unacceptable terms, not for a moment resigning themselves to their slave-like conditions.

In 1888, the workers once again struck the mines, this time drawn into armed struggle at the Newcastle mine owned by Northern Pacific Railroad. At another NP mine at Roslyn, company owners panicked at the militancy of the workers and sent their agents to the Midwest and South in search of Black workers, to be used like the European immigrants against the strike. The NP tricked hundreds of Black workers into coming to Roslyn to break the strike.

While the mine workers, other than those at Roslyn, made gains in wages and working conditions, the capitalists continually undermined agreements. When coal prices depressed a little, they would automatically cut wages and drive them to a starvation existence. This caused strikes to break out year after year. The workers' hatred for the capitalist exploiters grew, and their class consciousness increased in the midst of militant struggles.

In 1890, the NP mine owners at the Franklin mine tried to smash-up the workers' organization too. Superintendent McNeil revealed the racist, anti-working class nature of the capitalist class when he said that the NP had "a taste of a good thing" at Roslyn two years past and that they "had cut the knot" of organized workers' resistance. He said that he wanted to "fill up with darkies" at the Franklin mine. In a move designed to fool the workers, McNeil resigned his position, while the mine owners vowed to bring in a new management with a humanitarian outlook (!). The workers expressed their sorrow for McNeil's departure by burning him in effigy.

Meanwhile, this same despicable dog was on his way to the Midwest to recruit more Black workers in an underhanded move to depress wages and create maximum competition among the miners. In May, 1891, just prior to the arrival of the Black workers, the miners caught wind of this plot and held mass meetings to decide on the line to pursue in the strike that was already planned. With hundreds of miners in attendance, they decided to close down the mine and to unite with the Black workers against the capitalists. The miners would point out to the Blacks that their class interests were the same,

that the capitalists were out to impoverish and crush all the workers, that unity in common struggle was needed.

Of course, the capitalists kept the Black workers in ignorance as to the real situation in the coal mines. They often withheld from them knowledge of the strike until the railroad cars were within a few hundred miles from Green River. Also, the capitalists were so big-hearted that they even deferred travelling expenses until the Black workers started working in those hell-holes of capitalist exploitation.

On May 16, 1891, the NP trains arrived with the Black workers. Aware of the workers' plan to undo the schemes to smash their resistance, the company unloaded the train a few miles from the mines in a wooded area. Company agents spread lies and slanders about how "wild Indians" lurked in the woods, and about how the "southern white trash" miners were out to kill them (Actually, most workers were of first generation Welsh and English descent, not knowing the South from the man on the moon.) They armed the Black workers with rifles and revolvers and marched them through the company shanty town and into the mines like a chain gang. Prevented by the capitalists from talking to the Black workers, the miners decided to strike the mines on May 17th. A militant struggle broke out that lasted for seven weeks.

Company agents continually provoked the workers, randomly firing on them and used the Blacks as a buffer in between. Black workers were transported to the large Newcastle mine also. There, on July 28, company agents murdered two strikers and two women. This aroused the miners to take up arms, and as they did, two companies of state militia (under the command of the mine owner's attorney!) were sent to Franklin and the other mines to spread terror and unsuccessfully tried to disarm the workers. This plainly revealed that the state is a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers. Throughout the strike, mass meetings of miners were held to denounce the capitalists, with up to one thousand workers participating in them.

REACTIONARY VIOLENCE FAILS--SO LABOR FAKERS MAKE AN ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS THE WORKERS

At a mass meeting in Pioneer Square in downtown Seattle on July 3, 1890, hundreds of workers gathered to denounce the attacks of the capitalists and the state machine (government) against the miners. A K of L representative said: "Every man who toils is a slave to the corporations, and the only way to regain your freedom is by means of your ballots, and after you have crossed the chasm burn the bridge of monopoly behind you."

This militant sounding statement was an attempt to divert the workers away from actual active resistance to the attacks of the coal

companies and the state by convincing them that "the only way to regain your freedom" is by voting. To the working people of Seattle in 1976 this "guidance" offered to the miners in 1890 must sound like a familiar refrain. In this presidential election year, sweet promises of the capitalist politicians once again fill the air, while the trade union bureaucrats scurry around as always attempting to shore up faith in the fraudulent "democracy" of the electoral process (circus) advising the masses as to who is a "friend of labor" and who is not. The facts are that capitalist exploitation and violent attacks on the workers' economic struggles by the state can never be eliminated through the ballot box. Only revolutionary struggle to smash the capitalist state by force of arms, the seizure of political power by the working class and the establishment of socialism can bring freedom to the toilers.

In addition, the phrase of the K of L misleader to "burn the bridges of monopoly behind you" through the ballot box is identical to the "guidance" being offered the American laboring people today by the revisionist "Communist" Party USA (CPUSA). Sensing the deep hatred of the people for the monopoly capitalist system, the CPUSA confuse and mystify the path forward to economic and political emancipation.

The Green River coal capitalists and their labor lieutenants in the K of L leadership temporarily succeeded in breaking the resistance of the workers and imposed harsh terms on them in the mines. The workers took a 25% decrease in wages and "agreed" not to strike in the future. By 1893, both white and black miners worked together in the mines and lived together in the towns. Their mutual conditions of wage-slavery gradually united the miners. The capitalists ruthlessly exploited them. In the Franklin mine in 1894, forty-one miners died in two mining accidents. Dust explosions, roof collapses, and other hazards claimed hundreds of miners' lives in the coal mines that operated into the 1930s.

The United Mine Workers Union later organized these mines. Militant strike struggles continued with Black workers playing a staunch and active role, as late as the early 1930s. Black workers came to the coal mines in large numbers up until the 1930s, and many, if not most, ended up settling in Seattle. Today, in the small mining town of Roslyn, a Black man is the mayor.

The first real mass migrations of Blacks came to Seattle via the blood-stained coal mines. Church organizations and fraternal and social organizations (such as the Masons) were set-up in the mining towns among the Black proletariat by well-known Blacks already established in Seattle.

The 1890s miners' struggle and the entire history of the working class movement contains these lessons:

1) the proletariat fights against all injustice and must support the struggle of the Chinese, Black and other oppressed nationalities against national oppression and racial discrimination on

all fronts;

2) the trade union struggle is always needed under capitalism and is one of the constant forms of the whole workers' movement, but the trade unions must not only fight for immediate demands, it must take up the aim of fighting to free the entire proletariat from the invisible convict chain of capital; and

3) to lead this struggle to victory, the most advanced workers, the revolutionary Marxists, must smash the influence of reformism and opportunism so as to train the working class in the spirit of class struggle and the Marxist world outlook; to be uncompromising in its attitude toward the capitalists, their government, and the sold-out capitalist "labor leaders"

BOURGEOIS POLITICS IN THE AFRO-AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN SEATTLE

What was the political line being promoted in the Afro-American movement in Seattle, particularly in regard to the Black proletariat who were the broad majority of Black people? The line was clearly laid out in a special New Year's issue (1896) of the Seattle Republican newspaper; organ of a section of the Black petty bourgeoisie (small capitalists and professionals).

On the question of the class struggle in the coal fields, the New Years' message openly declared: "Mining operations realized that something had to be done to break the backbone of such strikes, and they set out about the matter with such resolute and determined men as Jim Shepperson (ed --A Black man used by the NP to deceitfully recruit Black workers to work at the struck mines at Roslyn and Franklin) as allies to do it, and they did it. He took large crowds of colored miners to Illinois, Iowa, and brought hundreds to this state." It was also pointed out that for services rendered this man was rewarded with a night watchman's job at a Roslyn mine. Oh, the kindness of the capitalists! The point here is that this is exactly what the big capitalist owners of the mines had also said about the miners' struggle. For example, the manager of the Franklin mine in 1894 stated: "Our men are quiet and will stay so I think, and we are reaping new benefits from our action in 1891, as our force is the only bulwark against a general miners' strike in Washington." These comments were made just prior to the slaughter of 41 Black and white miners in two mining disasters at the Franklin mine.

On the question of Afro-American history in the U.S., the New Years' message said: "Though

but a step removed from the African cannibal, ...as soon as brought here by the cruel slave dealers he immediately develops into the most zealous patriot... In the thickest of the fight, in front of the belching dogs of war, and where duty was always most urgent, somehow he has always found thereabouts, if nothing more than to serve his master." Is this not the thinking of a slave-owners's lackey?

On the question of the situation facing Black people at the time, the New Years' message shamelessly declared: "The ex-slave of today furnishes his master with his reading material for New Year; the ex-slave of today is making laws for his old master to be governed by; the ex-slave today is running the machinery that takes the old master home to spend his holiday; the ex-slave of today is counting out the cash to the old master for services rendered, and all within less than half a century, yea, but scarcely more than a quarter of a century."

If this was not enough, the New Years message went on to propagate the general line for the future, as follows: "Their exhibit at the late Atlanta Exposition (ed.--A vocational trades and arts exhibit in Atlanta in 1895, whose leading Black figure was Booker T. Washington) shows too plainly that it will only be too wise for those persons who have so long been trying to deter its progress to make a treaty with it... Let us join in the brotherhood of man, ...with our combined forces defy the world should it threaten our liberties, endanger our institutions, or even defy our much beloved Monroe Doctrine."*

What did all this posturing before the white ruling class amount to? In very real terms it meant:

1) surrender to Jim Crow segregation, which at that time was on a nationwide rampage;

2) the promotion of disunity with the revolutionary working class, spreading of suspicion toward progressive and revolutionary whites and other oppressed nationalities, and the advocacy of strikebreaking; and

3) denial of the revolutionary traditions of the Great Afro-American people and an attempt to hinder their forward march by suppressing the revolutionary aspirations of the Black people.

As mentioned before, the Republican Party, from which the local paper drew its name, was a political party of the monopoly capitalist class, as was the Democratic Party. The Black proletariat had no political representatives in the Seattle area and the "voice of the Black community" came from the Seattle Republican.

In Seattle, there were well over one thousand

* In President Monroe's Seventh Annual Message to Congress on December 2, 1823 he stated: "The American continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers..." The Monroe doctrine was the open declaration by the joint dictatorship of U.S. capitalists and slave-owners that the U.S. and it alone would subjugate and exploit all of Latin America under the battle cry of acknowledging the independence of existing Latin American republics and the legitimacy of existing European colonies.

Afro-Americans, and over 800 registered Black voters in King County in 1896. Most worked in the the worst service jobs, much of which was domestic slavery in the homes of well-to-do whites. And some Blacks were small businessmen-- including labor contractors who provided the capitalists with cheap Black labor and who worked for little if anything. The labor contractor is rewarded by the capitalist for providing this cheap labor. There were also professionals, preachers, and the like--who were responsible for establishing the social structure in the community. It was this section of the community that provided the economic and social prop for the politics of the Seattle Republican.

The politics of the Seattle Republican, put forward by a handful of traitors, did not originate in Seattle; but had been consciously developed by the monopoly capitalists near the end of Reconstruction. Its leading spokesman was Booker T. Washington, whose infamous speech at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 called for "making a treaty" with the monopoly capitalists whereby Blacks would become, through vocational training, the docile slaves of the capitalist and landlord exploiters, "running the machinery that takes the old master home to spend his holiday." It was a program completely in line with the racist, anti-working class policies of the monopoly capitalist class. Its purpose was to segregate Black people into their "own" communities and work places, where the Black petty capitalists and opportunists could run roughshod over the Black laborers and where white racists gangs organized by the state could run roughshod over all the Black people. Now what kind of FREEDOM is this? Such was the program of Booker T. Washington--(honored guest in the palaces of the big bourgeoisie monopoly capitalists). Such was the political line which was the historical mother of the opportunists' present-day program of "Community Control".

When Booker T. Washington gave his Atlanta speech in 1895, 113 Afro-Americans were lynched in the South. In 1896, the Supreme Court passes its "separate but equal" ruling in the Plessy VS Ferguson case. And in 1898, the U.S. imperialists put the "beloved Monroe Doctrine" into practice by launching a war of aggression against Spanish colonies in Latin America and drowned in blood the heroic anti-colonial independence fighters in Cuba, the Phillipines, and Puerto Rico. Thus we can see that Booker T. Washington's line existed prominently in Seattle. The history of the Afro-American struggle prior to the turn of the century reveals that while on the one hand the working masses were fighting heroically against the attacks in the coal fields and in society-at-large against racial discrimination and persecution, the reactionaries in the Afro-American community attempted to defend the status quo, to defend their measly privileges by counseling the

Afro-American people to accept their position of semi-slavery and to surrender to violent, racist attacks. Uncompromising struggle against the capitalists and against their agents (the "trojan horses" in the community) was of decisive importance to advance the Afro-American struggle.

Similarly, resolute opposition to the racist trade union bureaucrats was of decisive importance for the working class movement to throw off the stench of Anglo-American chauvinism, develop unity with the Afro-American people and to wage revolutionary struggle against the monopoly capitalist class.

ON THE SOCIAL BASIS OF OPPORTUNISM

There were two main varieties of opportunism that raised their ugly heads to retard the growth of the revolutionary movement in this first chapter. They were reformism and bourgeois nationalism. There is no big dividing line between the two varieties since they are twin brothers. To have a good understanding of the twists and turns of the Afro-American movement to the present time, it is crucial that the social basis of reformism and bourgeois nationalism be exposed. We will depart somewhat from the historical presentation to elaborate on this.

Reformism denies the fundamental antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class. The reformists openly declared that they could "live with capitalism", that they merely wanted to eliminate its ugliest features, and they vowed to die fighting in defense of the capitalist system. The best example of this reformism in the workers' movement was concentrated in the American Federation of Labor, headed by the capitalist trade union bureaucrat Samuel Gompers. The social basis upon which the narrow craft ("bread and butter") unionism of the Gompers' regime rested was the labor aristocracy. Because monopoly capitalism, which rapidly developed after the Civil War and was nearly full-blown at the turn of the century, not only robbed the workers in the U.S. but also obtained superprofits at the expense of the oppressed peoples throughout the world, the possibility was created to bribe the upper crust of the working class. In turn, this labor aristocracy and the labor leaders became a political detachment and agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement. They transmitted capitalist influence in the working class--including racism, Anglo-American chauvinism, anti-women attitudes, etc. And the labor aristocracy provided the real social basis for the sham "socialism" in the socialist parties from the late 19th century up to today. In other words, there is a definite bond between imperialism and opportunism.

Lenin, great leader of the Russian Revolution, teaches that: "The whole thing reduces itself to bribery. This is done in a thousand different ways: by raising culture in the largest centers, by creating educational institutions, creating thousands of soft jobs for the leaders of the co-operative societies, for the trade union leaders and parliamentary leaders. This is done wherever modern, civilized, capitalist relations exist. And these billions of superprofits serve as the economic basis upon which opportunism in the working class movement rests." (10)

What is most instructive here is Lenin's references to ". . . creating educational institutions, creating thousands of soft jobs", which leads us to the second variety of opportunism, bourgeois nationalism. Booker T. Washington was educated at the Hampton Institute (established by the U.S. government to train Afro-Americans in vocational training and handicrafts during Reconstruction in the South) and was later permitted to run the Tuskegee Institute. Booker T. Washington became the leading spokesman of Black bourgeois nationalism. In "making a treaty" with the white ruling class, he wished to carry out the most heartfelt desire of the bourgeois nationalist, namely, to be able to have a market (that is, Black people) to exploit. He organized and headed the National Negro Business League in 1900, and at Tuskegee he trained the Black workers and small farmers in vocational training. The capitalists and their government created educational institutions and soft jobs for Booker T. Washington and his followers, thereby providing the social basis for this form of bourgeois nationalism.

Another form of bourgeois nationalism developed alongside the previous form. This bourgeois nationalism demanded land without organizing the struggle for political power (whether the land was in the Black Belt South or in Africa), partially rejected the all-out submission to the state practiced by Booker T. Washington, inclined toward greater segregation in political and social life, and hoped to achieve emancipation by establishing a nation under capitalist relations of production. Through history to the present, this line has been most clearly represented by the Garvey movement, the Pan-Reconstruction Association, the Nation of Islam, and the Republic of New Africa. In fact, after World War One, the Garvey movement degenerated into a mass deportation movement, which, in connection with the government (and the Ku Klux Klan), tried to force Afro-Americans to leave the U.S. and settle in Africa. However the Black people refused to be bullied and sunk these plans of forced deportation to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean.

Both forms of bourgeois nationalism had these common features: it was the spokesman for the Black middle class (small businessmen, professionals, etc.); it raised the demand for a market for the petty-bourgeoisie, either calling for "community control" or for land without actually waging the struggle against national oppression; it was necessarily reformist since it en-

visioned the possibility of emancipation and an end to national oppression under capitalism; and it was necessarily reformist since it saw no fundamental antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class.

Today, the ghosts of Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey linger on in the soft-cushioned bureaucrats' (or professors') chairs at the UW and at poverty program headquarters, and at various headquarters of "militant" segregationism.

When we refer to bourgeois nationalism we mean that nationalism which diverts the Afro-American people from fighting the monopoly capitalist class, their government, or anyone else who attacks them. Who can forget the disruptions caused by Nixon's Black capitalism program or the losses caused by the state-directed cultural nationalists (see page 30) in the late '60s?

The nationalism of the Afro-American people which combats racial discrimination, violent repression and all national oppression is entirely just and a great contribution to the revolutionary movement for emancipation. The sentiments of Black people is for revolution and the national struggle is, in the final analysis, a matter of class struggle. Chairman Mao gave guidance to the struggling Afro-American people in 1968: "Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation."

So the fundamental question of revolution is that of power, which class holds political power. When the working class seizes political power through socialist revolution and establishes its own rule, then the Afro-American people and all exploited and oppressed people will gain their freedom.

But the role of the opportunists is to confuse this entire issue. The reformists (including those who pay lip-service to Marxism) and bourgeois nationalists are twin brothers who work hand-in-glove against the revolutionary movement and are the "nurses of capitalism." Their social basis is: 1.) the labor aristocracy, and 2.) government-related bureaucrats (particularly in the universities). Today in Seattle, the top opportunists in the Black community occupy the latter type of positions for the most part.

But even the Central Area Contractors Association (CACA) is tied to the state, as the recent Black contractors convention in Seattle revealed once again. Depending on government contracts (such as at the Trident submarine base) necessarily means making deals with the U.S. imperialists. The trade union bureaucrats take the same bribe; they too praise and "clown" with fascist Senator Jackson (as the Black contractors' spokesmen did at their recent convention). Both promote military spending so as to beef up U.S. imperialism's powers of aggression against the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, etc., and call on the people to support fascism because this state spending "provides jobs".

As far as the Black petty-bourgeoisie who

are not dependent on the state, they are oppressed and are forced to scrimp and save to make ends meet. They are much more eager for change than those elements who have become lackeys of the state in a frenzied attempt to escape racial discrimination and persecution of the state.

But those who sell their services to the state, try as they might, cannot escape racial discrimination! Their dreams to become a Black aristocracy will never come true. The bourgeoisie will never allow them to have "community control" nor allow for the success of the bourgeois nationalist "struggle for land"

Opportunists are "woves in sheep's clothing" Instead of assisting the Afro-American struggle, they slander Black people as "backward", "selfish", etc. This is really turning truth on its head

History shows that every opportunist trend ends up crashing on the rocks because they oppose the forward march to complete emancipation which the Afro-Americans so heroically uphold

This first chapter is truly one of great heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of Black people, defying many difficulties and treacheries

CHAPTER II 1900 - 1918

The whole history of the proletarian movement for emancipation from the Civil War to the turn of the century showed that it failed to establish its independence from the capitalist class; that in the absence of a workers' party based on the revolutionary Marxist theory and program it was not possible to achieve the socialist transformation of society. The American socialists put themselves in sectarian isolation from the living and powerful working class movement, which without the theory of Marxism as a guide to action, remained theoretically helpless. Once again, the struggle between Marxism and opportunism was shown to be of decisive importance. Monopoly capitalism intensified the class struggle to the extreme and prepared conditions for its burial. Without the active assistance of opportunism, imperialism was doomed to an early death. Lenin pointed out that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat." (11) And, "The struggle against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the struggle against opportunism." (12)

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THE AFRO-AMERICAN MOVEMENT, THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

There were many two-line struggles in the Communist movement between Marxism and opportunism over the question of strategy and tactics for the workers' movement and the Afro-American movement. The Marxists struggled against the opportunists of all shades, especially the revisionists (those who used "Marxism" to oppose Marxism, who denied the strategic need for violent revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat). It was the duty of the Marxists to build a revolutionary party of the proletariat as an instrument to merge socialist politics with the spontaneous mass struggles and lead the workers and other oppressed people to victory. However, the task of advancing the first step by founding the Communist Party was not accomplished until Leninist ideas were spread in the U.S. following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

In the Afro-American movement, W.E.B. DuBois challenged Booker T. Washington's gospel of submission. DuBois, while not a Marxist, helped build the Anti-Imperialist League (1899) and the Niagra Movement (1901). The main shortcoming in this national, anti-racist work was DuBois' own idea of a Talented Tenth, which said that the Black petty-bourgeois intellectuals, not the proletariat, were the natural leaders of the Afro-American people. After decades of bitter experience with bribed middle class elements, DuBois finally in 1952 took the

correct position that the Black proletariat, having nothing to lose but their chains, and armed with Marxist ideology, was the leading force and backbone in the Afro-American struggle for emancipation

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Afro-Americans migrated from the plantation South to become industrial workers in modern industry and in service jobs in the North and West. The Black population in Seattle steadily increased from 1900 to the end of World War One (1918). Some Black workers migrated here as part of the rush to the Alaska gold fields in the first decade. In 1909, Seattle held the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition where it was obvious from the bustling commerce of the city that the area would further develop as the center of transportation, industry, and finance in the Pacific Northwest in the years to come.

