

WHAT THE GUARDIAN GUARDS

The Guardian Exposes Itself by Denying the Liberation Struggles of US Internal Colonies

In its issue of July 27, 1977, the Guardian attempts to refute the primacy of revolutionary struggles for national liberation. The way in which it tries to do this is by substituting a false version of our politics for the actual issues. Irwin Silber, the writer of the fan the flames articles, never responds to PFOC's criticisms of the Guardian's anti-national liberation politics; he never deals with the realities of the historical and present-day struggles of the oppressed nations within the US. He ignores the factual record of white and male supremacy in the US. To quote from his column:

(About PFOC) First they abdicate all responsibility for any objective analysis of the actual conditions of minority peoples. Actually, they promote a particular analysis, one based on surrendering to narrow bourgeois nationalist tendencies in the movements of the nationally oppressed. Second, they demagogically attempt to sow distrust among the nationally oppressed toward all those communists who are attempting to build the unity of the working class. And finally, they suggest that all multi-national communist organizations are really "white-based groups."

At another time we will again re-state our actual line. What we want to underscore here is that this is a concealed pushing of the Guardian's opportunist and white supremacist line, not a reflection of ours. We defend the right of self-determination of oppressed nations within

the US. The Guardian converts this to the "conditions of minority peoples." The Guardian converts the struggle of Black people for national liberation, and of Native Americans for Sovereignty, and of Chicanos and Mexican nationals for liberation, to mere struggles for the rights of minorities. Having wiped out the very essence of national liberation, the Guardian accuses us, PFOC, rather than the system, of "sowing distrust among the nationally oppressed" toward the communists, etc. It seems to us that people who have not taken leave of their senses will think that to support national liberation builds trust; to call this "narrow bourgeois nationalist tendencies" builds not the unity of the working class, but rather the unity of the opportunists with the empire and its preservation based upon white supremacy.

Silber makes the true politics of the Guardian very clear in the same piece:

One might argue that the brutalization, enslavement and genocide of African slaves and native peoples in the colonies was "worse" than the conditions faced by the industrial proletariat in the capitalist countries—although such comparisons do not ultimately prove anything. But in economic terms, the profits derived by capitalism from the labor of the mass of "white" proletarians of North America and Western Europe is of much greater significance in the accumulation of capital and the reproduction and expansion of the

capitalist mode of production than are the profits derived from chattel slavery and colonialism.

The above white supremacist atrocity is the true measure of the Guardian's self-satisfied role as the supreme judge of true proletarian internationalism. It also reveals Silber's real target, not PFOC, but revolutionary national liberation. To demonstrate this truth, we offer material from the history of two of the oppressed nations internal to the US. These materials are sufficient for the purpose although they are a very small part of that which is available. We may add that we do not consider this "an abdication of responsibility"; abdication is not the issue, the issue is who upholds internationalism and who is only pretending.

We are selecting materials not to support our own analysis and strategic line, but to demonstrate the power and historical roots of the Black and Native American nations and their struggles, whatever the varied forms they expressed themselves in at various times. What the Guardian assumes, and bases its positions on, without ever openly laying this out, is that the forces of assimilation and the melting pot have already won out. The facts are otherwise. History shows that for these peoples, the politics of accommodation have not led to freedom and equality but to ever new forms of segregation and oppression. In every new period of crisis, national liberation movements and leaders again come forward as the only possible revolutionary solution. The editors of the Guardian would do well to ponder the fate of Earl Browder, who pronounced that the Black People had already self-determined

for assimilation in the course of World War II. —This just before the greatest upsurge of Black Liberation Struggle since the time of the Garvey movement.

The first group of statements is from the period before the Civil War. From David Walker's Appeal, 1829:

—Can our condition be any worse? —Can it be more mean and abject? If there are any changes, will they not be for the better, though they may appear for the worse at first? Can they get us any lower? Where can they get us? They are afraid to treat us any worse, for they know well, the day they do it they are gone.

... The whites want slaves, and want us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us ... my color will root some of them out of the very face of the earth. They shall have enough of making slaves of, and butchering, and murdering us in the manner in which they have ...

Though I should like to see the whites repent peradventure God may have mercy on them, some however have gone so far that their cup must be filled ...

From Henry Highland Garnet's call to rebellion, delivered at a National Negro Convention in Buffalo, NY, 1845:

Brethren, the time has come when you must act for yourselves. It is an old and true saying that, "if hereditary bondmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow." You can plead your own cause, and

do the work of emancipation better than any others

Inform them that all you desire is FREEDOM, and that nothing else will suffice. Do this, and for ever after cease to toil for the heartless tyrants, who give you no other reward but stripes and abuse. If then they commence the work of death, they, and not you, will be responsible for the consequences. You had better all die—*die immediately*, than live slaves and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity If you must bleed, let it all come at once—rather *die freemen than live* to be slaves

Frederick Douglass, who combined strong anti-slavery struggle with a generally assimilationist strategy, nevertheless objected strongly to the arrogance of white supremacist "helpers," the Guardian types of his own time, who wanted to run everything:

. . . If we are ever elevated, our elevation will have been accomplished through our own instrumentality. The history of other oppressed nations will confirm us in this assertion

Our oppressed people are wholly ignored in one sense, in the generalship of the movement to effect our Redemption. Nothing is done—no nothing, as our friend Ward asserts, to inspire us with the Idea of our Equality with the whites. We are a poor, pitiful, dependent and servile class of Negroes, "unable to keep pace" with the movement, to which we have adverted—not even capable of "perceiving what are its demands or understanding the philosophy of its operations!" Of course . . . we cannot . . . expect to receive from those who indulge in this opinion, a *practical recognition of our Equality*. This is what we are contending for. It is what we have never received. It is what we must receive to inspire us with confidence in the self-appointed general of the Anti-Slavery host, the Euclids who are *theoretically* working out the almost insoluble problem of our future destiny.

From the speech of H. Ford Douglass at a Negro Emigration Convention, 1854:

. . . the expediency of a "COLORED NATIONALITY," is becoming self-evident to Colored men more and more every day. . .

