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SOULBOOK



TOWARDS SELF DETERMINATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS
FOR BLACK AMERICA AND AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA)

Self-Determination

AND AFRICAN NATIONAL

LIBERATION IN THE U.S.A.

by WILLY GREEN

SELF-DETERMINATION AND
AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION
IN THE U.S.A.

At an international meeting of the Pan African Secretariat ¹ held in Georgetown, Guyana, 1971, delegates passed a resolution recognizing the colonial status of Black people in the u.s.a. That resolution called for the liberation of the Black and Indian nations held captives.

A similar resolution was passed the following year. That same year in 1972, CRAC ² (Committee for the Removal of All Colonialism) was formed. CRAC stated part of its objectives as to "keep before governments and the public the issue of colonialism in the still remaining colonies of the world."

Particular attention was given to Caribbean nations as Cayenne (Guyane = French Guiana), Suriname, Belize, and the Amerindian people.

Small nations are often ignored unless there is

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an explosion to bring them to the attention of the world. Territories held by the u.s.a. as Guam, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, & Virgin Islands were not ignored.

In an official public statement CRAC called for the "liberation of the largest remaining colony"; Black America.

That is how serious revolutionaries treat the question of Africans in the u.s.a.; they treat it as a colonial question, the continued domination by the slaveowners over the slaves after emancipation. That is how the question is posed to the public, to governments, to international bodies, and to liberation organizations.

The old call by the Nation of Islam of "separation from the white devils" and the call by the Republic of New Africa for "independence now" is correct. Daily, Blacks face the contempt of white america. Because white american society is both racist and capitalist, it is fascist. We can expect

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no other solution to the racial problems in america than the standard ones, lynch law and genocide. National independence is the only decent solution to the problems of Blacks in the u.s.a.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR THE DOMESTIC BLACK COLONY

THE INDEPENDENT BLACK STRUGGLE

What is clear to us is that the 350 years of Black history in North America has been a history of the struggle for self-determination and freedom. This independent struggle waged by Blacks occurred at every period. Even before the boarding of the slave ships, we can see it. It occurred on the slave ships, throughout the entire slave era, during reconstruction and post-reconstruction, and on through both World Wars until the present.

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This independent Black struggle was fought before white labor was transformed into a modern proletariat or before there was a modern bourgeois capitalist class in the u.s.a. Historically, it actually antedates the modern proletarian struggles in the u.s.a. that are a part of today's reality. No greater "proletarian" consciousness was exhibited than that of the slaves on those southern plantations. American capitalism was tied to those cotton and tobacco plantations.

The slaves ran the plantations. They worked the most modern machines of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Black slaves were the primary source of skilled and unskilled labor in the most advanced industry of the day.

The content of those struggles was generally expressed as Black (African) revolutionary nationalism. Writing in his biography of Henry Garnet, Brother Ofari is correct in stating that, "Black nationalism was as integral a thought in the middle of the 19th century as it is now," 3.

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Then, Ofari plainly saw this Black nationalist consciousness in the life of Black people:

"In the south, slave rebellions and the maintenance of Africanism were prominent factors of Black national consciousness. In the North it was expressed in the early 19th century state and national Negro Conventions, the formation of Black churches, schools, and benevolent societies to protect the Black Community from attack by racist whites." 4

Blacks recognized their national oppression.

David Walker in his Appeal (1931) saw us as a "nation within a nation" and that the slaves must be free. Garnet's experience abroad taught him the value of Black self-determination. As repression of Blacks increased he found that others were also considering a Black nationalist solution to the problems of the Black man and woman. Here is how Garnet responded in 1854 to questions put to him about the course of this independent Black struggle and where a Black nation could be established:

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"I hope in the United States; especially if they reopen the slave trade. Then, if we do not establish a nationality in the South, I am mistaken in the spirit of my people." 5

Garnet, as the mass of Black folk, could see the economic and class basis of their exploitation.

Listen to his biographer again:

"Garnet and others saw that economic exploitation was a major factor facing Blacks. Although he did not analyze the system of capitalism from a 'scientific socialist position' (Marxism had not made any appreciable impact on American society in the antebellum period), he perceived that Black oppression was closely connected with the dominance of a wealthy landowning class." 6

It was the daily fight of Blacks that drove men like Garnet to have a clearer view of their oppression. This Black nationalism so endemic to Black people was profoundly against the domination of the

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class of slaveowners, capitalists, and all exploiters. That is why we are still astounded by the impossible confusion of the new/and old Black adherents to Marxism. Brother Ofari, for example, has outdone himself with his "catholic" conversion. He concludes elsewhere:

"Nowhere in the world has 'revolutionary nationalism' solidified working class power, overthrown imperialism, or begun the process of building socialism. Without a struggle to transform national consciousness into class consciousness, 'revolutionary nationalism' is just one more illusion to blind blacks to the necessity of socialist internationalism." 7

This line of reasoning parrots some "official" white marxist masters, who also never cease to label Black nationalism reactionary and who deny to Blacks the right of self-determination. Blacks understand well what kind of tutelage to expect from these "social scientists" and their "scientific analysis".

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But what would the 'black revolutionary nationalists' in Haiti have thought of this? 8. Haiti is an example of how Black solidarity was able to overthrow slavery, defeat three imperialists, and embark upon building a collectivist economy. Upon the "revolutionary nationalism" of Haiti rested the hopes of other freedom fighters in South America, the Caribbean, and the u.s.a. Men like Simon Bolivar rushed to Haiti for aid against their class and national oppressors.

Nor was there any lack of class consciousness within the new nation. The social nature of the Haitian revolution and the class struggle which intensified afterwards was the cause of Dessaline's death. He saw the danger of a new landed Black and mulatto oligarchy and sided with the poor peasants. Speeches like the following were typical of Dessaline's class loyalties:

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"We have waged this war for the others. Before taking up arms against Le merc, colored people born of white fathers, had absolutely no right of inheritance. How is it then possible that the sons of the settler we have thrown out of the country now claim their riches? Shall the Blacks whose fathers are in Africa then be entitled to nothing? Be careful you Blacks and mulattoes! We have fought against the whites. What we have won with our blood belongs to us all. And I shall see to it that it is divided with equity." 9.

Such arguments as Ofari's have always been used to throttle the Black liberation movement not to advance it. Under the mis-used banner of "socialist internationalism" lie a long history of treachery and betrayal of Blacks. This usage of the slogan we strongly oppose. Aime Cesaire, when he was still a revolutionary marxist, made it clear that:

... "Marxism and communism must be harnessed into the service of Black people, and not Black people harnessed into the service of marxism and communism." 10.

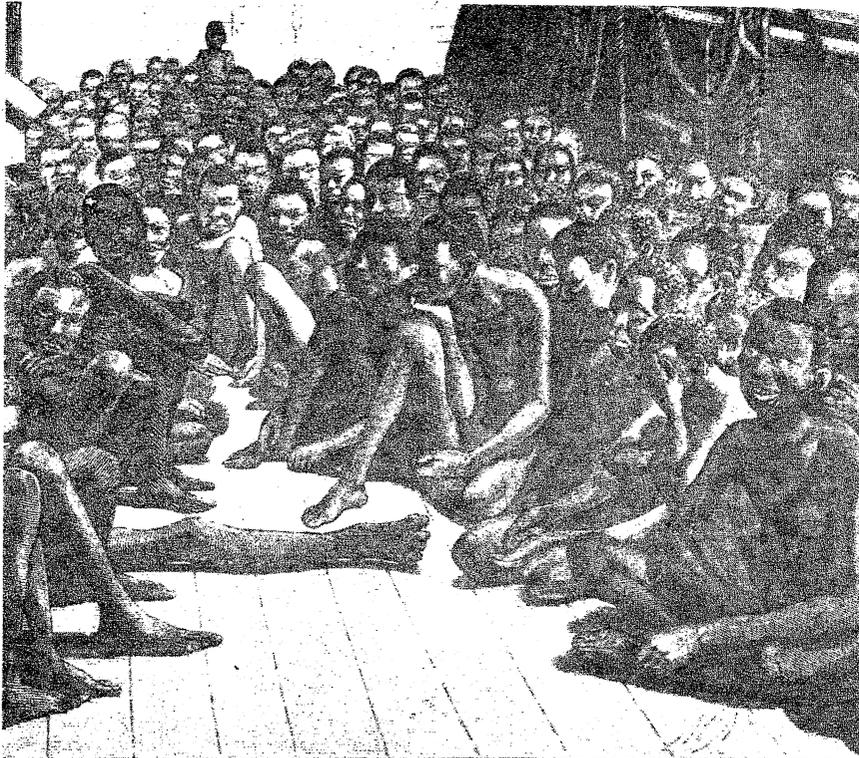
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But what is more important is to know that the independent struggle of Black people in the u.s.a. has not been halted. At the basis of that struggle is the right to self-determination and freedom.