Black people faced racial discrimination and violent repression by the forces of the state. The jobs that Black workers found in Seattle in this period were as follows: cooks, elevator operators, bellhops, waiters, pullman porters, domestic servant slavery, and the worst, most back breaking jobs in industry: lumber, mining etc. The Black workers were unorganized, often segregated, and constantly harassed by the capitalists and their police. They had very little connection with the socialist or workers' movement in the city

A few Afro-Americans continued to serve as labor contractors for the capitalists, providing them with cheap labor. The businesses owned by Blacks were in the service sector of the economy--little if any Black-owned businesses existed in the industrial production sector. As the Black population increased, there was related growth in the number of Black professionals (clergy, lawyers, government-related work).

The social organization among Black people was highly developed. As early as 1903, the Masons and other fraternal organizations grew quite rapidly. Churches were also frequent meeting places. In this period, other organizations were formed, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1916 and the Association of Colored Women.

An important aspect of the Black communities throughout the state was the extensive Black press. In Seattle, the Seattle Republican (1894-1913) and the Northwestwest Enterprise (1920-1963) provided the Black people with a newspaper which mostly represented the likes and dislikes of the upper strata of the community, whose basic political line was "we make the ladder by which we climb", "mount it round by round". (Booker T. Washington) Despite their political backwardness, a point they have in common with the present day community newspapers, they did

play a positive role in presenting progressive views about the struggles in the South and local community issues. For example, Horace Cayton, editor of the Seattle Republican, printed a front page article on a brutal lynching in the South in 1918 and one year later found himself and his family displaced from their stately Capital Hill home to the Rainier Valley area, where he eked out a bare existence as a proletarian. In the 1930s the Northwest Enterprise did take many strong stands against racial discrimination and violent repression as the mass upsurge of Blacks in the revolutionary mass movements prompted these stands.

The Afro-American movement was at a low level due to the influence of opportunism. The workers' movement was vigorous at the time. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW--an anarcho-syndicalist organization) was vigorously organizing among the migratory workers (mainly farm laborers and lumberjacks) and sawmill workers. To do so they had to wage many resistance struggles against fascism, such as the Spokane free-speech fight of 1909 and the Aberdeen free-speech fight of 1911-12, in which several workers lost their lives; the Everett free-speech fight, including the heroic resistance to a police ambush in Everett in 1916 in which 5-12 workers were martyred and 2 fascist deputies sent to their graves; the active resistance to fascism in Centralia in 1919 in which 4 fascist vigilantes were wiped out raiding the IWW union hall and in which one Wobbly was brutally killed. And of course there was the Seattle General Strike involving virtually all of the trade unions in 1919.

But the Black workers' participation in the working class movement was prevented by the labor mis-leaders. The revolutionary socialists failed to wage an uncompromising, principled struggle against the labor aristocrats in the Seattle labor movement, who opposed inclusion of Blacks into trade unions and opposed equal rights for the oppressed nationalities in industry and in social life in general.

In 1914, World War One broke out. It was an unjust war in which the world imperialist powers butchered millions in their struggle to re-divide the world. President Wilson called it a war "to make the world safe for democracy". This was a big lie. The U.S. imperialists were out to insure that the world be carved up in their favor, as were the other imperialist bandits. In 1917, the Russian proletarian revolution broke the world convict chain of imperialism which

shackled the world's people. This great revolution led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party marked the beginning of a new era. Lenin said:

"A new era in world history has begun. Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist or wage slavery. By emancipating himself from slavery, man is for the first time advancing to real freedom."

(13)

During the war, Black workers migrated to work here in the war industries that would hire them. In 1916, over 400 Blacks came here to work on the docks, but it was under similar conditions as the first mass migrations of Black workers to the coal fields. The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), a member of the AFL, called a strike for higher wages, better working conditions, and a union-controlled hiring hall. The entire organized maritime workers on the waterfront became embroiled in the fierce struggle. Not able to break the strike by brute force, even though the capitalists harangued the workers for their lack of patriotism and directed police attacks at them, they resorted to more tried and true measures. They recruited unorganized workers from all across the country, including 400 Blacks from Kansas City, St. Louis, and New Orleans. The capitalists' strike breaking efforts temporarily proved successful. The ILA union bosses helped bring about this result due to their exclusion of Blacks from the union.

After the strike, the Black workers remained segregated work-gangs and their conditions of work were very dangerous. They began to wage a struggle to be included into integrated work gangs and into the union. The real fruit of their struggle against racial discrimination was later assisted by the Communists in the ILA. This will be seen in the next chapter.

All the problems facing the unity of the revolutionary movement lingered on from the first period. It was with the spread of Leninism and the founding of the Communist Party (1919-21) that the situation slowly started to change in the U.S. and in Seattle. It was only then that real Marxist-Leninist leadership could be given to the spontaneous upsurges of the mass revolutionary movements. It was only then that real headway could be made in merging the Afro-American movement with the struggle of the working class so as to build a united revolutionary assault on the fortress of capitalism.

CHAPTER III 1918 - 1938



Great Lenin, together with his close comrade-in-arms, Joseph Stalin, built the Bolshevik Party and lead the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Here, Lenin gives leadership to the armed proletarians in their struggle for political power, in their advance towards real freedom. Lenin also gave brilliant Marxist guidance to the revolutionary struggles of the colonized and oppressed people throughout the world, including the Afro-American people in the U.S.

The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 established the colored front of the East and inspired the proletarian revolution in Europe and North America. Lenin was the first socialist worker, representing the oppressed people, including the masses of black people, in China, the East, and the Colonies. Lenin gave personal guidance to the American Communists on the question of the workers' struggle to overthrow capitalism in the United States. Lenin's policy was to lead the workers to a socialist revolution in the United States, and in the process to establish a proletarian dictatorship. Lenin's policy was to lead the workers to a socialist revolution in the United States, and in the process to establish a proletarian dictatorship. Lenin's policy was to lead the workers to a socialist revolution in the United States, and in the process to establish a proletarian dictatorship.

CHAPTER III 1918 - 1939

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 awakened the colonized peoples of the East and inspired the proletarian revolutions in Europe and North America. There was widespread support for the first socialist workers' republic among the American people, including the masses of Black people.

In China, Mao Tsetung summed up the influence of this great revolution in this way:

"The Russian Revolution of 1917 awakened the Chinese, and they learned Marxism-Leninism. In China, the Communist Party was born, an epoch-making event." (14)

The East was turned into a battleground against imperialism. New Marxist-Leninist parties came into being all over the world.

Lenin gave personal guidance to the American Communists on the Black national question. He called on the workers of the world "to render direct aid to the revolutionary movements in the dependent and subject nations (for example, in Ireland, the Negroes in America, etc.) and in the colonies." (15) As early as 1913, Lenin pointed out, "In the United States, 11.1 per cent of the population consists of Negroes (and also Mulattoes and Indians), who must be considered an oppressed nationality." (16) And giving direction to the revolutionary movement, Lenin said: "It is impossible, under capitalism to abolish national (or any political) oppression." (17) Lenin called on the proletarian revolutionaries to wholeheartedly support the just struggle of the Afro-Americans and to mobilize support for their immediate and full participation in the labor movement and the whole of social life as equals with whites. It was the influence of Leninism and the founding of the Communist Party in 1919 that was to give the worker-chauvinist view that "there is no color line in exploiting the workers" a sharp blow in theory and practice.

The Communist Party, the political party of the proletariat and the product of class struggle, organized in the South among the sharecroppers and workers, shed blood with them, and put up stiff resistance to the state-organized racist attacks. In the North and West, the Communist Party championed the fight against Jim Crow segregation, initiated the campaign to build a mass labor party, and developed the political consciousness of the workers by training the workers' movement not to confine itself to solely trade union activity but also to support every democratic movement of the oppressed people. The Party viewed as a positive development the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) led by Marcus Garvey, which grew into a huge nationwide mass movement of Black people in the 1920s. The Party also took a critical attitude of its worst features. When the movement's

program against racial discrimination and violent repression was dropped and the Back-to-Africa movement became dominant and proved to be a colonizer's swindle, the CPUSA stopped supporting it as did the Black people.

STRUGGLES AGAINST STATE-ORGANIZED RACIST ATTACKS

In Seattle, Afro-Americans had closely followed the Garvey movement. National sentiment was very high. There were many reasons for this. State attacks against Black people continued without let-up. An investigation into the Seattle Police Department by U.S. Prosecutor Wickersham revealed that the Seattle Police Department practiced violent repression against Blacks, other national minorities, and workers on a large scale.

Black workers remained confined to the most menial, back-breaking jobs. Besides a handful of professionals and skilled workers, the Black proletarians were forced to work as domestic slaves, hotel waiters, bus boys, shoe shiners, porters on railroads, and stewards on ships. In 1922, the Colored Marine Employees Benevolent Association of the Pacific, Inc. was established to contract Black stewards for work on coast steamship companies. As for social segregation, Boldt's restaurant on Third Avenue was the only one that freely served Afro-Americans. The racist sign "We Don't Serve Colored" hung like a rotten shingle in downtown Seattle. Afro-Americans fought their oppression and defied the brutal attacks of the Seattle police. However, some Black professionals continued to live by selling their services to the capitalists. For example, a Black lawyer, who we shall hear more of later, outlined his "duties" as follows: "The real place of the lawyer is that of being an arm of the police power of the community (!), a mediator of the courts and a protector of the rights (!) of its citizens".

By 1930, the Black population in Seattle was about 6,000. Black people lived in six different areas of the city: 24th and E. Madison, Green Lake, Rainier Valley, 12th and Jackson, Terry and E. Howell, and Hooverville--a starvation-riddled shanty town south of downtown. At this time, the world capitalist system was plunged into a deep economic crisis caused by its own anarchy of production and the related struggle for shrinking world markets. As the economic crisis deepened, state-organized racist attacks against Black people across the nation multiplied. In the first six months of 1933, these state-organized attacks claimed the lives of at least 42 Afro-Americans. In the South, the number of Black farmers, and their cultivated acreage, was on a sharp decline. Only 20% of Black farms were

not mortgaged to the banks. In the large cities, unemployment among Blacks was often four times that of whites. Under the heavy weight of racial discrimination, violent repression and class exploitation, Black people in their millions rose up against their oppressors.

In the early '30s, a sweeping nationwide campaign was built to defend the Scottsboro Boys, nine Black youth from rural Alabama who were being railroaded to the electric chair by the racist and fascist southern courts on trumped up rape charges. This campaign of mass struggle aroused millions in the U.S. and throughout the world against the American ruling class. It was led by the Communist Party. Another nationwide campaign was launched to support Angelo Herndon, a Black Communist, who was being railroaded to a long prison sentence in Georgia for organizing the unemployed.

In Seattle too, mass campaigns were waged on these issues, led by the CPUSA. In addition, the party sent many of its Seattle cadres to the South to participate in the mass movements against lynchings, Jim Crow segregation, and to organize the unorganized workers and sharecroppers. The CPUSA was merging Marxist-Leninist politics with the Afro-American struggle, pointing to the necessity to overthrow the monopoly capitalists and providing revolutionary direction.

In Seattle, Black people waged mass struggles against violent police repression. In 1936, the Committee of the Citizens' Emergency Council condemned the systematic police beatings of Afro-Americans and called on Black people to resist racist attacks. This committee consisted of the Harriet Tubman Club, The Washington Commonwealth Federation, various trade unions, and the Negro Workers' Council. Two years later Black people rose up to oppose the police murder of a young Black worker, Barry Lawson. Mass meetings were held in the community and demonstrations took place in downtown Seattle. Under the pressure of the mass struggle, two of the three responsible police were found guilty. But in keeping with American history, the racist dogs never spent a day in prison.

AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Huge mass movements of workers, farmers, Black people, women and youth grew throughout the U.S. Revolutionary workers' struggle electrified all the oppositional movements. Militant workers of all nationalities joined trade unions en masse and founded the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The Communists developed the political consciousness of the workers. The Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) was built largely by the Communist Party and led by William Z. Foster, glorious fighter and leader of the American working class. It was instrumental in promoting industrial unionism, organizing the unorganized,

increasing the solidarity of workers of different nationalities, opposing the racist and anti-working class practices of the AFL leadership, and supporting the Soviet Union headed by Great Stalin. Of the Black proletarians, the TUUL stated:

"The Negro workers are good fighters. This they have proved in innumerable strikes in the coal, steel, packing, building, and other industries, despite systematic betrayal by the white trade union leaders. ... They are a tremendous source of potential revolutionary strength and vigor. They have a double oppression, as workers and as Negroes, to fill them with fighting spirit and resentment against capitalism." (18)

In Seattle, Black workers carried their revolutionary sentiments into the militant workers' struggles against capitalist exploitation. The most outstanding of these struggles was the maritime workers' struggles in 1932, 1934, and 1936. These class battles were very bitter. Longshoremen were the leading force among the maritime workers as they united in powerful economic struggles. (In San Francisco, the longshoremen led the entire working class in a 3 day general strike, while staying out themselves for 81 days.) The 1934 strike was a big showdown on the Seattle waterfront. Hoping to break the workers' resistance by police terror, two workers were killed in cold blood. But the maritime capitalists utterly failed to dislodge the united workers from the positions they held on the piers. Black longshoremen provided much muscle in the strike, playing a leading role at Pier 41 where armed clashes between workers and police were fierce at the height of the strike. Having the daylights scared out of them, the employers met the demands of the workers for a thirty-hour week, increased wages, and a union-controlled hiring hall. Again in 1936, maritime workers' struggle forced concessions from the capitalists.

The proletarians had learned a great deal from this class warfare on the docks. In 1937, the longshoremen and stewards overwhelmingly voted to break with the AFL and affiliate with the CIO. Not a single Black worker voted to stay in the AFL and the all-Black stewards' union disbanded. The workers united in revolutionary struggle and punctured the dreams of the monopoly capitalists to split them and drive them into dire poverty, as they had done to the coal miners in 1891 and the longshoremen in 1916. They concretely demonstrated that the way to fight the capitalist system was through revolutionary struggle. The CIO movement was the greatest single step forward yet taken by American workers to organize themselves into a fighting class. Communists gave leadership to this powerful movement.

Other sections of the working class were actively getting organized in the 1930s too, such as the cannery and agricultural workers. Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Black, and white workers

stood shoulder-to-shoulder in the blood-stained croplands of the big farmers and capitalists. They organized the Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union (CIO) to oppose racial discrimination and starvation wages. In these organizing drives, Communists led the economic struggles and developed the political consciousness of the workers for a period of time. However, negative influences in the Communist Party led to the liquidation of this work by the late '30s and early '40s.

"THE CORRECTNESS OR INCORRECTNESS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING" (19)

Whether or not the Afro-American struggle was to advance along the revolutionary path depended in the first place, on political line, secondly, on organization.

Only the Communist Party of the proletariat can provide correct, scientific, thoroughly revolutionary leadership to the working class and oppressed nationalities. Based on correct political line, the Marxist-Leninist Party organizes the most conscious, most self-sacrificing, most revolutionary fighters as Party members who base their entire lives on implementing Marxism-Leninism and on fighting for the great goal of communism and the elimination of the exploitation of man-by-man. The Party is the advanced detachment and vanguard of the proletariat, which itself leads all oppressed people and nationalities to victory over the class enemy.

But the Party can only open its doors to a relatively small number of professional revolutionaries from the ranks of the people. The revolution also demands organizations of different kinds which encompass the broad masses and which fights the capitalists tooth and nail on different fronts. The Afro-American people need such an organization which takes up the political line of the Party and unites the Black community to defend itself from the racial discrimination and violent repression of the monopoly capitalist class.

In the 1930s, the only large organization of the Black community was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It confined its activities to primarily legal challenges in the capitalist courts. This political line, which promotes faith in capitalist legal justice, suppresses the initiative of the masses and instills the belief that lawyers and other "great heroes" will defend the people, is reformist and profoundly wrong. It leads the people into passivity in the face of state-organized attacks and can in no way serve the revolution.

The responsibility for this state of affairs in the Black community lies not with this or that leader of the NAACP, but primarily with the leadership provided to the working class and all oppressed people, including Black people, by the

CPUSA. As far as revolution is concerned, "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line (of the Communist Party) decides everything."

Communists, both Black and white, had heroically participated in and led many economic and political struggles in the late 1920s and early '30s: the strike movement, the anti-lynching struggles, organizing the unorganized, and campaigns to promote proletarian internationalism. One such campaign was the movement to disrupt and protest the shipment of scrap-iron to Japan, which was turning this iron into weapons to be used against the Chinese Revolution in the late 1930s.

However, inside the CPUSA, Earl Browder, the General Secretary, was hastily making himself a renegade from Marxist-Leninist revolutionary politics and the working class in general by imposing a revisionist line on the Party. As early as 1934, Browder declared that "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" and denied that revolution was necessary in the U.S. These rightist, revisionist ideas represented the influence of the capitalists inside the Party. The two-line struggle between Marxism and revisionism inside the Party reflected the class struggle in society between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Browder's influence led to the subordinating of the revolutionary mass movements to the FDR section of finance capital, to the "liberal" bourgeoisie. Browder was claiming that America was a great "democracy" precisely at a time when national and class struggle was bursting apart the rotten capitalist system, precisely at a time when the American reactionaries had flung their paper-thin veil of democracy to the four winds. As for the special oppression of Black people, Browder denied that it existed, and underhandedly liquidated the Communist Party in the South. Black-white revolutionary unity was not possible, according to him, because Black people lived in a sea of racists. That is to say, the American working class was racist, sold-out, and bribed. Actually, Mr. Browder was talking about himself.

Browder's revisionism led to the betrayal of the great American working class. The workers were encouraged to think that unemployment, which is inherent in the capitalist system, would be solved by social-welfare schemes. They were told that after the war, U.S. imperialism would benevolently "liberate" the colonies it possessed; that U.S. imperialism "retains some of the characteristics of a young capitalism" and would play a progressive role after the war providing jobs for all, a big increase in wages, an end to racial discrimination, etc. etc. During the war, Browder counselled the working people to have complete faith in the ruling class because it was participating in the fight against German, Italian and Japanese fascism and thus helping to defend the socialist Soviet Union and other oppressed nations and people fighting the fascist axis powers. He refused to mobilize the working class against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class who, after

all, were only opposing the fascist powers so that after the war it could step into their shoes, push for all-out world domination and become the biggest fascist power of all times. In short, Browder had led the Party into becoming an appendage of FDR, the Democratic Party, and the "liberal" bourgeoisie. The Party promoted the same illusions and treacherous deception as the ruling class. Naturally, Browder concluded, there was no longer any need for a Communist Party so he advocated that the Party members all become good liberals, and succeeded in dissolving the organization in 1944. This remains a dark stain on the history of the American Communist movement.

The Marxist-Leninists inside the CPUSA led by W. Z. Foster, fought back and reconstituted the Party in 1945. But in some local areas, Browder's capitulationist-revisionist line was never rooted out. This was largely the case in Seattle.

The revisionist line held that Black people should follow the leadership of "respectable" (bourgeois) community leaders to plead with the local reactionaries to lay down their butcher knives, to demand that the capitalist state reform itself and become sensible. And this is what the NAACP and others did. This pleading of course, came to no good end. The monopoly capitalist class and their state machine will never change their exploitative, fascist nature. They must

be overthrown. The class collaborationist line of revisionism was a curse on the oppressed people.

Despite betrayals, Black people unflinchingly continued their struggle. Capitalism gives the oppressed people no choice but to fight. One result of the mass struggles was that a few jobs were opened-up to Black people--as maritime, public utility and Post Office workers.

On the international front during the '30s, fascist Germany, Italy, and Japan threatened world peace. They were the most aggressive imperialist bandits at that time. Afro-Americans had a burning hatred for fascism since they experienced it first-hand in the U.S., especially in the Black Belt South. The racist German imperialists openly justified their attacks on Jewish people by references to Jim Crow segregation against the Black people in "democratic" America.

In resisting fascism, there was a strong bond between oppressed Afro-Americans and the colonized African peoples. In 1935, 20,000 Blacks volunteered to assist Ethiopia's valiant struggle against the Italian fascist invasion. And Blacks, together with white Americans, volunteered to fight in Spain alongside the anti-fascist forces opposing the combined armies of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco. Black people stood in the forefront of the anti-fascist masses in the U.S.



The 1934 longshoremen's strike struck at the heart of Seattle's local ruling circles. The workers militantly carried the economic struggle through to the end and won complete victory. The entire local state machine was arrayed against the maritime proletarians but neither political deception nor armed suppression could subdue them. Above photo shows a funeral march held to honor a fallen comrade, Shelby Daffron, who was murdered by police at the gates of the Richmond Beach oil station. Three days following the march, the workers denounced the murder by the police in a large downtown demonstration at 3rd and Seneca, where the workers punished the police for their crimes. One policeman was killed after provoking the workers, which boldly displayed the workers' hatred for the capitalist state.