It is not our "little faith" that makes us anxious to leave this country or that we do not believe in the ultimate triumph of the principles of FREEDOM, but that the life-sustaining resources which slavery is capable of commanding may enable the institution to prolong its existence to an indefinite period of time. You must remember that slavery is not a foreign element in this government, nor is it really antagonistic to the feelings of the American people. On the contrary it is an element commencing with our medieval existence, receiving the sanction of the early Fathers of the Republic, sustained by their descendants through a period of nearly three centuries, deep and firmly laid in our organization. Completely inter-woven into the passions and prejudices of the American people. It does not constitute a local or sectional institution as the generous promptings of the great and good (Charles) Sumner would have it, but is just as national as the Constitution which gives it an existence

The Dred Scot decision of the US Supreme Court brought strong reactions; what follows is from a resolution brought before a meeting in Philadelphia, April 5, 1857:

. . . Resolved, That no allegiance is due from any man, or any class of men, to a Government founded and administered in iniquity, and that the only duty the colored man owes to a constitution under which he is declared to be an inferior and degraded being, having no rights which white men are bound to respect, is to denounce and repudiate it, and to do what he can by all proper means to bring it into contempt

After the Civil War the plight of the "freed slaves" was different in form, but not very much less oppressive in essential content. The following is from testimony of Henry Adams before the Select Committee of the US Senate in 1880:

. . . Q: About what time did you lose all hope and confidence that your condition could be tolerated in the Southern States?
—A: Well, we never lost all hopes in the world till 1877.

Q: Not until 1877? —A: No, sir. In 1877 we lost all hopes.

Q: Why did you lose all hope in that year?



credit: Black in White America

Black families leaving the South in 1877 after Congress ignored their petitions for land, federal protection, or money to emigrate.

—A: Well, we found ourselves in such condition that we looked around and we seed that there was no way on earth, it seemed, that we could better our condition there, and we discussed that thoroughly in our organization along in May. We said that the whole South—every State in the South—had got into the hands of the very men that held us as slaves—from one thing to another—and we thought that the men that held us slaves was holding the reins of government over our heads in every respect almost, even the constable up to the governor. We felt we had almost as well be slaves under these men. In regard to the whole matter that was discussed, it came up in every council. Then we said there was no hope for us and we had better go.

Q: You say, then, that in 1877 you lost all hope of being able to remain in the South, and you began to think of moving somewhere else? —A: Yes; we said we was going if we had to run away and go into the woods.

Q: Well, what was the complaint after you failed to get the territory? —A: Then, in 1877 we appealed to President Hayes and to Congress, to both Houses. I am certain we sent papers there; if they didn't get them that is not our fault; we sent them.

Q: What did that petition ask for? —A: We asked for protection, to have our rights guaranteed to us, and at least if that could not be done, we asked that money should be provided to send us to Liberia.

Q: That was 1877, was it?—A: Yes, sir;

All Colored People
THAT WANT TO
GO TO KANSAS,
On September 5th, 1877,
Can do so for \$5.00

that was in 1877.

Q: Still, up to that time you did not think at all of going into the Northern States; at least you had taken no steps toward going into those States, had you? —*A:* No, sir.

Q: When did that idea first occur to your people? —*A:* In 1877, too, we declared that if we could not get a territory we would go anywhere on God's earth; we didn't care where.

Q: Even to the Northern States? —*A:* Yes, anywhere to leave them Southern States. We declared that in our council in 1877. We said we would go anywhere to get away.

Q: Well, when did the exodus to the Northern States from your locality, or from your country you are acquainted with best, begin? —*A:* Well, it didn't begin to any extent until just about a year ago.

Q: It didn't begin to any extent until 1879, you mean? —*A:* No, sir; not till the spring of 1879.

Q: But you had prior to that time been organized and ready to go somewhere, as I understood you? —*A:* Yes, sir; we had several organizations, there were many organizations; I can't tell you how many immigration associations, and so forth, all springing out of our colonization council. We had a large meeting, some five thousand people present, and made public speeches in 1877 on immigration.

Q: What was the character of those speeches as to what you intended to do? —*A:* We intended to go away, to leave the South, if Congress would not give us any relief; we were going away, for we knowed we could not get our rights.

Q: Where were these meetings held? —*A:* Some were held at Shreveport, in Caddo Parish, some were held in Madison, and some were held in Bossier Parish.

Q: Was there any opposition to those meetings in which you talked about going away? —*A:* No, sir. There didn't nobody say anything to us against our having our meetings, but I will tell you we had a terrible struggle with our own selves, our own people there; those ministers of these churches would not allow us to have any meeting of that kind, no way.

Q: They didn't want you to go? —*A:* No; they didn't want us to go.

Q: Why? —*A:* They wanted us to stay there to support them; I don't know what else. Mighty few ministers would allow us to have their churches; some few would in some of the parishes. There was one church, Zion, in Shreveport, that allowed us to talk there.

Q: Were the ministers opposed to it? —*A:* Yes, sir; they was opposed to it

Q: Your meetings were composed, then, of men in favor of going away? —*A:* Yes, and of the laboring class.

Q: Others didn't participate with you? —*A:* No, sir.

Q: Why didn't the politicians want you to go? —*A:* They were against it from the beginning.

Q: Why? —*A:* They thought if we went somewhere else they would not get our votes. That is what we thought.

Q: Why were the ministers opposed to it? —*A:* Well, because they would not get our support, that is what we thought of them.

Q: They thought it might break up their churches? —*A:* Yes; that is what they thought; at least we supposed the ministers thought that.

Q: About how many did this committee consist of before you organized your council? Give us the number as near as you can tell. —*A:* As many as five hundred in all.

Q: The committee, do you mean? —*A:* Yes; the committee has been that large.

Q: What was the largest number reached by your colonization council, in your best judgment? —*A:* Well, it is not exactly five hundred men belonging to the council, that we have in our council, but they all agreed

to go with us and enroll their names with us from time to time, so that they have now got at this time 98,000 names enrolled.