Thus, this struggle for self-determination of Black America is crucial because it is a struggle to determine the fate of all Black people in the u.s.a. It is a struggle of the entire Afro-american populace in the northern Black 'ghettos' AND in our national territory the southern Black belt. It is a struggle to extricate our nation and reclaim this source of super profits from the hand of the white imperialists. That is clear. Let us see briefly the main trend.

Liberation!

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A LITTLE HISTORY

To be complete we would have to begin from antiquity and talk of the African experience. But for our purposes we pick up on the ravages of the slave trade in the 15th century as Africans were

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transported to the Caribbean and the Americas to be broken in. The slave ship logs are filled with countless entries of revolts aboard deck. The acts of defiance do not stop when land is reached. Those rebellions continued. Neither Spain, nor France, nor Holland, nor Portugal, nor England could suppress those strivings for freedom.

In Brazil the first Black Republic in the Americas was founded in 1630 at Palmares, in the province of Pernambuco. It lasted until 1697 when the combined onslaught of several European powers finally overran Palmares. Even then every "quilombo" (village) fought back to a man and to a woman.

In Mexico the Spanish were forced to concede territory to their Black slaves for self-government. San Lorenzo de los Negros became a mini state in 1627.

Cuffy, a Black slave in the Dutch territory of Berbice in Guiana (Now Guyana), led a successful revolution in 1763. The slavemasters were defeated and routed in battle. Slave society was completely

overturned. Relying upon the memory of their African traditions and customs the slaves destroyed the plantation economy. They proceeded to build a collectivist economy and begin to manage government and civil affairs themselves. Though that Black Republic only lasted a year its revolutionary deeds is a landmark in the struggle for self-determination.

Throughout the Caribbean we see the same course of events in every territory. Whenever the slaves are able they flee the plantations, or take them over to manage them themselves. They set up their own organs of government and self-rule. There is no West Indian or African nation that cannot be proud of this legacy.

Then in 1804 the greatest revolutionary event in the 19th century erupted. Following a long period of revolutionary struggle, the Black slaves tore down the French flag and proclaimed the new nation of Haiti. For twelve years the slaves fought, unaided, not just the French, but defeated

the military and diplomatic armies of Britain and Spain.

This was the first instance in modern times in which a major colonial and imperialist power was defeated. Haiti, an oppressed nation of slaves did it. Only the Vietnamese were to repeat this, by defeating the French at Die Bien Phu in 1954.

In Haiti also the former Black slaves immediately began a program of collectivist reconstruction of their nation. We feel it is no accident that Haiti has been nearly bypassed in the history of revolutionary struggles and national liberation movements. Among english writers, only the Black marxist CLR James has treated that revolution with necessary seriousness in a long study.

In the u.s.a. the Black liberation movement showed its independent existence. The Spanish colony in Florida was not able to restrain the slaves from fleeing to freedom in the forests and establishing independent, self-governing

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settlements. The French could not stop them in the vast Louisiana territory. The American colonists had little more success in restraining their slaves. Every turn confronted them with acts of defiance and rebellion.

Then the American colonists themselves revolted against England. Slaves in large numbers went over to the British side seeing an opportunity to seize their independence and destroy their slavemasters. The British offered independence as a necessary condition to employing these courageous Black men in their armies.

Other slaves proposed to George Washington that they would fight with the American colonists against British colonialism if their freedom were guaranteed. At first Washington and the other slavemasters refused. Later they had no choice but to accept. Washington himself wrote that, "success will depend upon which side can arm the Negro faster." It was this decisive act of massive numbers of slaves

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fighting on the side of the colonists that helped save the "American Revolution."

Though Crispus Attucks was brave and outspoken and died at the head of a group of white American colonists defying the British, it was the thousands of Black slaves that wanted their own independence from both the British colonizers and the American slavers that was the important feature of the "American Revolutionary War.:"

The later betrayal of this drive for Black self-determination by the 'bourgeoisie' and later by white labor was to recur over and over.

Following the War and the betrayals, the slaves still continued to organize themselves. In Virginia, under the leadership of Gabriel Prosser in 1800, they organized for the capture of Black state power. Gabriel's plan was to seize the capital, destroy the power of the slaveowners, and establish a new Black state. Only a natural calamity and later an act of betrayal prevented the plan from

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being put into action. This was one of the largest organized plans for freedom uncovered. It compares with the organization that Denmark Vesey headed in 1822.

Vesey was greatly influenced by the Haitian revolution and the continuous revolts that were taking place on the plantations in America. Like Gabriel, he fully intended to establish a new Black state after smashing the power of the slavemasters. Again an act of betrayal prevented success. Yet, the remarkable fact is that the ten to fifty thousand men and women estimated to be part of the organization gives only an inkling of what mass support existed for bold actions to gain freedom.

The revolt carried out by Nat Turner in 1831 electrified the African population in the u.s.a. and shocked the slaveowners. What was his intention? Again, it was to end the domination of the slaveowners over the slaves and construct a Black Republic.

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Underlying all of the hundreds of slave rebellions recorded between 1619 and 1860 was the quest for self-determination. Many of them had the direct intention to establish a Black republic or state. Some of the independent settlements in the forests existed as virtual small states.

It was these ceaseless acts that prevented unity between the northern capitalists and southern slavers during various periods as the Abolition movement and the underground railroad. Most of the abolitionists as well as the 'conductors' of the Underground Railway were Blacks.

During these periods when "proletarian solidarity" was needed most the white working classes and emigrants from Europe were often in the forefront of anti-black resistance. ¹¹ Whenever a temporary unity occurred as during the Abolitionist movement the break-up inevitably came on the issue of Black independent action and self-determination.

This still did not halt the drive towards Black freedom. Prior to the Civil War Blacks had organized throughout the South and North in widespread secret underground organizations. One of them, the Knights of Tabor (Knights of Liberty) was poised to strike down the slavocracy, abolish slavery and proclaim a sovereign nation.

Only the approaching conflict between the North and the South, one system based on free exploited labor, the other based on slave labor, held back the launching of a people's liberation war. The North, opposed to the extention of slave labor in new territories, appeared to be for the Black man. Thus these Black military units of the Knights of Liberty were dissolved and entire bands joined the Union armies.

Without question it was the support of Africans that finally defeated the Confederacy and gave victory to the Union. We are clear that it was Blacks fighting for their freedom that was the

decisive element in the war.



(The 4,000,000 Black slaves in the South were absolutely essential to the South to carry on production while the "white army" fought. When these same slaves became part of the northern military force it was disasterous. The south lost all of its productive laborers. This act alone did more to destroy the Confederacy than has been admitted.

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Though the situation is obviously not the same today, the implications of Africans withdrawing into a separate nation state of their own is still devastating to capitalism in the u.s.a.)

During reconstruction the northern bourgeoisie betrayed and abandoned the Blacks. White labor which rioted against Blacks during the war also opposed Blacks by forming anti-Black terrorist gangs as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils. Similar terrorist organizations, called Vigilantes, had already seen action on the west coast in California against Chinese labor.

The attitude of white labor is summed up in a popular burlesque song made popular during the Civil War. It was entitled: "Sambo's Right to be Killed." 12

Thus the domination of the slaveowners was reestablished. Even so, efforts as the Port Royal experience ^{12a} and the example of groups of soldiers in Mississippi obtaining land collectively demonstrated that Blacks were

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THE WHITE QUESTION

We need devote no time here to the reality of racism and racial oppression in the u.s.a. On that question bourgeois society condemns itself in a thousand and one ways, by word and deed.

Neither should we have to remind anyone that all sectors and classes of white america benefits from the exploitation of Blacks. In this, white labor is deeply implicated, for it shares co-equally in the racist scorn of the Black race.

Faced with the implacable attitude of racial arrogance toward the Black race, Asian and Amerindian peoples, dark skinned humanity is truly confronted with a white question. We are here dealing with a matter that is not merely a result of the economic substructure.

With the abolition of slavery, colonialism, and we feel capitalism too, this racial arrogance will remain to plague the world for a time. There is no indication that Blacks will fare any better under

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socialism dominated by whites than under any other mode of production. 48. Most likely we will then be addressed as "comrade nigger."

This 'world outlook' of western civilization pervades the political and social thinking and being of the white american left. There is no end to using political, sociological, or economic arguments to narrow the demand for Black self-determination in the u.s.a. Many Blacks have not yet broken this mental and spiritual stranglehold of these white lords.