The class struggle was sharpest at the Smith Cove, Piers 40 and 41. Above photo shows a section of the two thousand workers who, after chasing off the police, were teargassed at Pier 41. It was here that the Black proletarians played a courageous and leading role in opposing the attacks of the capitalist state.

CHAPTER IV 1940 - 1959

By 1940 and the beginning of World War II, thousands of Black workers began to migrate to Seattle to work in the war industries. World War II had begun. Germany, Italy, and Japan were carrying out wars of aggression throughout the world and the German imperialists were preparing to invade the anti-fascist headquarters of world revolution, the Soviet Union. It was the Great Anti-Fascist War that brought much of the present-day Black population to Seattle, tripling the number of Afro-Americans to a total of 20,000. Segregated neighborhoods were established where Blacks were forced to live.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT

War industries and the military services from this area recruited Blacks from mainly Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and parts of Mississippi. They worked at Lockheed and Todd shipyards, Bethlehem Steel, Pacific Car and Foundry, Bremerton Naval Shipyard, federal government installations (Ft. Lawton, Sandpoint, and others), Union Pacific and Great Northern railroads, maritime jobs, service industries, civil service, the Post Office, and at Boeing (by the end of the war). The Black proletarians and their families lived in over-crowded housing facilities as the housing shortage was particularly bad for large sections of the working class. The old apartment buildings on First Avenue housed thousands of the incoming Black workers. As high as four families lived in a single two-room apartment. Most of the Black workers lived in the housing projects--Duwamish Bend, Stadium Homes, Highpoint, Yesler Terrace, Rainier Vista, and Holly Park. In terms of neighborhood housing, real estate companies and the banks sectioned off a part of Central Seattle "for Blacks only". This area extended from 12th Avenue to 23rd Avenue, and from Jackson to Madison streets. With the connivance of a few Black realtors, big real estate companies block-busted the old, mostly Jewish neighborhood, and filled their pockets with gold.

All-round racial discrimination and violent repression was practiced against Black people by the local ruling circles with a feverish malice. Blacks were refused work at Boeing and other large plants, segregated in many of the others. It was the worst jobs that the Black workers had to look forward to. The Seattle police, armed detachment of the monopoly capitalists' state machine, perpetuated a reign of terror against the newly-arrived Blacks in the downtown area and the housing projects. Neighborhood businesses refused to serve Blacks, not to mention hiring them. Many capitalists in Seattle, and in Bremerton and Tacoma, hung out their Jim

Crow shingle: "No Negroes Allowed". And racial discrimination in the army was pervasive. Breaking out of the isolation of the semi-feudal, semi-slave plantation system of the South and selling their labor power to the capitalists the same as the whites, Black workers hoped their conditions of employment and of life in general would be equal to the white people. When this did not occur, the Black workers, who had proved to be revolutionary to the core in the big class battles of the 1930s, waged many struggles against the injustices of class and national oppression that they encountered.

Nationwide during the war, there was a big mass movement against the racial discrimination in regards to equal employment and desegregation of the Army. Even FDR was forced to set up the Fair Employment Practices Committee as there were still over one million Blacks unemployed. The FDR administration had a notorious reputation for windy promises to Black people, while aiding and abetting the vicious attacks against them.

In Seattle, the Boeing Company--the largest employer of industrial proletarians--refused to hire Blacks. The "labor lieutenants" of the capitalists in command of Local 751 of the Aero-Mechanics Union (AFL) strengthened this racist exclusion of the Afro-Americans. Workers in Local 751 voted in June, 1940 to strike down the segregation clause and to immediately include all national minority workers in the local. The trade union bureaucrats were outraged. They set up a new executive committee and overruled the workers' decision on the basis that the democratic vote was "controlled by Communists". James A. Duncan, international representative of the Aero-Mechanics Union came to Seattle and prostrated himself before the capitalists, saying that if the government wanted to desegregate Boeing (!) it should build a separate plant for Black workers. The Black community was up in arms! Revolutionary Boeing workers united with the Black community in a powerful protest which finally forced limited concessions from Boeing. At first, a small number of Blacks were allowed to work there only if they paid \$3.50 for temporary work permits. The South African racists must have been proud of the Boeing Company and its lackies: trade union bureaucrats, the local government, and the capitalist press. Mass picketing led by Black workers finally forced Boeing to drop the "temporary work permit" rule. After years of struggle, Boeing buckled under to the pressure of mass struggle.

At other large industrial plants, the capitalists had set up segregated facilities for Black workers and continually tried to incite white against Black. At Pacific Car and Foundry, Black women workers led a struggle to beat down the Jim Crow segregation areas for "whites only" and succeeded. At the shipyards, most

Blacks worked as shipsalers and janitors and fought to enter the skilled trades.

WHERE THERE IS OPPRESSION THERE IS RESISTANCE

The social and political persecution of Black people in Seattle by the reactionaries resembled the terror experienced in the South. There were numerous police murders of Blacks during WW II in Seattle. The ruling class got very panicky when large numbers of revolutionary-minded Blacks came here and immediately went to work right in the heart of industrial production. In 1941 the home of Carl Brooks, a Black Communist and trade union organizer, was dynamited by racists. In 1942, the police murdered among others, two young Black workers, Morris Hill and David Hartsfield. Afro-Americans and progressive people organized against violent repression, formed committee after committee and demanded time and again that the murders stop. But as before, the capitalist authorities refused to lay down their butcher knives. The capitalists failed to listen to the demands of the masses, who made appeal after appeal to them. This clearly demonstrated the inability of the bourgeoisie to listen to words. The only thing that they understand is violence--just as they inflict fascist violence onto the masses of people, so the oppressed people must use revolutionary violence against the fascists.

In downtown Seattle, a number of motels and restaurants continued to refuse service to Afro-Americans. These practices became more noticeably outrageous when thousands of Black workers located in the First Avenue area. These areas were heavily patrolled by the police, and their intimidation was directed toward depriving Afro-Americans of any social and political rights, so as to divide the working class along nationality lines and to depress wages and living conditions for the entire class.

The fascist internment of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps at Issaquah and Puyallup enabled the monopoly capitalists, through the use of the state machine, to steal their outlying farms as well as their property in Central Seattle. The monopoly capitalists also forced Afro-Americans and other impoverished people out of their living quarters in the present-day International District to make room for skilled workers (mostly from Boeing) who could pay higher rent.

Militant Afro-Americans quickly rose up to fight the intensified oppression. After the Olympic Hotel refused service to Paul Robeson, progressive and talented Afro-American leader in 1942, demonstrations were held at the hotel protesting racial discrimination. Over the next few years this struggle sharpened. The capitalists' hotel association was forced to drop its more obvious discriminatory practices, but segregation remained on a large scale. One of the most militant and leading fighters in this

just struggle was Eugene Moszee. He operated a small gas station at 19th and Madison.

In 1945, Moszee had united with progressive and revolutionary people (including scores of CPUSA members) in carrying out demonstrations against business establishments practicing a "We Don't Serve Coloreds" policy. On the night of November 15, at a bar located at 14th and Madison, Moszee was actively defending himself from some racists. The racists became panic-stricken and called on the police for help.

According to reactionaries, it is the police and their agents who are supposed to suppress and attack the disenfranchised, "good-for-nothing" Blacks. So the police, whom Moszee had no fear of, followed him to his gas station and demanded that he open the door. Moszee of course refused and demanded a warrant be produced. At this point the half dozen police proceeded to shoot the door down. A hail of gunfire shook and awoke the whole neighborhood. In the aftermath Moszee and one of the fascists, a former jailer, died from gunshot wounds. Eugene Moszee heroically fought back in self-defense and it is to his credit that he did not die alone. Why is it that the fascist police were after this militant and heroic fighter? It does not take one very long to reason this out: Moszee stood up for democratic rights for Black people and heroically struggled against racial discrimination and violent repression.

The cowardly racist attack was white-washed by the capitalist courts and the whole matter was declared "justifiable homicide". John S. Prim, Black deputy prosecutor and faithful agent of the capitalists, directed the railroad at the inquest. This was the same man, quoted earlier (p. 14), who said that "the lawyer is the arm of the police power in the community". Some people try to deny that Black people are divided into classes. If this traitor is not serving class interests, then what is he doing? Are there not classes with different interests among Black people?

As the resistance unfolded, large community meetings and demonstrations were held. The Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice was established and demanded that the local authorities lay down their butcher knives. But the reactionaries literally laughed in their faces. They were not shaken in the least by the activities of the reformists.

Failing to take up the revolutionary spirit of Eugene Moszee, the committee could not lead the Afro-American people against violent repression. Black people do not expect the racists to lay down their butcher knives.

Another example of racist attack during the war period is worth mentioning. Black soldiers at Fort Lawton were segregated and even denied services at area businesses. At the same time POW's of the Italian fascist army had more freedom than the Black GI's. The Black soldiers rose up to protest this criminal state of affairs and partially succeeded in winning their demands.

THE SITUATION AFTER WORLD WAR II

World War II had a just anti-fascist character and the American people gave it their support. However, the internment of Japanese-Americans, the racist attacks against Afro-Americans, and the impoverishment of the entire working class indicated that the motive of the monopoly capitalists in fighting the fascists in World War II was to secure world domination for themselves. Americans were rightly disgusted with the fascism in the U.S. A Detroit Black youth declared, in the midst of police-inspired attacks against Blacks moving into the Sojourner Truth Housing Project, that "I will take my fighting and dying, if necessary, right here in the streets of Detroit to get some democracy for my people." This clearly expressed the just sentiments of the revolutionary Black masses.

After the war, U.S. imperialism took the place of German, Japanese, and Italian fascism and became the most reactionary and decadent of all capitalisms. It became the main source of war and aggression. President Truman laid out a complete program of fascism at home in order to prepare for aggressive war abroad. The state attacked the trade union organizations, especially the CIO, the oppressed nationalities, and the Communist Party. In order to deprive the revolutionary mass movements of leadership, a special campaign of terror and infiltration was waged against the Communist Party. Fascist laws were passed, such as the Taft-Hartley Act, the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, and the Nixon-Mundt Bill.

Meanwhile, Black GIs returned home from the Anti-fascist War determined to fight for freedom in the U.S. The oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were rising up to free themselves from colonialist bondage, and their example aroused Black people in the U.S. The 600 million Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, stood up with great dignity and declared their freedom from foreign imperialists and internal reaction in 1949. The myth that colored peoples are "inferior" to white U.S. imperialists was dealt a crushing blow.

For Black people in Seattle after the war, national and class oppression deepened. By 1948 the war industries had cut back production and Black workers were the first to be laid off. Also, the federal government closed down the temporary housing projects and this forced thousands of Blacks to leave Seattle, voluntarily or otherwise. Local authorities often rounded up Blacks and charged them with public vagrancy or failure to prove state citizenship, forcing them onto trains destined for the South. By 1950 thousands of Black people were forced onto welfare or unemployment relief.

Because of this situation, a struggle for civil rights and jobs developed. Fair Employment Practices Committees carried out picketing at community and downtown stores and at large

factories. Community Councils were established which also fought for jobs and civil rights, in the Jackson Street and Capitol Hill areas. The Marine Cooks and Stewards' Union (50% of its members were Black), the Longshoremen's Union, and other progressive unions fought for admittance of Blacks into trade unions. But lacking Marxist leadership, this movement was short-lived and had little practical effect on the lives of the Black masses.

BETRAYAL BY THE REVISIONISTS

When the government attacked the CPUSA in Washington state with the Smith Act Trials in the early 1950s, the Party leadership capitulated to these attacks and a process of disintegration took place inside the Party. While most ordinary members were forced to fight the McCarthyite fascists on an individual basis, the leadership handcuffed the Party with its line of surrender.

Why did this happen to the once proud Marxist-Leninist Branch in Seattle? The revisionist leadership had prepared conditions for this surrender to the bourgeoisie locally by prostrating themselves in front of the Washington State government's anti-communist Canwell Committee hearings in 1948. Prior to this, they had submerged the entire Party locally into the Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF). The WCF was a coalition of many organizations representing "liberals, labor and the farm". Its role was to operate as the "left wing" of the Democratic Party, supposedly to push for "radical reforms". In reality, its purpose was to confuse the workers, who were overcoming Democratic Party politics and throwing aside liberal-reformist illusions, and in this way the WCF acted as a political prop for the capitalist system. The CP participated in elections to the U.S. Senate and Washington State Legislature on the WCF platform advocating salvation through pitiful "welfare programs" of every description. These "liberal workmen" politics amounted to renunciation of revolution and capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

In the Black people's struggle against violent police repression, the revisionists advocated reliance on "respectable" community leaders and "expert" lawyers to kneel in front of the capitalists and beg them to become non-violent and saint-like. They suppressed the initiative of the masses to wage active resistance to fascism and to organize themselves for self-defense.

In the trade unions, success was measured on the basis of how many leadership positions CP members occupied. The revisionist line was not concerned over the fact that the workers were not following these CP trade union officials because of their revolutionary communist politics. The workers simply trusted the communists for their militance in fighting the economic struggles.

The Party did not even attempt to raise the worker's' instinctual class hatred and revolutionary sentiment to the level of socialist consciousness. This too was a renunciation of revolution by the CP leadership and a declaration of peace with capitalist, reformist politics--which, being around in abundance in society due to the rule of the bourgeoisie, will necessarily hold sway unless opposed.

Inside the CPUSA, revisionism dominated. It corroded away the heart of Marxism-Leninism: the proletariat's science of waging irreconcilable class struggle to overthrow the monopoly capitalist class by force of arms and establish socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While substituting belly-crawling for revolutionary struggle against the capitalist state, the revisionist leadership necessarily adopted a reactionary style of work. Instead of integrating theory with practice, revisionists set themselves up as the "theoreticians" while the ordinary members were dished up revisionist goulash by the leaders. Instead of forging close links with the masses--especially the industrial proletariat--the Party became the "left wing" of the Democratic Party, divorced from the real struggles of the proletariat. Instead of an open and above-board policy of criticism and self-criticism, the revisionists exercised bureaucratic suppression of the two-line struggle, of correct ideas and democratic discussion. With this reactionary style of work, the Party was lifeless in the face of repression.

While a bureaucracy was created to save the revisionist from criticism by the Marxist-Leninists, the organization itself was loose and flabby. The doors of the CPUSA were flung wide-open for anyone to step forward and sign a membership card. The revisionists were so anxious to have a large membership that dues were paid for the new "recruits"--many of whom quit the Party directly after signing down their name. So revisionist politics, which detached theory from practice and whose content was surrender to the class enemy, also gave rise to an extremely flabby organization. And through the cardboard doors of the Party crept the police agents. In front of the Washington State anti-communist hearings, agents divulged membership lists which contained the names of many people having little or no connection with the Party. Among these names were many Afro-Americans. The state seized on the opportunity to hound them at work and in the community, forcing many to lose their jobs. For members of a genuine Communist Party, state attacks are expected since Party members are dedicated professional revolutionaries who are continually engaged in revolutionary struggle. But for people who had been mobilized around the Party on a social basis, (and this was mainly how the Party "mobilized" Blacks during and after the war,) and who were not actually building the Party, (which determines whether someone is a Communist or not), these state attacks against

Afro-Americans should be viewed as a shameful ambush made possible by the treachery of the revisionists.

While hundreds of Blacks passed through the Party, only a handful actually became members. A double-standard policy was applied to Black members, which meant that Blacks were not expected to learn theory nor be Communist organizers. In their eagerness to get Black forces in the Party, revisionists organized among Afro-Americans on a social and paternalistic basis like ordinary reactionary liberals from the Democratic Party, with whom Black people have the most bitter experiences. Revisionists made a mockery out of the principle that Marxist-Leninist political line is decisive and that only Communist organizers regardless of nationality, sex, class background, etc. can be members of the Party. In practical terms, this mockery meant that the revolutionary Afro-Americans left the Party, that those Blacks around the fringes of the Party in the late '40s and early '50s put even more distance between themselves and the Party, and that bad elements occupied the leading positions of the Party. One of these bad elements was a Black police agent. The revisionist leaders were past masters at keeping comrades separated and suspicious of one another, and for the police agents, this activity was right up their alley. When the McCarthy attacks were launched against the CP here, the leadership decided to go underground. Who directed this underground operation? A police agent, eagerly recruited into the Party because he was Black, and who went among the Black people telling them he was "Communist"! The leadership of course stuck out like sore thumbs in their travels, and the FBI easily scooped them up and put them on trial (The Seattle Five case). Paranoia and demoralization was spread throughout the Party and all political activity came to a screeching halt in the early 1950s.

So, modern revisionism inside the local Party, reflecting the influence of the capitalist class from the outside, corrupted the Party's revolutionary soul. Instead of being the revolutionary guide of the workers' movement and the Afro-American movement, the CP degenerated into a capitalist party. While paying lip service to Marxism-Leninism, their allegiance to renegade Khrushchov and later Brezhnev betrayed the completely liberal and social-imperialist (socialist in words, imperialist in deeds) nature of the revisionist party. The Marxist-Leninists were either leaving voluntarily or were being expelled by the revisionist overlords.

In the Afro-American community, starting in the 1950s, the revisionists melted into existing reformist organizations, the churches, and other community organizations. Together with opportunists of different hues and colors, Khrushchov's offspring are to this day running amuck in the Black community. Their main interest is to seek careers for themselves, to promote re-

formist politics on behalf of the reactionaries, to slander the working class as "racist and backward", and to rattle on about "community control" by the opportunists. These very opportunists also believe that the Afro-American people are backward and are in need of their "leadership". Actually what these bad elements do in the real world is sell out Black people's struggle on behalf of U.S. imperialism. But more than this, modern revisionism is an international opportunist trend directed by the New Czars in Russia whose purpose here is to divert the rising tide of the working class movement away from the world-wide revolutionary trend of countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation, and people wanting revolution.

The low level of national and class struggle in the 1950s was mainly due to the rise of modern revisionism in the Communist Party. It gave the monopoly capitalists a freer hand in exploiting and oppressing the working class, Afro-Americans, and all oppressed people.

U.S. AGGRESSION IN KOREA, AND AFTER

By 1950 the only work that remained for Blacks was in governmental agencies, service industries, or the military. Many Blacks stayed in the military because of the unemployment problem. When the U.S. aggression in Korea began, Black troops were forced to fight there in large numbers. Truman had cunningly bowed to mass pressure to integrate the army, dropped his "separate but equal" stand, and used the sham integration to send many infantry and naval units to the front which were nearly all-Black. Black GIs rebelled against the unjust, aggressive war--many refusing Korean "duty". Others defied combat orders, while others openly sympathized with the Korean and Chinese liberation fighters. After U.S. imperialism was defeated, the Black GIs returned home.

As the Black men returned to Seattle, they found little employment, or housing available. Some employment could be found at Pier 91, Pier 37, the Fort Lawton complex, service jobs, or at Fort Lewis, but there was little hope of finding jobs in basic industry because of the racial discrimination practiced by the monopoly capitalists and their agents, the trade union bureaucrats. Black women often found work when Black men could not, usually in the private homes and businesses as domestic slaves, many times on a daily basis and for meager wages. And the Black men who received the GI bill could not apply the benefits to purchasing homes outside the Central Area since new housing tracts and older neighborhoods were segregated. To make matters worse, veterans benefits were cut back in the 1950s. Black veterans waged struggles at the UW, which had a reputation for practicing unbridled racial discrimination, and at other local colleges in order to re-

ceive technical training and against racist programs.

In the 1950s, the Black masses groaned under a heavy yoke of economic exploitation and political persecution. Many Blacks worked two jobs and frequently both mother and father worked just to pay bills and to put food on the table. Forced to live hand-to-mouth, poverty was widespread. The average yearly income for a Black family was less than half that of a white family. Thousands of Black families were forced onto welfare, which had a devastating effect on the family. A sort of "iron curtain" was drawn around the Central Area and the housing projects, which still exists today. This created a large source of cheap labor for the capitalists--who had stripped Black people of all social and political rights.

The youth suffered greatly from these attacks on Black people. The schools met few, if any, of their educational needs. Central Area schools were segregated, criminally neglected, and did not offer even basic learning skills to the children. The teaching staffs were all-white and were educated in capitalist institutions of "higher learning". Before 1954, there were few Black teachers in the Seattle public school system. Through mass pressure locally and nationally, the school district started to hire a few more Black teachers--none of whom taught in Central Area schools.

In addition, there was no recreation facilities for the youth. An appeal for funds was sent out by Black parents to finance youth baseball teams but only the Rotary Boy's Club responded. One year, 700 youngsters gathered on the Garfield playfield to play baseball but only six teams could be sponsored. The local capitalist ruling circles revealed their complete bankruptcy in making the children go through this suffering.

A Black worker who came to Seattle after WWII and lived in the Central Area with his family, and who courageously fought against racial discrimination, made these comments to a young Black revolutionary comrade about the lives of Black people in Seattle in the 1950s: "I wish I can make people see what we had to live through. And I know these Black people didn't come up here as drifters! They didn't come up here as 'no good people' living off welfare! They came here as working people and everyone of them went to work. And I saw what it did to them after the war...I told the truth wherever I saw it. The hypocrisy, the dirtiness and rottenness of these people--one day they are going to pay for it...I lived through this in spite of them and I raised a family in spite of them and I raised fourteen grandchildren from the three that I brought here and that's the kind of thing that I'm looking at. You have no idea of what they went through to give you a chance to live."

AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE BREAKS OUT NATIONWIDE

A storm of Afro-American struggle was bound to erupt. It was already erupting in other parts of the country, especially in the South.

On December 5, 1955, the Black masses in Montgomery, Alabama rose up in mass struggle and waged an organized boycott against bus segregation. After 381 days of struggle, with the support and sympathy of the world's people, the Montgomery Bus Boycott ended in a complete victory against segregated public transportation. This struggle had an electrifying effect on Afro-Americans and progressive whites throughout the country, and also on the world's people. The Afro-American movement entered a period of glorious militant struggle.

In 1957, the Black people of Little Rock, Arkansas fought courageously against the barring of their children from public schools. Standing tall and dauntless in the face of barbaric violent repression, Black children and parents braved the storm, come what may! The Little Rock incident shocked the world and

exposed the barbaric rule of U.S. imperialism over the Afro-American people. In the same year, the Monroe, North Carolina chapter of the NAACP, under the leadership of Robert Williams, began to arm itself in self-defense against racist attacks. Robert Williams declared: "The Negro in the South cannot expect justice in the courts. He must convict his attacker on the spot. He must meet violence with violence." (20)

This was a great example of Black people waging active resistance to racist attacks. In 1959, a mass movement broke out in Fayette County, Tennessee, against the denial of the Black people's right to vote, and the following year Afro-Americans successfully resisted violent racist attacks by force of arms. In 1957, '58, and '59 civil rights marches of 35,000, 10,000, and 26,000 were held in the streets of Washington, D.C.

Thus, by 1960 the Afro-American struggle was breaking out on a national level. In Seattle, the contradiction between the Black masses and the monopoly capitalist authorities was at the bursting point also as protest began to develop against the outrages committed against Black people here.



EUGENE MOSZEE

Eugene Moszee was a heroic fighter of the Afro-American people in Seattle. He organized and led bold struggles against the all-round racial discrimination and violent repression in Seattle during WW II. He put into practice the fundamental truth of Marxism: "It is right to rebel against reactionaries". Fearing neither sacrifice nor death, Eugene Moszee single-handedly put up active resistance to an attack of six fascist Seattle police and wiped out one of them on the night of November 15, 1945. On that same night, Eugene Moszee died a martyr's death during the struggle.

CHAPTER V 1960 - 1976

In 1960, the Black population of Seattle was some 35,000, growing almost 70% in the previous decade. The Black working masses were concentrated in the Central Area whose boundaries were 9th avenue in the west, McClellan on the south, East Ward on the north, and 34th on the east. Housing, like education and employment in basic industry, was largely segregated. Among the Black people, about 90% were workers, at least 15% of whom were unemployed. Many Black women were forced onto welfare, onto the despised 'Aid for Dependent Children'. There was a small strata of Blacks who were small businessmen and professionals, and who generally lived outside the Central Area, accounting for about 5% of the Black population and occupying leading positions in community organizations. Of the remaining Blacks, a very small strata (less than 5%) lived by their wits, as hustlers, pimps, con artists and the like, (the lumpen proletariat) who took as their first victims the Black workers.

A poll taken among Black men in 1961 in the Central Area revealed that the average yearly income for a male head of household was from \$3-4,000 a year, or less than half that of his white counterpart. In other words, Black masses were still groaning under the yoke of economic depression and social and political segregation at the time of the election of John Kennedy in 1960. Many Blacks who voted in the presidential election voted for Kennedy and expected to achieve some progress toward civil rights due to the bold developments of the civil rights movement and the promises made to Black people by the new imperialist chieftan.

However, Kennedy was a political representative of the monopoly capitalist class and brought no real changes. While he was making rosy promises about helping the poor, the underprivileged, etc., etc., as all liberals do, exploitation of the people went unchecked and, when necessary, violent repression was used by the state to enforce this exploitation.

In 1960 and 1961, feelings of disillusion swept the oppressed Afro-Americans all across the country and militant struggle was the order of the day.

The Afro-American struggle had already broken out on a national scale in 1960. Southern Black youth and adults staged courageous sit-in demonstrations against racial segregation of public places in more than twenty states. In 1961, "freedom rides" to desegregate interstate buses were launched. Large-scale mass movements against segregation in the Southern cities were violently attacked by local authorities. On August 27, 1961, the racist authorities mounted a violent attack on the armed Black masses in Monroe, North Carolina, who defiantly fought off the attacks. In 1962, Blacks in Mississippi

fought for the equal right to enroll in colleges and were met with bloody suppression by state authorities. Here, the tricks and deception of the Kennedy Administration were fully exposed. By prearrangement, Ross Barnett, Governor of Mississippi, was allowed to brazenly block the entrance of Black students to the University of Mississippi, whetting the appetites of the racists to the maximum, then at a climatic moment Barnett "gave-in" to "federal force" so that the Kennedy Administration would appear to be the defenders of the Black people. The Black masses were becoming very aware of the dual tactics of political deception and violent repression in the course of mass struggle.

UPSURGE IN SEATTLE

In Seattle in 1962, the year of the Seattle World's Fair, mass meetings were held in the Black community to confront the question of equal rights, especially in employment, for Black people. Meetings at Mt. Zion Baptist Church were attended by over 2,000 people and the talk was centered mainly around what to do about the economic plight facing Black people. The Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), Urban League, and the NAACP provided reformist leadership at the beginning of the civil rights movement here. The Civil Rights Committee of the Central Area was established as a coalition of organizations which paid lip-service to the demands of Afro-Americans for equal rights and freedom. Most of the whites who participated in the mass meetings and organizing were liberals, some of them big capitalists, some preachers, some members of the Democratic Party, while others were active in the Municipal League, Salvation Army, revisionist and trotskyist organizations, United Good Neighbors, and whatnot. These elements were wringing wet with liberal sympathy and sought to prevent the masses from taking the road of active resistance to fascist repression, while urging liberal, Christian ("turn the other cheek") unity. The leader of the Civil Rights Committee was a Black preacher, Rev. John Adams, a close friend and colleague of Dr. Martin Luther King. The Reverends Jackson and McKinney were also leaders in the committees.

The first mass demonstration in Seattle was held in 1962. It started at Garfield High School and proceeded downtown. Demands for jobs and involvement "in decision-making" were raised loudly and militantly. This demonstration welded together a sense of pride and dignity among Afro-Americans, who for the first time in a decade, were again beginning to demand an end to their semi-slave existence.

After the demonstration, the Civil Rights Committee adopted the tactic of boycotting down-

town and community businesses which had refused to hire Blacks. A mass movement for civil rights soon gained strength and picketing of downtown stores by Blacks became a common and growing practice. The local capitalist ruling circles were thrown into a furor, especially since the Seattle World's Fair was at its peak and the exposure of blatant racist practices of the local capitalists made for bad public relations.

In 1963, increased government poverty programs were introduced in Seattle. They provided additional jobs, though few in number, especially for Black women who normally had acquired more education than Black men. Also, Local 242 Construction Workers' Union and the Shipsalers' Union, which were mainly Black unions, provided a few hundred jobs for Blacks in the early 1960s. Most Black families in the Central Area had their homes mortgaged to the hilt and these jobs helped keep some homes away from the anxious clutches of the banks. Pier 91, Sandpoint Naval Air Station, Fort Lawton, the Post Office, MSTs shipping, service jobs, and domestic slavery provided the bulk of work for Black people, who remained chained to the lowest-paying, most backbreaking work. Boeing refused to hire anything more than a token number of Blacks. In other words, in 1963, the monopoly capitalists continued to practice rampant racial discrimination against the Black people and exploited them without let-up.

Under intense pressure, many families were broken due to vicious exploitation in general and due to fascist policies designed to separate husband and wife cleverly foisted through the Welfare Department (established by the monopoly capitalists to make windfall profits). Many youngsters were lost to the streets. The police attacked the youth for the slightest offense, often jailed them on trumped-up charges, and regularly beat them.

MASS RESISTANCE TO VIOLENT REPRESSION

The Afro-American struggle in Seattle followed in the wake of the nationwide movement against racial discrimination, violent repression and for complete emancipation. Violent Black rebellions developed in city after city in response to the bloody fascist persecution of the peaceful civil rights movement.

On May 11, 1963 over 2,500 Afro-Americans in Birmingham rose up in violent rebellion against the reactionary violence of the Jim Crow capitalists and won their modest demands as a result of this violent resistance. On June 15, racists murdered four young Black girls by bombing a church in Birmingham. Fearing neither sacrifice nor death, Black people unleashed vigorous mass struggles in Savannah, Georgia; Cambridge, Maryland; Danville, Virginia; Orangeburg, South Carolina; and in Detroit, Boston, Chicago, New York and other places. And in August 250,000

Blacks demonstrated in Washington D.C., although the leadership lined up behind the JFK section of monopoly capitalist butchers and pleaded for passive resistance and non-violence against the state-organized racist and fascist attacks.

Commenting on the March on Washington, Malcolm X said:

"The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham--remember, they also exploded... That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham... When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them 'Call it off' Kennedy said, 'Look, you all are letting this thing go to far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it I'll endorse it, I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it!'" (21)

Despite this treachery, the Afro-American struggle moved irresistably forward like a real steamroller.

According to conservative government statistics, in 1963 Black people held over 10,000 demonstrations and met with over 5,000 arrests. On August 8, 1963, Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, issued a "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism." (22) (See appendix) It was warmly received by the Afro-American people. Chairman Mao pointed out:

"The speedy development of the struggle of the Afro-Americans is a manifestation of sharpening national and class struggle in the United States; it had been causing increasing anxiety among the U.S. ruling circles." The statement concluded: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people."

Outraged by the fascist atrocities committed against them, the Black masses in 1964 started to launch rebellion after rebellion in the cities. Through their own experience in the national and

class struggles, Afro-Americans rejected the line of passive resistance peddled by the opportunists and declared themselves militantly in favor of armed self-defense. Malcolm X, the Black leader based in Harlem, who was assassinated by the U.S. imperialists in 1965, took an uncompromising stand for armed, active resistance to violent repression. In a letter to the Organization of African Unity (OAU), delivered one day before the Harlem Rebellion broke out in 1964, Malcolm X declared:

"We no longer endorse patience and turning the-other-cheek. We assert the right of self-defense by any means necessary, and reserve the right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors, no matter what the odds against us are." (23)

Influenced by Malcolm X's appeal, African nations in the U.N. General Assembly condemned the U.S. imperialist practice of racial discrimination against Black people, reflecting the worldwide support for the Afro-American struggle.

The years 1963 and 1964 marked a turning point in the Afro-American struggle. No longer would the heroic Afro-Americans resign themselves to passive resistance. It is better to die fighting for freedom than to die a slave! It is right to rebel against reactionaries! These thoughts became like a steel thread running through the hearts and minds of the Black people. With over 450 years of fighting revolutionary tradition, the Black masses went into battle. First with sticks, stones and bottles, then with firebombs and rifles, Black people fought the "mighty" U.S. imperialists to a standstill in many places. Progressive nationalist thinking carried forward the struggle against racial discrimination and the capitalist system.

The Afro-American struggle broke through the gloom and confusion created by the anti-communist hysteria during the McCarthy period and the "Cold War", the whole process accompanied by the degeneration of the Communist Party USA from a revolutionary party into a revisionist, capitalist party. The Afro-American struggle aroused an entire generation of white youth and students, inspired the other oppressed nationalities, and invigorated the working class struggle. And it scared the day-lights out of the monopoly capitalist class.

While violently attacking Black people, the government attempted to lull the fighting will of the Black people and the masses of people by passing the 1964 Federal Civil Rights Act and other reformist legislation, in particular the LBJ "Great Society" legislation. It bought off civil rights leaders left and right by creating an aristocratic strata of Blacks tied to federal government agencies, who were also the "respectable" spokesmen for Black people.

Comrade Lenin pointed to the universal nature of this process which is typical of all capitalist countries:

"it is precisely the petty bourgeoisie that is attracted to the side of the big bourgeoisie and is subordinated to it to a large extent by means of this apparatus (government-COUSML), which provides the upper strata of the peasantry, small artisans, tradesmen and the like with comparatively comfortable, quiet and respectable jobs which raise their holders above the people" (24)

Some civil rights leaders opposed the bribe as did the proletarian masses. Instead, the fighting will of the Afro-American people gave rise to such militant leaders as Malcolm X, who advocated armed self-defense against violent repression, unity between Afro-Americans and the world's people, and revolution.

Among the Afro-Americans in Seattle in 1964 and 1965, a lively political atmosphere existed. Thousands of Black people vigorously took part in the civil rights movement. The Black proletariat, and especially the youth, became extremely restless and thirsted for revolution. Most of the petty bourgeois Blacks desired change too, but nowhere as aggressively as did the proletariat. The leadership of the Afro-American mass movement was still in the hands of these petty bourgeois Blacks, who fought mainly for their own economic and social interests, and did not represent the interests of the Black masses.

As long as reformist petty bourgeoisie were in the leadership, the white "liberal" monopoly capitalists and other dubious "humanitarian" types gave the Afro-American movement its blessings. The "liberal" bourgeoisie sought to unite with the petty bourgeois Black liberals on the politics of non-violence, pacifism and "turning the other cheek". However, the working-class Black people--united, disciplined, organized and militant due to the very nature of capitalist production--desired to fight the reactionaries head-on. The speedy development of the Afro-American struggle nationwide put the question squarely before the masses: to actively resist the counter-revolutionary violence and political deception of the capitalist state or to passively accept it?

The bourgeoisie pulled out all the stops in trying to divert the struggle away from the path of active resistance. "New Frontier" and "Great Society" programs were in the works and the old guard reformist leadership of the civil rights movement came forward to head these programs, whose purpose was to pacify the Afro-American struggle. The revisionists (CPUSA) and trotskyites (the "Socialist Workers Party" (SWP) and the "Freedom Socialist Party" (FSP)) were hanging around the young revolutionary Black activists spreading their counter-revolutionary ideas. Despite the attempts of the opportunists to suppress the mass movement, the Afro-American struggle surged forward.

The year 1965 marked a turning point in Seattle. Black high school youth at Garfield

rebelled against the threats and intimidation of the school officials, who at that time were all white and whose function was not to educate but to stand guard over the students. Police repression at the school was rapidly rising and the youth struck back. The youth fought back against the police with stones, bricks, and bottles in retaliation against violent repression. The Central Area seethed with bitter opposition to state-organized attacks.

In the early morning of Sunday, June 20, 1965, the police cowardly murdered Robert Reese, a Black painter, in the International District. The details of this murder became common knowledge to the Black masses. Two off-duty drunken police officers, along with their wives, were in the Jinyen Cafe at King St. and 7th Ave and one of them was making wild threats to "kill any nigger in the room". In the course of his threatening and hurling of racist abuse at the Blacks in the cafe, four Black workers, among them Robert Reese, entered the cafe. A fight between the police and some of the workers took place in which the two policemen were justly punished for their wild threats. As Robert Reese and one of his companions were leaving from a nearby parking lot, one of the off-duty policemen, with assistance from on-duty police who arrived after the fight ended in the cafe, fired into the car and one of the bullets hit Reese in the back of the head. Subsequently, the local authorities, headed by the fascists, prosecutor Carroll and Mayor Braman, whitewashed the cowardly murder and the three Black workers were sentenced to a year in jail for assault! This event aroused further hatred for the fascist police.

While the Black people began to fight against violent repression and racial discrimination without compromise, the leadership of the civil rights committees (including the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee--SNCC) tried to mis-lead the revolutionary masses. The Black people rejected the narrow slogan of "integration" (into the capitalist system) and reformism and saw their persecution as a product of the capitalist system. To suppress these revolutionary sentiments, the bourgeoisie had their agents hidden among the people. The opportunists came from two directions: there were the shamefaced reformists, headed by the clergy, and there were those opportunists hiding under the cover of "revolutionary" and "communist". The latter group were the revisionists and the trotskyites.

ROLE OF THE OPPORTUNISTS

Inside the civil rights committees, and particularly inside SNCC, the revisionists and trotskyites spread their poison, which was mainly reformism and bourgeois nationalism. The degeneration of the revisionists in the '40s and

'50s has already been detailed in the previous chapter. It was pointed out that the revisionist party surrendered to the attacks of the capitalist state and proceeded to defile Marxism-Leninism through their reformist politics and preached the "peaceful road to socialism", (when they had the "courage" to talk about socialism at all). They described the "liberal wing" of the Democratic Party as the "lesser of two evils" and flocked to its ranks. Among the Black people, the revisionists joined the existing reformist organizations, entered the churches--some even taught Sunday school classes--and became "respectable" liberals who proposed that Black people integrate with "mainstream" (capitalist) America. Since they had their roots in the bought-off sections of the labor aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie (well-paid professionals and small business owners), they had utter contempt for the American working class and other oppressed people. Revisionists (CPUSA) and trotskyites (SWP, FSP) worked together to make the mass movements in the '60s devoid of revolutionary political content. They obscured socialist consciousness among the advanced elements in the mass movements and thereby opposed the unity of scientific theory and practice.

Because of the revisionists' surrender to the state machine as early as the 1940s, the trotskyites were able to rise out of the dustbin of history where they had been placed to rot by the Marxist-Leninists. Before the rise of Browder's revisionism, they had been dead dogs. In Seattle, during and after World War II, they latched onto the Black people's struggle for civil rights like a bloodsucker attracted to a healthy leg. The universally despised trotskyites gained some credence among Black activists because they held themselves up as big "experts" on revolution and to "prove" that this was true, compared themselves with the CPUSA, which was occupied with liberal phrases. Some people fell for this "leftist" verbiage. But in practice, the trotskyites didn't lift a finger to advance the Afro-American struggle and to oppose the attacks of the capitalist state. By their inaction, the trotskyites objectively were the same as liberals, despite their "left" phraseology. In fact, the trotskyites were so "leftist" that they spent 3/4 of their time denouncing the socialist Soviet Union and its great leader Comrade Stalin, who weren't "revolutionary" enough for these windbags. So we can see that the trotskyites were just ordinary anti-communists. As a matter of fact, Hitler--the biggest anti-communist at that time--had a very cozy relationship with Trotsky. This was because in the 1930s Trotsky had led the attempt to sabotage socialist construction and restore capitalism in the first worker's republic. Exposed in good time by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Stalin, Trotsky next struck up a new deal with Hitler to ride into power in the Soviet Union behind Nazi guns in a German imperialist invasion. This explains why trotskyites the world

over cried themselves to sleep after the Soviet Red Army broke the back of the Nazi military machine at the Battle of Stalingrad.

After the death of great Stalin, Khrushchov carried out a counter-revolutionary military coup d'etat, seized Party control and state power, and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union step-by-step. Khrushchov attacked Marxism-Leninism, elaborated the whole rotten Khrushchovite Revisionist program of "peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition to socialism", and imposed his capitulationist theses on much of the international communist movement, causing temporary yet grave setbacks.

In order to completely distort Marxism-Leninism and restore capitalism, Khrushchov had to denounce and slander great Stalin, accusing him of all sorts of supposed crimes and in doing so, echoed the lies of the international bourgeoisie. Khrushchov, whom history has branded as a blundering fool, who had a reputation for shouting the loudest "Long Live Stalin" before Stalin's death, slandered him in 1956 as a "mad, drunken murderer" and other vile lies. Hitler's sentiments precisely!

This was certainly music to the ears of the Trotskyites. Thousands of American CP members were confused as to why the new leader of the Soviet Union would denounce the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin. Around the world, monopoly capitalists and trotskyites were overjoyed. The SWP sent a telegram to Khrushchov thanking him for giving credence to the U.S. trotskyites' longstanding slanders against the heroic Soviet people and their leader Stalin. These agents pumped fresh counter-revolutionary blood into the trotskyites who had once again, by 1956, lapsed into near-extinction. But the trotskyite SWP parasitized off the vigorously developing Afro-American movement, first with "support" work for the Montgomery Bus Boycott struggle, then with the civil rights movement itself, especially inside CORE and SNCC.

From 1963 to 1966, SNCC and CORE were very active in the Black community in Seattle. CORE led the day-to-day struggles of Black people for jobs and civil rights. But they were reformists and hoped that these problems could be solved under capitalism. SNCC recruited activists to go to the South to participate in the civil rights movement and collected money for the cause. Financially they were supported by liberal democrats, revisionists, and trotskyites, who were all attempting to purchase "influence" in the movement. But in addition, large numbers of Black activists became supporters of SNCC. Masses of people came to SNCC-sponsored meetings. In 1965, 1500 people heard James Baldwin talk about how oppressed Afro-Americans were destroyed and debased by their own experience. Despite the bad politics provided by the opportunists, a large group of young activists came forward to wage revolutionary struggle. Gathered around SNCC, these Black revolutionaries heard the sideline preaching of

the "communists".