Q: Women and men? —*A:* Yes, sir; women and men, and none under twelve years old

Q: How many of your people have gone from that part of the country to the North, if you know? —*A:* I don't know exactly how many have gone.

Q: Of course you cannot tell us exactly, but as near as you know, give some idea of the number, if you can. —*A:* My reports from several members of the committee, in parts I have not been in and seen for myself—I take their words and put their words down as mine, because they are not allowed to lie on the subject. And so from what I have learned from them from time to time I think it is about five thousand and something.

Q: Do you mean from that section of country down there? —*A:* Yes, sir.

Q: From Louisiana? —*A:* Yes, sir

Q: Now, Mr. Adams, you know, probably, more about the causes of the exodus from that country than any other man, from your connection with it; tell us in a few words what you believe to be the causes of these people going away. —*A:* Well, the cause is, in my judgment, and from what information I have received, and what I have seen with my own eyes—it is because the largest majority of the people, of the white people, that held us as slaves treats our people so bad in many respects that it is impossible for them to stand it. Now, in a great many parts of that country there our people most as well be slaves as to be free; because, in the first place, I will state this: that in some times, in times of politics, if they have any idea that the Republicans will carry a parish or wards, or something of that kind, why, they would do anything on God's earth. There ain't nothing too mean for them to do to prevent it; nothing I can make mention of is too mean for them to do. If I am working on his place, and he has been laughing and talking with me, and I do everything he tells me to yet in times of election he will crush me down, and even kill me, or do anything to me to carry his point.

If he can't carry his point without killing me, he will kill me; but if he can carry his point without killing me, he will do that

.....

Marcus Garvey, in 1943:

I asked, where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country, and his ambassadors, his army, his navy, and his men of big affairs? I could not find them and then I declared, I will help make them.



Marcus Garvey speaking as he was being deported by the U.S. State, 1927.

From an article printed in The Black Scholar, by Lawrence P. Neal:

Thus, the established Negro leadership is forced to continue waging the fight for total liberation within the limits set by the oppressor. . . . It assumes that the long-range interests of Black America coincide with those of the white power structure.

The only way out of this trick-bag is to begin from the position that black people constitute a would-be nation apart from that of white America. Therefore, there are *two* Americas—a Black one and a white one; and Black America very clearly must decide its own destiny. It must independently decide what its interests are, both in the national and the international context. Consequently, it is no longer a question of civil rights for Negroes; but rather, it is a question of national liberation for Black America. That means that we see ourselves as a "colonialized" people instead of as disenfranchised American citizens. That means that our struggle is one with the struggles of oppressed people everywhere, and we alone must decide what our stance will be towards those nations struggling to liberate themselves from colonial and neo-colonial domination.

Robert F. Williams, in another article published in The Black Scholar, wrote:

**"THE FUTURE BELONGS
TO TODAY'S OPPRESSED"**

Whenever I speak on the English-language radio station in Havana (which broadcasts for an audience in the United States) I hope in some way to penetrate the mental barriers and introduce new disturbing elements into the consciousness of white America. I hope to make them aware of the monstrous evil that they are party to by oppressing the Negro. Somehow, I must manage to clearly reflect the image of evil that is inherent in a racist society so that white America will be able to honestly and fully see themselves as they really are. To see themselves with the same clarity as foreigners see them and to recognize that they are not champions of democracy. To understand that today they do not really even

believe in democracy. To understand that the world is changing regardless of whether they *think* they like it or not.

For I know that if they had a glimpse of their own reality the shock would be of great therapeutic value. There would be many decent Americans who would then understand that this society must mend its ways if it is to survive; that there is no place in the world now for a racist nation.

. . . The future belongs to today's oppressed and I shall be witness to that future in the liberation of the Afro-American.

"The Muslim Program," written by Elijah Muhammad in 1962, answers the question:

What do the Muslims want?

This is the question asked most frequently by both the whites and the blacks. The answers to this question I shall state as simply as possible.

Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own.

Point No. 9 of the 12-point program states:

We believe that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their "friends." Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation.

If the white people are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negro, they can prove it by dividing up America with their slaves.

We do not believe that America will ever be able to furnish enough jobs for her own millions of unemployed, in addition to jobs for the 20,000,000 black people as well.



credit: Black in White America

In "Towards Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto" (March, 1964), Max Stanford described the objectives and philosophy of RAM:

Objectives

1. To give black people a sense of racial pride, dignity, unity and solidarity in struggle.

2. To give black people a new image of manhood and womanhood.

3. To free black people from colonial and imperialist bondage everywhere and to take whatever steps necessary to achieve that goal.

4. To give black people a sense of purpose.

The motto was "One Purpose, One Aim, One Destiny," meaning:

One Purpose—To free black people from

the universal slavemaster (slang for capitalist oppression).

One Aim—To develop black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible.

One Destiny—To follow in the spirit of black revolutionaries such as Gabriel Prosser, Toussaint L'Overture, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Marcus Garvey, Dr. DuBois, Robert F. Williams, and to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation and national oppression. . . .

RAM philosophy

RAM philosophy may be described as revolutionary nationalism, black nationalism or just plain blackism. It is that black people of the world (darker races, black,

yellow, brown, red, oppressed peoples) are all enslaved by the same forces. RAM's philosophy is one of the world black revolution or world revolution of oppressed peoples rising up against their former slavemasters. Our movement is a movement of black people who are coordinating their efforts to create a "new world" free from exploitation and oppression of man to man.

In the world today there is a struggle for world power between two camps, the haves (Western or white capitalist nations) and the have-nots (Eastern or newly independent nations struggling for independence, socialist nations). There are two types of nationalism. One type suppresses or oppresses, that is, a nation or particular group reaps profits or advances materially at the expense, exploitation, slavery or torture of another group or nation. In this nation and in the world today, this nationalism is considered "white nationalism" or the cooperation of the white Western nations to keep the new emerging oppressed world in bondage. This is capitalist or reactionary nationalism. The other type of nationalism is to liberate or free from exploitation. That is the binding force of a nation or particular group to free itself from a group or nation that is suppressing or oppressing it. In this country and in the world this is considered black nationalism or revolutionary nationalism.

