

WORKERS' TRIBUNE

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

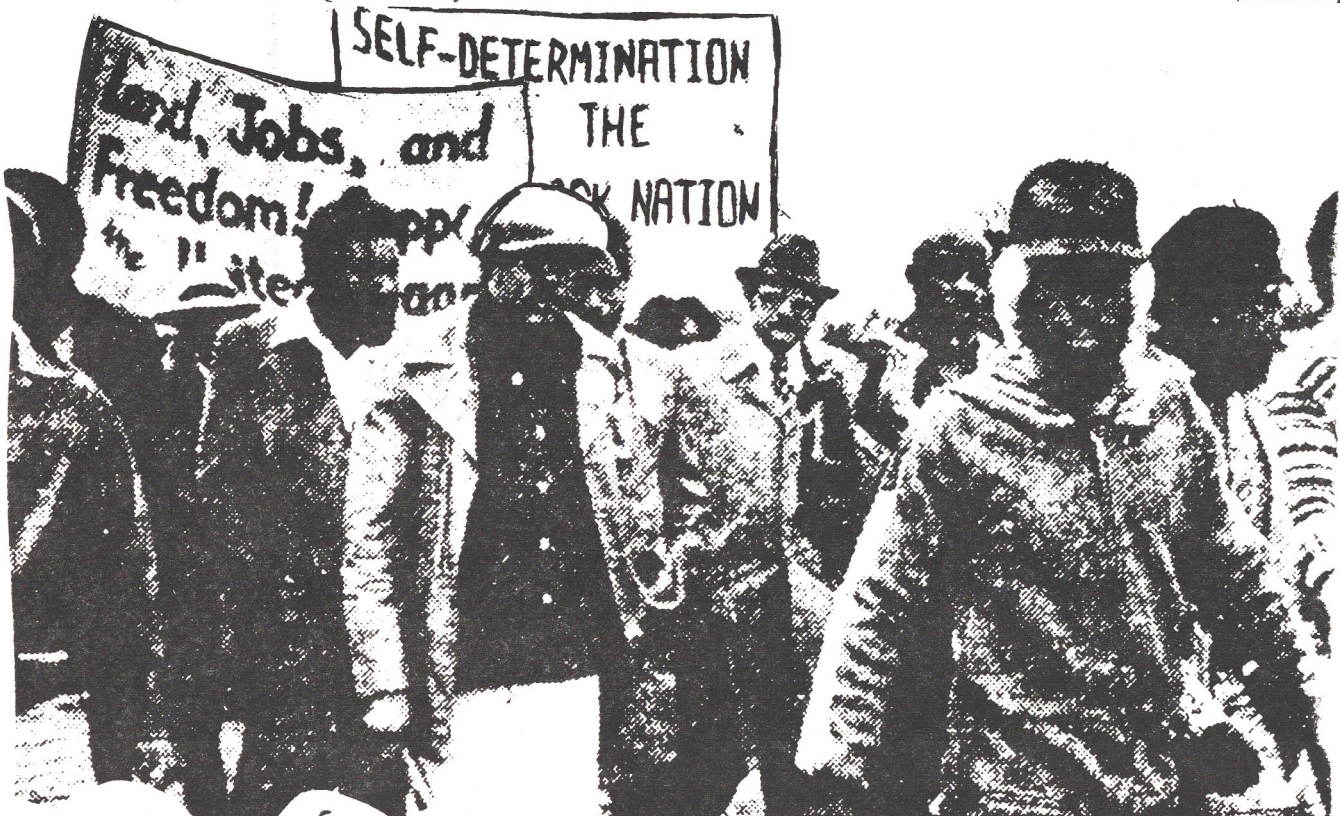
SUPPORT THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE BLACK NATION!

August 27, 1983, marks the 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington, D.C. against racism, for jobs and civil rights. It represented a key point in the mobilization of the Black masses in unity with masses of American workers and progressive people struggling against racism and social inequality. At this demonstration, Martin Luther King made his "I have a Dream" speech, calling on the peoples of the US to unite against the inequalities of American society.

