

AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE: ADVANCE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND VIOLENT REPRESSION!



Black people, like all oppressed people, have only advanced through struggle against their oppressor--the monopoly capitalist class. Picture above shows a vigorous denunciation of the Nixon administration's fascist repression against Black people.

**By Seattle Workers Movement
Under the Leadership of the COUSML**

(SEATTLE BRANCH - CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF U.S. MARXIST-LENINISTS)

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AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE: ADVANCE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND VIOLENT REPRESSION !

INTRODUCTION:

The following article has been produced with the aim of making a contribution to the Black peoples' struggles for democratic rights and to our revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system itself. The assistance the article provides is in the realm of revolutionary theory and orientation. Seattle Workers Movement, based on our participation in many progressive movements of the people in Seattle, and our participation in several struggles of the Black people in particular, has reached several conclusions which we are presenting to the revolutionary Afro-American community for discussion. We are convinced that the points elaborated on in Parts 1, 2, and 3 deserve close attention and accurately reflect the situation.

Part 1 "Racist and Fascist Police Attacks Against Black People are the Product of the Capitalist System" describes the excellent revolutionary situation presently existing in the world and in the United States. It pinpoints the struggle of the Black people as (1) against racial discrimination and violent repression and for democratic rights; and (2) against the whole system of monopoly capitalism and for proletarian socialist revolution.

Part 2 "Lessons Learned from the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice (1945) and the Justice for Joe Committee (1975)" analyzes two struggles of the community against racist and fascist police attacks. One such struggle arose following the killing of the staunch Afro-American activist and fighter Eugene Moszee in 1945. Another struggle developed this year (1975) in response to the racist and fascist killing of the young Afro-American Joe Hebert by the Seattle Police Department. In this section, the positive and negative features of these movements are sorted out so as to provide the Afro-American movement with orientation as to how to build on our strengths, overcome weaknesses and move our struggle forward.

Part 3 "Advance the Revolutionary Struggle of the Afro-American People!" reaches certain conclusions about the political line and orientation needed in the Afro-American peoples'

struggle. It calls upon the Black people to build and strengthen organizations which actively defend the people from the economic, political and cultural attacks of the monopoly capitalist class. It points to the necessity of strengthening the fighting alliance between the Afro-American people, other national minorities, and the working class as a whole including the white working people. All of the exploited and oppressed people in the U.S. face a common enemy-- the fascist monopoly capitalist class-- and should develop their fighting unity. This section specifically calls on the core of the Black peoples mass movement, the revolutionary activists, to resolutely study and apply Marxism- Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought so as to strengthen the leadership of the various struggles. The Afro-American Marxist- Leninists should participate in the struggle to build the Marxist- Leninist Communist Party hand in hand with the Marxist- Leninists of all nationalities in the U.S. and take up the responsibility entrusted to us by history of leading all the just struggles of the people toward anti-fascist, socialist revolution.

The remainder of the pamphlet (following "Advance the Revolutionary Struggle of the Afro-American People!") consists of supplementary material that is useful in arriving at clear revolutionary orientation. These articles are listed in the table of contents and are preceded by appropriate introductory remarks.

PART ONE: Racist and Fascist Attacks Against Black People Are the Product of the Capitalist System

Six months ago the Seattle Police Department killed Joe Hebert, a young Afro-American and long-time resident of the Central Area, and this aroused the just anger of the Black Community and many other progressive people. While fighting against violent police repression, Black people in Seattle are also struggling against racial discrimination and for democratic rights on many fronts--including struggles against increased unemployment, educational funding cutbacks, and deteriorating housing conditions,

among many others. Black workers are playing an active role in trade union struggles and in union organizing drives and defending themselves from the economic attacks of the capitalists at the place of work. The Afro-American people are also resisting cultural attacks. One example is the promotion of "Super-Fly" pimps and drug dealers as models for the youth to emulate.

These increasing attacks present a serious danger to the well-being of the Afro-American people and indicate the deep-going economic and political crisis now gripping U.S. monopoly capitalism. The economic crisis is deepening, and the workers and oppressed national minorities are waging determined struggles against the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis onto their backs.

On the world scale, the United States is wildly contending with the other superpower, Soviet social imperialism¹, for world domination and this has led to stepped-up war preparations. At the same time, the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are rising up and freeing themselves from the clutches of imperialist domination. The national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have become the storm centers of the world revolution and are the main force opposing the two superpowers. Over the past several months, the world's people have witnessed with great enthusiasm the liberation of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Mozambique. An excellent revolutionary situation exists in the world today.

As a result, the U.S. government has become panic-stricken. Due to the increasing factors for both war and revolution, the monopoly capitalist class is making war threats as well as war preparations. At the same time, they are attacking the American working and oppressed people in the United States and imposing fascist rule. This is the Ford Doctrine of war and fascism.

No section of American society feels this more sharply than the Afro-American people. The limited democratic rights and concessions

that were wrenched out of the hands of the American bourgeois rulers as a result of the Black rebellions of the 1960's are being steadily stripped away. The democratic right to attend integrated schools is being attacked, as the fascist anti-busing movement in Boston clearly shows. Similar fascist anti-busing movements are rearing their ugly heads in Detroit, Baltimore, and other places. Joan Little, the heroic sister who righteously killed a racist jailer with his own weapon when he attempted to rape her in a jail cell, is facing the death penalty in front of the "justice" of the North Carolina court system for her courageous act of self-defense. Black people have a tremendous rate of unemployment because the ruling class uses them as a reserve source of cheap labor and the exploitation of Afro-American workers in intensifying. There are thousands of other examples that show the increasing attempts of the monopoly capitalists to force Black people into a position of semi-slavery.

Lenin made these instructive remarks about the plight of Black people in America: "The Negroes were the last to be freed from slavery, and they still bear, more than anyone else, the cruel marks of slavery even in the advanced countries--for capitalism has no room for other than legal emancipation, and even the latter it curtails in every way... Furthermore, everyone knows that the position of Negroes in America in general is one unworthy of a civilized country--capitalism cannot give either complete emancipation or even complete equality."²

Does Lenin's analysis still hold true? Yes it does. As a matter of fact, the truth that "...capitalism cannot give either complete emancipation or even complete equality", must be the starting point for Black people's struggle against racial discrimination and violent repression and for democratic rights. Only this understanding combats the erroneous notion that Black people can achieve equality and emancipation

¹ Several references are made to the Soviet Union in this article. Today the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist country, that is, socialist in pretensions and imperialist in deeds. This degeneration of the first socialist country, which was once an inspiration to the revolutionary people of the world, into an imperialist superpower and exploiter resulted from counter-revolutionary coup d'etat staged by Khrushchev in 1956. Khrushchev began the process of restoring capitalist relations of production which has been thoroughly implemented by the Brezhnev clique.

² In 1913, V.I. Lenin wrote "Russians and Negroes" from which this quotation is excerpted. This article shows the profound revolutionary insight that Lenin applied to all spheres of his investigation. It shows that Lenin, while leading the most earthshaking revolution the world had yet seen, the Great October Socialist Revolution, still allotted time to give careful consideration to the oppressive conditions the Afro-American people were enduring. (Lenin on the United States, International Publishers N.Y., 1970, page 58)

under capitalism, or that racist and fascist attacks somehow drop from the sky and are not the product of the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. Also, it must be firmly grasped that the working class cannot be emancipated under capitalism either and that the Afro-American people and the working class face a common enemy and must assist one another in common struggle.

In Part Two, the historical experiences of Black peoples' struggles in Seattle against violent repression is analysed and various lessons drawn from them. In both movements against violent repression we examine, the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice (1945) and the Justice for Joe Committee (1975), the political line that was dominant went against the truth that "...capitalism cannot give either complete emancipation or even complete equality", and instead put forward the "garden path" of pure and simple reformism. This amounted to reliance on the capitalist government to stop the police attacks against Black people.