We can see that black nationalism is the opposite of white nationalism; black nationalism being revolutionary and white being reactionary. We see also that nationalism is really internationalism today.

While defining nationalism as a force towards black liberation, we define nationalism as black patriotism.

Nationalism is an identification and consciousness of our own kind and self. Knowledge of self is an integral part of nationalism. Knowledge of our own history of struggle is an essential part of nationalism. Love for our own people and not for the enemy is nationalism.

RAM feels that with the rise of fascism, the black man must not only think of armed

self-defense but must also think aggressively.

Our black nation is still in captivity. RAM feels that the road to freedom is self-government, national liberation and black power. Our slogan is "Unite or perish." Our definition of revolution is one group's determination to take power away from another.

In ending this manifesto, we (RAM) say, "Think what you wish, but we shall accomplish what we will."

A proposal released from jail by Max Stanford (March, 1968) begins:

1. The African-American in the U.S. should demand independent Black Nationalism and take the U.S. government to the world court, the United Nations, and bring international indictment against the U.S. for its violation of Human Rights and racial war crimes of Genocide.

(NOTE: Most of the above excerpts may be found in the anthology *Black Nationalism in America*, edited by J.H. Bracy Jr., August Meier and Elliott Rudwick; published by Bobbs Merrill Co.)

A SNCC paper "The Basis of Black Power" (Winter 1965-66), contained a section on white radicals:

It is very ironic and curious that aware whites in this country can champion anti-colonialism in other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but when black people move toward similar goals of self-determination in this country they are viewed as racists and anti-white by these same progressive whites. In proceeding further, it can be said that this attitude derives from the overall point of view of the white psyche as it concerns the black people. This attitude stems from the era of the slave revolts when every white man was a potential deputy or sheriff or guardian of the state. Because when black people got together among themselves to work out their problems, it becomes a threat to white people, because such meetings were potential slave revolts.

It can be maintained that this attitude or way of thinking has perpetuated itself to this current period and that it is part of the psyche of white people in this our country whatever their political persuasion might be. It is part of the white fear-guilt complex resulting from the slave revolts.

The July-August, 1967 issue of Tri-Continental published the following article by Stokely Carmichael, entitled "The Third World—Our World":

We do not think that the people in the Third World understand the racism that we

profits to the white working class, who accepted it, so that the white working class was now enjoying the money off the sweat of the Third World, so that they became part and parcel of the system; they have to fight to maintain it, because if they do not fight to maintain it, they will have to fight for a new system.

Though we feel that a new system would be more beneficial to white working class America, we are unable to convince them of it because they are afraid to give up their economic security they now have and fight for a new type of system which would be more beneficial to them. So they throw in

**“The African-American in the U.S. should demand independent Black Nationhood and take the U.S. government to the world court . . . for its violation of Human Rights and racial war crimes of Genocide.
—Max Stanford, 1968**

have to fight. The off-times question is why we do not join hands with white workers in the United States. Not only is it because of the subconscious racism of white workers and the white working class in particular, who think that because they are white they are better than us, but also because the white working class is part and parcel of the American capitalistic society, and it is part and parcel because when the white working class of the United States organized, its fight was not for the control of the resources of the United States, not for the redistribution of wealth in the United States; their fight was merely for more money. All they were concerned about was more money.

The United States capitalists, who were then ruling the country, in order to get more money, in order to avoid the inevitable class conflicts Marx talks about, began to exploit other countries in the Third World. Their profits increased, they threw some of their

their lot with the white power structure inside the United States. Until they begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness, where they will begin to fight to change this system, they will not work with us—we cannot wait for them, we must struggle alone.

We automatically hook up with the peoples of the Third World, because we see ourselves, and we are in fact colonies inside the United States; the peoples of the Third World are colonies outside the United States. The same power structure that exploits and oppresses you, is the very same power structure that exploits and oppresses us. It rapes us of the resources inside the colonies where we live, it rapes you of your resources outside in the colonies where you live. So even if our goals were different, even if our aims were different, even if our ideology was different, our enemy is the same, and the only way all of us will be

continued on p. 66

WHAT THE GUARDIAN GUARDS

continued from p. 37

liberated is when we come together and defeat our enemy. And we must come together to defeat the enemy, because we are not fighting isolated capitalism, we are fighting international capitalism; and since the imperialist powers of the world have internationalized their system, we must also internationalize our system, so that our fight will be international.

That, then, means that the importance and the significance of Che's words when he says we must create two, three, many Viet Nams has much relevance to us once we begin to recognize the importance of internationalizing our fight.

Our hooking up with the Third World also moves beyond the point of having a common enemy; therefore it is more important for us to hook up with the Third World, than it may be for the Third World to hook up with us. Because the United

States has used our peoples time and time again to fight all of her imperialist wars; it is we who are the cannon fodder for all of her wars. We must develop a relationship with the Third World, so that our people will begin to recognize that their struggle is with the struggle of the Third World, and that we cannot allow white America to use us to fight imperialist wars, where she can continue to subdue peoples. Once we begin to show that relationship to our people, they will not fight in the Armed Forces of the United States. Once we have reduced the fighting power of the United States, they will have to send other people to do their fighting on the outside, we can then have our total force on the inside, we can start to wage a fight on the inside of the United States.

*From George Jackson's Blood in My Eye:
... The principle reservoir of revolutionary potential in America lies in wait inside*

"The principal reservoir of revolutionary potential in America lies in wait inside the Black colony."—George Jackson





credit: Black Scholar

“... the fuse is the smallest part ... in the powder keg ... yet that little fuse ... ignites the entire powder keg. The black nationalists to you [whites] may represent a minority in the so-called Negro Community. But they just happen to be composed of the type of ingredient necessary to fuse or ignite the entire black community. And this is one thing that whites—whether you call yourself liberals or conservatives or racists or whatever else you might choose to be—one thing that you have to realize ... what happens to a black man in America and Africa happens to the black man in Asia and the man down in Latin America ... ” —Malcolm X, 1964

the Black Colony. Its sheer numerical strength, its desperate historical relation to the violence of the productive system, and the fact of its present status in the creation of wealth force the black stratum at the base of the whole class structure into the forefront of any revolutionary scheme.