Today, another call has been issued to Blacks and the broad masses of workers, women, youth and oppressed nationalities, to commemorate the 1963 march by demonstrating for jobs, peace and freedom. This call for the March on Washington comes at a time when national and racial oppression of the Black masses is greatly being intensified. The civil rights reforms which were by-products of the powerful Black Liberation Movement of the 1960's and 1970's, are now being taken away. Racial discrimi-

ation, lynch-killings and fascist Klan activities are on the rise. Despite the gains made in voter registration, or the more than 200 Black mayors throughout the US, Black people still face Jim Crow, segregationist, apartheid-like conditions in the US.

Today, Blacks comprise 12% (27 million) of US population, with 54% concentrated in the Black Belt South. Over 20% of the Black workers are unemployed. For the Black youth, the jobless figure is over 60%. More than 35% of Blacks are below the "official" poverty level of \$9,287 income per year (contrasted to the 11% of whites below the poverty level). Blacks face the highest infant mortality rate, 21.8%, (while whites face an 11.4% infant mortality rate). Black males have a life expectancy of 54.0 years while white males have a life expectancy of 70.6 years. The life expectancy for Black females is 72.7 whereas, for white women it is 78.2. Blacks make up 12% of the population, yet 48% of the
(cont. on p. 6)



African Messages to the August 27 March on Washington "Coalition for Jobs, Peace and Freedom"

Last April's election of the first Black mayor of Chicago, an election mainly due to the mobilization of the proletariat and the Black masses and oppressed nationalities against racism, reflects the enormous potential of the Black movement in its struggle against racial, national, and class oppression by the American imperialist bourgeoisie.

As a continuation of this mobilization, leaders and personalities of the Black movement launched an "Appeal to the Nation" to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Great March for civil rights, led by Martin Luther King in 1963. The Black national bourgeoisie is calling for demonstrations on August 27 and 28 in Washington, D.C., for a "new coalition of conscience for jobs, peace and freedom."

African revolutionary communists, conscious of the new awakening of the Black workers' movement, the Latin American workers' movement, and others, salute such a mass mobilization. It is yet another occasion for us, after "African Liberation Day" and "Black History Month," to reaffirm our consistent internationalist support for the right of self-determination of the Black Nation in the Black Belt South, our support for equal rights for all oppressed nationalities, our support for the struggle for socialism of the entire US proletariat.

In the common struggle against imperialism and the inevitable imperialist war for redivision of the world, now being prepared by the rival powers (including the so-called socialists and communists), the Black movement in the US and the workers' and peasants' movements in Africa, are confronted with the dramatic consequences of the hegemonic attempts and the hegemonic role of the national bourgeoisie over their respective movements.

In Africa the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie over the liberation movements of the 60's and 70's resulted in the betrayal of the masses of workers and peasants, and the maintenance of imperialist domination and slavery in the form of relations of semi-colonial dependency. Today in the face of the aggravation of the crisis that is wracking the imperialist system, the semi-colonial bourgeoisies of Africa are systematically putting themselves under the command of the IMF and various imperialist powers, to attack the social and democratic rights of the working masses.

Involved in the same type of semi-colonial dependence with the American imperialist bourgeoisie, the Black national bourgeoisie in the US is also trying to strengthen its grip on the reborn Black movement, on the workers' movement and the women's movement, to channel them into the dead-end of American "democracy" and electoral illusions.

The "New Coalition of Conscience" thus raises, in relation to the question of jobs, a class collaboration with imperialism through seeking a "new social contract between labor, industry, and government." Such a "contract," even if it were signed, will be nothing but a scrap of paper, whose only result will be to quiet the growing militance among Blacks against unemployment, and against its source, maximum profit for the capitalists. This class collaboration is at such a point that a recent edition of *Jeune Afrique* reported on a trip of Black businessmen from the US to Africa. What are they going there for if not to take advantage of the austerity imposed by the IMF and the semi-colonial bourgeoisies on the working masses all over Africa.