But this did not serve the struggle of the working and oppressed people against their class enemy, which is the monopoly capitalists, whether they be "liberal" or "conservative", or as Malcolm X put it -- "foxes or wolves". The capitalist class uses racist attacks as a particular form of fascist attack on the Afro-American people, the intent of which is to intimidate them and spread the psychology of fear in order to carry on "business as usual". This "business as usual" is the exploitation of Black peoples' labor and the maintenance of a source of cheap labor. The capitalists will never stop their exploitation nor their attacks on the workers and oppressed people as long as they have political power and the state machine (police, courts, prisons, etc.) at their disposal. What is necessary for the working class and Black people to do under these circumstances is to uncompromisingly struggle to defend themselves from the economic, political and cultural attacks of the capitalists and their state machine while preparing to go over to the offensive and wage a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalists, seize political power, and establish socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In both of the movements examined in Part Two, the revisionist political line parroted the liberal bourgeois reformism of the "garden path" to "justice" under capitalism. The revisionists are those who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, which represents the stand of the working class, and have revised the revolutionary principle of tireless and uncompromising struggle against the capitalist class. In the Afro-American

struggle, the revisionists tail behind the politics of the white liberal democrats and the Black bourgeoisie. In doing so, the sham "communists" put themselves in opposition to the revolutionary interests of the vast majority of Black people. Their work brings damage wherever it is practised. In both committees, they diverted the sentiments of the Black community and their allies to fight racist and fascist police attacks and helped channel the movement into a short-lived, narrow, reformist movement.

Both struggles were set back due to these serious reformist political errors. As long as capitalism remains the social system under which we live, there will be oppression and also resistance. By overcoming the incorrect political line that equality and emancipation can be achieved under capitalism (i.e. the "garden path" of the revisionists), and along with this, the idea that racist and fascist attacks are some sort of historical "accident", Black peoples' struggles against racial discrimination and violent repression will move to a higher level and will make a great contribution to proletarian socialist revolution.

PART TWO: Lessons Learned from the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice (1945) and the Justice for Joe Committee (1975)

The recent history of Seattle's Black community shows that the monopoly capitalists often use violent repression against the Afro-American people. The criminal police murders of Sidney Miller, Larry Ward, Leslie Allen Black, Louis Jones, Kamara Kabile (an immigrant worker from Africa), and Joe Hebert, bring back bitter memories. None of these brothers were murdered by "accident". All were victims of fascist terror practiced by the police, who single out the Black masses for special attacks. They hope to spread the psychology of fear and intimidation among Black people. But this has not worked.

Because the Afro-Americans (as an oppressed people and as workers) have a militant and inspiring history of struggle against the Jim Crow capitalists, the reactionaries of all stripes brand Black people as "criminals" and "troublemakers" in order to "justify" their fascist attacks and to drive a wedge between the Black people and the white workers and progressives by means of this propaganda. Under the guise of "checking the spread of crime in the Central Area" and "protecting the community", the Seattle police carry out "preventive measures" (illegal searches, beatings and even murder) and act as the hangmen of Black people in the service of their capitalist masters.

This is a continuation of past history in Seattle. In the late 1920's, U.S. Prosecutor Wickersham was forced to investigate the Seattle Police Department, as well as many others across the country, and found it guilty of widespread violent repression. It ranked as one of the worst in the nation. At that time, the victims of attack were the white workers and immigrant workers, especially Asians, as well as the small number of Black workers who migrated here from the South. Of course, the capitalist politicians publicly gave the Seattle police a "slap on the wrist" while privately congratulating them.

During the militant labor struggles in the 1930's, the police were used to attack union organizing drives and strike struggles waged by longshoremen, woodworkers, and others. Bloody clashes resulted and some workers gave their lives in the fight to defend their class interests and to build and strengthen the trade unions, the basic defense organizations of the working class. The police highlighted their ugly practices when they beat to death a young Black man, Barry Lawson, in 1938.

As news of the murder reached the public, a mass movement soon developed in protest against the crimes of the monopoly capitalist state machine. White workers and progressives, together with the Black community, with the Communist Party (which was then a revolutionary Party) in the lead, forced the prosecution of two of the three responsible police. Just as they were to be punished, one developed heart trouble and died and the other was given a pardon by the governor. Though they were not punished and Barry Lawson's death was not avenged, this mass movement did deal the police a definite set-back in that the police were even prosecuted, a rare event in American history.

On November 15, 1945 the police again showed their true colors when they killed Eugene Moszee, a militant defender and champion of Black peoples' democratic rights in Seattle. Moszee, who left Texas because he hated the Jim Crow system with all his heart, came to the north in search of dignity and equality. When he found the situation to be little different in the north, he decided to fight it, first as an individual and then in a more organized way as he matured politically. In 1942, the Olympic Hotel refused service to Paul Robeson, the Black cultural-political leader, and Moszee participated in a sit-down protest against this segregationist policy. Prior to the war, Robeson himself had stated that the American racists were "the first cousins, if not brothers, of the German Nazis" and this was reflected in the rank discrimination against Blacks by the ruling class in Seattle.

During the Great War Against Fascism (WWII) Eugene Moszee took the position that the fruit of the Black soldiers' fight against fascism should be reaped back home, that full equality should finally come to the Afro-American people, and that his own brother should not have died in vain fighting the fascists in Italy. So Moszee actively participated in and helped organize struggle against the restaurant and hotel owners, mainly in downtown Seattle. When Blacks were refused service at a place, a "welcoming party" soon awaited the employers, often with Moszee in the lead. Sit-ins were generally the method of struggle used against the Jim Crow capitalists, since the revolutionary militancy of the workers' sit-down strikes in the auto plants in the 1930's still influenced and inspired organizers across the country. Black workers and veterans, as well as white workers, boldly participated in these struggles and many of the business owners were forced to serve Blacks. This of course aroused great hatred for Moszee among the local ruling circles, and they put their police on his trail.

On the night of November 15, at a bar located at 14th and Madison, Moszee was resolutely defending himself from some racists. The racists became panicked and called on the police for assistance. Moszee then left and went to his gas station on 19th and Madison, which he owned and operated. He promptly turned the lights on inside the station and locked the door. The police soon followed. They demanded that Moszee open the door and he demanded that they produce a warrant. The police had no warrant. At this point, two of the six police on the scene shot the door down and a hail of gunfire shook the neighborhood. After this first barrage, the fascist police fired two more shots point-blank into the wounded Moszee's chest. Scores of people in the area witnessed the attack. Eugene Moszee lay dead on the floor. Outside the station, one of the racist attackers, a jailer turned patrolman, who had helped shoot the door down, also died. It is to Eugene Moszee's credit that he did not die alone.

After this shameful murder, the local capitalist press, in particular the Seattle P-I, branded Moszee a "criminal" and a "felon", a "morals offender" and a "molester of young white girls." All these slanders were gross lies and was an ugly attempt to whitewash the murder of Eugene Moszee. The Prosecuting Attorney appointed a Black deputy prosecutor, John E. Prim, to distort the actual facts in a "public" inquest. Prim, a Black bourgeois and agent of the monopoly capitalists in the ranks of the Black people, helped railroad a "justifiable homicide" verdict



EUGENE MOSZEE

through the closed inquest proceedings.

As a result, the bourgeois courts once again passed their blessing on the fascist brutality of the police. In the normal tradition of American "democracy", the victim of capitalist attack was condemned and slandered while the attacker went scot-free. This proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that this "democracy" is only democracy for the capitalist exploiters and dictatorship for the working class and Black people.