From Malcolm X (who spoke for more people than the Guardian even dreams of) at the Leverett House Forum (Harvard) of March 18, 1964:

... Student Question: Mr. Malcolm X, do you support a bloody revolution and if not, what kind do you have in mind, especially when the Negro is at a numerical disadvantage?

Malcolm X: Don't tell me about a six-to-one disadvantage. I agree it is a six to one disadvantage when you think in terms of America. But in the world the nonwhite people have you at an eleven to one disadvantage. We black people consider ourselves a part of that vast body of dark people who outnumber the whites, and we

don't regard ourselves as a minority.

Finally, to illustrate how far the Guardian's position on Black Liberation has deteriorated in recent years, here are some quotes from dialectics of black power, a pamphlet written by Robert Allen and published in 1968 by the Guardian as a Guardian pamphlet. While Black Liberation defined its goals and strategies still more sharply in the years immediately after 1968, this piece does show some serious efforts to define things by factual analysis rather than mere declamations and phrase making:

The Internal Colony

Black power as black liberation within the context of a U.S. revolution. This wing of the black power movement, represented by the Black Panthers, many members of SNCC and various local groups, views black people as a dispersed internal colony of the U.S., exploited both materially and culturally. It advocates an anticolonial struggle for self-determination which must go hand-in-hand with a general revolution throughout the U.S. It urges alliances with

white radicals and other potentially revolutionary segments of the white population since, according to its analysis, genuine self-determination for blacks cannot be achieved in the framework of the present capitalist imperialism and racism which characterize the U.S. Links with the revolutionary third world are also stressed since the black struggle will supposedly be anti-colonialist like other national liberation movements, and directed against a common enemy: U.S. imperialism.

Aside from these problems the pressure of events is also overtaking black radicals. On the one side they are facing the prospect of increasing repression, on the other there is the escalating anger and nihilism in the ghettos. Black power did in some sense speak to the anger and frustration of urban masses and increased their militance. Their response has been bigger and better rebellions. The outbreaks are political in

and have not organized poor whites or white workers, groups which have simply persisted in their support of U.S. racism and imperialism. The older middle-class white left has opted out by joining with itself in a middle-class antiwar movement or thrown in with the liberals in supporting McCarthy. A handful of white leftists maintain the proper rhetorical posture vis-a-vis the blacks, but they aren't able to produce the goods.

... At last October's Guardian meeting (H.Rap) Brown expressed his position: "We don't need (white) liberals, we need revolutionaries . . . So the question really becomes whether you choose to be an oppressor or a revolutionary. And if you choose to be an oppressor then you are my enemy. Not because you are white but because you choose to oppress me."

... These are tough standards to meet and Brown, too, is known to have growing

“We don't need [white] liberals, we need revolutionaries So the question becomes whether you choose to be an oppressor or a revolutionary.”

—H. Rap Brown, 1968

that they clearly challenge property rights, but black power militants have not brought this political undertone into conscious focus, except among black students, nor have they been able to deal with the resulting repression and co-optation. Instead, those who have not been co-opted, jailed or killed have tended to yield to nihilism and fatalism.

The inability of the white left to seriously deal with racism and repression has accelerated this process. Many black militants increasingly believe that there simply are no effective revolutionary elements in the white population. White students have largely confined themselves to the campuses, where the left has grown stronger,

doubts about the existence of revolutionary forces both within and without the black communities.

The few references which we have given here should provide some idea of how massive and persistent have been the strivings of the Black nation for its own liberation since its beginnings in the period of direct chattel slavery. We will present some of the evidence that this liberation movement, contrary to the assumptions of the Guardian, is still very much alive in our concluding article of this series. Whether the Guardian, or anyone else, likes it or not, the power and strategic role of Black Liberation must be faced up to by the entire oppressor nation including the white left.

THE GUARDIAN REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE NATIVE SOVEREIGNTY

The entire history of the indigenous "Native American" peoples refutes at every critical point the Guardian's disregard and liquidation of their centuries-long fight for survival and sovereignty. The basic issues of existence as independent nations; of land, resources, self-government, self-determination have been fought out over and over again. Compromise and assimilationism have had their inroads along with the impact of whiskey, disease and missionaries, but the nations of the red peoples have never surrendered and are now more united and determined than ever to win their own liberation. They fight for the land and the resources to survive, and for self-government and for the right to live in their own traditional ways.

With respect to Native Americans, the Guardian is even less liberal in words than is the US Government. The Government and the courts, though with many evasions, betrayals and breaches of faith, has theoretically and in solemn treaties many times legally recognized the national sovereignty and self-governing rights of the Native Nations. These treaties have generally been made when the US wanted something, usually land and resources, from the different tribes. They have been broken when the treaties stood in the way of taking even more and when the US felt strong enough to take by force what they formerly had had to concede. The Guardian lives from hand to mouth and shows no sense of history. This whole matter barely exists for it as a part of the now dead past. But the 85,000,000 indigenous red people of the Western Hemisphere are also part of the world majority which is in motion here and elsewhere. No matter how many times Irwin Silber chants "the most narrow bourgeois nationalists," these facts will haunt all the "left" white supremacists to the end of their days.

The following group of materials is taken from the papers Indian Treaties and Indian Sovereignty by the Institute for the Development of Indian Law. Our point here is not the legal argument for itself. It is to show that the

US did indeed recognize the Native Americans as nations. The US had its reasons; it was compelled by the facts of Native resistance and US interests to enter into these treaties. The Guardian may argue that this is not a serious matter, however it is just this contemptuous attitude that is the entire downfall of the Guardian's politics.

First the constitutional basis:

... This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. (Emphasis added.) (Treaties, p. 70.)