What did the sham communists, the trotskyites, tell the Black activists? They told them that: 1) Black people are oppressed because of their "race", not that they are primarily oppressed as wage-slaves and are doubly oppressed on the basis of nationality and history of former slavery; 2) racism is an independent question and is not a product of capitalism; 3) the history of America is a history of "race relations", not a history of class struggle; 4) Black people are the vanguard of the revolution because the "white working class is "racist, bribed and backward"; 5) revolutionary unity between Afro-Americans and the "white working class" is impossible, therefore only liberal "back-scratching" unity is possible; 6) Black people must have "community control" and first must unite on a cultural basis (i.e., bourgeois nationalist), not on the basis of fighting the capitalist enemy; and 7) Marxist-Leninist theory is for "experts", who read a lot of books, and does not come out of practice and in turn serve practice. Trotskyites were not interested in changing the world; instead, they were interested in serving the monopoly capitalist class by chanting "left" phrases from the sidelines.

The views of the revisionists in no way differed fundamentally from those of the trotskyites. Both tried by might and main to deprive the Afro-American movement of revolutionary politics. They both depicted the most practical and scientific class in history, the working class, as the "good-for-nothing class"--the exact view held by the monopoly capitalists. While the influence of these opportunists was confined to only a handful of backward people, the future leaders of the Black Student Union (BSU-UW) and the Black Panther Party (BPP) and other nationalist groups definitely took up many of these subjective, anti-communist views. The broad masses in these organizations rejected the reformist and bourgeois nationalist politics of the opportunists and desired revolution.

AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE REACHES A HIGH POINT

From 1967 to 1970, the Afro-American struggle in Seattle against racial discrimination, violent repression, and capitalist exploitation reached its peak. The militant struggle during this time period had no equal in any previous period. It inspired and joined with other revolutionary mass movements, especially the youth and student movement against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam and against imperialist, fascist U.S. culture. Black people developed revolutionary consciousness in their struggles. There were three main struggles around which the heroic fighting spirit of the broad masses of people was revealed: against racial discrimination in employment, against racial discrimination in the schools--particularly

at Garfield H.S. and at the U. W. and against violent police repression. The local ruling circles used every trick in the book to cool off the red-hot fighting spirit of the Black people in the late '60s, which included the poverty program rip-offs, buying off Black leaders with government jobs, the promotion of opportunists of all hues and colors, open traitors and sell-outs, revisionists, trotskyites, cultural nationalists, and the use of police agents to incite internal warfare in the community. In 1967 all these tricks were being used but none of them could halt the headlong advance of the Afro-American struggle.

Inside the Afro-American movement in Seattle, a sharp struggle broke out between the revolutionary masses and certain misleaders, the main body of whom had sold out to the government in exchange for a morsel of economic security. These misleaders pushed reformist politics, restricted the role of the masses to a position of passivity and sang in chorus about "community control" of this or that institution as the way to fight. The community control slogan was the cry of the reactionary Black petty capitalist, who, with the direction and assistance of the government (poverty programs, police agencies, government loans to businesses), became the eyes and ears of the monopoly capitalist state among the Black people, and who were rewarded for their services with a few crumbs. But since the government controlled them, it carried out racist abuses against them as well. There is nothing good in the capitalist system--this the Black working people know from bitter experience. Rejecting the liberal reformism dominant in the civil rights movement, the Black people pursued a line of militant, uncompromising national and class struggle.

In the spring of 1967, Garfield students together with community activists waged a militant struggle against the abuses levelled at them by the racist school authorities, in particular the principal Hannawalt. While the curriculum in the classrooms was capitalist mis-education down the line, and while even basic skills were criminally neglected, the situation outside the classroom was just as oppressive. Police harassment and arbitrary punishment by school officials shadowed the youth throughout the school day. Due to spontaneous outbursts led by Black students and mass community pressure, Hannawalt was forced to resign at the end of the term.

CULTURAL NATIONALISTS ATTEMPT TO MISLEAD

During the course of the struggle, in April, Stokely Carmichael gave a speech in the Garfield auditorium. Amid much fanfare from the capitalist press, Carmichael gave his usual tirade against "Whitey" and laid out the cultural nationalist essence of the "Black Power" slogan. He had raised the slogan "Black Power" in a

Mississippi civil rights demonstration in 1966, the purpose of which was to undermine the growing political consciousness among Black people, and to undermine the developing revolutionary unity among the masses of people. While paying lip-service to the struggle against racial discrimination and violent repression, the theory of Black Power actually called on Black people to seek "cultural" alternatives to militant struggle, to acquire self-determination (by which Carmichael meant Black capitalism), to have self-respect (by which he meant substituting pride for political consciousness), and to take up self-defense (by which he meant either surrender to state-organized attacks or counter-revolutionary violence against revolutionaries). A few examples will help explain the "self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense" of cultural nationalism much better. Carmichael's close associate, Floyd McKissick of CORE, set up a "self-determination" project in North Carolina, called "Soul City". It was financed by the monopoly capitalists and built (or partially built, since financial swindles spelled its doom!) to prove that Black capitalism was "different" than white capitalism. Carmichael himself found some of this self-determination too in 1968 when he purchased a \$70,000 suburban home outside Washington, D.C. As for self-respect, millions of Black people had acquired self-respect in the mass struggles, especially in the violent rebellions in Watts, Birmingham, Harlem, etc., before the Black Power slogan was raised and spread throughout the country. The cultural nationalists gave themselves the right to judge other Blacks on the basis of some mystical "Blackness" and non-class awareness, substituting for the real division among Blacks on class lines abstract divisions according to "soul" qualities and opposition to Uncle Tom-ism. Even the Black workers--invisibly chained to the factories and sweat shops, the main force in the Afro-American struggle and the bridge to the rest of the American working class--were depicted as sold out to the Man by these petty bourgeois "militants". And the "self-defense" promoted by the cultural nationalists became clearly phrase-mongering, as the monopoly capitalist state's FBI Counter-Intelligence Program (Cointelpro) and Operation Chaos used them to incite internal warfare in the Afro-American movement and to assassinate Black revolutionaries.

Ron Karenga, the leader of the U.S. organization in Los Angeles, which was responsible for the cold-blooded murder of several staunch members of the Black Panther Party and other Black revolutionaries, was the most infamous cultural nationalist provocateur. Karenga described Black Power as "self-determination, self respect and self-defense" and said that "we should all be interested in Black cultural unity". Karenga held a master's degree in philosophy and his fascist ideology was groomed in California universities. He first organized

"Soul Sessions" in 1967 in Watts, where cultural nationalism was spread among the youth. After this, the US organization directed state-organized attacks against progressive nationalists, communists, and the working class in general in the Afro-American movement. Karenga appealed mainly to petty bourgeois Blacks, who, like himself, had been stamped by fascist ideology promoted in the universities.

A series of quotes from Karenga gives the essence of his cultural nationalist views: "We don't accept the idea of a class struggle, for today in Afro-America, there is but one class, an oppressed class." "To say there is a Black Bourgeoisie is to speak philosophically, not economically." "The international issue is racism not economics." "White people are racists, not just capitalists. Race rules out economics and even if it doesn't wipe it out completely, it minimizes it. Therefore we conceive of the problem today not as a class struggle but as a global struggle against racism." While talking this nonsense, Karenga was a stoned racist who waged class struggle against the Black revolutionaries on behalf of the monopoly capitalist class. When large numbers of Black revolutionaries were taking up Mao Tse-tung Thought, US organized meetings to denounce Marxism-Leninism and the Quotations by Chairman Mao. They raised the slogan, "The Red Book is better read", meaning that Afro-Americans had better not practice communism or the state would sick their Karenga-led dogs on them. Where progressive people held meetings, US would disrupt them and chant their slogan, "Wherever we are, US is" in an attempt to create fear among the people. However, the US organization fell apart because the Afro-Americans organized to smash it up.

Eldridge Cleaver and Leroi Jones, among others, added to the cultural nationalists' apologies for U.S. imperialism. Cleaver replaced class analysis with a psychological analysis based on sexuality (Soul On Ice), warning of race war if the ruling class did not put into practice the Bill of Rights (!), saying that "we shall have our manhood. We shall have it or the earth will be levelled by our attempts to gain it." Cleaver completely negated the experience of Black people and was irrational and anarchist in his behavior. He carried on factional activities inside the Black Panther Party and just recently came crawling "home" on his belly before his imperialist masters. Leroi Jones, in his play "The Death of Malcom X" (1969), called for Black people to initiate a race war, thus expressing his subservience to the ruling class and their tactics of "divide and rule". Here Malcolm X was depicted as an anti-people, cultural national demagogue. Actually, Leroi Jones took some negative qualities of Malcolm X's earlier political life and magnified them to ridiculous extreme. The cultural nationalists, like the monopoly capitalists, believe in the theory of an innate

human nature, which promotes the idea that things will never change. So they are frequently driven to suicidal acts. In his life-time, Malcolm X smashed the bourgeois theory of human nature, which depicts Black people as inferior and criminal, by continually advancing through revolutionary struggle to a clearer view of the world.

Jones' play, instead of showing that Black people were engaged in furious class and national struggle and in the forefront of the revolution, depicts disintegration and pessimism among Afro-Americans, who are always defeated by sub-human soul-less whites. Today, Leroi Jones is masquerading as a "Marxist-Leninist" and has credited Stokely Carmichael, Ron Karenga, and Eldridge Cleaver ("introduced Marxism-Leninism into the Black Liberation Struggle") for leading and advancing the Afro-American struggle in the 1960s. (!)

The cultural nationalists are agents of the bourgeoisie and, like their masters, are fascists. The fascists have three trademarks: 1) they are racists, anti-communist and anti-working class; 2) they are the greatest mystifiers and 3) they use reactionary violence to achieve their aims.

In his Garfield speech, Carmichael concealed his cultural nationalist views with references to quotations from Chairman Mao, saying that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and that unless the white racists change their ways there will be bloodshed. Windbagery got Carmichael nowhere, and in a few short years his influence among Black people, the youth included, fell to rock-bottom. However, from 1967 to 1970, cultural nationalism definitely influenced a number of young Black activists in Seattle.

In December, 1967, local SNCC sponsored a Black Youth Conference where young college activists were urged to take up "Black consciousness, Black Power, and Black culture," and they were also urged to use their acquired skills to serve the community. The cultural nationalists later set up the "Soul Street Academy" (called the "sold-out academy" by some), "hoodoo man" ran amuck in the Black community promoting cultural nationalism among the youth and engaging in provocative activities against "Uncle Toms" and serious revolutionaries as well. At the outset in May, 1968, Mr. Hoodoo proclaimed the purpose of his mystical cultural rituals: "But I am here to tell you today, that hoodoo is life for us and the marrow of the Black experience." Black people have "got to get it together--there ain't no other way...Hoodoo is the knowledge and the way, you can't get no Blacker and that's were it's at." So in Seattle, cultural nationalism played a big role in mis-leading the Afro-American struggle at its peak.

Revisionists and trotskyites promoted all those raving characters. As a matter of fact, it was the reformism and bourgeois nationalism promoted by these opportunists in the Afro-

American struggle and in the workers' movement that provided the fertile soil for the spread of cultural nationalism here and elsewhere. All this opportunism represented a frenzied attempt by the U.S. government to side track the revolutionary Afro-American struggle, which not only inspired the other exploited and oppressed people in the U.S. but also was a powerful assistance to the national liberation struggles in Southern Africa, Indochina and elsewhere.

THE POLITICAL DECEPTION OF THE "LIBERAL" BOURGEOISIE

In Seattle in 1968, there were over 40,000 Afro-Americans residing in the Central Area and Rainier Valley. One out of five Blacks was unemployed, while those employed remained in the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. The sons and daughters of the Black working masses became increasingly restless as resentment against the semi-slave position of their parents and themselves grew. In the winter of 1967-68, there had been frequent skirmishes between the youth and police. The local ruling circles nervously anticipated a storm of Afro-American struggle here as had occurred in Detroit, Newark, and nearly 90 other cities in the summer of 1967. On the national level, President Lyndon Johnson's administration issued the Kerner Report that blamed the Black rebellions on "white racism" (not of course blaming the mother of racism--the capitalist system) and prepared reformist legislation to pacify the Afro-Americans' demands for an end to racial discrimination and violent police repression. LBJ's "war on poverty" is an excellent example of the political deception practiced by the ruling class. To quote Lenin:

"the bourgeoisie in all countries inevitably evolves two systems of rule, and these methods at times alternate and at times are interwoven one with another in various combinations. They are, firstly, the method of force, the method of supporting all the old and obsolete institutions, the method of liberalism, which takes steps towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions and so on. . . . Not infrequently, the bourgeoisie for a certain time achieves its object by a 'liberal' policy, which, as Pannekoek justly remarks, is a 'more craftly' policy. A section of the workers, of their representatives, at times allow themselves to be deceived by sham concessions". (25)

In Seattle in 1968, the Seattle-King County Office of Economic Opportunity was established, and, through the mayor, the finances were funneled to various programs and to various pockets. The leaders of the Central Area Civil Rights Committee became the heads of various

federally funded programs: Model Cities, CAMP, SOIC, and lesser programs under OEO direction. The Urban League, which was the best-financed "civil rights" organization, wrote proposals for and helped administer CAMP, SOIC, Model Cities, and the Central Area School Council. Urban League gave \$23,000 to finance this "community control" school council in 1969. It is interesting to note that the present head of the Urban League and the former head of the EOP program at the U.W. were both former military intelligence officers. The local ruling circle plays its cards well (so they think)!

Neither Model Cities programs nor Black opportunists in charge of these programs could head off the struggle. In 1968, Black people fought on mainly two fronts: 1) against racial discrimination in the Central Area schools and at the U.W., and 2) against violent police repression in the community.

On April 16, 1968, Chairman Mao issued his second statement in support of the Afro-American struggle. In this historic statement in support of the struggle against violent repression, Chairman Mao pointed out the great importance and the forward march of the Afro-American struggle:

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S.

monopoly capitalist class. (26) (see appendix)

Millions of Chinese workers and peasants demonstrated their resolute support for the Afro-American struggle in 1968 in the cities and countryside of China. This was at the peak of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, where the Chinese masses under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party exposed the capitalist-roaders in the Party and sorted out concretely how to oppose revisionism (through the mass democratic method--from "below") and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the U.S., Chairman Mao's statement was warmly received by Afro-Americans and other progressive people. At the same time, the opportunists (in particular the revisionists) jumped up and called the statement of the world's greatest Marxist-Leninist "ultra-left", "adventurist", "harmful to the cause". Chairman Mao pointed out that to win complete emancipation the U.S. monopoly capitalist class must be overthrown and the capitalist system destroyed. This statement horrified the opportunists, while it inspired the revolutionary masses.

STRUGGLE FOR BLACK STUDIES

A significant struggle took place at the U. W. in May over the question of a Black Studies Program. Three main Black organizations were active at this time: the U. W. Black Students' Union (BSU), which led the struggle; the Black Panther Party, which was formed in April and organized youth in the community; and various militants centered around the Afro-American Journal, a community newspaper which attempted to apply Malcolm X's politics to the situation in Seattle.

The BSU led the struggle for a Black Studies Program, while the other organizations were involved only on the fringes. Before taking over the U. W. President's office and presenting the demands for Black Studies, the three BSU leaders--all of whom were the former leaders of SNCC--met with Rev. Adams, head of CAMP, and Walter Hundley, head of Model Cities, to map out strategy and tactics. Both strategy and tactics amounted to demanding control of Black Studies and for the recruiting of Blacks under the control of these "respectable" community leaders. The plan included an autonomous department which would have the power to raise funds, hire the faculty, and determine the curriculum. The poverty program pimps, who controlled the finances and employment in the programs, wanted to extend their corruption into fresh new territory at the U. W.

Students, Black and white, took over the President's office and supported the demands against racial discrimination and for Black studies and increased enrollment of Blacks. At the last minute the BSU leaders gave up the

demand for an autonomous department. The local capitalist press focused their attention on the most backward statements of the student leaders in an attempt to drum up public opinion in support of the racist U. W. administration. On May 30, Dean Cartwright commented on the demands: "This should be done, not apart from the normal curriculum, but incorporated in the whole fabric of studies of various cultures."

The U. W. administration, which is a part of the state machine and directly under the thumb of the local ruling circles, "agreed" to the students' demands. Black Studies were spread throughout the different departments and the Economic Opportunities Program (EOP) was established under the president's office. Black Studies and the EOP were put under the grip of the capitalist authorities at the U. W. as they were elsewhere, "incorporated in the whole fabric of studies of various cultures."

So while the revolutionary students in the BSU, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and others militantly fought against the racist practices of the administration, a double-edged sell-out was organized by the administration, and the Black opportunists. In the first place, the administration conceded to the demands for Black Studies Program and increased enrollment of Afro-Americans only because of the pressure of the mass struggle in May, 1968. At the same time the program was immediately stripped of any revolutionary content and Black professors were brought in to "teach" one or another brand of cultural nationalism and reformism. Secondly, Black opportunists were placed at the head of the EOP and related programs. Even an ex-military officer was placed at the head of EOP, being eyes and ears of the administration over the Black students. One of the student leaders was later given a soft, bureaucratic job at the U. W. for his sell-out performance in the struggle. Also, Walter Hundley is now the budget director for Mayor Wes Uhlman's city government, balancing the bank books of the monopoly capitalist class by increasingly exploiting the city workers.

MASS REBELLION OUTRUNS POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Since Martin Luther King's death in April, 1968, there had been frequent clashes with the police as there had been in the previous winter. While there was internal warfare in the community, in the sense that the cultural nationalists were promoting the annihilation of the "Toms" in order to turn the struggle against U.S. imperialism into a struggle against petty bourgeois elements, the main feature of the Afro-American struggle in the summer of 1968 was the youth's active resistance to violent police repression and the struggle for better schooling. In the last week of July, hundreds of Black youth fought the police with bricks, bottles, firebombs, and on a few occasions the youth resisted the

police with firearms. From 34th East to Madrona Beach and from the heart of downtown to the outlying Central Area, Black rebellions broke out in the last weekend of July. The capitalist authorities became panic-stricken. The following Monday the police arrested two leaders of the Black Panther Party who were addressing a rally at Garfield Park. The next night the police again attacked another rally in the park, filled the area with tear gas and randomly beat and harrassed people. Meanwhile, regular army troops from Fort Lewis were alerted and police forces from Pierce, King, and Snohomish counties were mobilized by the capitalist authorities. On Wednesday, Governor Evans came to Seattle and held a special meeting with young activists. He made promises to them that "the system works", that unemployment and racial discrimination would end under his rule. But this was windy nonsense since racial discrimination is a product of the capitalist system. The semi-slave (Jim Crow) oppression of Black people in the U.S. is their policy of racist and fascist attack. Evans was the political spokesman of the capitalist state and he temporarily succeeded in deceiving the Black masses and a huge storm of Afro-American struggle was temporarily diverted.

None of the Black nationalist organizations were solid enough, politically and organizationally, to consistently lead the spontaneous outbursts along a revolutionary path. The Black Panther Party did represent opposition to state-organized racist and fascist police attacks and to the entire imperialist system. Scores of its finest fighters gave their lives in the struggle against the fascist rule of the monopoly capitalist class and made tremendous sacrifices. The ordinary members fought the fascist police with such a vengeance and iron-willed determination that it inspired all the oppressed people in the U.S. These militant Afro-Americans also inspired the national liberation fighters in Asia, Africa, and Latin America--one such case being the great and heroic Angolan national liberation movement, UNITA, which named a crack military unit after the Panthers. But inside the leadership of the BPP, revisionism and cultural nationalism were not overcome. The fact that Carmichael and Cleaver had so swiftly become leaders for a period of time was an indication of these political and ideological weaknesses. It indicated that the organization was not built on solid ground, that it was not built on the shoulders of the working class. Instead, the "theoreticians" of the BPP held that the lumpen proletariat, the street hustler and criminal element, were the vanguard of the revolution since to them the working class was no longer the revolutionary class. Holding up the lumpen proletariat as a model forced unnecessary divisions between the youth and their hard-working elders, who despised not only the capitalist exploiters, but also the rip-off artists.

For a practical program, the BPP initiated,

in the name of "socialism", various "survival programs". This activity came to occupy most of the BPP's energy, with the idea that the revolutionaries must feed the people until the revolution comes. These politics encouraged revolutionaries to become liberals. They reasoned that the masses may perish without charitable help. A common slogan of that time was "The struggle is for survival". The strategic and tactical line of the BPP was Black control of the Black community by any means necessary. But controlling communities, institutions, and a people's destiny is a question of which class controls state power and wields political power in its own interests. Black people are not somehow independent of the class struggle between the working class and the monopoly bourgeoisie; but in reality the complete emancipation of the Afro-American people is totally bound up with the struggle of the entire working class to seize political power by revolutionary violence and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the exploiters. Under the influence of modern revisionism and the revisionist party ("C"PUA), the "theoreticians" of the BPP denied the truth of Chairman Mao's statement that "The contradiction between the black masses and the monopoly capitalist class is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation". However, in spite of its shortcomings in ideology and political line, the Black Panther Party reflected the fighting spirit of the great Afro-American people for a period of time, roughly until 1971 when all-round capitulation to the bourgeoisie occurred.