At this time, late 1945, WWII had just ended. President Truman was busy launching the U.S. imperialists' campaign to step into the shoes of the German Nazis and drive for undisputed world domination. War plans were being drawn up against the Soviet Union which was then still a socialist country and a bright beacon light of revolution to the world's people. Truman complemented his war plans abroad by stepping up the consolidation of fascism at home. This could be seen in the attacks on the workers' trade union movement, which yielded fruit in 1949 with the passage of the "slave-labor law"--the Taft-Hartley Act, and in the anti-communist witch-hunts of the early 1950's.

In response to the whitewash of Moszee's murder, the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice was formed and protested the criminal police attack. Many trade unions, (Shipsalers, Longshoremen, and Woodworkers, and others), progressive organizations, and

community people participated in this movement. Large meetings were held and an upsurge against violent repression was visible in the community. But the committee failed to follow the revolutionary spirit and example of Eugene Moszee in fighting for the democratic rights of Black people and became bogged down with reformist politics. The committee took as its starting point the erroneous view that the racist police attacks stemmed from a "bad policy" of the Police Department and was not an inevitable outgrowth of the blood-sucking capitalist system. Based on their totally wrong analysis, the committee carried out a petition campaign with the intention of ousting the Chief of Police and "eliminating" the racism practiced in the Police Training School. And, as a matter of fact, when the committee presented its petition to the Prosecuting Attorney he literally laughed in their face. Shortly thereafter, the committee was dissolved.

From 1945 to the present, Black people never stopped struggling against violent repression. Many organized attempts were made in the Black community to combat racist and fascist police attacks. Citizens' patrols, picketing and demonstrations by community groups (generally the NAACP, Urban League, and CORE), and the Black Panther Party in the late 60's, represented organized attempts to struggle against violent repression. But either the reformist line or the terrorist line dominated these attempts. The reformist line of the Black bourgeoisie advocates appealing to the white "liberals" in government like Mayor Uhlman in order to obtain funding for petty, insignificant "charity" programs. The monopoly capitalists are more than happy to give a few pennies to the Black bourgeoisie for their miserable "projects." These Black bourgeoisie then puff themselves up with importance and try to act as misleaders of the Afro-American struggle. Examples of such sham concessions are the Model Cities' Community Service Organization (CSO), the token hiring of Black patrolmen, and various schemes for "better community-police relations." The terrorist line advocated reliance on a few individuals to militarily confront the police.

From February to May, 1975, the Justice for Joe Committee was active in opposing violent police repression in the Black Community. The committee mobilized the community and its allies to pressure the local government, to meet various demands. The first demands put forward were for: 1) an early inquest to be held in the community, at a time and place where working people could attend; 2) the inquest jury to be composed of people living in the community;

and 3) Officer Earlywine, who had killed Joe Hebert, to be removed from the police force. (SWM supported these demands and actively participated in the committee). Public rallies and community meetings were held to support these demands. Petitions were also circulated in and outside of the Black community. In the meantime, Judge Carl Stokes was selected to preside over the inquest and the committee pushed for exerting a maximum amount of pressure on him to support the demands, since he was a resident of the community and was black. The petitions were presented to the Prosecuting Attorney and were accompanied by extensive press coverage. But none of the demands were met. Christopher Bayley, the Prosecuting Attorney, received the petitions in much the same way as the Prosecuting Attorney who was on the receiving end of the petition presented by the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice in 1945.

The inquest jury found Hebert's killing to be "death by criminal means." Directly afterwards, Bayley refused to prosecute the guilty cop who was immediately placed back on duty. What was instructive about the inquest proceedings was the way the capitalist state (through their police spokesmen) justified the murder of Hebert. They said Hebert was a "criminal" (even though the police couldn't verify the identity of their victim the night of the murder) and that at the time of his death he threatened the police with a 3-inch pocket knife. The police pleaded their case on the basis of "checking the spread of crime in the Central Area" and "protecting the community." Their lies and slanders from the beginning were completely exposed. In fact the inquest jury foreman described the murder as a police assassination.

Both Moszee and Hebert were branded as "criminals" by the capitalist press and police, while in fact the reactionary ruling circles and their state apparatus are the real criminals. Black people are used as scapegoats for the problems created by the capitalist system itself. (When the capitalist press issued their slanders against Joe Hebert, Seattle Workers Movement produced a leaflet entitled, "Who Are the Real Criminals in the Black Community?" which received much support from the people of Seattle).

After inquest decision, the Justice for Joe Committee followed the line of pressuring the King County Prosecutor to indict the guilty cop, which never occurred. The committee organized a demonstration in April with this demand as the central issue. A few weeks later, the Justice for Joe Committee was dis-

solved and the movement was set back due to the serious errors in political line that dominated the committee. What were these errors and how were they similar to those made by the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice?

Both the Eugene Moszee Committee for Equal Justice and the Justice for Joe Committee developed their political activity, their tactics from a completely erroneous analysis of the actual problem of violent police repression in the Black community. These committees had as their viewpoint, and promoted the idea, that the problem consisted of: 1) the Seattle police department as an isolated institution; 2) racist ideas being promoted within it (in the Police Training School during the Moszee agitation); 3) certain racist police officers; 4) the Chief of Police; 5) the King County prosecutor. (In other incidents of police murder in the Black Community, when the inquest fails to arrive at a verdict of condemnation of the attack- the Inquest Judge will be singled out as the problem along with the Prosecutor). In short, the political error being made is that of singling out different tools the monopoly capitalist class uses to enforce their dictatorial rule, rather than singling out the ruling class itself.

Today, the U.S. monopoly capitalist class is completely enmeshed in a deepening economic crisis. They are shifting the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working class and oppressed nationalities who are valiantly resisting these attacks. The capitalist state including the police forces from the C.I.A. down to the local police depts. are tools utilized by the big bourgeoisie to enforce the "laws" and suppress peoples resistance to the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis. This is one factor contributing to fascist police attacks in general on the American working class and people.

The black people are singled out for especially vicious attacks because historically black people have always been used by the capitalists as a pool of cheap labor surper-exploited by the capitalists to obtain super-profits. The capitalists construct an elaborate racist ideology to both "justify" this vicious practice and to attempt to divide the resistance of the working and oppressed people on a racial basis. This is why racism is inherent in the capitalist system. Currently, in the midst of the deepening crisis, capitalist spokesmen try to shift the blame for the crisis onto Black people and away from the real cause, the capitalist system itself. This is the Hitlerife policy of creating scapegoats of which the Jewish people are acutely familiar. One only has to remember the

campaign against "crime" in Rainier Valley in the winter of 1974 where the local businessmen in alliance with the Mayor, police chief, and the "P.I." and "Times" tried to whip up racist hysteria against the black people in the housing projects. Hysteria against "crime" was promoted in an attempt to create a lynch-mob atmosphere and to increase many-fold the police presence in Rainier Valley. (See Seattle Worker, Vol. 2 No. 1) In short, the capitalists use the issue of "crime" to single out the black people as the source of the problems confronting the American masses. Through this process of scapegoating, the capitalists, the real criminals, attempt to avoid the blame that rests on their own shoulders. In creating scapegoats, they try to develop an atmosphere favorable to especially vicious, violent police repression against Black people. This is all the more necessary for the bourgeois, because the Afro-American people have always been heroically in the forefront of resistance to the capitalist exploitation, and to racial discrimination. And due to the tremendous revolutionary mass movement of the Afro-American people of the 1950's through the '60's, certain concessions were wrenched from the capitalist tyrants, which they are now trying to take away through fascist terror. This is a second factor contributing to racist and fascist police activity in the Black Community.