... The president shall have the power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present consent. (p. 58, same)

... The point, then, once conceded, that the Indians are independent to the purpose of treating, their independence is, to that purpose, as absolute as that of any other nation. (p. 4, same)

... treaties have been made with the Indians, and the treaty-making power has been exercised in making them ... within the meaning of the Constitution ... (they) are the supreme laws of the land. (US Supreme Court, 1852—p. 5, same)

The sort of promises made by the US to Native American Nations by treaty may be seen from one or two examples:

... The US do engage to guarantee to the aforesaid nations of Delawares ... all their territorial rights, in the fullest ... manner, as it hath been bounded by former treaties, as long as the said Delaware nation shall abide by and hold fast ... the friendship now entered into. (Treaty with Delawares—p. 17, same)

... The US agrees that the following district of country ... is hereby set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians, as from time to time they may be willing with the consent of the US to admit among them; and the US now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein authorized so to do, and except such officers ... of the Government as may be authorized by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians. (*Treaty with Cheyenne and Arapaho, 1867—p. 18, same*)

On the matter of the violation and destruction of those promises; from the discussion of the new policy of the allotment of Native lands for sale:

... The ideology of ... (Indian) life had included no real concept of property in land ... To ... Indians the land was "Mother Earth" and attaching to her property concepts ... seemed sacrilegious.

A committee report of the US House of Representatives in 1880 showed that Congress was aware of this. The report states:

... The very idea of property in the soil was unknown to the Indian mind ...

And as to the consequences, Senator Henry Teller made these remarks:

... If I stand alone in the Senate, I want to put upon the record by prophecy in this matter, that when 30 to 40 years shall have passed and these Indians shall have parted with their title, they will curse the hand that was raised professedly in their defense to secure this kind of legislation ... (p. 92, same)

Further (from Indian Sovereignty, p. 60):

... The Allotment Act affected the sovereignty of Indian governments in two ways. First, it reduced the amount of land controlled by Indians. From 1887 to 1934 ... the Indian land base had been reduced to two-thirds of its original size. With individual ownership of reservation lands, Indian governments lost some control of their territories. But a court decision has

held that, although the lands were owned individually by Indians and non-Indians, *the reservation boundaries still exist* ... Indian governments still have jurisdiction within reservation boundaries, even over non-Indian owners of land. Second, the Act weakened Indian governments by breaking up the social organization of tribes.

The undermining of the sovereignty and treaty rights of the Native Americans was furthered by a decision of the US Supreme Court handed down by Chief Justice Marshall in 1830 on a case brought by the Cherokee Nation against the State of Georgia. Marshall held against the Cherokee previously-undisputed right to its territory on the ground that Native Nations are not the same as foreign nations but:

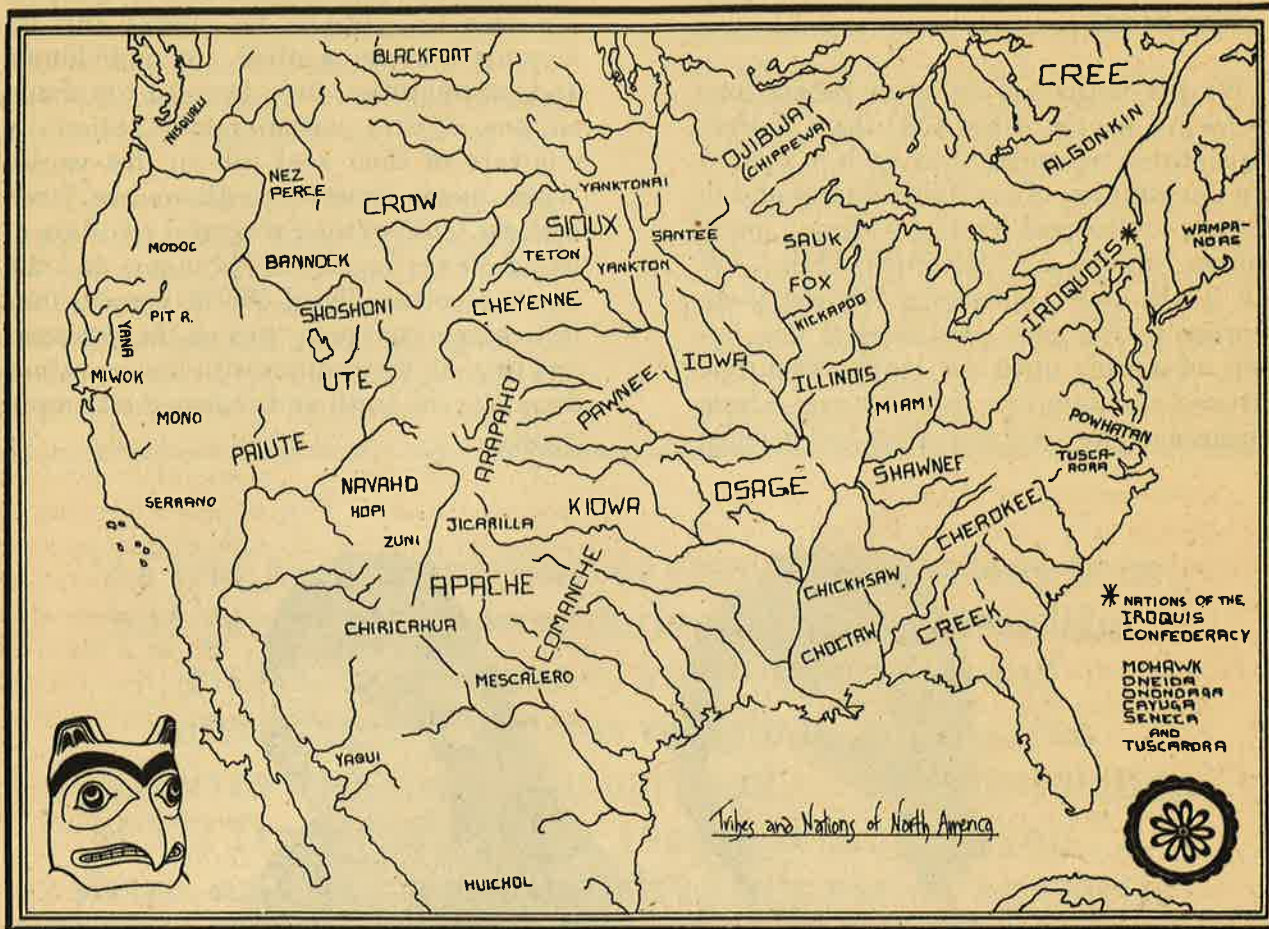
They may be ... denominated *domestic, dependent nations*. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right to possession ceases. Meanwhile, they are in a state of pupillage. Their relation to the United States *resembles that of a ward to his guardian.* (p. 76, same)

The present-day Guardian is retrograde as compared to Marshall's "limited sovereignty." The Guardian cannot fit Indians into its scheme of "multi-national" working class and democratic rights, so it treats Native Americans as if they were already extinct and therefore of no significance as nations.