The "New Coalition of Conscience" of the Black bourgeoisie calls for a "radical reduction" of the nuclear arsenal and resolution of world conflicts by "non-violent" means. These pacifist phrases

undoubtedly are meant to appeal to the legitimate aspirations for peace on the part of the masses of workers, but pacifism, whether through "prayers," or even "radical" and "revolutionary," is powerless to eliminate the inevitability of imperialist wars.

Finally, the "New Coalition of Conscience" of the Black bourgeoisie speculates as much as they want to on racial oppression of Blacks to maintain total silence about national oppression and the right to self-determination of the Black Nation. The "New Coalition of Conscience" would like us to believe that the history of the Black national movement in the US stopped at pacifist marches and national reformist "prayers" for civil rights led by Martin Luther King.

But we know, and the worker and peasant masses of Africa know, that this movement produced national revolutionary leaders like Malcolm X, who took on the struggle for "jobs, peace and freedom" by propagating the need to fight against imperialism by "any means necessary," and by correctly propagating that the struggle for Blacks in the US is "tied to the land question," and that their homeland in the US "is in the South."

In the face of the Black bourgeoisie's attempts to stop the Black national movement from finding a revolutionary path against the capitalists and national oppression, we African communists support the call of *Workers Tribune* (organ of the Bolshevik League) to the effect that the revolutionary sectors of the Black movement should unite to counter the national-reformists and the white bourgeois leaders, in order to weaken their influence over the masses.

In the United States, as in Africa, we struggle for a Black national revolutionary movement that is authentically anti-imperialist, led by the Black working class, and which takes up its proletarian internationalist duty in relation to the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

For Jobs, Peace, and Freedom!
Death to Imperialism!

Vive le Marxisme-Léninisme (Senegal)
Sur la Voie du Bolchevisme (Mali)

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Can Black Capitalism and Politicians Lead the Struggle for Genuine Emancipation?

The answer is no! While these leaders may pretend they are trying to aid the majority of Blacks, the truth is they are merely trying to help themselves and preserve the system of imperialism. The NAACP, one of the co-chairs of this march, has proclaimed that the "Black middle class and the Black professional class have more to lose than anybody else and they have more to gain if we (NAACP) succeed."

Benjamin Hooks and his organization believe that the number one priority for Blacks is to "defeat Ronald Reagan by voting for the candidate most likely to achieve that goal." The main activity of the NAACP has been to help the *Black Elite* get more managerial and professional positions and to get more Blacks on boards of directors. Where in their actions is their concern for the masses of Blacks suffering from unemployment, poverty, racist violence, etc.? Can a struggle led by such organizations really help the Black working class and poor people?

Others in this march are equally interested in serving only the rich and middle class Blacks. The Urban League, 50% financed by private industries, is universally acknowledged as "very bourgeois." Walter Fauntroy, national director of the 1983 March on Washington, does not even feel that Blacks have the right to defend themselves from the Ku Klux Klan. Last year when the Klan was trying to "march on Washington," Walter Fauntroy and the D.C. branch of the National Coalition of Conscience actively organized to sabotage Blacks defending themselves. He proposed a "collective turning of the other cheek." To counter the out-pouring of justifiable hatred that Blacks have for the Klan, Fauntroy arranged for free food give-aways around the city to keep Blacks away from the Klan demonstration. Fortunately, it did not work, and the Klan saw that Blacks are ready to defend themselves when necessary. But an interesting thing is that to date there have been no free food give-aways. This is pathetic. It took the threat of the Klan to get Fauntroy and the National Coalition of Conscience to give away free food to poor and working class Blacks. Obviously, they were not really concerned with the well-being of the masses of Blacks, but only with keeping Blacks passive and helpless.