A third factor contributing to growing fascism is that in the midst of the capitalist world economic crisis the contention between the U.S. imperialists and Soviet Social Imperialists for world domination is sharpening. The rivalry is developing in the direction of world war, despite the two superpowers attempts to disguise their war preparations by talk of "generation of peace", "detente" and by joint space flights. In the international arena, the two superpowers are being dealt severe setbacks to their war preparations by the countries and people of the Third World. But, in pursuing preparations for war the monopoly capitalists put great importance on "securing their rear"- i.e., "law and order" and fascism at home. All three of these factors are interrelated, and all are contributing to the consolidation of a fascist police state.

But the analysis dominating the Justice for Joe Committee (similarly the Moszee Committee) failed to take this into account and instead was based on singling out one small part of the bourgeois state machine as the problem. According to this viewpoint, individual "pigs" or the "police chief" or the "prosecutor", etc. are the "problem" because of "racist ideas" that somehow popped into their minds. This completely erroneous, and simple-minded

analysis necessarily had definite negative implications in the tactics derived from it which dominated the Justice for Joe Committee and (the Moszee Committee similarly).

In discussing tactics we are dealing with the question "How should the Black Community and its allies respond to violent police repression?" Both Committees answered this question in a reformist fashion, and not in a revolutionary fashion. The reformist line unfolded in the following manner in both committees: (1) First attempt to utilize the indignation in the community in order to; (2) initiate a petition campaign and hold several meetings demanding changes in the Police Department, (oust the chief of police, suspend the guilty cop, prosecute him, etc. (3) Rely on legal procedure of the court system to effect these changes, and supposedly to "solve the problem of violent repression," tie the whole movement down to, and make its success or failure dependent on manoevers in the bourgeois courts; (4) Rely on "respectable community leaders" to be the committee's "contacts" inside the bourgeois system to pressure for changes. These leaders are so "respectable" that, in the movement against Joe Hebert's murder, the chief of police admitted that he consults with them whenever a "problem" arises in the Black Community. Besides reliance on these Black bourgeois "firefighters" of the Afro-American struggle, it was promoted as a reliable "tactic" to phone and write letters to Judge Stokes, the black judge responsible for the inquest proceedings. This is supported by the view that he is "black" and "influential" in the community, despite the well-known fact that he holds reactionary views and is notorious for being a tyrant in the courtroom. The sum total effect of this reformist tactical line is to tie the whole movement to reliance on the pipedream that some section of the fascist state will reform itself and become democratic and sensible, especially if enough pressure is applied through "respectable" channels. In this way reformist politics and ideas stifles the instinctual revolutionary understanding, spirit and initiative of the masses. And when the revolutionary people display little enthusiasm for these reformist tactics, certain individuals start promoting the "ultimate reform" to maintain their legitimacy. This "ultimate reform" is the line of salvation and emancipation under capitalism through "community control of the police." The bankruptcy of this line is evident by the simply asking the question: "How can the black community in Seattle "secede" from the control of the fascist monopoly capitalist class and

become "independent"? It is just too ridiculous to even consider. So the people are then left with the basic reformist line of reliance on the fascist courts. (5) And when the legal manoeuvres of the capitalist state have run their course and a whitewash of some degree or another has been created, whatever is still remaining of the mass upsurge is left hanging in the air, as the committee considers its work done and dissolves. In this way, the particular struggle of the Afro-American people against racial discrimination and violent repression is then liquidated organizationally, thus giving the mass movement a setback and insuring that the community is not in a position to defend itself politically from future attacks.

The revolutionary leaders of the Afro-American struggle must not follow such a tactical line. We cannot just fan the flames of indignation so as to be able to wage a narrow reform campaign. We cannot rely on the bourgeois government and courts to establish justice, and call for the removal of this or that cop or government official in such a way as to promote the illusion that this type of activity will result in the elimination of violent repression. We must surely organize to give the fascist government a set-back and call for the elimination of their fascist repression. The demand for a public inquest was fine and SWM completely supported it. The Justice for Joe Committee organized around this inquest demand and the capitalist press was compelled to cover the inquest which exposed to the people of the entire city the fascist nature of the police and the bankruptcy of capitalist "justice". But the reformist line in the Committee used the inquest demand to spread illusions about the courts and suggest that "Justice for Joe" could be achieved through them. The revolutionaries, however, must not spread illusions about capitalist justice but must raise these indispensable partial demands in such a way as to 1) not narrow the issue to simply one incident (the killing of Joe Hebert) and thus divert the issue from violent repression in general. 2) must organize around the demands so as to expose every lie, every hypocrisy and trick of the capitalist state machine in connection with the just demands and in the process educate the masses concerning the real nature of the capitalists which will never change and must be suppressed through revolutionary coercion. Historical experience shows that when the mass movement forces a concession from the capitalists, they will utilize every opportunity to try to retract it.

It is not sufficient to merely fan the flames of indignation in the community on a strictly emo-

tional basis. We must also conduct thorough-going systematic and scientific political education and propaganda among the people on a daily basis. In this way the political unity of the Afro-American people, other national minorities, and the whole working class including the white working people can be further consolidated. In this way the revolutionary people can be united against the common enemy. In doing so the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, reliance on the revolutionary masses replaces the reformist principle of reliance on "respectable" (bourgeois) elements who use their "influence" to create faith in the sham justice of the capitalist court system. In addition the mass organizations of the community to oppose racial discrimination and violent repression must not be created, only to be dissolved after a few months existence. The Afro-American revolutionary leaders must utilize the strength of the mass upsurge and movement to build lasting and stable organization to defend the community politically from the present and future attacks of the monopoly capitalists. In this way the political and organizational maturity of the masses and the leadership can be consolidated, over time, thus preparing conditions for truly powerful and organized, and higher levels of revolutionary struggle. From defensive struggles, Black people can prepare to launch an offensive. And as Chairman Mao Tsetung points out: "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."

So to briefly sum-up the activity of the two committees previously discussed: 1) The mass movements centered in the committees 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 was not the understanding shown in Lenin's statement: "...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." As a result, the committees lapsed into reformism and the mass movement was set-back. And, as is stated earlier in this article, the reformist line in both committees was led by revisionists, those who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and revised the basic revolutionary principle of tireless and uncompromising struggle against the capitalist class. This has profound implications in determining a forward path for the Afro-American

peoples' struggle.

PART THREE: Advance the Revolutionary Struggle of the Afro-American People!

Racial discrimination and violent repression, as well as capitalist exploitation, are products of the monopoly capitalist system. There is no easy cure for the malady, the capitalist system has a terminal case of disease and decay and must be destroyed through the socialist revolution of the proletariat.

The socialist revolution requires the unity in action of all oppressed people. All working and oppressed people face a common enemy and must assist each other in common struggle. It is also true that the entire working class, especially the white working people, must view the Afro-American peoples' struggle against racial discrimination and violent repression as their own struggle and actively support it.

In the Eugene Moszsee Committee for Equal Justice in 1945, several trade unions of the workers actively supported the struggle being waged against violent police repression. This was due to the influence of the Communist Party USA in the working class. But, the CPUSA ceased being a revolutionary party over 20 years ago. The agents of the capitalists have seized power in the trade union movement. This has disrupted the trend toward unity in action between the workers' movement and the Afro-American struggle. The trade union bureaucrats are just as racist as the out-and-out capitalists. This situation clearly outlines one task of the U.S. Marxist-Leninists which is to overthrow the trade union bureaucrats and strengthen the unity in action of the workers' movement and the Afro-American struggle.

It is also true that the Afro-American struggle has been disrupted by a lack of correct leadership. The building of the genuine Communist Party is also needed to give correct revolutionary guidance to this struggle.