As recently as 1886 the Supreme Court was still using the wards of the nation doctrine. (p. 81, same) In more recent years, the courts have been under much pressure from increased resistance and struggles by Native Americans and the peoples of other oppressed nations, at home and abroad. This has caused the courts to uphold some of the treaty rights, especially as against individual states. As recently as 1976 the Supreme Court held in one case that Indian tribes are:

Distinct, independent, political communities possessing and exercising powers of self-government derived solely from their original sovereignty.

However, in cases involving the Federal Executive (Justice Department, FBI, etc.) and the Congress, the Courts continue to either not act,



or to over-ride the treaties. The Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan of 1972, which occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs for some days in Washington, DC was compelled to appeal for a declaration of Congress that the US Government should return to a recognition of the treaty relationships and to act accordingly. The National Congress of American Indians held in San Diego, CA in October 1974, issued a Declaration of Sovereignty in which it demanded the implementation of an 8-point program that would recognize and reinforce Native American Sovereignty.

The Sovereign Native Women's Conference held at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, May 18, 1976 addressed a birthday message to the Government of the US. This message is in itself convincing proof that Native Americans are not prepared to trade their sovereignty for empty

promises of equality and democratic rights from anyone at all, much less from such an unreliable source as the white supremacist and patronizing Guardian. The message:

We are women, who are called Indians. We are from many nations within the borders and boundaries claimed by the United States Government.

We have met in council at Lawrence, Kansas to express our concerns and dreams for a better future ... for our little sisters and brothers who are with us, our children who are not yet born ... and on behalf of our elders, because their spiritual strength provides us the energy and courage and patience to deal with your system and to continue their dreams of freedom.

After five days of meetings, we concluded there was nothing to say about what we

need. Our elders, long ago, in the Treaties, reserved all of the rights, properties, and guarantees of services necessary to provide protection and support for the quality of life we require to live with dignity as Indian human beings.

We, the mothers of the future generations of Native people, DEMAND these federal legislatures remember their oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States and to respect the federal treaties with our many Indian Nations, AS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND demands. We see these representatives and legislators of this nation advancing upon our lands, resources, jurisdiction, families, and futures. These assaults against our properties and persons

are done to satisfy the racist inclinations of this government's sickest citizens and the greediest corporation structures on the face of the earth.

The elected representatives of this system are able to continue the illegal and inhumane attacks against our individuals and communities, only because too many citizens of this nation remain blissfully unaware of their real role in this world. When many American citizens are faced with the truth of their shameful tradition of living off the resources of Indians and the sweat of other Third World people, they just change channels, turn up their stereotypes, and turn off their minds with liquor; rather than face the truth and change their empty reality.



"We are proud of being Indian and we will never be ashamed of our heritage or our decisions."—Anna Mae Aquash and KaMook Banks.
Anna Mae Aquash was later murdered and her death was covered up by the FBI.

We, the Indian people, may be the only citizens of this nation who really understand this form of government, and respect the Constitutional ideals, as it was originally copied from the Iroquois Confederacy. Unless you develop a respect for the most basic principles behind this form of government, you are doomed to be just another "civilization" significant only for its barbarism.

We understand also, that we are supposedly guaranteed Federal protection of our basic resources which were *RESERVED PERPETUALLY*. This failure affects our reservation lands, our timber resources, our hunting areas, our water supplies, our minerals, our fishing rights, our wild rice,

available for your own companies to exploit.

As you remove our trees and minerals, harvest our fish, divert our water supplies, move your white communities upon our lands, gather the foods provided for us by the Great Spirit, and run your cattle onto our properties, you establish your unbroken records as the tenth generation of parasites. You cannot claim these conditions as being the responsibility of your ancestors. You cannot claim no shame or guilt. As long as the materials of your homes belong to us, and you heat those homes with our fuel, and use power derived from our beautiful rivers and streams to keep your lights and entertainment systems working, drive cars

“As long as the materials of your homes belong to us, and you . . . use power derived from our beautiful rivers and streams to keep your lights and entertainment systems working, . . . and feed yourselves with food from our land, . . . all in violation of 372 Treaties signed by your government, you . . . share, and continue the guilt of this nation’s pathetic history.”

our beaches, and all the other natural resources that the Great Spirit has provided us.

We additionally are guaranteed protection **BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT** against any interest that encroaches against our rights and properties.