North America is faced with both social and national revolution, class and national struggle. White labor must oppose capitalism and does oppose capitalism to be free. The revolutionary aspect of white labor comes out most forcefully in these daily battles. But the class, chained to its conceptions of racial superiority, has always fallen down on the issue of Black independence and America's internal colonies.

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Marx realized that it was not sufficient (but essential) just to destroy the bourgeois mode of production. The material conditions had to be right. These conditions would include what Engles described as the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' which would clear away all vestiges of bourgeois power, including the bourgeois superstructure.

Besides the transformation of society, Marx was concerned with ending all previous contradictions, i.e. ending 'history' or 'pre-history' as we know it. This would be the beginning of a new stage of justice, fraternity, and freedom. With that perspective humanity must be purged of all scorges; classes as well as nations in order to bring about a fraternity of individuals, equal, and practicing the same cultural and technical values.

It is no longer a point of debate that Marx and Engels did not study Afro-Asian people as thoroughly as they studied Europeans. Their study of African

civilization was non-existent. In many instances their essential eurocentric outlook is revealed. 14 We realize that Marxism is not concerned with the cultural problems of Africans. Nor can all the "official" marxists continue to mystify by claiming the complete universality of marxist thought and laws. No matter if this is hidden behind slogans as, "marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action." That hides another kind of dogma.

Brother Cheik Anta Diop, who has done a tremendous amount of work uncovering the socio-political lines of development of Africa says this:

"The accidents of european history which lead to the systematic expropriation of the peasantry are not general laws. Without this phenomenon of expropriation, capitalism would not have even seen the light of day. Thus we would like to know the immutable sociological laws which explain the necessary passage from the stage of domestic economy to capitalism for all societies." 15

In his study of African society and features of the matrilineal family in Cultural Unity of Negro Africa, Diop had to point out very basic errors in Engels' study of the development of the family in his Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State.

Marx and Engels' theories focused primarily on the large industrialized states of western europe. They regarded large industrialized economies as essential to world progress. Though they decried national oppression, Marx and Engels had little sympathy for the demands of small nations.

Support for or opposition to national liberation movements was determined by one criterion: did these movements delay or advance the forward progress of the industrialized European proletariat, the class deemed to lead the world.

In the voluminous writings on the French revolutions and other struggles after 1789, there is no mention of the Haitian revolution. Nothing can

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be found on the impact and problems of the Haitian revolution as we find on European struggles.

This can only be a further indication of the essential Euro-centric attitudes and traditions of Marxism and its founders.

Even less developed European nations were looked upon unfavorably. In 1848 Marx rejected Irish liberation as a nuisance to the British revolution. Twenty years later he realized the Irish struggle helped weaken the English bourgeoisie thereby advancing the English proletariat. Therefore, the struggle was necessary and to be supported.

Also, in 1848 Engels showed nothing but dislike for the Slav nations, who were in revolt against Germany. The Slavs hindered the consolidation of a German nation-state by the German bourgeoisie. By resisting "germanization", which he supported, Engels considered the Slavs to be obstructing the eventual German proletarian revolution. Engels remained a German chauvinist to the end of his life.

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Marx advised the Russian socialists in 1870 to work for Polish independence. But since the Czarist occupation of Poland was a primary prop of the military regime in Germany, the Russian socialists and Polish liberation would assist the destruction of the German military regime. Marx regarded this as a prerequisite for the emancipation of the European proletariat. Seven years later, however, Marx urged the Poles to delay their struggle for national liberation, because the Russian proletariat was active and Marx did not wish them to provoke the intervention of the militarist, Bismarck.

The attitude to small and colonized nations as it appeared in a letter from Engels to Karl Kautsky September 12, 1882 was colonial:

"In my opinion the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population - Canada, the Cape (South Africa) - will all become independent; on the other hand, the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated - India, Algeria, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence." 16

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Thus Marx and Engels left for their future adherents many theoretical and practical problems; the chief one we are concerned with here is their predisposition for large, centralized, industrial states, and their pre-occupation with the European industrial proletariat at the expense of small and colonized nations.

A LITTLE POLITICAL

ECONOMY



Marx analyzed the collapse of capitalism as "the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." This is the insoluble contradiction wrecking capitalist society. It is a relationship of capital to the working class, the domination of capital over labor.

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The greater the use of and increase of machinery the less relatively is there a need for labor power. The lot of the laborer worsens, "be his payment high or low," and the rate of capitalist profit declines. For the motive force of capitalist production is the accumulation of surplus value, unpaid hours of labour.

This process is also expressed by two basic laws: (1) the law of value and surplus value, and (2) the law of concentration and centralization of capital. The law of value and surplus value states that labor is paid at its value, the amount necessary to feed, house, clothe, and reproduce the laborer. A strong union or organized labor force can compel a higher wage. Simultaneously, unpaid hours of labor, surplus value, is extracted from some workers, while others are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed.



The concentration and centralization of capital means the growth of big capital, the expropriation of many capitalist by a few, and its opposite - the growth of a socialized labor force and unemployed labor. This process leads to trusts, huge corporations or monopoly capitalism, and ultimately the stratification of production.

"In a given society the limit would be reached only when the entire social capital was united in the hands of either a single capitalist or a single capitalist company." 17.

Colonization, external or domestic, enhances this law by achieving an international division of labor. Thereby, some nations are relegated to producing raw materials, agricultural products, or supplying surplus labor for imperialism. Colonial revolutions against imperialism upset this international division of labor which capitalism relies upon.

Capital can no longer exist without the most extreme concentration, centralization, and control of all capital, both constant capital (machines,

raw materials, means of production - dead labor) and variable capital (labour power - living labor). That is why worker revolts and national liberation struggles pose such a danger to capitalism as a system. The Black nation in America is an example of a nation confined to providing cheap surplus labor and mercenary soldiers for u.s. capitalism. Likewise, nothing threatens or weakens American capitalism any more than the Black national liberation struggle.

Within the u.s.a. the predominance of the state as a "single capitalist master" is well underway. Already the U.S. Government is the biggest employer of labor, and the biggest spender. This year government spending will reach \$359.4 billion (Washington Post, Feb. 4, 1975). Its many commissions and agencies regulate more and more of the productive process. Nixon's New Economic Program was nothing less than the State Plan to organize the economy. You see, the bourgeoisie can "plan" and "nationalize".

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Even the U.S. bourgeoisie recognize that state capitalism is replacing private monopoly capitalism, or at least serving it better, more efficiently. Some even call for it. Like many "socialists" the u.s. bourgeoisie does not know the difference between socialism and state capitalism.

"An economic system in which the government uses instruments, vibrant and otherwise, targets major flows of capital, is a system properly called state capitalism. That is a synonym for socialism. Such an economy is dominated by bureaucrats who direct capital outlays, and hence shape the economy and hence determine the range of social choices, and hence shape the way people live. Businessmen like Wile and especially Rohatyn are advocating giant steps toward that kind of statist society." 18

Capital needs Black labor, all labor, since labor is the only source of surplus value, even though the motion of capitalism constantly creates unemployment. President Ford has rightly singled out unemployment as a greater problem than inflation, not only in terms of capitalist profit and

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stability, but in terms of potential social and national revolution.

Considering these political-economic facts many people can see only defeat and not see the real revolutionary implications of an independence struggle.

"Even more important is that the Black Nation concept fails to realize that white America can economically do without black people. Its worldwide racist imperialist control would not be weakened. In fact, no matter how many blackfolk separate, our jobs - meager as they may be - could be taken over by unemployed whites and/or automation and the global exploitation could proceed more efficiently; meaning that the colored people (including a separate Black Nation) would have to fight against a more efficient and technologically advanced beast." 19

The above writer admirably favors revolutionary solidarity between Africans in the u.s.a. with our African kin elsewhere and between all other genuine anti-imperialists. But we have no idea how or what it means that:

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"Black Americans should move to control America, not from a minority standpoint, but from an important strategical component of the anti-racist/imperialistic global system." 1920

Black people another writer concluded after a study on the hellish demand for Black labor:

The implication is that all the anti-imperialists outside of America will band together to jointly rule the American empire, with the partnership of Black Americans - and perhaps Indians, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

At the very least the positions of the above writer reveal a shamfaced vacillation and weak knees before white capital, fused with a lack of reliance on the self-activity of the Black masses. He also commits grave errors of political economy. Furthermore, an independent Black nation does weaken U.S. capitalism, not strengthen it. U.S. capital will be deprived of that much more material and living resources with which to exploit and control. On the possibility of capitalist America doing without

"The ruling class is caught in its own contradictions. It needs Black workers.... Since the black ghetto institutions are deeply intertwined with the major urban system, the American government does not even have the option of decolonializing by cedeing national sovereignty that the British and French empires have both exercised. The racist structure can not be abolished without an earthquake in the heartland. Indeed, for that sophisticated gentleman, the American capitalist, the demand for black labor has become a veritable devil in the flesh." 21



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Thus, each and every victory by a national liberation struggle further erodes capital's power and control. A free and independent Black nation would substantially reduce the power of capitalist America. It will no longer be possible for capitalist America to continue to bribe its white workers with \$6.5 to \$15 billion a year. 22

It is urgent to see how essential national oppression is to the existence of capital. The truth is that capitalism was first enriched from the fruits of racial-national oppression. Capitalism cannot do without exploiting nations even if it must occasionally "grant independence" then collaborate with a "nationalist bourgeoisie" to retain its former control.