The communist revolutionaries must mobilize the Afro-American masses to fight back against all capitalist attacks and wage the indispensable struggles for partial demands. Black workers, the leading force of the Black peoples' struggle, should join the trade unions and fight shoulder to shoulder with the white workers and workers of all nationalities. We must oppose the shifting of the economic crisis onto the backs of the working class; fight for higher wages, job security, and better working conditions; fight against racial discrimination in jobs and wages; fight for trade union democracy and against racial discrimination of the trade union bureaucracy; and participate in organizing the

unorganized workers into trade unions. The Black community needs a mass united front organization to unite the people against racial discrimination whether it be in education, housing or medical care etc. and to unite the people against racist and fascist police attacks.

It is a historical fact that the communist revolutionaries and particularly Afro-American Marxist-Leninists must lead the Black people in fulfilling these revolutionary tasks. This necessarily means that the Afro-American Marxist-Leninists must actively study and apply Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and build the genuine Communist Party side by side with the Marxist-Leninists of other nationalities.

As we stated earlier, the revisionists and their reformist line liquidates the organization of the masses. They leave the community politically defenceless. They expect the ruling class to respond to reason and logic and to stop being fascist butchers -- if they are presented with enough petitions. They view the "liberal democrats" as "progressive" and the revolutionary masses as "backward". The revisionists neither expect nor desire revolution.

It is also true that the revisionists liquidate the political education and propaganda work among the masses which is of crucial importance to unite all revolutionary sections of the people against the common enemy. The revisionists cover up for capitulation on this front with hollow demogogy and narrow nationalist "militancy". They beg-off from this task claiming "the masses are backward" and "won't understand" if we point out that the enemy is fascist and must be overthrown. Only by Afro-American revolutionaries gloriously struggling to uphold Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought can the revisionists be defeated and the political consciousness of the community be vigorously developed.

In short, to defeat the reformist line in the Afro-American peoples movement, a line

In short, to defeat the reformist line in the Afro-American peoples' movement, a line pushed by the revisionists, the Black revolutionaries must resolutely participate in building the genuine Communist Party of the American working class and all revolutionary people.

"... A Party which succeeds in consolidating itself for persistent work in contact with the masses, a party of the advanced class, which succeeds in organizing its vanguard, and which directs its forces in such a way as to influence in a Social-Democratic (communist -- editor) spirit every sign of life of the proletariat -- such a Party will win no matter what happens." (V.I. Lenin, "Against Liquidationism", page 28)

TWO STATEMENTS BY CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG



Chairman Mao Tsetung giving a talk during the revolutionary war years. (pencil drawing)

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)

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 discrim-

ination. 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 "defence 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 practised 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 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 percent 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 thorough emancipation of the black people.

Chairman Mao's 1968 Statement on next page

STATEMENT BY
 COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG,
 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.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY

THE STRUGGLE OVER BUSING IS A NATIONAL STRUGGLE TO DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE BLACK PEOPLE AGAINST GROWING FASCISM

(Excerpt from "Monopoly Capitalist Anti-Busing Movement Is an Attack on the Democratic Rights of Black People and on the Unity of the Working Class" printed in The Workers' Advocate newspaper of COUSM-L on December 15, 1974. This article gives a detailed analysis of the disorder that developed in the Fall of 1974 due to the mobilization of a fascist "anti-busing" movement against the black people of Boston by the monopoly capitalist class. The excerpted section reprinted below gives a brief sketch of the history of the Black peoples' revolutionary movement in the U.S., particularly in relation to the struggle of the Afro-American people for school integration. Also included is the next and final section of the article entitled "The Stand of the Marxist-Leninists and the Working Class" which raises the glorious banner of anti-fascist revolutionary struggle as the only means to insure full democratic rights for the Afro-American people.)

THE STRUGGLE OVER BUSING IS A NATIONAL STRUGGLE TO DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE BLACK PEOPLE AGAINST GROWING FASCISM

Busing, a form of school integration, is a concession by the bourgeoisie to the struggle of the Afro-American people. During the 1950's and 60's the struggle of the Black people raged for freedom and equal rights and against racial discrimination and violent repression. In the course of this struggle the capitalists were forced to make certain concessions under the pressure of the masses. Even when these were made in words, however, it was not until the masses of the Black people arose in their millions that any of the promises of the bourgeoisie were carried out.

School integration itself was not given by the capitalists through any sort of "benevolence" but the limited degree to which it has been achieved in the South (and integration,

like any democratic right, is only achievable under capitalism in the most limited and mutilated form) has only been because of the pressure of the masses.

The Black slaves, white workers and farmers were the main force in the Civil War against Slavery. Yet despite that earth-shaking conflict, the slaveowners made every attempt to make a come-back once defeated. Under the domination of the northern bourgeoisie the former slave-owners reversed the revolutionary bourgeois-democratic struggle of the Reconstruction period, denied the Black people land and democratic rights and drove them back into semi-slavery, bound to the semi-feudal plantations under the sharecropper system. This reaction backed by the northern capitalists resulted in forging the Black people into an oppressed nation in the Black Belt area of the South. The reactionary political and social policies of the bourgeoisie were recognized by the U. S. Supreme Court in the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision in 1896 which declared that the Black people would be "separate but equal". Thus the entire segregationist system including schools, was built up on the plantation basis and Black people were deprived of nearly all the rights they had won in the Civil War.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Blacks migrated from the plantation South to become industrial workers in the modern industry of the North and West. There they entered by the millions into the struggles of the workers to organize themselves into industrial unions and the advanced Black workers came forward to join the Communist Party while it was still a revolutionary party. Blacks participated by the millions in World War II against fascism. All through this period, often under communist leadership, the Afro-American people waged militant struggles against racial discrimination while the Black workers participated vigorously in the struggles of the workers against the capitalist class. Struggles were waged against lynching, against the sharecropper system and against the Jim Crow segregation that permeated the life of the Black people, especially in the South. But the Jim Crow system in schools and all aspects of Black people's life was still intact at the end

of the 1940's.

After World War II capitalist industry and mechanization of agriculture began to develop rapidly in the Black Belt South. Still more Afro-Americans migrated to the northern and western cities. Internationally, the tremendous upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asia, Latin America, and particularly in Africa, where many countries shook off the chains of colonialism and achieved national independence, aroused great enthusiasm among the Black people. The American bourgeoisie came under the fire of more and more criticism internationally for its racial discrimination against the Black people. At the same time, the socialist camp came into existence with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and one-third of the world's people stood outside the capitalist system. Tremendous numbers of Black people were workers by the middle 1950's; the isolation caused by the plantation system in the South was breaking down; and the Black people became more and more aroused to demand an end to racial discrimination and violent repression while the possibility of organizing a large-scale mass movement grew.

In 1950, mass struggles broke out in several southern counties -- Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Prince Edwards County, Virginia, -- demanding integration of the schools as the only means by which to improve the miserable educational conditions forced on the Black people under the segregated system. The NAACP brought suits in the Supreme Court demanding school integration. Under the pressure of a large-scale campaign among the Black people, the Supreme Court passed the *Brown vs. Bd. of Education* decision, declaring that "separate but equal" was inherently unequal and calling for school integration in the South. True to the anti-democratic nature of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the Supreme Court the next year provided a loophole to its "democratic" order, declaring that it could be implemented "with all deliberate speed". In the following years, virtually no integration took place as President Eisenhower would not act on the question, and as the Southern bourgeoisie drew up its racist Southern Manifesto vowing to resist integration. In fact, it wasn't until after the massive south-wide Civil Rights Movement took place in 1961-4 that the bourgeoisie passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act containing the threat of a cut in federal funds for school districts that did not integrate their schools. To prevent the desegregation

of schools the southern authorities pushed through numerous "freedom of choice" plans. By February 1967 the federal government had cut off funds to only 39 out of the thousands of segregated school districts in the South. Then, between 1965 and 1968, the great Black rebellions took place in the northern cities, such a revolutionary upsurge as had never been seen before in the United States. Thrown into a panic, the bourgeoisie hastily pulled together the Kerner Commission and issued a study expressing their fear of the revolutionary potential of the Black youth in the northern cities. In particular, they complained that without an equal education and therefore without hope of getting jobs equal to the white workers, the Black youths would persist in disrupting the entire functioning of the capitalist society.