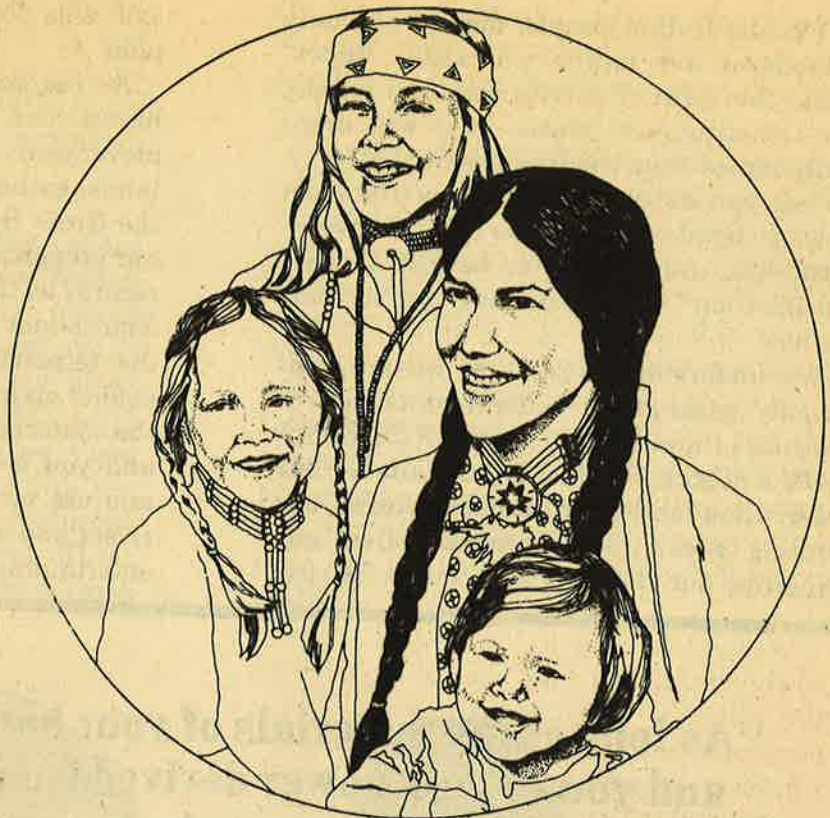
We also understand that the services guaranteed in the Treaties were intended to meet our needs, not to be used as tools to further dehumanize us.

You have pressured us through imposed on-reservation poverty, and promises of equality to leave our homes and families and relocate to your cities. These promises were all as hollow as your hearts. You only meant to make our properties more readily

manufactured from materials ripped from our Mother Earth, and feed yourselves the foods from our land, beaches, and streams, all in violation of 372 Treaties signed by your government, you as elected representatives share, and continue the guilt of this nation’s pathetic history.

We have lived in fear of the injustice of your judicial systems, in fear of your cruel removal of our beautiful children, in fear of the lies forced into our children’s heads by your educational system, in fear of your police attacks against our young men, in fear of the isolation and starvation of your cities, and in fear of a future of poverty and unemployment on our reservation.

Your white citizens may find it hard to



Yvonne Wanrow and her three children. The Colville Indian mother has just won a court review of the charges against her from the 1972 shooting in defense of her children.

credit: Common Sense

believe . . . when you see us; with no decent homes, no jobs, no money, no running water, no phones, no cars, and no solid hope for the future . . . that we are sorry for you. You have traded your original solid values for a momentary comfort, and when this moment passes, you will have nothing left but guilt and hate.

We see you continually attacking people of color on other continents. We see you in Asia, South America, Africa, and wherever people of color live their lives . . . and you haven't changed at all. You are still robbing and raping the people and the land . . . you are still claiming resources and enslaving human beings.

The results of your oppression and injustice are observable by Third World citizens and white people with a conscience, all over the world. You are sick . . . and the world knows it. You can send your ambassadors and diplomats to smile at the "leaders" of these nations and to give gifts and promises. As long as your treaties are not honored, the world will know you have a tradition of no honor and no trust.

Whether you cease your aggression toward ourselves and the world, or elect to continue your path to isolation and destruction, is your choice.

However, you do, as citizens and representatives have a responsibility to the rest of the world to get this government under control, and individually act to educate yourselves and your children to your moral responsibilities.

Your nation is a sick joke. Your infantile greed and tantrums have been tolerated only because the European nations considered such aggressive behavior economically beneficial. The people of color, like ourselves, couldn't believe such a lack of manners and morals could be true, even if you were a young and immature nation.

You can learn from us how to conduct yourselves in a civilized manner of harmony and non-aggression to your neighbors and this continent. Or, you can force other nations to destroy you like a mad dog.

All we can promise you is that there will be Indian communities, families, tribes, and nations continuing to observe your behavior, and that we'll always be here.

You may believe your federal grants are buying us off, but we know these pennies are no substitute for the billions of dollars worth of precious resources and lands you have stolen and continue to steal.

You may think we see no correlation between our child deaths and your thefts in our communities, but this just hasn't been true.

We intend, as Nations of People, to resist your attacks whether your weapon is a court aimed at our family or a corporation aimed at our land.

We will fight and continue to struggle and work to live the life intended by the Great Spirit, and promised by your federal treaties.

We may be disguised in business suits or cowboy boots. We may wear uniforms from the military, hospitals, basketball team, parochial school or just blue jeans. But whatever we wear, wherever we live, we are determined to live as Indian people, and we will stand up and fight for that right. We are not dead, our culture is not dead, our hearts are alive with hope and determination. We are here forever, and we, the poor and working people in this country will decide how the next page of our history will read in the world courts and libraries in the year 2076.

The continued and un-ceasing struggles of Native Americans for their land, resources and sovereignty, and their human rights; the hundreds of dead who have been assassinated by US and local governments from before Wounded Knee to now; the present struggles to defend the prisoners of war and those still on trial; the mass campaigns to take the case of attempted genocide and violated treaties and national rights before the world via the United Nations hearings in Geneva all demonstrate that no-one is going to be able to reduce this continued centuries-long struggle for liberation and freedom to one of constitutional rights or petty reforms. The Guardian has not deserted this struggle—it has simply not yet ever taken it seriously, which is perhaps the worst form of sabotage.

The final point is the Guardian's way of minimizing national liberation struggles under

the guise of exposing PFOC. The Guardian juggles the world contradictions in a vague way, never defining the strategic relationships between class and national struggle for itself, but accusing us of seeing only national liberation struggle. Actually we have laid out in BREAKTHROUGH No. 1 this entire relationship fairly extensively. We did not invent the notion of the special role at present of world-wide national liberation struggles against US imperialism. Revolutionary Parties of Asia and Africa have led in developing this understanding. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said in part, in a letter to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, June 14, 1963:

...2. The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time ...

3. The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

4. The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defense of world peace.

5. In a sense, therefore, the world cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of these people ... who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

We are not arguing for those precise formulations or China's present course; we do agree that the role of national liberation is essential to defeat opportunism and imperialism and to bring the world victory of revolution and liberation.