The self-determination of nations is a key element in the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, socialist struggle. To marxists and socialists of big nations, and some small ones, this has become merely another slogan. But as long as Africans in the u.s.a. have not achieved national independence,

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we will know that this historical phase of our enslavement has not ended.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN A CAPITALIST COUNTRY

The u.s.a. is not the only capitalist country that hides the fact of its domestic colonies. There are others like Britain, Spain, Canada, and France. The attitude of many marxists and socialist of these countries to their 'colonials' is the same as the marxist and socialists from the u.s.a. to their 'colonial' Africans and Indians.

But we will examine France. For marxists and non-marxists alike never weary of retelling the histories of the French Revolutions of 1780, 1870 and the near revolution of 1968. To many, events in France are the very epitome of proletarian revolution.

Pierre Fougerolles speaks about "the discovery



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by the diverse people of l'Hexagone* of the hard reality of domestic colonialism." 23 Now hear

what this historian, Robert Lafond says:

That's only a general truth, but also true in every historical respect..." 24

The boundaries of France are drawn as a result of military conquest which the French bourgeoisie refer to as "mission civilatrice". In the u.s.a. it is called "manifest destiny." Lafront states emphatically:

"In effect the historical realization of France is a long and methodical destruction of the existing indigenous nations within what is now French territory." 25

Another historian also states:

"These nations which have known a great cultural past and tradition have been the object of a deliberate and

*Because of its geometrical shape, France is often called in french l'Hexagone or the Hexagon in english, an eight sided geometrical figure.

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systematic campaign of destruction by the French state. French nationalism for them means the negation of their existence." 26

How much this reminds us of the prolonged wars against the Indian nations and Mexico by the U.S. colonists and the eventual colonization of both Africans (after emancipation) and Indians.

The "French" were successful in defeating and making internal colonies of the Bretons, the Occitans, the Basques, the Catalans, the Corsicans, the Alsaciens, and the Flemish. Like the 'overseas departments and territories' Corsica is not even in France, but closer to the island of Sardina near Italy.

These nations have been prevented by France from developing their own cultures, languages, and life styles. They are often ridiculed. Racist remarks are made about them. The areas where they live are underdeveloped or overexploited. The workers are more often unemployed, unskilled, underpaid, and confined to the most unsavory jobs. Alcoholism,

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prostitution, and high crime rates are some of the social problems facing them.

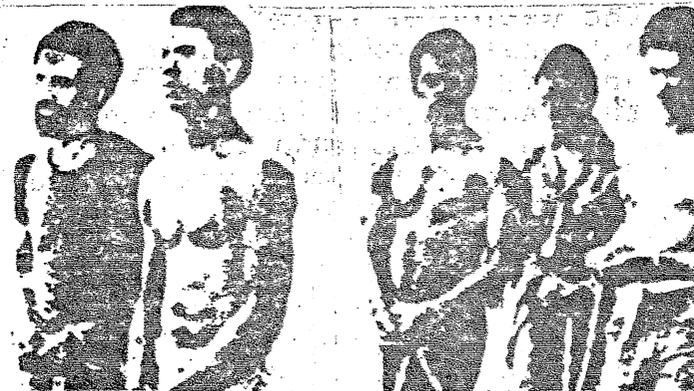
Like Blacks in the u.s.a. the national minorities of France are oppressed not only as workers but as members of an oppressed nation:

"The population of these regions, the workers in Breton for example, are exploited on two levels. They are exploited because they are workers and because they are Bretons. Inversely, the workers in the central regions near Paris if they are exploited as laborers, still profit from the economic structures of domestic colonization." 27

The French economy is controlled from Paris. All the most important affairs of state are controlled from Paris, the great metropole. To compete with German and British capitalists, the French bourgeoisie needs centralization. Like other capitalist nations bound by the laws of capital accumulation, France cannot release its own internal colonies without destroying itself.

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The French bourgeoisie and socialists find it difficult enough to release its external colonies in the Caribbean and South America. On December 23, 1974 eight Black revolutionaries from Cayenne (French Guiana) were snatched off the streets, flown to France, and there thrown in a French prison. Their crime was being freedom fighters and wanting independence from France.



Not surprisingly, the French marxists and socialists have labeled these struggles for national liberation as reactionary bourgeois national movements, pro-capitalists, anti-working class, and anti-socialists. A tract distributed in 1972 explains the ideological orientation of one of these movements, the National Liberation Front of Breton. In part it reads:

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"--to develop anti-capitalist and anti-centralist forces in Breton
--to bind the movement of Breton to the struggle of the masses
--dare to struggle, i.e., to resolutely respond blow by blow to the attacks and arbitrary repressive measures of the French bourgeoisie
--to develop popular unity under the direction of the Breton working class."

Besides the attacks, these oppressed nations are called on to hold off their demands for self-determination in the interest of "socialist internationalism", "world-wide proletarian revolution", and "universalism." These oppressed nations are told to shed their national cultures and aspirations and merge themselves into "proletarian culture." Everything must be subordinated to class struggle.

All this is sheer hypocrisy. What is revealed is the chauvinism of big nations, their arrogance and contempt for small nations and nations with no stated right of independence. No one dare ask the British proletariat to merge or to subordinate their culture or national existence to the German

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proletariat, or to the white American proletariat.

But oppressed nations as the Alsaciens should assimilate themselves out of existence, as Blacks should do in u.s.a.

"But people hypocritically invoke the universalism of class struggle only to invite the smaller cultural entities to absorb themselves into the dominant culture of those who oppress them." 28.

The national liberation movements inside capitalist France recognize the class struggle, but they reject the notion that national struggle must be subordinated to class struggle. They also reject the notion that the present borders of France are sacred and inviolable. Likewise, there is room within the continental u.s.a. to make space for an independent African nation. There is nothing sacred or god-given about the present boundaries of the u.s.a.

"It is a question of placing the class struggle and the national struggle on the same plane. Indeed, the previous difficulty of realizing the inter-relationship between these two notions

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is that they clash with the old historical schemas springing from the bourgeois revolution of 1789, from which a large section of the French left have not freed themselves: the myth of the indivisible unity of the French nation state." 29.

What better statement is there to be said of the "American left" which believes religiously in the indissoluble unity of the u.s.a. nation state - whether capitalist or socialist.

That is how the national question is treated in a capitalist country.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY

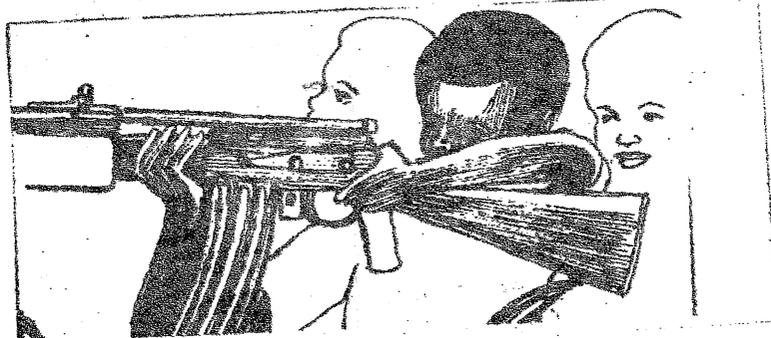
The Soviet Union is a big Socialist state. 30. There are 131 nations and nationalities that comprise the U.S.S.R. As a socialist country it inherits the marxist predilection for large industrial states and the negative attitude to national aspirations as opposed to class aspirations.

The Soviet Union certainly has an overriding concern with the interests of the proletariat above all else. In this instance it is the interests of

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the 'Russian' 31. proletariat that matters or at least the 'leaders and party' that represents the proletariat. In theory and practice what is the reality of the national question in Russia?