Only then did any of the bourgeoisie act. Initial integration was forced through against all racist resistance in the South. In 1968, '69 and '71 the U. S. Supreme Court passed decisions striking down the "freedom of choice" plans, striking down the "with all deliberate speed" loophole and, in the most significant decision, in *Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, ordered busing across city lines to achieve school integration. In the course of these cases, the bourgeoisie admitted that the *de jure* -- *de facto* distinction is meaningless, since in all the big cities the schools are segregated both according to housing patterns and deliberately by the school authorities.

Busing programs were put into effect in many cities, including Charlotte, N. C., Little Rock, Tampa, Memphis, Berkeley, Denver, Philadelphia, Jacksonville and others, without especial difficulty. Immediately the monopoly capitalists struck back at this concession through Richard Nixon, who as President worked to mobilize a segregationist movement in the form of anti-busing. He stacked the Supreme Court to prevent any further democratic decisions, sought and carried out every kind of delay and encouraged the movement to get a Constitutional amendment to ban busing. In 1972 he sent a bill to Congress to stop busing, which was followed by a flood of anti-busing bills and amendments. Supreme Court Justice Burger, a Nixon appointee, said that the *Swann* case should not be interpreted as approving fixing racial quotas in school districts. Finally, in 1974, the Nixon Supreme Court passed its main blow against school integration, declaring that the proposal to integrate the Detroit

schools by busing across the city lines (Metro busing) was unconstitutional.

Thus the big bourgeoisie continued to oppose the integration of schools, only granting a few concessions under the pressure of the peak of the Afro-American struggle. Today, a certain amount of school integration has taken place in the South. But when it came to the question of extending integration to the northern cities, the monopoly capitalists, led by Nixon, went to great lengths to oppose it. Today the monopoly capitalists are on the offensive against school integration, just as they are attacking the democratic rights of the Black people and other oppressed nationalities all along the line. The denial of Metro busing in the Detroit case means that school integration may not take place in any significant measure in the dozen or so major cities where the Black population is 50 per cent or more, where simply shifting the smaller white population around within the city would have little significance. More and more openly the bourgeoisie are shedding whatever masks they had put on in the '60's as "friends of the Black people" and "civil rights advocates" and openly declaring their plans to drive the Black people back into semi-slavery. The anti-busing Constitutional amendment has passed in 18 states, 90 per cent of the country's mayors have declared that they are "neutral" on busing. President Ford is following in Nixon's footsteps in opposing busing. Sen. Kennedy is making agreements with George Wallace. Senator Sam Ervin, much promoted as a "Constitutional expert" during the Watergate investigations, has declared that busing is "unconstitutional". Finally, the House of Representatives voted recently to prevent the federal government from collecting statistics on the race or sex in education. If passed by the Senate, this bill would effectively prevent the enforcement of any of the civil rights legislation or Court decisions. Thus the monopoly capitalists as a whole are opposing the extension of school integration to the north and in fact are calling for and preparing to carry out its roll-back in the South as well.

Such policies in the educational sphere are part and parcel of the increasing drive for fascism being developed by the monopoly capitalists. Staggering under the economic crisis, the big bourgeoisie is looking for a way out by shifting the burden of the crisis onto the working masses. This means suppressing the working class and in particular the people of the oppressed nationalities in order to carry

out increased exploitation. School integration would promote a united struggle by the working class against the capitalists. But to mobilize white working people into a fascist mass movement of attack on the Black people would assist the monopoly capitalists in suppressing the Black people and also in splitting and suppressing the struggles of the entire working class, especially as the deepening crisis is leading to an upsurge in the workers' movement. In 1970, when the U. S. imperialists were hard hit by the struggles of the Indo-Chinese people abroad and by the movement against the imperialist war at home, they attempted to start a fascist mass movement called the "hard-hat" movement, in order to mobilize construction and other workers to attack the progressive people. This attempt failed because it met with militant resistance from the revolutionary people. In 1972, the bourgeoisie sought to develop a fascist mass movement on the question of busing in Pontiac, Michigan, and to spread it to the rest of the country. This also failed. Now the bourgeoisie is trying again, this time with a certain amount of success. This time, too, they must be opposed.

The capitalists' attempt to build a fascist mass movement on the question of busing is a harbinger of their plans for the fascization of U. S. society. The anti-busing movement is not simply a racist and chauvinist movement against the Black people, but it is an attempt to speed-up the process of fascization in the U. S. by developing a fascist movement complete with anti-government rhetoric, flag-waving American national chauvinism, anti-communism, and especially racism and white chauvinism against the Black people. The presence and open and full participation of the Klan and the nazis shows the nature of the movement. Even the fights which have taken place between the anti-busing forces and the police have been immediately followed by attacks on Blacks. Fascism does not come to America bearing swastikas, but instead it comes draped in the American flag, portraying itself as the defender of the Constitution and shouting loud and long about "American democracy". This democracy is only democracy for the capitalist exploiters and their fascist agents; where there is democracy for the bourgeoisie and fascists there can be no democracy for the working class and the Black people. Such is the fascist nature of the anti-busing movement.

THE STAND OF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS AND WORKING CLASS

The anti-busing movement is a fascist movement of attack on the democratic rights of the Black people and other oppressed nationalities by the monopoly capitalist class. It attempts to split the working class by mobilizing some white workers to blindly go against their true class interests, become the hangmen and lynch-mobs of the bourgeoisie and go on a campaign of pogroms against the Black people. In this way the monopoly capitalists hope to consolidate their rule and wipe out opposition among from the national minorities and workers in the heat of the crisis. At the same time that the big bourgeoisie generally openly supports the anti-busing movement, various liberal bourgeois spokesmen claim to support integration. But in fact, this is only political deception. The recent history of the struggle of the Afro-American people shows that the capitalists only claim to be for democratic rights. They act only when a concession is wrenched out of them by the masses. Then they sabotage, limit and mutilate the democratic concession until it becomes nearly meaningless, unless it is enforced by the masses through continued struggle. Finally, the liberal bourgeoisie sends its agents into the democratic mass movement to teach it to rely on the capitalist government, practice non-violence and in other ways to make it defenseless before the fascist onslaught of monopoly capital.

The working class supports school integration because it is a matter of winning what limited democratic rights are possible for the Black people and the workers as a whole under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class. It provides a wider field for the class struggle of the entire working class (for example, school integration opens up contact among the working-class youth of different nationalities and prepares them to unite when they enter the factories). Thus, school integration and other democratic rights of the Black people also serve the interest of the entire working class, since they assist them to unite against their common enemy, the capitalist class, in order to wage revolutionary struggle. But monopoly capitalism will concede only the most limited democratic rights, as the history of the Black people proves. The working class and oppressed masses can only achieve real democracy by overthrowing the dictatorship of the handful of capitalists and replacing it with the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the vast

majority.

In addition to integration as a democratic right, the working class should demand full rights for all nationalities in the integrated schools. That is, that the Black and other national minority students should have the right to be taught the history of their people and their culture and language (as in the case of Spanish, etc.), and to have teachers of their nationality hired proportionally to teach them.