In Seattle, the BPP was very active among the youth during the upsurge in 1968. Their office on 34th and Union became a center of political agitation against police brutality in the area. Community patrols were established in the Central Area which kept a watchful eye on the police. In addition, Free Breakfast Programs were established which involved young children, especially in the housing projects. A short while after the founding of the local branch in April, nearly 200 young Afro-Americans supported the day-to-day activities of the organization. These young Panthers were politically inexperienced and were confused on political line since a hodge-podge of theory was offered to them. They were told that their revolutionary ideology was the ideology of the suffering Black people, that they were waging a "Yankee Doodle" revolution (that is, in this revolution they would take from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought that which would be helpful in their lumpen proletarian ideology)! This was mystification pure and simple, but yet, just the idea of active armed resistance to fascism aroused the young Afro-Americans to fight their oppressor. Any correct ideas greatly increased their fighting capacity. But the developing mass movement streamed

past the local BPP, who were unprepared to guide such a powerful movement.

Another active force during the spontaneous upsurges in 1968 was the Afro-American Journal, established by Afro-Americans, some of whom split from the Black Muslims. Like the Panthers, they had a large following among the youth and the weekly paper was widely read in the community. The paper's slogans were "Afro-Americans must control their own community" and "The truth is not hate, it is the truth". The paper's editor, Keve Bray, was a fiery and active organizer who was openly hostile to those people connected with the government in the economic, political, or social life in the community. Poverty program pimps and misleading reverends (often the same people), Central Area school officials and "neo-Toms" (as the "militant-looking, militant-sounding" sell-outs were called), grimaced at the thought of coming under the lash of Bray's all-consuming, indiscriminate pen. But, like the Panthers, those nationalist forces centered around the Afro-American Journal were politically and organizationally unprepared to guide the surging Afro-American movement.

As a matter of fact, the paper took an anarchist line on how to deal with the spontaneous movement at its peak in July, saying "But this revolution, unlike any other, has no head, it has no leadership and it runs, as it were, by remote control". There was also maximum confusion on the source of racial discrimination and on identifying the main enemy. There was agreement with the government's Kerner Report which said that "white racism" was the problem, which effectively let the handful of monopoly capitalists and their state machine off the hook and threw the blame onto white people. They too were pulled into the divide and rule scheme of the ruling class. The paper quickly became an organ of raving cultural nationalism and an advocate of Black capitalism. While ruthlessly criticizing the "Toms" who held government jobs, the paper was a voice for Black capitalism in the private sector of the economy. By directing sharp criticism at a section of misleaders, the paper attempted to win over mainly the youth.

Editor Bray and fellow activists established the Malcolm X school and the Black Cultural Center and published the Afro-American Journal weekly from 1967 to 1971. They participated in the political life of the Afro-Americans, especially in the movement to improve education for Black youth and in the struggle for jobs (1969-70). And beginning in Spring, 1968, the paper launched a merciless assault against the "personnel clique" which ran the "Poverty Crap Game" as "the counterpart to the white government" in the Central Area. It exposed the financial manipulations and swindles taking place in SKCEOB, Model Cities, CAMP, and SOIC.

The poverty programs were a real pot of gold for aspiring bourgeois misleaders of Black people. They were headed by "respectable" civil rights spokesmen, most of them clergy, who had the final say-so in hiring and firing

and who were very obedient to their master--the monopoly capitalist state. The state used these programs not only to try to pacify the Afro-Americans, but also to bribe the activists with soft, high-salaried jobs in an attempt to turn them into tools of the state. They had some success at doing this. As for the revisionists, they didn't have to be bribed; they were already occupying poverty program positions. One of them commented in 1968: "We lobbied at local and federal government levels, we sweated it out in Washington D.C. committee meetings last summer--that's why we got concessions. Model Cities has already set a precedent for the whole nation!" This big self-exposure negated the real essence of Model Cities and the rest--that they were a by-product of the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-American people and an unsuccessful attempt to stop the struggle and proof that the system didn't work.

The Afro-American Journal, which at first eagerly praised "the first Black-owned supermarket in the Northwest", later exposed the dirty dealings of the Food Co-Op rip-off on Empire Way. A number of poverty program personalities transferred their skills of manipulation to the private sector of retail food sales with the assistance of the government. But this business venture largely financed by shareholdings purchased by Black working people. These opportunists exploited the meager savings and earnings of Black people, filled their own pockets to the brim, and wallowed in luxury and high falutin' living. Meanwhile, the Food-Co-Op went bankrupt and the people who had invested their money lost out.

Finally in 1971, the paper folded after a split developed among the leaders of the publication. As in any living thing, opposites exist inside and the struggle between them is the basis of its change, development, and motion. When cultural nationalism completely swamped the progressive nationalism of the paper's followers, the paper found little support. A number of the activists who helped build the paper and supported it, fell victim to the internal warfare promoted by the state in the Afro-American movement--including Keve Bray and Donal X (Ponder), both murdered by unknown assailants in 1971.

RULING CLASS ATTACKS ON THE EDUCATIONAL FRONT

In 1968 and 1969, these nationalist forces participated in the vigorous mass movement that developed in support of improved education for the youth. The condition of Central Area schools were particularly bad. There were few national minority teachers, racial segregation was the rule of thumb; and the curriculum was not suited to satisfy even basic skill requirements. Mass meetings and protests were held in 1968 concern-

ing the closure of the Horace Mann elementary school in February, the arrest of three Black activists at a Franklin High School sit-in against racial discrimination in March, and the racist practices of the Garfield administration in the Spring. Then in September, the Seattle School Board provoked attacks on Black youth at Rainier Beach High School. The Board had recently started the Voluntary Racial Transfer (VRT) program in the elementary and high schools. An atmosphere of confusion and hysteria was created around the issue of school integration in the local capitalist press and news media. How the "voluntary" bussing program from Garfield to Rainier Beach worked was a good example of this confusion created by the school officials. All the students at Garfield who were "disciplinary problems" were given an ultimatum: either be bussed to Rainier Beach or be kicked out of the Seattle public school system. On the first day of school in September, fights broke out between white and Black students. Rainier Beach at the time had 12 Black, 27 Asian, and the rest white students. Housing was segregated in the area and there was little contact between students of different national backgrounds. After fighting broke out during the first days of school, members of the Black Panther Party arranged an armed escort for the Black students. But the fighting continued for the next two years.

However, the disorders caused at Rainier Beach by the liberal bourgeoisie, the "pro-integration" school board, was by far outstripped by the attacks on Black students at Lincoln High School in the Fall of 1971. At that time, the fascist anti-bussing forces (Committee Against Mandatory Bussing, American Nazi Party, etc.) were better organized and assisted by the state machine. The issue of integration of the schools was completely confused at this time by the monopoly capitalists and the opportunists. Among the Afro-Americans, the opportunists said that the real issue was "quality education" and ran around the community gathering up signatures for "community control" of the schools. Outside of the Central Area, the school board organized community school councils which were turned into forums for the anti-bussing movement. When the Black youth were confronted with organized racist gangs at Lincoln High School, they courageously fought for their democratic rights. The real essence of the integration struggle is to widen the field of the class struggle, to teach the white and Black people to unite their forces against the capitalist authorities. No revolutionary movement can be built by the oppressed masses if a section of them (the Afro-Americans) are denied the most elementary democratic rights. Besides, what is quality education under capitalism? While the anti-bussing movement was racist to its heart, the liberal "pro-integration" school board, after mutilating the plan to integrate the high schools, demanded that the Afro-Americans practice non-violence in the face of racist attacks. After the incidents at Lincoln

High School, the anti-bussing movement lost its support because its ugly, racist, anti-working class nature was revealed. Here, the two faces of the bourgeoisie were unmasked--the "liberal" priest (the pro-integration school board) and the conservative hangmen (the anti-bussing movement, the police, etc.).

In the Fall of 1968, open forum meetings took place in Meany Jr. High School to sort out how to oppose racial discrimination in the schools. Though the chairmen of these meetings had good intentions ("the road to hell is paved with good intentions"), the liberals took control of the movement generated by these democratic discussion meetings and diverted the struggle into reformism. As a result of this movement the Central Area School Council was formed in March, 1969, whose function was to oversee the staffing and curriculum of the Central Area Schools. But in reality, it had no power to act and was dependent on Model Cities funding.

However, the sentiment to improve the education of the youth was reflected in the fact that 8,650 Central Area residents pre-registered for the elections to the Central Area School Council and 4,950 actually voted. A sharp increase in the Voluntary Racial Transfer program occurred in 1969 in the Central Area, but once again, the Seattle School Board refused to organize the program in the predominantly white districts and put the whole burden for school integration onto the Black community and set up a tracking system (where Black students are categorized according to "inherent" intelligence) in the integrated schools.

While the Black masses fought to integrate the schools and improve the education for their youth, they were waging struggle on another important front--against violent repression. In October, a vicious and brutal police murder of a Black youth took place at a Capital Hill apartment building. While his mother pleaded with the police not to shoot her son, Butch Armstead's life was taken without a second thought by the fascist Seattle police--the courts ruled the murder "justifiable homicide".

In December, Edwin T. Pratt, head of the Urban League, was murdered in his North end home by a shotgun blast from an unknown gunman. 1968 was a stormy year of Afro-American struggle in Seattle as it was all across the United States. Chairman Mao pointed out in his 1968 statement that

"At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the Black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution."

Imperialism is an economic system where the inherent contradictions are at a bursting point. The Afro-American struggle struck mighty blows against the very foundations of U.S. imperialism.

THE "SEATTLE PLAN" AND UCWA

In Seattle in 1969, one of the main struggles waged by Afro-Americans was against racial discrimination in employment in the construction industry and against the racist exclusionary practices of the capitalist labor-bureaucrats in the building trades unions. This movement of unemployed Black workers started in June, 1969 and was led by small Black capitalists belonging to the Central Area Contractor's Association (CACCA).

Black workers had been fighting against this racial discrimination in the construction industry for years prior to 1969, but on an unorganized basis. However, the organized movement that emerged in 1969 was not initiated by the Black proletarians, but by the monopoly capitalist class.

In 1969, the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice sued five building trades unions to force them to set-up apprenticeship and dispatching procedures that would allow more Black workers to get construction jobs.

The U.S. government is racist to the core. Had it suddenly changed its spots? No. The intent of the monopoly capitalists in taking this action was to 1.) appear to be "progressive" and "responsive" to the grievances of the Afro-American upsurge and rebellion of the 1960s; while, 2.) attempting to stir up racial conflicts among the construction workers so as to facilitate an attack on their wages as a prelude to large-scale attacks on the wages of the entire working class; and 3.) to use differences of nationality among the workers to help incite a fascist "hard-hat" movement against all of the progressive mass movements in the late '60s. These included the movements of youth and students, of Afro-Americans, and of all progressive people against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

In 1968, the leading monopoly capitalist groups formed committees in conjunction with representatives of the federal government, to draw up a whole plan for attacking the working class and Afro-American people starting in the construction industry. One part of the master plan was the division of the U.S. into 12 geographical regions within which all construction industry labor contracts would expire at the same time so as to enable the contractors' associations to organize effective lock-outs in the event of strikes. The striking workers would then have no where to go in a whole geographical region to get jobs during a strike. Such a situation developed in Seattle in 1971 with the two month strike-lockout throughout King and Snohomish Counties.

Further, in order to increase competition among the workers and attack wages, Nixon instituted an austerity program of Federal spending which for instance, involved a 75% cutback in Federal non-highway construction in 1969 (and a highly uncharacteristic federal budget surplus of \$3.2 billion in that year, and a very "small" deficit of \$2.8 billion in 1970). This plan of

attack eventually failed to stop inflation and failed to halt the rising strike movement, giving rise to Nixon's attacks on the working class in 1971 with the "wage-price freeze" and later the "wage-price controls".

But with the implementation of the austerity program in 1969, unemployment predictably began to rise sharply in the construction sector. Suddenly Nixon became "concerned" about racial discrimination in that industry, and through the Justice Department, attempted to use the issue to split the working class along nationality lines.

The government tried to incite Black workers against white in the following way: 1.) setting up de-segregation standards to be observed by the trade unions (the "Seattle Plan" modeled after the "Philadelphia Plan"); 2.) openly not enforcing the apprenticeship training quotas and dispatching procedures required to begin the process of integration; 3.) encouraging their lackies--the building trades unions officials--to flaunt the court-ordered regulations; 4.) funding small Black contractors in the CACA and later in the leadership of the United Construction Workers Association (UCWA) through the Model Cities Program and the American Friends Service Committee (backed by monopoly capitalist "charitable" foundations) to engage in somewhat provocative construction site closures in an attempt to "enforce" the court-ordered regulations and integration in general; 5.) instructing the local police to follow a "kids-glove" policy toward the demonstrations, which had often resulted in some property damage to various construction companies, and would have ordinarily been enough cause to make the capitalist police breathe fire; 6.) providing political leadership to the small number of Black workers (who were involved in the movement only in its initial stages) from the ranks of small Black capitalists (CACCA) who were rewarded for their services in propagating anti-working class ideology among the Black workers with various contracts and sub-contracts (and profits, incidentally) for federal construction projects. According to one large building contractor in Seattle, the provision for doing this is an unwritten policy of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This fit in nicely with Nixon's whole program to smash the revolutionary movement of Afro-Americans by promoting "Black capitalism" throughout the U.S.

Secondly, the government tried to incite white workers against Black, and to oppose the integration of the skilled building trades unions, under slogans denouncing "government meddling in the trade union movement". While it is correct to oppose government interference in the trade union movement because the working class can solve its problems without the "help" of the class enemy, these slogans were raised by the racist union bureaucrats for sinister reasons. These bureaucrats have long been integrated into the capitalist state machine and to collaborate with the monopoly capitalists is their second nature. So, for them to raise these slogans is the height

of hypocrisy. What the "labor lieutenants" really meant by these "anti-government" slogans was to oppose the integration of the trade unions under a militant cover of being "against the government." This plan to pit white workers against Black through the capitalist trade union apparatus is not something new and was a relatively simple matter for the monopoly capitalists to set in motion.

This whole plot was carried out not only in Seattle, but nationwide. And, to make a long story short, Nixon's fascist scheme failed. The white workers refused to attack their Black brothers. The Black workers refused to blame the white workers for the racial discrimination of the capitalist system and the racist policies of the state and trade union officials. The Black workers simply struggled to integrate the unions and won some gains in this respect. Extremely class conscious, they refused to be fooled by the state, nor diverted by the hirelings of the state--the opportunists. The government's attempt to build a fascist "hard-hat" movement was smashed in a campaign led by American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in Cleveland, Ohio in July, 1970. (see page 43). The attack on the construction workers' wages was beaten back, as in the 1971 strike in Seattle that was previously mentioned.

The bourgeoisie was forced to look for new ways to attack the wages of the construction workers and the entire working class. This was the "wage-price freeze" and later "controls".

The bourgeoisie was forced to look for new ways to attempt to incite racist, national chauvinist sentiments among the white working people. One product of this search is the monopoly capitalists' fascist anti-bussing movements of recent years in Boston, Massachusetts and Louisville, Kentucky. The attempts to build a fascist anti-bussing movement in Seattle have not succeeded, as was pointed out earlier.

A brief outline of the movement against racial discrimination in construction industry employment in Seattle is as follows: In 1969, there were 21 building trades unions in the Seattle area, with a total membership of 19,373. Only 831 members were Black, and of this number 690 were laborers. In 13 of these locals, which had almost 17,000 members, only 104 were Black. The demand for increased national minority employment in the building trades was enthusiastically taken up by several hundred Black workers.

From June to December, 1969 demonstrations were held at public works projects at Harborview Hospital, the King Count Administration Building, the University of Washington, the Sea-Tac Airport, and Seattle Community College. In the Fall of 1969, trade union bureaucrats in cahoots with the big contractors and the government tried to turn the white workers against Black workers in several racist demonstrations. They collaborated to stop all union construction projects for the day of the demonstration and to impose penalties on those workers who did not attend. But their reactionary movement--VOICE

(Voice of Irate Construction Employees)--back-fired on them in a large downtown October demonstration. The construction workers rejected the fascist John Birch Society literature disseminated at the march, and then literally ran over the reactionary union and local government officials and seized a part of the city hall building. The workers denounced King County Executive John Spellman, but had no definite political leadership and their actions were of a spontaneous nature. VOICE disappeared from the scene.

In 1970, more demonstrations were waged by UCWA similar to those of 1969 and also involving a certain number of Black workers. But when UCWA tried to rally the Black workers' support that they had previously possessed for new demonstrations in 1972, '74, and '75, they found that the Afro-American community had deserted UCWA. Those who supported these latter demonstrations were only some confused people from left-wing circles, and a whole flock of opportunists, including revisionists, trotskyites, anarchists, neo-revisionists, and cultural nationalists. These opportunists had begun to swarm around UCWA activities in 1970, and in the subsequent years they completely swamped the movement with anti-working class politics. The UCWA agitation of these later years openly denounced white workers as "racist" and announced that they would struggle against the white workers for existing jobs. The small Black contractors also inserted their slogans calling for federally funded public works projects to be built in the Black community under "community control" (i.e. to line their pockets out of the state treasury). And in this morass of monopoly capitalist-inspired politics, the holy alliance of opportunists ran wild issueing "manifestoes" praising the bourgeois state for its "desegregationist policies" and lecturing the workers not to be racist. This is why today UCWA is organizationally impotent and politically bankrupt, and universally rejected by the Afro-American community.

Afro-American workers, however, are determined to step up the struggle against racial discrimination in employment. Historically confined to the most menial and back-breaking jobs, the demonstrations of 1969 and to a certain extent 1970, showed that the Black workers possess powerful revolutionary sentiments against racial discrimination and unemployment, and that these sentiments cannot be suppressed.

MASSIVE REBELLION OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS

While the Black workers' struggle for jobs was at its peak in 1969 and 1970, a large and militant youth and student movement grew incredibly fast at the same time in Seattle. On May 27, 1969, a demonstration of Black students and their allies at Seattle Community College against racial discrimination spread to the Cen-

tral Area. Students from Washington Jr. High and Garfield High School joined the struggle in which over 30 Black youth were arrested and 3 police wounded by gunfire.

Youth were under all sorts of attack by the monopoly capitalist class in the late '60s. In June, 1969, thousands of youth, mainly white, rose up in rebellion against violent police repression in the University District for several nights.

But the main thrust of the youth and student movement was in opposition to the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Indochina. Large numbers of Afro-Americans were militantly involved in this mass movement too. The youth and students burned with hatred for the U.S. imperialists and their criminal, genocidal war against the Indochinese people. They were inspired by the incredibly heroic resistance of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and fought the U.S. imperialists over and over again in the streets to express their hatred and contempt for the U.S. government and in support of the Indochinese people. Millions of progressive people from all walks of life in the U.S. shared these sentiments.

Due to racial discrimination, proportionately more young Black workers are forced to become cannon fodder in imperialist wars than are their white counterparts. Afro-Americans carried out heroic resistance to this enslavement, many refusing to be railroaded to Vietnam, while Black GIs in Vietnam waged heroic struggles against the fascist U.S. military machine. The Black youth carried with them into the military the glorious fighting traditions established in the Afro-American rebellions in the cities during the '60s.

In the mass movement against the U.S. war of aggression in Indochina, the opportunists (mainly the revisionists and trotskyites) tried to suppress the revolutionary initiative of the masses and turn the mass movement into a liberal, pacifist movement. They raised such slogans as "peace now", "bring the boys home now", "out now", etc. Afro-Americans had a lot of experience with the knee-bending activities of the liberals and reformists in the Afro-American movement and rejected the line of begging the imperialist butchers for peace. The revolutionary masses fought the opportunists mercilessly, thereby preparing conditions for the revolutionary unity between the oppressed people.

In February, 1970, several thousand revolutionary youth, mainly white, gathered in downtown Seattle at the Federal Courthouse to defy the fascist trial and imprisonment of the Chicago Eight defendants, who were indicted for "conspiracy to incite a riot" at the 1968 Democratic Party National Convention. Among the slogans raised by the progressive youth in Seattle were "Stop the Courts!" and "Free Bobby Seale" (a leader of the Black Panther Party who was gagged, chained and shackled in the fascist courtroom of federal Judge Julius Hoffman). The youth removed "Old Glory" and raised a red flag, emblazoned with the latter

slogan, on the courthouse flagpole. When the police violently attacked the demonstration, the youth heroically resisted the fascist attack and waged violent resistance for several hours. Over 90 youth were arrested and eight were charged with "conspiracy to incite a riot"

In March, 1970 a militant struggle broke out at the U.W. in opposition to the administration's policy of engaging in athletic competition with the overtly racist and Jim Crow Brigham Young University. A huge student movement against racial discrimination developed on the campus. The BSU leadership directed this struggle.

From March 6-9 buildings on the campus were taken over and occupied one after the other, involving over 15 total. On March 9 over 3,500 students demonstrated their support. This movement reflected the growing revolutionary unity of the youth. Thousands of students joined mass rallies and demonstrations for a week. Capitalist authorities threatened to send the combined forces of the Seattle Tactical Squad and the National Guard on campus to suppress the just struggle. On March 13, at a mass meeting in the student union building, a spokesman for the BSU stated the leading clique's response to the state machine's threat, saying: "We do not intend to get our bodies beaten; that will change nothing." This statement of surrender met with massive opposition but there was no leading force among the students who dared defy "Third World Leadership". During the struggle, the masses of students united against the capitalist authorities and the opportunists. Students denounced the anarchist "Weatherman" for their anti-people activities and denounced the cultural nationalists, who walked around on pins and needles jumping up to denounce "white racists".