Lenin wrote that the economic necessities of capitalism required the capture of the home market, possession of a 'politically united territory with a population speaking the same language.' This phenomenon of capitalism would lead to a world culture with a single culture and language, as Marx and Engles originally envisioned.



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"The aim of socialism is not only to abolish the present division of mankind in small states, and all national isolation, not bring the nations closer to each other, but also to merge them." 32.

The Bolshevik Party Program in 1903 supported the right of nations to self-determination. Lenin supported it all the way up to and including secession and the formation of independent states. In no way did this affect the marxist preference for large states.

"Marxist it stands to reason, are hostile to federation and decentralization, for the simple reason that capitalism demands for its development the largest possible and most centralized possible states...A centralized large state is an immense historic step forward from medieval disunion to the future socialist unity of the whole world and otherwise than through such a state (inseverably connected with capitalism) there can be no, nor can there be any path to socialism." 33.

This tendency of capitalism towards the breakdown of national boundaries, erasure of national

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differences, and assimilation of nations was "one of the greatest propulsive mechanisms that change capitalism into socialism". Affirming the right to secede was not the same as advocating secession. In fact marxist were expected to agitate against secession whenever it conflicted with the "class interests of the proletariat."

"There is not a single Marxist who, without making a total break with the foundations of Marxism and socialism, could deny that the interests of socialism are above the interests of the rights of nations of self-determination. Our socialist Republic has done is continuing to do everything possible for implementing the right of self-determination for Finland, Ukraine, etc., But if the concrete position that has arisen is such that the existence of the socialist republic is endangered at a given moment in respect of an infringement of the right of self-determination of a few nations (Poland, Lithuania, Courland, etc.) then it stands to reason that the interests of the preservation of the Socialist Republic must take preference." 34.

Internationalism would replace nationalism. Members of oppressed nations who demanded national freedom or protested against amalgamation eventually were vilified and labeled "narrow minded stupid

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bourgeois," "nationalistic philistines", "reactionary traitors", or outright "counter-revolutionaries." Death, imprisonment, or exile was the inevitable result of rejecting assimilation and thus "proletarian internationalism." 35.

Actually, Soviet nationalities policy was more a result of political tactics. From 1905 the oppressed nations in Eastern Europe and Asia were in revolutionary ferment, particularly inside Czarist Russia, "the prison of nations."

"It is because and only because Russia and her neighboring countries are experiencing this epoch that we need a point on the right of nations to self-determination in our program." 36.

The purpose was to remove the causes for national distrust and grease the path towards a painless merger into large states.

"Having remade capitalism into socialism, the proletariat creates the possibility for the complete abolition of national oppression; this possibility will change in reality 'only' - and 'only' - with the complete carrying through of democracy in all spheres, right up to determination of state frontiers in accordance with the 'sympathies' of the population, right up to complete freedom of secession. On this basis in turn the absolute

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removal of the slightest national frictions, of the slightest national mistrust, will develop in practice and an accelerated rapprochement between nations and fusion of nations will be created..." 37.

Czarist Russia imperialism had expanded its territory in 1500 from 2 million sq. km. to 22.2 million sq. km. in 1900, an eleven-fold expansion in 400 years.

When the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917 the Tartars, Finland, and Ukaraine all proclaimed independence and established independent governments and states. In addition:

"By the end of November 1918, the following nations of the former Russian Empire had established sovereign national republics: the Kuban Cossacks, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelorussia, the Don Cossac, the North Caucasians, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Poland, and Latvia. Additionally, on April 4, 1920 the democratic Republic of the Far East was established, and on April 15, 1922 Turkestan became independent." 38.

But the independence of these newly founded

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national states from Czarist centralism lasted only briefly.

"By the end of 1922, Russian Bolsheviks controlled militarily all the lands of the former Czarist empire except Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland." 39.

Through their Party the Bolsheviks established a centralism and control greater than the Czars had known. What was theory, was now practice. The interests of the proletariat ⁴⁰ and of socialism was above the interests of self-determination.

Since then, there has been a continual struggle by the various nationalities to resist russification and "assimilation out of existence."

"Since the Russian Proletariat was the first to establish a socialist regime...to the Russian Bolsheviks then belonged the right and privilege to play the role of amalgamator of the proletariat...And since it follows that there was in existence neither any truly neutral language nor any

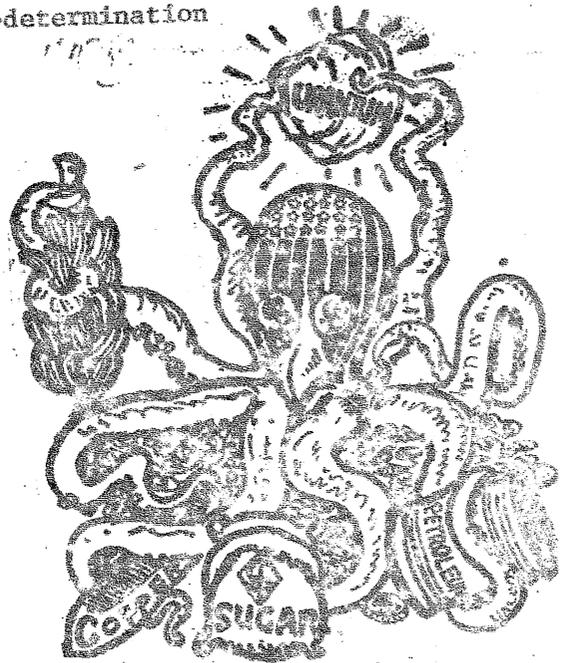
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essentially international proletarian culture, the language and culture of the leading Russian proletariat was to serve as an able substitute." 41.

The top positions in the Communist Party and state organs in the new constituted Soviet Republics were generally Russians. 42. The attempts to inculcate 'socialist content' into the local and national cultures turned into attacks on these cultures.

Minority writers were called 'bourgeois nationalists', and accused of 'nationalist and reactionary tendencies.' From 1948 - 53, for example the Mongol national epic Geser was attacked as a relic of feudalism. The Azerbaidzhani epic Dede Korkut was condemned as being harmful and alien to the Azerbaidzhani people. In 1951 the same year the Turkmenia national epic, Korkut Ata was denounced as a work of religious fanaticism. Only recently have some of these works and others, not all, been restored.

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More and more the Russian language was and is being forced upon the nationalities. One indisputable indicator of russification in the sciences, literature, information, and culture can be determined by publication activities, book printing and the press. Using Russian statistical data from 1956 - 70 one researcher concluded:

"...that the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR is a principal center of the Russification effort can not be contradicted, qualified or denied." 43.

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Struggles once regarded as national liberation movements fighting against the colonial policy of Czarism have been attacked. The Bashkir people's movement became patriarchal-feudal. Shamil's Movement in the North Caucasus was considered 'reactionary and nationalistic and to have been in the service of English capitalism and the Turkish Sultan.'

"This was in direct contradiction in the war years when the people of Daghestan were encouraged to contribute 25,000,000 rubles to equip a 'Shamil' tank column." 44.

A Kazakh writer, for retelling the Kazakh resistance against the Czarist forces in 1837 - 46 was denounced for "propagating anti-Russian and bourgeois ideas..." Since 1945 the Russians have been proclaimed 'first among the equal people in the brotherly family of nations in the USSR', the most outstanding of all nations.' Frequent declarations of gratitude are made by Party and government officials in the national republics. 45.

An article in the Journal of the Institute of History of the Soviet Academy of Science outlines what seems to be policy:

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"The task of historians is to depict the historical prospect of the unity and struggle of the workers of the various people under the leadership of their elder brother, the Russian people, and subsequently, under the hegemony of the proletariat." 46.

That attitude is the same today. Obey and follow the Russian big brother. While this process of 'domestic colonization' may have aided economic progress, the resentment of the various nationalities has increased (economic inequalities between the 'Russian' and 'non-Russian' people still exist 47.). The numerous Samizdats (underground papers, bulletins, and circulars) to be found inside the USSR today clearly reveal their insistence to achieve true self-determination and independence.

That is the national question in a socialist country.

still-determined to fight against the plantation economy and the bourgeoisie. The betrayal of the bourgeoisie, the rise of white fascist terrorism, and counter-revolutionary acts of white labor all combined to deal a blow to post-reconstruction liberation efforts by the Black freedmen.



Similar events occurred throughout the Populist Movement, the period of Booker T. Washington, Garvey, the Southern Tenants Farmers Union movement, formation of the IWW, CIO, Civil Rights Movement, and on to the present. ¹³ During all this time the self-activity of the Black masses remained constant.

With 350 years of history on this continent the independent nature of Black people's struggle is clear. At every opportunity, whether it was fleeing to freedom in the swamps and forests, disrupting

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the plantation economy, revolting, or striking,
the movement has been towards self-determination.