In order to oppose the developing fascization of U. S. society, the workers of all nationalities, together with all revolutionary people, should unite and oppose the fascist anti-busing movement in Boston and wherever it appears and defend the democratic rights of the Black people and other oppressed national minorities. White workers, especially, to whom the bourgeoisie is looking to supply the cannon-fodder for the fascist mass movement, should come forward and strike the shackles from the necks of the Black people and thereby unite the entire working class against the capitalist class.

In 1933, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, organized by the Communist Party, called upon the Black and white workers to unite to defend the democratic rights of the Black people and jointly overthrow the rule of capital. They appealed to the workers:

"Today a new class has arisen to assume command of the march of history. That class is the working class. In its hand lies the fate of the future; it alone possesses the ability to so transform the present foundations of society as to wipe out once and for all the oppression of the vast majority of the people by a small group of exploiters, to eradicate for all time the causes of the present plight of the Negro people. Just as the fate of the Negro people is inextricably bound to that of the working class, the white workers cannot strike the fetters of wage slavery from their neck unless they strike the shackles from the Negro people. . . . Unless white labor wishes to be dragged down to the oppressed and degraded position of the Negro toilers, unless it wishes heaped upon itself also the thousand and one persecutions which plague labor with black skin, unless it wishes to remain in perpetual wage bondage and misery, let white labor extend its arm of alliance and solidarity on every issue which faces it as well as the Negro people! It devolves upon the white workers to cast to the winds the least stench of the slave market and the lynching post still clinging to them if they are to appear in their full grandeur as the makers of history and (Brief History cont'd on page 21)

ZANU REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKS



COMRADE NDABANINGI SITHOLE
ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S ESTEEMED REVOLUTIONARY LEADER,
PRESIDENT OF THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
and COMMANDER-in-CHIEF of ZANLA FORCES

Following are excerpts from a speech by Tapson A. Mawere at a meeting in Chicago on the evening of March 27, 1975. Mr. Mawere is the Chief representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean. He also serves as ZANU liaison to the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Comrades and friends, sisters and brothers, I am extremely happy to be here with you tonight. You will bear with me--my spirits are definitely heavy. I am trying to be as happy as I can, but I am a little unable to accomplish this. Just recently, on the 4th of March, our president, Comrade Ndabaningi Sithole who languished in prison for the last ten years, was rearrested by the Rhodesian government. Two weeks after that, our national chairman, Comrade Herbert Chitepo who had heroically led the liberation army, ZANLA--this comrade was assassinated. The circumstances of his assassination we have not yet been able to ascertain. But these are definite setbacks. We are not happy that we have setbacks. But they are definitely to be expected. That is what our enemies are trying to do, they are trying to cause setbacks in our struggle. In spite of that,

ZANU is still determined to go ahead and accomplish our goal. I know most of you--all of you--join us in this goal. **AND THIS GOAL IS TO DEFEAT IMPERIALISM IN THIS WORLD!**
ZANU IS DETERMINED!

I do not want to bother all of you by too much detail about ZANU. I know most of you know it. I want to emphasize certain aspects of the complex situation in Zimbabwe, which remains a nation which has decided to go the way of armed struggle. The complex situation in Zimbabwe derives from the colonial situation. The colonial situation as you know, was brought about in Zimbabwe by that lowly liar, gangster, hoodlum--Cecil John Rhodes. He is hated by our people. His name is the embodiment of imperialism itself. This man manipulated his way through the hierarchy, and was determined to get a charter in order to invade the country with the blessings of the British government. The British government gave him its blessing to invade the whole territory for the purpose of making profit. In fact, records show the British government saying that "The Rhodes Com-

pany, which is about to enjoy the profits, shall also bear the burden of governing the people." So Rhodes went out to devour the great profits with the blessings of the British government. Now here it is--the roots of what we have suffered all these years under British colonial rule. We have been exploited with the blessing of the British government, without the British government saying so, with the British government telling the world they were the administering authority of the Rhodesian colonial rule. When Rhodesia came into effect, they never determined what was going on, they never exercised control, they never really governed the country. They have always been able to stand aside and watch. This came to a climax in 1965 when the Rhodesian government set itself independent of Britain, and we were left in the cold. We were left alone to do what we pleased. It was definitely a victory for the Rhodesian government.

Prior to 1962, we didn't quite see that the British government was deceiving us; we hoped we would get a lot of things from the British government. So each time we organized the civil rights movement we made petitions. We sent people to talk to the British government, hoping that we would get some real consideration from them. But nothing. The British gave us nothing all through the years.

On closer examination of some of the facts of the situation in Rhodesia, we find that on the board of directors of the British South African Company were members of the British parliament. And going down the list we find that most were veteran members of the British Colonial Service. . .

So we see the British Government deceiving us all through the years. After we realized that in 1962, we decided we were deceiving ourselves. Each time we asked the British government to listen to us, we really were playing into their hands. Each time we went to them, they listened very nicely, but we found they were only playing for time. The first company of mercenaries that came to Zimbabwe numbered 200, and because they were armed we were necessarily defeated. But over the years their number was increasing. The number of white persons was increasing. The British government was playing for time in order to increase the amount of the white population for reasons that we did not know.

One thing that I can point out, one thing that Cecil Rhodes made very, very clear, was that he needed other resources. He definitely went out and invited missionaries. Not mercenaries--sometimes I confuse the two words--missionaries. And one thing I heard later which I won't forget, was that Rhodes wrote to the missionaries and said he wanted them to come to Rhodesia because one missionary can do the job of 50 policemen. So, whereas the mercenaries came and killed people, wounded people, drove them out, the missionaries came and mopped up. Mopped up. Appeased. "Knock and it shall be opened to you." "Seek and you shall find." But no violence. . .

From 1962 to 1964 we decided that we would stand and organize the resistance. I would like to emphasize to you that our situation, the colonial situation, was complicated because it was a racial situation. Because the few settlers who came in had the right of ownership to land. In fact, the 200 mercenaries were each given 3,000 acres of land free. Free rights to the land. But the indigenous people were displaced from those lands and were not even allowed to own land. These people were pushed into reserves for a source of labor. And inhabitants could not buy land, whereas it is a matter of law that the government will help a white person to buy land if he wants to.

Just last year, in 1974, the government invited over a million people of European stock to come to Rhodesia. They would be given a free ticket and be able to own land. I would like to own land, but I am Black. The Land Apportionment Act, which delineates certain areas as European areas and other areas as

African areas, is the basis of all discrimination in Rhodesia. If you are Black, you can't live here, you live there. If you are Black, you go to this school, you can't go to that school. This is a racial situation. This is the fundamental issue upon which our revolution was launched. We wanted to overthrow the white minority rule. And we are fighting to overthrow the white minority rule.

In the development before our revolution, we found that we were confronted with a system which had created certain Black people who are favored by the status quo, who would rather preserve the status quo. In Africa, we find there are Black people who are living in houses I haven't seen even here in the U. S.--big mansions with two cars. Why? Because the Rhodesian government is trying to show the world that they allow full participation in the governing of the country. They appoint a few Black people to become members of the parliament--literally appointed, not elected by the people. If you visited the Rhodesian Parliament today, you would see Black people in the House of Parliament. These have not been elected by the people; they have been appointed by the government.