The source of capitulation in the anti-BYU struggle was the organization called Solidarity with Latin American, African and Asian Peoples (SLAAAP). Its leader was the bourgeois intellectual, revisionist Harry Chang. He influenced the leading clique which dominated the BSU, an organization of progressive and revolutionary Black students. These same leaders had already been through the mill as far as opportunism was concerned--SNCC, revisionism, trotskyism, cultural nationalism and now SLAAAP. Chang preached the following things: 1.) peoples from Asia, Africa and Latin America are more revolutionary than the American people, therefore "Third World leadership" must be upheld at all times; 2.) revolution in the U.S. must wait until the Third World is liberated, because the American working class is "racist" and "counter-revolutionary"; 3.) revolutionaries should become intellectual wind-bags and seek careers as professors, bureaucrats, etc., not caring to engage in class struggle so as to change the world; and 4.) revolutionaries should engage in decadent cultural activities while covering up their own degeneracy by denouncing the masses as backward.

It was no accident that the leading clique in the BSU capitulated to the state machine and

liquidated the struggle.

The revolutionary activists gained much experience in the struggle against the capitalist authorities and against opportunism. By the spring term, the BYU issue was fading away; but the youth and student movement against imperialist war and aggression, and against fascist American culture remained vigorous and rebellious, as it had been for two years in Seattle. It exploded in late April in opposition to the U.S. government's invasion of Cambodia and Laos.

One day following the news of the brazen U.S. aggression, mass struggles broke out in Seattle on May 1. The Air Force ROTC building at the U.W. was seized and ransacked. Traffic on both floating bridges was stopped by revolutionary youth in order to agitate against U.S. aggression among the people in the cars stopped on the bridges. And a mass march in downtown Seattle ended up in a battle between the progressive people and the police from downtown Seattle to Volunteer Park on Capitol Hill. These struggles were largely led by the Seattle Liberation Front, a left-wing youth organization whose main political and organizational feature was anarchism.

For two solid weeks, fresh and bold revolutionary struggles were launched against the reactionary authorities. On May 6, 10,000 youth broke through the obstructions of police and Trotskyites and marched down the I-5 freeway to the city center for a rally. It was a tremendous display of contempt for the fascist authorities and a resolute show of support for the great Indo-chinese people's struggle. Later, the youth resisted the police when they attacked the march.

Furious resistance to the fascists continued. Off-duty police and groups of nazis (organized in the right-wing organization--Help Eliminate Lawless Protestors--HELP) indiscriminately attacked students and youth at the U.W. who were protesting the war research conducted at the Applied Physics Laboratory. Some of these off-duty police entered Lander Hall and wantonly beat up dormitory residents inside, thereby fully expressing the utter hatred the monopoly capitalists have for the youth. However, these degenerate dogs could not halt the advance of the mass movement.

Later in May, a campus-wide student strike was waged at the U.W. which closed the university. Students condemned the fascist murders of the students at Kent State and Jackson State universities and repeatedly attacked the openly imperialist practices of the university. May, 1970 marked the high point of the youth and student movement in Seattle.

Also in the Spring, sections of the Afro-American community waged a determined struggle against the extension of I-90 freeway through the Black community. Later, hundreds of Afro-Americans waged a militant struggle against the fascist police murder of Larry Ward in May.

FASCISTS MURDER LARRY WARD

What occurred in this vicious attack became public knowledge after a few weeks. Larry Ward, recently released from the Army after spending time in Vietnam, was the victim of a FBI scheme to blame the bombings in Seattle, (which at that time had the second largest number of bombings in the country behind New York, many of them government-organized) on the Black Panther Party. Together with the Seattle Police Department, the FBI used a Black informant named Alfie Burnett, a criminal element who was released from jail in exchange for doing police work, to trap a victim in the government plan. It is common practice for the state to use the lumpen proletariat as informants and agents. (What does this say for the New "Left" theory that the lumpen proletariat is the most revolutionary class?)

When the FBI plot was hatched to bomb the Hardcastle Realty in the Central Area (owned by a monopoly capitalist landlord who is bitterly detested by the Black masses), Larry Ward was snared into it and when he appeared at the realty office the police gunned him down.

It did not take long for the Black masses to respond. Mass meetings and demonstrations were held in the Central Area denouncing the fascist attack. The mass struggle was carried into the court's inquest proceedings, where the jury found the police murder of Larry Ward to be "death by criminal means". Then, the fascist courts, of course, refused to prosecute the police.

To suppress the revolutionary desires of the masses to combat racist and fascist attacks on a long-term and uncompromising basis, the revisionists and also the reformist lawyers, most of whom were Black, raised the demand for immediate prosecution. In this way they sought to confine the mass movement against fascist police repression to the reformist channel of relying on the capitalist state to mete out "justice". They were desperately opposed to the masses relying on their own efforts to resist police attacks with armed self-defense. They wanted the people to believe that justice was obtainable under capitalism; to believe that revolutionary struggle to smash-up the completely fraudulent system of bourgeois "justice", and the state machine itself, were "unnecessary": These treacherous lawyers wanted to obscure the fact that only through active resistance to fascism and through revolution could the numerous murders of Black people be avenged and justice achieved. They raised these slogans for "immediate prosecution" knowing full well that the authorities would simply spit in their face. The same demand had been raised for decades after the police murders of Barry Lawson, Morris Hill, Eugene Moszee, Robert Reese, Butch Armstead, and others. After hundreds of Black and white demonstrators demanded the punishment of Larry Ward's assassins and were met with arrests and arrogance by the reactionary authorities, the opportunists gave up the struggle.

This was a set-back to the Afro-American struggle against violent repression and it occurred when the mass movement was most vigorous.

On May 20, 1970, Chairman Mao issued his great statement on the world situation, "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!" (27) (see appendix) which in part read:

"While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movements in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated."

The great leader of the Chinese and world's people went on to say:

"U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle."

Chairman Mao's May 20th Statement was a scientific analysis of the international situation, where "revolution is the main trend in the world today." It was a great inspiration to the world's people, including the American people.

After 1970, the mass struggles of the Afro-Americans began to subside. Opportunism played the leading role in this process.

For example, the leading clique of opportunists in the Black Student Union pushed the line among the Black students that revolutionary struggle had failed, that now the students should pursue professional careers and forget about revolution. In order to cover their bourgeois politics, they promoted cultural nationalist thinking--like: "our blackness must be the source of our strength" and "Black culture is where it's at".

Because of earlier mass struggles, the enrollment of Blacks at the U.W. increased and the opportunists organized diversions to confuse the incoming students. At the start of the school term in 1972, they brought cultural nationalist poet Don L. Lee and revisionist "theoretician" Dan Aldridge here to mystify the question of who are the friends and enemies of Black people. The opportunists secured for themselves University bureaucratic jobs and one or two even ran campaigns for political office in the capitalist government. Today, one of these opportunists is running for the state legislature after a period of grooming in the U.W. Equal Opportunities Program.

After the collapse of SLAAAP and after Harry Chang was run out of town with his tail between

his legs, some of the opportunists became leaders of the Venceremos Brigade, which embodied the revisionist and cultural nationalist politics of SLAAAP. In all the mass struggles at the U.W. they played a wrecking role. A recent example of this was in May, 1975 when they sabotaged the student struggle against the arbitrary firing of a Chicano professor by the EOP boss, the Black ex-military officer. Instead of supporting the just struggle, they preached racial exclusion and supported the lackey official. One of these opportunists even went to other colleges in the area and preached racist antagonism toward Chicanos. He was later rewarded with a soft university job. Despite this wrecking, the masses of Black students rejected the racist ravings of the opportunists and supported the struggle against the arbitrary firing.

Today, because of the relative lull in the mass movement, Black fraternities and social clubs have spread at the U.W. But these occurrences are only temporary and will disappear with the rise of the revolutionary movement.

The Black Panther Party was also overwhelmed by opportunism. However, inside the BPP there was a definite Marxist-Leninist trend represented by Fred Hampton and George Jackson. Fred Hampton was an energetic and fearless organizer of the Afro-Americans in Chicago, where he was a leader of the BPP. On December 4, 1969, the FBI wantonly assassinated him in his sleep. Next to his bed were two of his cherished books: Chairman Mao's Red Book and Lenin's great classic on party-building, What Is To Be Done?. Thousands of Blacks lined the streets in Chicago to denounce the fascist murder and to mourn the loss of a courageous leader. In August, 1971, prison authorities at San Quentin assassinated Black communist George Jackson. Before his death, Comrade Jackson, writing from his jail cell, advised the people to "Equip yourself with the Little Red Book. There is no other way to regain your senses." (28) George Jackson had vowed to the fascist monopoly capitalists that he "would dog their trail forever", reflecting the true aspirations of the great Afro-American people.

But it was precisely the revolutionary fighting spirit and line of Fred Hampton and George Jackson that was negated in the Fall of 1970 when Huey Newton elaborated a full-blown revisionist doctrine for the BPP. This doctrine was spelled out in speeches at Boston College in October and at the "People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention" in December. The speeches contained these essential lines: 1.) negated the historical lessons of international revolutionary experience as embodied in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; 2.) denied the applicability of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in the U.S. while paying lip service to Marxism-Leninism; 3.) deemed the lumpen proletarian elements (who live "by their wits"--stealing, hustling, etc.) the "left-wing" of the working class; 4.) claimed that technology made the working class obsolete; 5.) proclaimed that the BPP survival programs would save the

people from starvation and eternal damnation; and 6.) concocted the theory of "intercommunalism" which denied not only the existence of nations but also of classes and class struggle. These ideas stemmed from Newton's belief that American imperialism was all-powerful and dominated the whole world and that the only measure of relief from this oppression could be "control" of oppressed communities or "community control". Actually, Huey Newton was making his peace with U.S. imperialists in exchange for a "piece of the action" in the Black community. While in its earlier years the BPP tended to rely on individuals to militarily confront the police when the situation actually demanded the political mobilization of the masses, nevertheless, the BPP reflected the spirit of a whole generation of Black youth to wage active resistance to fascism. Huey Newton's peace treaty with U.S. imperialism was a great betrayal to the hundreds of Black youth who built the BPP in the spirit of resolute opposition to fascism.

Glorification of Huey Newton was carried out to the extreme in the BPP by its leadership. Bureaucratic suppression of its revolutionary followers was also practiced in order to curb criticism of the revisionist leadership. Because of the great respect among Afro-American revolutionaries for Mao Tsetung Thought, the Red Book was used to oppose the Red Book. For example, Chairman Mao's call to the communists to "serve the people" was twisted around to justify the reformist survival programs. From an organization which had fought the fascist U.S. government, the BPP became a "respectable" community organization which relied on the state machine to get some "community control". Then the BPP leadership threw their hands up in despair and ran into the churches, following the trail "blazed" by the Revisionist Party in the 1950s.

In Seattle after 1970, the BPP was sideline to the development of the Afro-American struggle. The organization was involved in reformist activities, which was characteristic of all the opportunists in Seattle after the mass struggles had subsided. Except for grandstand appearances by its leaders at occasional rallies and demonstrations, the BPP followed the policy of making itself "respectable" in the eyes of other "respectable" and "civilized" community leaders, who all try to make the capitalist system appear to work for Black people.

RAPID GROWTH OF MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

The most politically advanced revolutionaries of the Afro-American people's movement and other mass movements of the 1960s and early '70s struggled to sum up their experience, and came forward to adopt the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The most clear-sighted of them at once

took upon their shoulders the decisive task of building the revolutionary political party of the proletariat.

On May 12, 1969, American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) was founded, the first national center for the dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought in the U.S. and a predecessor of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML). "The ACWM (ML) was founded at the call of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and marked a decisive new stage in the struggle of the American Marxist-Leninists to build anew a genuine Communist Party of the American proletariat based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. With revolutionary boldness and daring, the small number of comrades of the Cleveland Workers' Action Committee decided to shoulder the decisive tasks of the American revolution on a national scale, take up the banner of the Internationalists in fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the comrades who were to form such glorious fraternal parties as the Communist Party of Canada (ML), the Communist Party of England (ML), and the Communist Party of Ireland (ML) and come under the discipline of the international communist movement led by Chairman Mao and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

"In 1969 when the ACWM (ML) was formed there was a situation of great revolutionary tumult. There were surging mass movements and simultaneously there was great confusion on fundamental questions of orientation. Everyone was asking what path the revolutionary activists should take. The revisionist "Communist" Party of the U.S. had long since been destroyed from within by revisionism; it had become an out-and-out agent of Soviet social-imperialism while it collaborated with the U.S. monopoly capitalist class in suppressing the people's movements." (29) The Progressive Labor Party had attempted to fill the vacuum left by the degeneration of the CPUSA, but it failed to rise to the task and degenerated also into a trotskyite sect.

Without Marxist-Leninist leadership, the revolutionary mass movements had been left rudderless, prey to bourgeois ideology and misdirected. In this situation it was Mao Tsetung Thought that showed the path forward.

In the Fall of 1971, Seattle Workers Movement (SWM) was formed to support and implement the line of ACWM (ML) in Seattle. In the Fall, 1972, the Seattle Branch of ACWM (ML) was founded.

ACWM (ML) concentrated the experience of the revolutionary activists. It took up the Marxist-Leninist line that "without a revolutionary party based on revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement". Putting daring in command, ACWM (ML) embarked on the road of building the party to serve the working class and all oppressed people. It was responsible for the following: establishing the first national center for the widescale distribution of Mao Tsetung Thought; opposing the imperialist counter-culture among the youth; advocating the line of "active

resistance to fascism"--a high point of which occurred in July, 1970 when comrades of ACWM (ML) led revolutionary youth and workers against the Wallaceite "hard-hat" march in Cleveland, effectively smashing up this fascist movement on a nationwide scale; and leading the Communist movement on the importance of party-building, such as in the campaign for the unity of Marxist-Leninists beginning in 1972 and leading up to the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists in 1973 where the COUSML was formed.

The Seattle comrades of COUSML came from the revolutionary forces in SLAAAP, the Seattle Liberation Front youth organization, the Asian-American youth movements, the Afro-American movement, and the youth and student movement in general. We took up the line of "action with analysis" in order to "organize to change the world". It was the line of "action without analysis" that had so swiftly destroyed the SLF, the largest organized center in the youth and student movement which became a flash in the pan in the course of six months. We began to integrate with the working class, the class which is most scientific, practical, and thoroughly revolutionary in its hatred for the bourgeoisie.

Among the Afro-Americans, comrades widely distributed Chairman Mao's statements, the Red Book, and other Marxist-Leninist works. The Seattle Student Movement, unit of ACWM(ML), exposed the treachery of Stokely Carmichael and the revisionist prattle of Angela Davis when they spoke at the UW in 1973. SWM-COUSML fought the attempts to create hysteria around the issue of "crime in Rainier Valley" in 1974 which was a thinly disguised attack on the Black people in the community, especially in the housing projects. Numerous campaigns have been waged in support of the national liberation struggles raging in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Also, COUSML organized, together with other revolutionary activists, widescale agitation in support of the Angolan people's struggle against the Soviet-Cuban invaders and five African Liberation Day campaigns, especially in May, 1976. For over five years we have carried out general revolutionary work among the entire working class, including the Afro-American people.

COMBAT THIS GROWING FASCISM!

Since 1970, when the mass movements began to subside, the fascist Seattle police executed a number of atrocities against Afro-Americans in Seattle. The police murders of Larry Ward, Leslie Allen Black, Louis Jones are some of the better known cases. Another is Kamara Kabile, an African seaman who escaped the vicious exploitation on board a merchant vessel only to be shot in the back six times by the fascist police in downtown Seattle in October, 1971. Supporters

of ACWM(M-L) participated in the movement to denounce the fascists for this crime.

On February 14, 1975, Seattle fascist patrolman Earlywine shot and killed a 23-year-old Black youth, Joe Hebert. He had been shot in the back of the head at nearly point-blank range. The absolute necessity to combat racist and fascist police attacks was once more emphasized.

Afro-Americans and progressive white rose up to denounce the fascist murder, the struggle taking the organizational form of the Justice for Joe Committee. While this struggle was often vigorous and militant, revisionists and assorted opportunists misdirected the movement. Throughout the struggle, the Seattle Branch--COUSML carried out independent work with a revolutionary line and style of work. We supported the immediate demands against the city authorities for an early inquest, and we supported the demand for prosecution of the police once the inquest jury found the murder "unjustified". But we vigorously opposed the leading clique's line that justice can be delivered to Black people or any oppressed people under capitalism. We took up the sentiments of the Black masses to resist the fascists and worked to release their revolutionary initiative by opposing the capitulation of the opportunists to the reactionary authorities (police, courts, community sell-outs).

However, we were unable to overcome the treachery of the opportunists who suppressed the mass movement, their motive being to prevent the consolidation of revolutionary politics, ideology and organization among the masses. The opportunists formed an unholy alliance in the Justice for Joe Committee. Their main line was to rely on the state machine and "respectable" community leaders who were in cahoots with the reactionaries, to deprive the masses of a truthful revolutionary analysis, and to suppress the initiative of the masses as well as to suppress the Communists. Revisionist lawyers gave long-winded speeches on how they could "win the case", how it was necessary to construct legal arguments and put "militant" pressure on the courts through phone calls and petitions and good behavior in demonstrations. But the cowardly revisionist lawyers, who were white, buffaloed no one, as their thin veil was torn off by the masses. It was left up to the more polished opportunists, who happened to be Black, to fool the masses and mislead the struggle. In the wake of these opportunists crawled the trotskyites, who, when the opportunists sneezed, dashed forward to wipe their noses.

We had again learned a profound lesson about the vicious role of the opportunists. At that point, we asked: what is the history of the opportunists' dirty work in the struggle against violent repression and what is needed to overcome the opportunism and move the revolutionary struggle forward? In July, we published our investigation in a pamphlet entitled "Afro-American People: Advance the Struggle Against Racial Discrimination and Violent Repression!--Sum-

mation of the Justice for Joe Committee".

Here we revealed a historical pattern of reformist politics in the struggle against violent repression. We summed up these politics and its effects as follows: 1.) the mass movements in 1945 (the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice) and in 1975 (the Justice for Joe Committee) definitely show the irrepressible revolutionary spirit of the Afro-American people who will never submit to the fascist rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class; 2.) the starting point for the political work of the committees however was not the understanding that "...capitalism has no 'room' for other than legal emancipation and even the latter it curtails in every way... Capitalism cannot give either complete emancipation or even complete equality".(30) As a result, the committees lapsed into reformism and the mass movement was set-back. And, the reformist line in both committees was led by revisionists, by those who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and therefore oppose the basic revolutionary principle of tireless and uncompromising struggle against the capitalist state. 3.) Only by Afro-American revolutionaries opposing revisionism and gloriously struggling to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can they lead their people to revolution and complete emancipation. In short, to defeat the reformist line in the Black people's movement, a line pushed by the revisionists, the Black revolutionaries must resolutely participate in building the genuine Communist Party of the American working class to lead all the oppressed people.

This summation proved to be a valuable tool in exposing opportunism and in developing a clear orientation on how to fight against violent repression on a correct basis.

Special mention should be made of the activity of two neo-revisionist sects in the Justice for Joe Committee. One group (the Revolutionary Union--now the Revolutionary "Communist" Party, USA) first mindlessly ran around chanting the reformist slogan "Justice for Joe". Later, after being spurned by the other opportunists, they invoked the chant "workers, united, will never be defeated". Instead of opposing the capitalist state, they dashed hither and thither looking for racism to oppose among the working class. They refused to support the actual struggle against the especially fascist attacks on the Afro-American community.

Another group of neo-revisionists (now in October League(M-L)--or OL) more openly raised the white flag of surrender and more openly refused to struggle against the fascist state. They cringed in fear at the thought of receiving pinpricks from the other opportunists in the Committee, and did not participate in the struggle at all.

Neo-revisionism has come into being to subvert the growth and development of the Marxist-Leninist movement. It is a product of the adaptation of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought to "New Leftism". Because Mao Tsetung Thought

and the line of "building the Party" is beginning to spread like wildfire in the ranks of the Afro-American revolutionaries, clarity on neo-revisionism is essential and the demand of these activists. Only by opposing opportunism of all shades can the Party be built.

RAVINGS OF THE NEO-REVISIONISTS

In the Afro-American movement, the neo-revisionists take an opportunist stand as they do on all questions. They jump back and forth between two equally counter-revolutionary positions, depending on what is most effective in opposing the struggle at a particular time. To cover up this treachery, they engage in sectarian warfare, endlessly debating the Black National Question (which is very convenient for the fascists!). Mystifying everything, preferring "debates" over moving the actual struggles of the masses forward, they have arrived at two equally erroneous positions: 1.) "all nationalism is reactionary", and thus the Black people's struggle is "merely" a "working class question". With this view, they do not struggle against racial discrimination and violent repression, that is, Black people's national oppression. Instead, they stand on the sidelines lecturing the working class not to be "racist" or they side with the reactionaries against Black people. And 2.) "all nationalism is revolutionary." They refuse to oppose cultural nationalist politics and prefer to drift with the stream in order to gather as many Black people into their sects as quickly as possible. This approach makes a special effort to unite with cultural nationalists so as to pose as a "multinational organization" and "friends of the Black people". Paternalistic liberalism and a non-revolutionary attitude toward the state is their trademark also.