MARXISM IN GENERAL

Marxism has made the most profound analysis of capitalism. No serious person can ignore it, not just because it is the official ideology of many nations, parties, and individuals. Marxism is important generally because as a political economy as expounded in Capital and other works, it is a powerful indictment of capitalism, its mode of production and the relation of labor to it.

As the most revolutionary extension of western judeo-christian tradition, marxism embodies the millenary dream. Faced with the brutal capitalist monster devouring European labor, Marx was fully involved with how to liberate the class from its miserable conditions. He demonstrated to the proletariat that capitalism was not a perpetual feature of social life, but a stage in the historical evolution towards a socialist society.

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An independent Black nation plus victories by the other national minorities will create even more favorable conditions for white labor to show its worth, to deal decisively with its own imperialist bourgeoisie and wage its fight for socialism (in a u.s.a. greatly reduced territorially that does not include the New African Belt, or lands claimed by Indians, or Chicanos).

Because the Black nation is overwhelmingly proletarian and right at the heart of production it is impossible to ignore the anti-capitalist class struggle. It takes part in them daily. But by no means does this mean that the national struggles of Africans is synonymous with the class struggle as one class collaborationist turned marxist asserts:

"National liberation is not community control, separation, but a fundamental socialist question, raised and resolved by a profound, broad, and thorough going socialist transformation of society and ourselves. Any other solution is absurd or incomplete or both....In the final analysis, all struggles must become one struggle, the struggle for socialist liberation." 49.

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This statement is an example of sheer reductionism. Every problem is simply reduced to one hurried formula, one beaten premise. Baraka does the same. Reality is completely ignored. Cayenne first wants independence from France. Guinea Bissau wanted freedom from Portugal. The territories and colonized Blacks in Azania and Zimbabwe want Freedom from South Africa and Rhodesia. The nationalities in France and Russia want freedom.

Even the 'independent' countries need to be free from the constant threat of attack and subversion by imperialism. The immediate task of the still remaining colonies in the world is to achieve independence.

To the Black colony in the u.s.a. independence will be only the national stage of our revolution. We will still have to deal with our own exploiters who would like to replace white slavemasters with Black slavemasters and Black collaborators with imperialism. Every nation must deal with its own

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exploiters: "To be a nation means to have the will to deal with your own exploiters and parasites who aim at fattening their tissue on the blood of the people."

Our national struggle does have the aim of socialism and the goal of building a people's collectivist economy. As Brother Akbar Muhammad said:

"...in struggling for national independence...we will move to an African Socialist revolution through protracted struggle." 50.

An organization in the South states:

"African internationalism, our theory which guides us in our activities is a socialist theory, an anti-capitalist theory, a theory designed to dispossess the dispossessors, to expropriate the expropriators." 51.



The position paper issued by the west coast organizers in California for the Sixth Pan African Congress 52, but never accepted by the u.s. organizing committee called for:

"support of scientific socialism within a framework of African communalism and experience which is serious in its application and anti-imperialist in its scope

-the development of an international Pan African Union of Workers and Peasants with branches in the Diaspora and wherever African people reside." 53.

We recognize the leading role that Black labor plays in the independence movement. The class is at the head of the Black liberation movement and struggle for self-determination.

"The experience of the past few years has proved that the national movement of black people has been strengthened by the increasing participation and leadership of the Black working class." 54.

Thus our program and ideology for economic development and transformation of the Black man and

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woman must be anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-exploitation, pro-cooperative, pro-socialist, and pro-Pan Africanist. Above all, it must be pro African-American nationalist. Anyone who ignores in their Black 'value systems', the inherent conflict between capital and labor when formulating their cooperative economic framework are laying

BLACK
WORKERS
TAKE
THE
LEAD!!!

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the basis, consciously or unconsciously, for the white capitalist power structure along with its junior Black capitalists to coopt and pervert Black nationalism in the u.s. for the services of u.s.-European capitalist imperialism.

In Addition, appeals to proletarian internationalism to defeat capital, imperialism, racial arrogance, and bring about the self-determination of nations is still creditable. Appeals to proletarian internationalism to promote hegemony over or to attack revolutionary Black nationalism and self-determination is despicable. Such pleas explode ten floodgates of racism and chauvinism of big nations



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WHAT WE WANT

The African liberation movement in the u.s.a. must be recognized as an anti-colonial struggle, that our basic social, economic, psychological and political conditions are the same as any colonized people.

We have a long history of resistance to racial, class, and colonial oppression which continues daily. For that reason thousands of Africans in the u.s.a. are imprisoned at home and abroad for their race and their desire to be free.

Only through continuous rebellion has our aspiration for freedom been made clear for all with eyes to see. We have never had the choice by plebiscite or other means to determine as a nation whether or not

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we wish to be citizens of the u.s.a. or any other nation already formed or to be formed. Our human rights and rights to self-determination are still denied.

The independent Black, Afrá-Asian, and progressive governments must develop a foreign policy favourable to the liberation of enslaved people who have no stated right of independence. The kind of support our anti-colonial movement needs is an anti-colonial campaign by Afro-Asian leaders and liberation organizations aimed against u.s. oppression of its national minorities, and based on the right of nations to self-determination now.

We call for:

- (1) Recognition of the objective of the PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA as a legitimate means of national liberation and as a goal of national independence from the u.s.a. ruling class.
- (2) Recognition of the struggle of all Africans in the u.s.a. as a national liberation movement and its warriors, men and women, as freedom fighters.
- (3) The immediate release of all Black political prisoners and the right to political asylum of all legitimate political prisoners in all anti-imperialist and socialist countries.

- (4) The colonial situation in America of Black people be brought to the United Nations, Organization of African Unity, independent African Caribbean nations and socialist countries, and other governments and international bodies.
- (5) Protestations of the 13th and 14th amendments of the u.s. constitution which expropriates Africans in the u.s. as paper citizens without changing our colonial status.
- (6) A plebiscite to determine the national aspirations of Africans in the u.s.a.
- (7) Practical support of the socialist world to the African-american nation, the Native American nation, the Puerto Rican nation, Chicano/Mexicano nation, Virgin Island nation, as the Soviet Union gave to Bengla Desh.
- (8) Formation of an anti-imperialist movement at home and abroad which struggles against u.s. imperialism and all other forms of imperialism.

'THE TEST OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY IS TO SEE THE QUESTION OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IN AMERICA AS A COLONIAL QUESTION, AS THE QUESTION OF AN OPPRESSED NATION....'



*They're gonna fight
They'll make things right
They'll give their babies
Black stories to tell
About brothers, brothers
Everywhere,
And not a one for sale.*

**RACIAL OPPRESSION
IN AMERICA? WHY,
I'M 'SHOCKED'!!**



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1. The Pan African Secretariat was formed after a Seminar of Panafricanists and Black Revolutionary Nationalists in Georgetown, Guyana 1970. The seminar was called by three Caribbean organizations, ASCRIA in Guyana, the Forum in St. Vincent, and the Afro-Caribbean Movement in Antigua. The PAS was the organization that initiated African Liberation Day in 1971 from its headquarters in Guyana. That call reached Africans from Peru to Belize to Australia.
2. CRAC was formed in 1972 following a serious meeting of revolutionaries from Cayenne, Guyana, Africa, and the u.s.a., and members of the Pan African Secretariat. Its duties were eventually taken over by the Caribbean Steering Committee of the Sixth Pan African Congress.
3. Earl Ofari, Let Your Motto Be Resistance. Henry Highland Garnet, beacon press, 1972, p.x
4. *ibid.* p. 71
5. *ibid.* p. 86
6. *ibid.* p. 125
7. Ofari, Earl, "Marxism-Leninism: the key to Black liberation" in Black Scholar, vol. 4. #1, Sept. 1972, pg. 35-40
8. Again, what would the "revolutionary nationalists" of Vietnam have thought of this! Was not the anti-French colonialist, anti-u.s. imperialist content of Vietnamese nationalism an essential ingredient to defeat the French and begin building socialism in the North and force the u.s.a. to depart in the South? Finally, no one has made any more master use of marxism than the Vietnamese, despite their nationalism.