Later on, because of our struggle, the government granted a franchise which would permit a few Black people to qualify to vote. Thus you can see that, out of the 5,750,000 Africans, only about 8,000 are qualified. Of the 270,000 whites, everybody qualifies. So in the case of electoral politics the whites are in the majority, whereas in actual figures the Africans are 96% of the whole population. Why can't we qualify? We cannot qualify because you have to have a certain amount of education and you have to have a certain amount of income, about \$840 a year. This sounds very low. Let me say that the average wage for a worker, a worker who works for GM, Union Carbide, Ford Motor Co., General Electric. . . the average wage would be \$386 a year. That's less than half of the income needed for qualification. Of those who work on the farms, the average wage is \$186 a year. UN statistics say that families of four in Zimbabwe need \$100 a month to live. Because of this wage structure, it means these people can't afford to send their children to school, and you can't qualify without education. Now this alone would prevent us from qualifying, but another requirement is ownership of property, and we are not allowed to own land. So because of this racist system we cannot qualify to vote.

Maybe some of you can say, how come people would want to work for only \$186 a year? or \$386? Why can't they demand more? Rhodes established a system in which Africans are not allowed to be in trade unions, and it is illegal

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to strike. It is illegal for Africans to strike. Africans don't have the fundamental democratic rights of a worker to go on strike and demand higher wages. That is to say, complete denial of civil rights in terms of income, participation in government, and many other things. The African is denied his rights violently. He has seen his people going on strike and being shot by the police--10, 12, 17 unarmed men being killed because they are fighting for the right to strike. I AM SAYING, PEOPLE HAVE TO BE PAID THAT LOW BY THE USE OF FORCE.

This situation, this status quo, is very injurious to human rights, human dignity, human freedom. But it is also very conducive to profiteering, and there are people who profit legally from this system. I seem to have read in some of the state journals how most of the companies are so happy to invest in Southern Africa because their returns are so very high. General Motors pays \$200 per worker per week in the U. S. Here, when they open their assembly in Port Elizabeth, they pay \$10! Sure, it is profitable! So what has happened? We have now over 400 U. S. corporations in Southern Africa. These corporations support the regimes in Rhodesia and in South Africa, and they go on to influence the U. S. to support the racist system in Southern Africa. This is so. The Kissinger papers, in the "Operation Tar Baby" policy statement, say openly that the U. S. policy is to secretly support the white racist regimes in Southern Africa, and at the same time offer aid to the African independent states if they will agree to stop helping the liberation movements. Smith to us is at the head of a management team that manages the economic and financial affairs of the western countries. Britain and the U. S. are on the top of the list...

I want to emphasize the fact that ZANU has been very victorious, and continues to be victorious. Many questions have been asked, such as: "If you win independence, what will you do to the white settlers who are in Rhodesia?" This is a very difficult question to answer. We open it up to you, to indicate that we want to be friendly; but let's have a friendship that will last. This is very difficult for us. People are dying, fighting the liberation struggle, while Union Carbide through Rhodesian embassies in both the U. S. and Britain is recruiting mercenaries to go to Rhodesia to fight and kill people. When we see these people taking over our land and our resources, we are put in a situation where it is difficult for us to look upon the Union Carbide as a friend. It is not a question I can answer. It is a question I would like to hear you answer in light of what the Union Carbide will do.

You can see that the system that was intro-

duced by Rhodes is rooted upon color. We allowed these people to come. They said they wanted to help us and we let them come. We welcomed the European whites. We were friends, we opened. When they came they fought us, defeated us, and then created these divisions along the lines of color. That is a situation which is not accidental--it was provoked. But in spite of all that, in spite of all our knowledge of what American corporations are doing, we still come to you, and talk to you, and open up. We want to try to make friends because we believe you will see that this system is bad, that something must be done. Hopefully together we can defeat them. We in Zimbabwe are capable of cutting off the tentacle that is within our reach. In Indo-China they are cutting off a tentacle (prolonged applause). In many places they are cutting off the tentacles. But this belly, which is right here, it will not die. Someone must pierce the heart. Who can do it? We are too far. We are too far. As long as the octopus survives, remains alive, he has ways of growing some more tentacles. We will never defeat it completely until its very heart is pierced. Who can we look up to? Who can we look up to to do that? I don't know how happy you are to live in this belly... I hope you are comfortable. If you are not comfortable, and want to shake yourselves out of it, it is all up to you. YOU. Just like we in ZANU say, "We ourselves are our own liberators." So also you, yourselves, can shake yourselves out of this belly. WE INVITE YOU TO JOIN US! LET'S GO!

(Brief History cont'd)

the molders of the future. Unless they do this, they can not lightly claim the Negro people as their allies. they will be deprived of that powerful black arm in the struggle against the adversary. The only way the white workers can break through the wall of mutual distrust that has been erected by three centuries of the oppression of Negroes in this country is to step forward as the champions of the cause of Negro liberation. They must emblazon on the banner of labor the demands born in the struggle for Negro liberation."

This is the only way for the white workers to remain true to the tradition of the Irish workers of Boston of 1841, when they so vigorously denounced the slave power and vowed to shed their blood in the defense of their Black brothers and sisters. Only in this way can the American working class unite for the proletarian revolution.

COMBAT THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS!
FASCIST ANTI-BUSING MOVEMENT!
DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF
THE BLACK PEOPLE!
UNITE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

Seattle Workers Movement

SEATTLE WORKERS MOVEMENT is a political unit of the Seattle Branch of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists. SWM was founded in 1971 and was composed of activists who had been active in the Afro-American peoples struggle, the youth and student movement against the fascist bourgeois educational system and culture, the general peoples' movement against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam and Cambodia, and other struggles.

Through participation in the mass movements of the people in the 1960's and early 1970's we saw the need to integrate with the working class and come under the discipline of its ideology--Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. Only in this way could we contribute to the building of a genuine Communist Party and to the advancement of the anti-fascist, socialist revolution. In carrying out this line, in 1972 SWM united with and came under the leadership of American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist), a predecessor organization of COUSM-L, formed in 1969.

The founding members of SWM had all experienced the trials and tribulations of participating in the various mass movements and acutely felt the weaknesses of these struggles due to the interconnected problems of 1) lack of correct Marxist-Leninist leadership; and 2) dominance of revisionist, trotskyist, and anarchist misleadership, which was primarily due to the complete

betrayal of the CPUSA in the 1950's and its degeneration into counter-revolutionary politics. To oppose the wrecking activity of the erroneous trends, SWM took up the task of consolidating itself into an instrument for the dissemination of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist politics in Seattle.

Today, the U.S. monopoly capitalist class is increasing its preparations for all-out world war and is consolidating fascism at home. As we stated on March 5, 1974 in Vol. 2 No. 1 of "Seattle Worker":

"the monopoly capitalist class is stepping up its all-sided economic and political attacks on the working class. SWM views it to be absolutely necessary and essential that the unity of the working class be strengthened in opposition to these attacks. To accomplish this task SWM is stepping up its efforts to merge the socialist ideology of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought with the revolutionary workers movement. Only proletarian politics can inspire the entire working class and all oppressed people to stand up as one to fight the monopoly capitalist class and overthrow them.

The working class must organize itself as the ruling class. This is its great historical mission. SWM under the leadership of the Seattle Branch of COUSM-L will definitely contribute to this earth-shaking struggle."

LONG LIVE GREAT LENIN!



READ

SEATTLE WORKER

Newspaper of SWM, Under the Leadership of the Seattle
Branch of the Central Organization of U. S. Marxist-Leninists

WORKERS' ADVOCATE

Newspaper of the COUSML
P.O. Box 11942, CHICAGO, ILL.

THE PATRIOT

Newspaper of the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples'
Solidarity Forum (Seattle)--P.O. BOX 70592, Seattle, 98107

Two Pamphlets by the AALAPSF (S):

- 1) Oppose Racial Discrimination. Unite and Fight
for Low Income Housing to Preserve
the International District
- 2) In Opposition to the Opportunist Line of Certain
"Free-Lance Revolutionaries" Formerly
Associated with the AALAPSF (S)