These elements are not Marxist-Leninists at all, but revisionists. Since they masquerade as followers of Mao Tsetung Thought we call them neo-revisionists so as to distinguish them from the modern revisionists of the CPUSA. Actually, the neo-revisionists are "left-overs" from Browder's and Kruschov's revisionism. They spout the same liberal bourgeois and cultural nationalist nonsense about "white racism" being the enemy, and about how "racist" the "white working class" is.

We state unequivocally: 1.) The American working class is not racist in the slightest degree; 2.) "The working class is the most advanced class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the vast majority of the people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum, and attack them." (31)

The neo-revisionist theoreticians are bour-

geous in nature. Looking into a mirror, they imagine themselves to be looking out a window at the working class. Seeing their own image reflected, they proceed to throw mud on their own ugly faces. We should not let this spectacle, comical as it is, hide the fact that they are only fighting their own image and do not have a revolutionary attitude toward the state. They serve the ruling class.

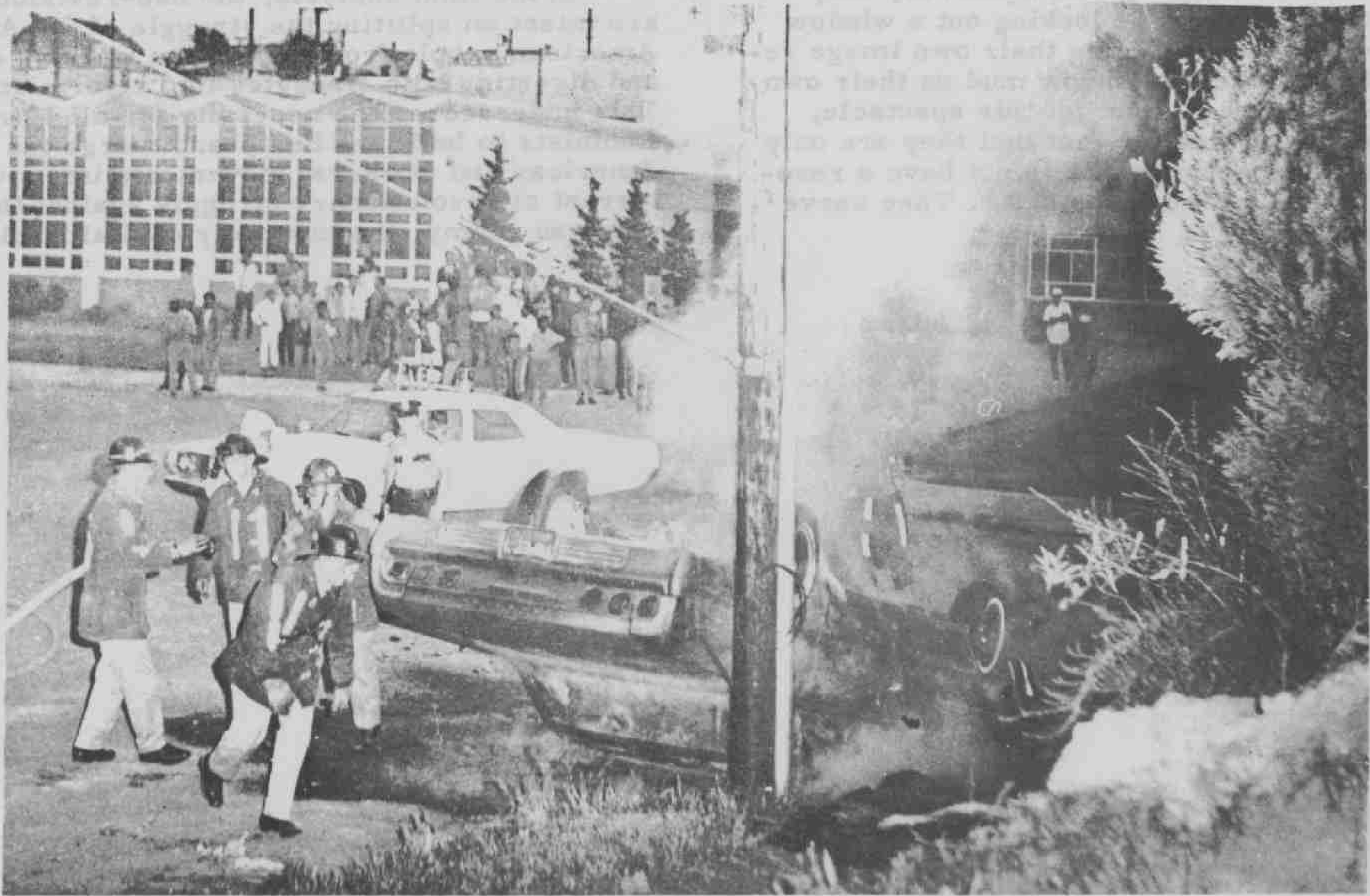
In the final analysis, the neo-revisionists are intent on splitting the struggle of the Afro-American people from that of the working class, and diverting both struggles into reformism. This underscores the necessity for all Marxist-Leninists to build the Party and merge the Afro-American and workers' movements into a united torrent of revolutionary struggle against the common enemy, the monopoly capitalist class.



The Afro-American struggle developed a tendency to split from the struggle against the monopoly capitalist class. This is evident from the Washington Afro-American Report for July 1967, which states that the Afro-American struggle is being diverted into reformism. The report also notes that the Afro-American struggle is being used to split the struggle of the Afro-American people from that of the working class.



This Afro-American organization is the Central Afro-American Group, founded 1967.



The Afro-American struggle developed vigorously in Seattle in the summer, 1968. Here is one scene of the struggle against violent repression. This photo was taken from the Washington State Kramer Report, which was this state's version of the 1968 Kerner Commission's Report on Civil Disorders, both of which represented the attempt of the monopoly capitalist government to blame "white racism" for the revolutionary storms of the Black people's struggle and promoted reformist solutions to lull the fighting will of the Afro-Americans



Afro-Americans organize against violent repression in the Central Area in the summer, 1968



February, 1970 Youth wage vigorous anti-fascist struggle at the U S Federal Court House



April, 1970 Students at the UW unfold militant struggle against racial discrimination in the anti-Brigham Young University movement.



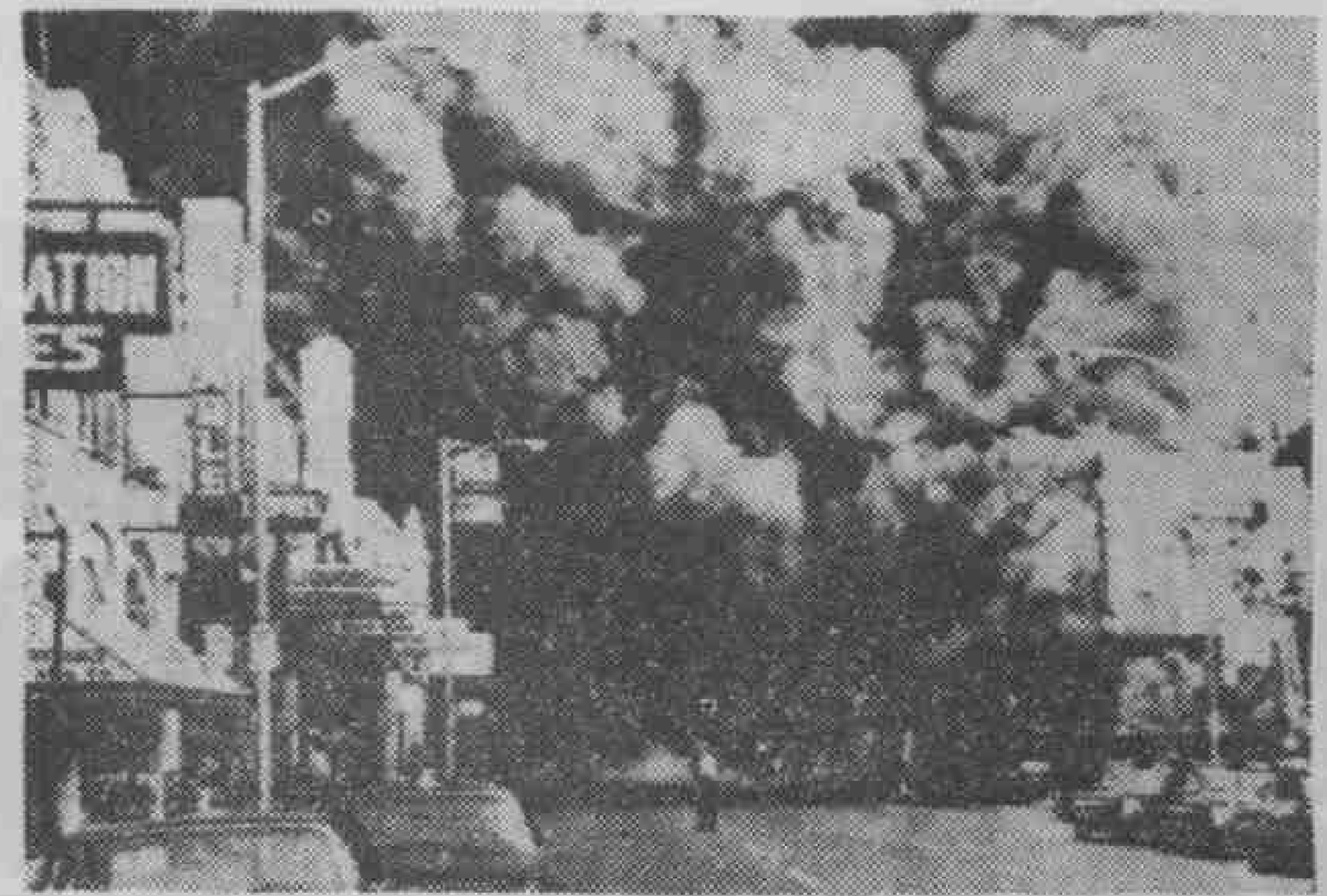
May, 1970. Students at the UW launch offensive against the imperialist practices of the UW's Air Force ROTC program. This demonstration was the opening shot of the youth's protest against the brazen U.S aggression in Cambodia



May, 1970. Youth and students march on I-5 freeway as part of a bold movement in support of the Indo-Chinese people's national liberation struggles.



Mao Tsetung Thought lights the way forward!



Detroit ablaze, 1967

In many Afro-American struggles, women were in the forefront. Here, mother-daughter combination pounds reactionary in a struggle against racial discrimination at a suburban Chicago high school in 1970.

May 1970
 The demonstrators
 against the

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

Afro-Americans today are the proud inheritors of a glorious history of revolutionary struggle. Since the time of the epic struggle to overthrow slavery, Black people in the Northwest at once established themselves as militant fighters in the class struggle.

With the death of chattel slavery, the freed slaves faced another kind of enslavement: capitalist wage-slavery. In addition, Afro-Americans also faced semi-feudal, semi-slave oppression. This medieval Jim Crow system existed not only in the Black Belt South but all across the U.S. Fighting this national oppression, the Black people established a tradition of iron-willed determination, relentless persistence, and heroic sacrifices.

Through decades of bitter struggle, Afro-Americans smashed many Jim Crow barriers thrown in their path by the bourgeoisie and have heightened their sense of pride and dignity. Their struggle against racial discrimination and violent repression has aroused a whole generation of white youth and students, inspired the other oppressed nationalities and invigorated the entire working class struggle. Who will deny this? Ask the monopoly capitalists about these issues and they will literally go wild!

The agents of the bourgeoisie in the Black community will go wild too. For example, Rev. Leon Sullivan, founder and chairman of the Opportunities and Industrialization Centers (OIC) of America, recently remarked in Seattle that "We have to get down off the backs of others and walk for ourselves. Integration without preparation is frustration." Sullivan, a member of the board of directors of General Motors, added, "You're wasting your time walking (ed--demonstrating for jobs) unless you have someone who is skilled and prepared for that job." In other words, Black people are the problem, not the capitalist system. His advice amounts to: don't struggle, but rather beg the bourgeoisie for your survival. Meanwhile, Rev. Sullivan makes himself a modern-day Booker T. Washington who is financed by the monopoly capitalist to set up OIC operations in 125 American cities and four African countries so as to provide cheap labor to the exploiters. He also has other capitalist interests which exploit the "Black market".

It is self-evident that the Black community is divided into classes. Lenin once said that

"...whoever now speaks of non-class politics and of non-class socialism deserves to be simply put in a cage and exhibited alongside of the Australian kangaroo." (32)

In the Afro-American community, the Black workers are the leading force and no one else. They have nothing to lose but their chains, and have the most revolutionary qualities.

The history of the Afro-American people in Seattle encompasses over 100 years. This is a relatively short period of time. And the Black

community has grown to a somewhat large population only in the years during and after World War II. But within this brief time-span, Black people have launched innumerable struggles against the class enemy. By no means have we written of them all. (And of course, the bourgeoisie would like everyone to forget the past--"let bygones be bygones"...--and they do not write about any of it.) This history of revolutionary struggle testifies to both the intensity of their oppression and the tenacity of their resistance.

The class composition of Black people in Seattle has always been overwhelmingly proletarian. And since WW II, Black people have been, more and more, right in the heart of industrial production. The Afro-American people's struggle here has always been inseparably bound up with that of the working class as a whole against capitalist exploitation. Whether forced to migrate here in large groups or individually, deprived of elementary social and political rights, the capitalists have utilized them as sources of cheap labor in their utterly mad pursuit of money, of maximum profits.

To enforce this exploitation, the capitalist state has never stopped directing racist attacks on the community. Segregated in housing; provided with schools that prepare the youth, at most, for a life of drudgery and extreme wage-slavery; constantly subject to the abuse of the capitalist's culture of "white supremacy"; continually kept at high levels of unemployment; thrown onto welfare; families split-up; the community a virtual prison camp subject to police playing the role of judge, jury and hangman--this shameful history of racial discrimination and open, terroristic fascist repression will not be covered up by the liberal tokenism of Madison Avenue publicists! This history and its memory will not be forgotten in exchange for the sweet promises of professional liars and swindlers such as Mayor Uhlman, Governor Evans and presidential aspirant Jimmy Carter! No, this history will be avenged! That's what must be done with it.

Of course this history is not complete. No history is. The last chapter of capitalism is the proletarian socialist revolution. This inaugurates the building of socialist society with the working class as the ruling class. The continuous revolution under the conditions of socialism prevents the restoration of capitalism, eliminates all classes, all violence, and brings communism, classless society into being. This is the only road forward to a time of harmonious progress, an end to war and the existence of perpetual peace.

To march the first step down this road demands the forcible overthrow of the monopoly capitalist class. The Afro-American people and the working class as a whole have the same enemy, and must unite their struggles in practice by aiming them squarely at the capitalist state.

There are many, many lessons to be derived from the history of a people. Struggles provide

many truths, both from the victories and from the defeats. We have attempted to clarify these lessons in the text for revolutionary people to draw the appropriate conclusions from.

One lesson must however be re-emphacized:

"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." (33)

The Afro-American people's struggle against their oppression as a nationality, is in the last analysis a class question. Their struggle is part of that of the proletariat, the other oppressed nationalities, the Native American people, and all of the downtrodden, to overthrow the monopoly capitalist class.

"Classes struggle, some classes triumph..." (34) "...classes are led by political parties..." (35) The Communist Party is the vanguard detachment of the proletariat. It is the concentrated expression of the characteristics and qualities of the proletariat.

To subsist, the working class has nothing to sell but its labor power. Possessing no ill-gotten wealth, and having nothing to hide, it is most honest and straightforward. Organized and disciplined in the process of large-scale capitalist production, the proletariat has its feet on the ground, is not fanciful but materialist, and revolutionary in its attitude toward changing the world. United in daily participation in socialized production, side by side with workers of all nationalities, the proletariat is modest, humble and most selfless. Exploited to the limits of endurance, its hatred for the capitalists runs like steel rod through reinforced concrete.

The Communist Party is the vanguard, the politically advanced section, of this most resolute, progressive and revolutionary class.

Afro-American history reveals at the same time: 1.) the irrepressible spirit of resistance, of struggle; 2.) the treachery of opportunist leadership planted in these struggles to misdirect them away from active resistance, away from revolution and the struggle for political power. All of these opportunist elements were either from the bourgeois or petty bourgeois class, or had adopted the stand, viewpoint and program of these classes to oppose the people. Only the working class can represent the interests of the vast majority of people and can lead the revolution to victory.

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of

the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." (36)

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the ideology of the proletariat and its science for waging revolution. It is hostile to all forms of opportunism, to all forms of deceit. The Communist Party is the instrument capable of defeating opportunism and leading the struggle to victory.

The Party is based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. All revolutionary activists must adopt this theory, and the class stand of the working class, and dedicate their lives to the achievement of the historical mission of the working class. This is what the real world demands from us.

All over the U.S., the oppressed people ask: Who will lead? Who will point the way out of this misery, out of this looming cloud of world war and fascism?" We answer: the revolutionary political party of the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninist Party is not yet organized. Opportunists have their fingers in the dike. This dike will inevitably burst and wash them away. The decisive task is to smash up opportunism (including neo-revisionism) on the theoretical front and clarify the forward march of American revolution. To do this, the proletarian revolutionaries must be in the thick of struggle in close contact with the masses. This process will unite all genuine Marxist-Leninists and create the necessary conditions for the founding of the Party. COUSML will prove equal to these tasks.

The Afro-American people have 450 years of revolutionary traditions behind them. The weapons forged in the heat of this glorious struggle will contribute to the destruction of the monopoly capitalist system. We are living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution,

"the historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down to their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory." (37)

"The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." (38)

The two superpowers are preparing to launch another world war, more terrible than the previous two. Led by Chairman Mao and People's China, the world's people are getting mobilized to wage revolution, against war. Either revolution prevents the war, or war gives rise to revolution. Under these conditions, the victory of the anti-fascist American people, and the defeat of the reactionaries, are equally inevitable.

APPENDIX A: Statement Calling on the People of the World to Unite to Oppose Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism and Support the American Negroes in Their Struggle Against Racial Discrimination (August 8, 1963)

APPENDIX B: Statement by Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression (April 16, 1968)

APPENDIX C: People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs! (Statement of May 20, 1970)



300,000 civilians and army members at a rally in the Kweiyang area in southwest China heartily hail Chairman Mao's great statement, and resolutely support the Afro-American struggle against violent repression. (Peking Review, 1968)



"Long live armed struggle!" "Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought!" shout Congolese (B) fighters after studying Chairman Mao's statement. (Peking Review, 1968)

STATEMENT CALLING ON THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO UNITE TO OPPOSE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BY U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SUPPORT THE AMERICAN NEGROES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (August 8, 1963) 52
APPENDIX A

An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than 19 million Negroes in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total population. They are enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against--such is their position in society. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes are deprived of their right to vote. In general, it is only the most backbreaking and despised jobs that are open to them. Their average wages are no more than a third or a half those of the white people. The ratio of unemployment among them is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Negroes are frequently and arbitrarily arrested, beaten up and murdered by the U.S. authorities at various levels and by members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half of the American Negroes are concentrated in eleven states in the south of the United States, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is becoming stronger and stronger. In recent years there has been a continuous expansion in the mass struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The authorities used armed force against them, and there resulted the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held "sit-in" demonstrations protesting against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enrol in colleges, and the authorities greeted them with a blood bath.

This year, the struggle of the American Negroes started early in April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed, bare-handed Negro people were subjected to wholesale arrests and the most barbarous suppression merely because they were holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12 Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi, was murdered in cold blood. Aroused to indignation and defying brutal suppression, these Negro masses carried on their struggle even more courageously and quickly won the support of Negroes and all sections of the people throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nationwide struggle is going on in nearly every state and city of the United States; and the struggle is mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety to U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against Negroes and their persecution; it even sends troops to suppress them. On the other hand, in its attempt to lull the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country, the Kennedy Administration is parading as an advocate of the "defense of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes", is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and is proposing the "civil rights legislation" to Congress. But more and more Negroes are seeing through these tactics of the Kennedy Administration. The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom of the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practiced by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who oppress the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are inflicting oppression, aggression and intimidation on the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people.

STATEMENT BY COMRADE MAO TSETUNG, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST VIOLENT REPRESSION (April 16, 1968)

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in my "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people". I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.

PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE AND DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND ALL THEIR RUNNING DOGS! (Statement of May 20, 1970)

A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

Unable to win in Viet Nam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of north Viet Nam, and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. I warmly support the fighting spirit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. I warmly support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples. I warmly support the establishment of the Royal Government of National Union Under the Leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea. Strengthening their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indo-Chinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory.

While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and black people in its own country. Nixon's fascist atrocities have kindled the raging flames of the revolutionary mass movement in the United States. The Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary struggle of the American people. I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad. The mass movement of protest against U.S. aggression in Cambodia has swept the globe. Less than ten days after its establishment, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was recognized by nearly 20 countries. The situation is getting better and better in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The revolutionary armed struggles of the people of the Southeast Asian countries, the struggles of the people of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the struggles of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors, the national liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of North America, Europe and Oceania are all developing vigorously. The Chinese people firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries and of other countries of the world in their revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. Innumerable facts prove that a just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support. A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history.

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!

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