9. Rene Depestre, "A New Identity for Haiti", Tricontinental # 13. It is fashionable in chic ostensibly Marxist Black circles to denigrate the Haitian revolution. These dilettantes in revolutionary thought have not seriously studied dialectically this grand revolution. To understand why the revolution's objectives have been significantly distorted it must be kept in mind the following quote by a Haitian revolutionary:

"But in the conditions of that epoch (1804) in which growing international capitalism leaned upon the colonial slavery in Africa and the Americas (and thus determined the future of humanity) it was extremely difficult--if not impossible--for a small country controlled by a revolutionary regime of Black anti-slavery revolutionaries surrounded by slave economies of the West Indies and the United States to develop an independent economy. The capitalist countries imposed upon us a sort of economic blockade, and refused us credit and technical equipment so vital to us after a dozen years of devastating war. Leaning upon the military chiefs and the enormous import-export commerce in foreign hands, they succeeded in making our country into a semi-colony, thus condemning the Haitian masses to misery."

HAITI: A Black Revolution Will Repeat Itself, SOULBOOK 5, p. 78, Summer, 1966, by Paul Lantimo, Translated from the Spanish text of a speech given in Havana, Cuba, 1965 at an anti-imperialist conference.

10. Aimé Césaire, lettre à Maurice Thorez, Secrétaire Générale du Parti Communiste Français, 24 Oct., 1956.

11. Karl Marx's friend Joseph Weydemeyer and other trade unionists were not exceptions. Weydemeyer formed the Arbeiterbund in 1853 which advocated Marxian socialism, but the organization never got a clear attitude on slavery. In April 1858 the new organ of the Arbeiterbund wrote, "...the question of the present moment is not abolition of slavery, but the prevention of its further extension and that Negro slavery was firmly rooted in America." pg. 24, DuBois Black Reconstruction

12. The most popular lines of the song were: "the right to be killed I'll divide with the nigger/and give him the largest half." The gist of the ballad was that every bullet stopped by a Black man saved the life of some white man. The song was so successful in getting white labor to accept Blacks in Union Army uniforms that Lincoln was prompted to say "That song is good and will do well." see J.A. Rogers, Africa's Gift to America, pg. 167

- 12a. The Port Royal experience is one of the most infamous betrayals of the Black masses during Reconstruction. Port Royal is a town located on a South Carolina Sea Island. The town was occupied by Union troops during the early years of the Civil War. Many Union officers saw that they could win the allegiance of the slaves by temporarily satisfying the African's demands for land. With the support of the Treasury Department, slaves were given food, shelter, and land to cultivate. The Africans, after being able to manage the land by themselves, had to use armed resistance to keep their land after the Andrew Johnson presidential proclamation of 1865. The proclamation ordered that the land be sold for taxes (to the young rising finance capitalists of the North) and left the ex-slaves to work for new masters in some cases for their old masters. (DuBois Black Reconstruction, particularly the chapters on "the General Strike"

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and "South Carolina").

13. An example of the vacillation of white labor and the recurrent problem of Black and White unity is evident in the statements of the white populist leader, Tom Watson. In 1892, he said of Blacks and Whites: "You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings, you are made to hate each other because on that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both." In 1910, he said of Blacks: "In the South we have to lynch him occasionally and flog him now and then to keep him from blaspheming the almighty by his conduct on account of his smell and color."
14. Brother Carlos Moore, an Afrocuban, goes further and asserts from the written record that Marxism and its founders reflect the anti-Black racist attitudes of western civilization.
15. Diop, Cheik An ta, L'Afrique noire pré-coloniale, Presence Africaine, Pg. 112. This writer and several of his colleagues became familiar with Diop's writings in 1968. Even then we felt his studies should have been made available to a wider range of Africans, especially in the U.S.A. and Caribbean. By 1970 we were prepared to translate into english his major works. Excerpts appeared in SoulBook. Later Presence Africaine informed us that Brother Mercer Cook was undertaking the work of translation. It's unfortunate that both works Nations Negres et Culture and l'Anteriorité des Civilizations Noires could not have been published in their entirety. But Cook's translation is a welcome edition to english readers.
16. quoted in On Colonialism: Marx & Engels, Shlomo Avineri, Double Day, 1968
17. Karl Marx, Capital, Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 627
18. George Willis in Washington Post, Feb. 7, 1975. Frazier Wilde, a former insurance executive, proposed reviving the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a New Deal Device for giving cheap loans to floundering corporations. Felix Rohatyn, an investment banker, wants the RFC, but advocates more stringent control and management of capital by the state.
19. S.E. Anderson, "Revolutionary Black Nationalism and the Pan African Ideal) in the Black 70's ed. by Floyd B. Barbour, 1970, pg. 111
20. *ibid.* p. 111
21. Harold M. Baron, "The Demand for Black Labor: Historical notes on the Political Economy of Racism"
22. The figure of \$6.5 billion represents the advantage to white workers because of higher employment rates. This 1960 estimate comes from Lester Thurow, "Economics of Poverty and Discrimination" (wash. 1969). The \$15 estimate comes from a report by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on Civil Disorders, Wash. 1970 Racism in America pg. 25
23. Pierre Fougèrolles, "La question nationale et la lutte des classes dans la France de demain" in Les Temps Moderne, Aout-Sep. 1973, pg. 509-532
24. Robert Lafond, "Sur le Probleme Nationale en France." Apercu Historique" pg. 21-53, Les Temps Moderne, 1973

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25. *ibid.*
26. Yves Person, "Presentation" pg. 10 Les Temps Modernes, 1973
27. Lafont, *op. cit.*
28. Person, *op. cit.*
29. Ronan Roudant, "Histoire du mouvement Breton" Les Temps Modernes, 1973 pg. 170-194
30. There are many arguments and analysis which claim that Russia is not a socialist state, but a state capitalist state. The first "American" enunciation of this theory occurred simultaneously and independently by the founders of the Johnson-Forrest tendency in 1941, a breakaway group from the Trotskyite movement. CLR James (Johnson) had developed the political analysis in Washington, D.C., while Raya Dunayevskaya (Forrest) developed the economic analysis in New York, both studies coincidentally entitled, "Russia is a State Capitalist Society."
31. The 'Russian' people are the largest of the national minorities in the USSR and number over 40% of the total population. Racially, they are more akin to western Europeans.
32. Lenin, Selected Works, Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Vol. 5, p. 270. Lenin was certainly most concerned with the problem of nationalities. Because of his early death after the revolution, one can only surmise what changes he would eventually have made or influenced on the national question. But his general line stands out.
33. *ibid.* vol. 16, p. 154.

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34. *ibid.* vol. 26, p. 408
35. One such case is Sultan Galiev, a Tatar nationalist and Communist. From 1919 he was doubtful that the world wide class struggle would improve the situation of colonial peoples. He called for the creation of a Colonial International to unite all the victims of colonial exploitation. Inside Russia he called for a Soviet Republic to unite the Turkic peoples. For his activities he was arrested in 1923, 'confessed guilt', was expelled from the Party, then re-arrested several years later. Following that he disappeared. His ideas were attacked vehemently in the 30's. Galiev is alleged to have proclaimed that "the formula which offers the replacement of the worldwide dictatorship of one class of European society (the bourgeoisie) by its antipode (the proletariat) i.e., by another of its classes, will not bring about a major change in the social life of the oppressed section of humanity....in contradistinction to this we advanced another proposition; the conception that the material premises for a social transformation of humanity can be created only through the establishment of the dictatorship of the colonies and semi-colonies over the metropolitan countries."
36. Lenin, *Op. cit.* V. 17, p. 439
37. *ibid.* vol. 19, p. 249
38. Peter G. Stercho, "Soviet Concept of National Self-Determination: Theory and Reality from Lenin to Brezhnev" pg. 13-29, Ukrainian Quarterly, Spring 1973
39. *ibid.* p. 26.

40. In terms of socialist theory and the role of the proletariat it is necessary to examine how the most revolutionary sections of the proletariat fared or were "whipped in line". Numerous books, pamphlets, and other writings claim quite persuasively that workers control and management of production was destroyed by the domination of the centralist, bureaucratic Russian Communist Party. Even so, the various nations in Russia could not have been defeated without the complicity of the Russian or Russianized sections of the Proletariat.
41. Stercho, op. cit. p. 21
42. A great deal of the information for this section and some of the information on Caliev comes from this broad survey of original Soviet documents by Robert Conquest Soviet Nationalities Policy, Praeger, 1967.
43. Rohdan Krawciw, "Progressive Russification of Ukraine SSR" in Ukraine Quarterly, Spring 1973.
44. Conquest., op. cit. p. 82
45. *ibid.* p. 91
46. *ibid.* p. 84
47. despite the doubletalk one can see hidden discrimination in the area of jobs for example. William Mandel tries hard to obscure it: "Under urban conditions, management subordination relations at work are perhaps the governing factor in regard to notions of ethnic superiority. In government and party work the titular nationality of the locality is always favored in appointments over Russians or others, because political consideration of nationality policy take precedence. In industry, however, considerations of efficiency and competence are overriding." "Soviet Nationalities

.....bibliography

- Policy in New World Review, JAN-FEB 74, vol. 42 #1, pg. 25.
48. All the questions that Carlos Moore raised are still avoided. See his "Cuba: Untold Story" in Soulbook 7, 8, 9.
49. Ron Karenga, "Which Road: Nationalism, Panafricanism, Socialism?" in Black Scholar Oct. 1974
50. Akbar Muhammad, "Direction and Role of the Pan African Party in the National Struggle", December 1974
51. Joseph Waller, "On the African People's Socialist Party," 1972
52. "Position Paper of the Western District Region of North America, U.S.A.", Los Angeles, April 1974
53. Black Workers Congress, "The Black Liberation Struggle, the Black Workers Congress and Proletarian Revolution", pg. 19. We find that one of the weaknesses of this document is its insistence upon the 'vanguard party concept' and upon a centralized 'multi-national communist party' to 'lead the proletariat in general'. We have only indicated that both these paths are well traveled roads to doom. We would regret seeing Black workers organizations liquidated and emasculated for showing 'reactinary bourgeois nationalist tendencies'. Baraka another 'multi national communist party' advocate reveals in his useless pamphlet, "Crisis in Boston" the shamefully pitiful dealings of the 'multis'.

ADENDA

1. pg.1 line 14. add footnote 2a: "With a population greater than 40 million (possibly as high as 60 million) Africans in the u.s.a. are the largest African nation outside Africa, and one of the largest nations in the world. Only the African population in Brazil is as large or larger. Their plight is also neglected because of the pretensions that Africans and Amerindians are fully assimilated into the minority Brazilian population.

Historically, the African nation in the u.s.a. coalesced at an earlier date than White America. The Civil War ended all importation of slaves into the u.s.a. From that period, the 1860's, we can date the stabilization, condensation, and birth of the nation. White America did not achieve this stabilization until after 1924 when the continuous flood was stopped and restricted by law.

We can say that whereas Black America is older as a nation, White America is older as a state, having come together in rudimentary form after 1776. What this African nation now needs is to take its rightful place in the world and community of nations, preserve its existence, and achieve maturity as an African state.

These historical questions have to be treated in a separate study. From the legal stand, it is necessary to read the legal briefs of Brother Imari Oabadele, President of the Republic of New Africa.

2. pg. 11 line 17. add after "...general laws..."
Further, without this...

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..... adenda

3. pg. 11 following line 21. add: Diop tells us there is nothing inevitable about the development of capitalist society:

"Modern capitalism, under whose domination we find ourselves, is a European export and not the result of a natural indigenous evolution. We regret not finding a defining response to these questions in Capital. 15a.

Footnote for bibliography section should read:
15a. ibid. pg. 112

4. pg. 27. top line. add: Only through national independence can we regain our dignity, reclaim mastery of our historical destiny, and begin to repair the psychological damage and social degradation inflicted upon us.
5. Bibliography. pg. 4. Footnote 52. should read: This remarkably extensive document took up all of the point 6th PAC promised to address. It was the only document prepared by any region in the u.s.a. Yet the u.s.a. 6th PAC organizers refused to even consider the document or present an alternative national position paper.

One of the delegates who refused to attend the Congress gave three reasons:

- (1) violation of the rights of self-determination of the Caribbean masses by thorough exclusion of the elected Caribbean delegates.
- (2) decision of the International Steering Committee of 6th PAC to allow exclusion of two of its sponsors, CLR James, and Eusi Kwayana.

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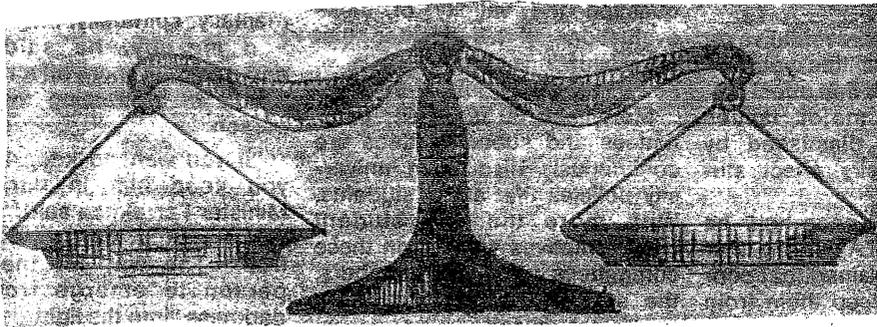
.....adenda

- (3) Failure of the U.S.A. National Steering Committee to meet its responsibilities, one being not presenting a national position to the Congress

In addition the Caribbean Steering Committee commented in a bulletin:

"The conspiracy to exclude the Caribbean and Latin American delegation is nothing short of betrayal. Betrayal not just of individuals and organizations, but a betrayal of all those suffering Black people in the Caribbean and South America, who looked to the Congress with hope...It is a betrayal of the 40 million Blacks in the United States, a betrayal of those scattered in England, a betrayal of the last survivors of the continuing genocide by the white man in Australia and the South Pacific.

It is a betrayal of all those because the Caribbean Latin American Steering Committee was insisting that the causes of all these African People be given special consideration on the Agenda of the Congress."



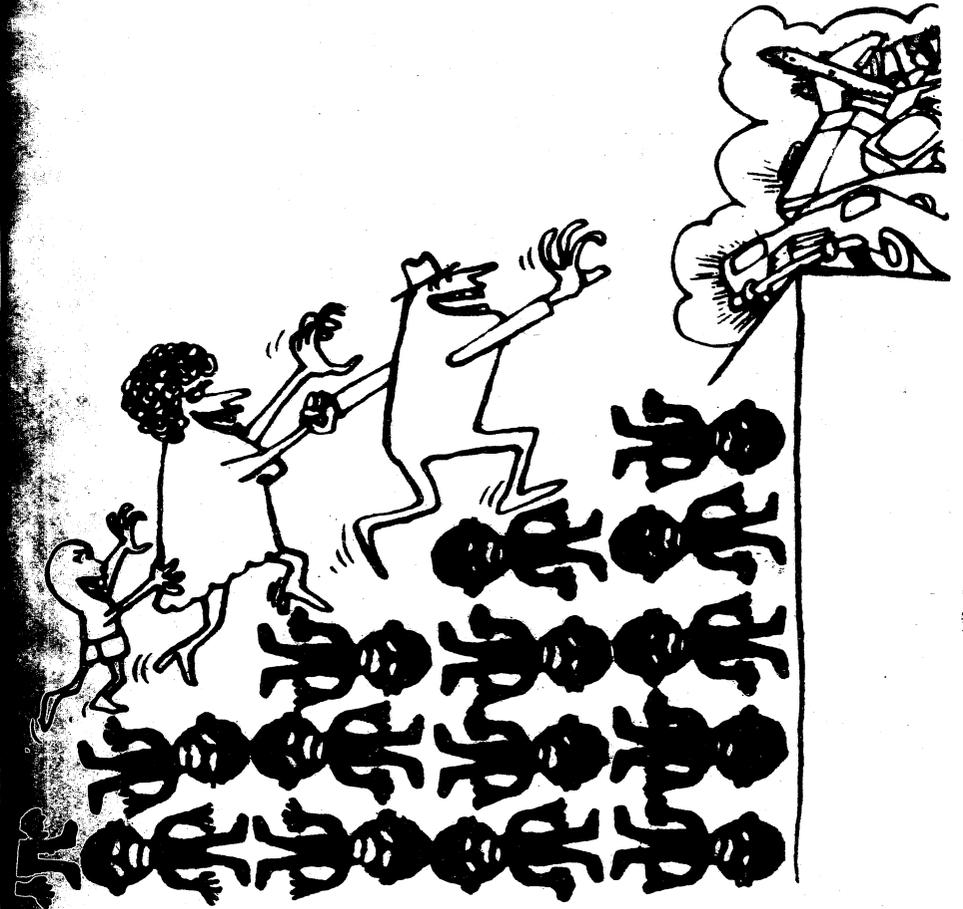
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SOULBOOK.



the amerikkkan dream is an
afrikan nightmare
from south carolina
to south africa!



And The Oppressor, who never loses a chance of Setting
Triggers against each Other will be extremely Skillful
in that Ignorance and Incomprehension what are the Weak-
nesses of the Lumpen-Proletariat.

The enemy is aware of ideological weaknesses, for he
analyses the forces of rebellion and Studies more and
more carefully the aggregate enemy which makes
up a Colonial people, he is also aware of the spiritual
instability of certain Layers of the Population.

Frantz Fanon

There is no force, however
formidable, that a united
People cannot Overcome.

Kwame Nkrumah