Jesse Jackson, with his organization called PUSH, is another organization "getting over" on the back of the struggles of the Black masses. His well-publicized boycott campaigns and subsequent "agreements and covenants" with Coca Cola, Burger King, 7-Up, etc., served only the Black middle class. His agreement with 7-Up, for example, called for a "\$2.5 million program with Black travel agencies, \$5 million with Black insurance companies, expanding 7-Up's relationship with 67 Black banks, all Black advertising to go to Black firms and appointment of a Black to the 7-Up board of directors." Nothing is called for to help Black workers or the unemployed.

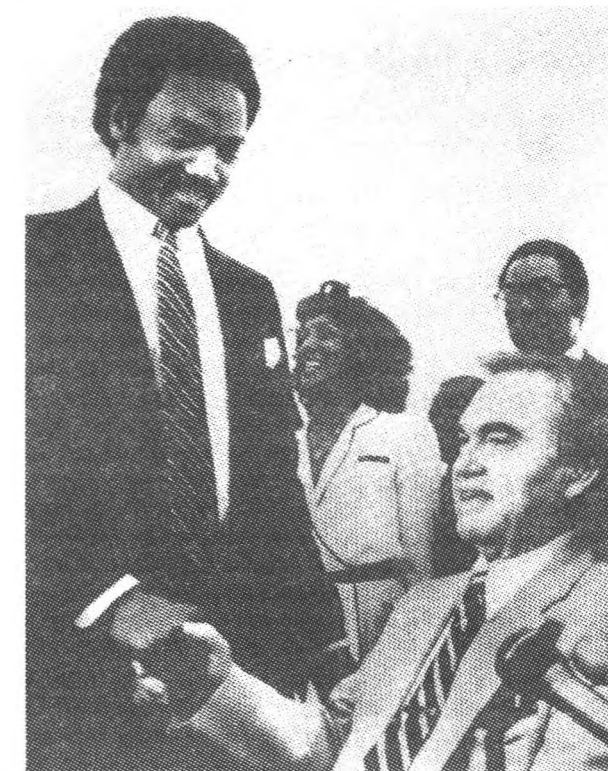
Besides, most of the agreements were not even carried out by the companies involved. Coca Cola officials began to pull back on their agreements before the ink was wet. They made no loans to Black banks at low interest rates, lent no money to Blacks for venture capital, did not increase any jobs for Blacks, made no franchise changes to include Blacks as owners and only increased Black advertising minimally. Again we see nothing for the Black workers or masses.

Even Jackson's well-publicized presidential campaign is mostly to further extend his ties with the imperialist powers through the Democratic party, rather than to really struggle for fundamental change. Already he has connections with Walter Mondale's presi-

dential camp and he has told the Democratic National Committee meeting that he will not run as an independent candidate. This means he must run through the Democratic party machine. And while advertising himself as a spokesman for the oppressed, he flies from church to church in chartered jets, sends his son to exclusive schools, and stays at the most expensive hotels, like the Jefferson Hotel in Washington, D.C., at \$115 dollars a night.

All these bourgeois leaders have been negotiating with various sectors of US imperialism to better aid their own bourgeois class and cause. Their bargaining chip has been their ability to keep the Black masses appeased and passive. They have all developed an economic, political and social program to accomplish this. In the summer of 1982, a National Black Economic Summit was held in Gary, Indiana, with the NAACP, Congressional Black Caucus, PUSH, SCLC, Urban League, Black mayors, etc. Their plan was to organize Black capitalism in the US to better aid the Black bourgeoisie (themselves).

In Atlanta, Georgia, in March 1983, most of these same leaders met at the prestigious Atlanta airport to map out their political plans. Their plan was to channel the potential revolutionary aspirations of the masses of Black people into the 1984 elections to defeat Reagan, while at the same time building illusions among the Black masses about the "equality" of the Democratic party. The voter registration drive is being used by these leaders to better consolidate their power and position within the Democratic party. They are not using the right to vote as a tactic in the steps to fundamentally change the present oppression of Blacks.



Jesse Jackson crusade for voter registration and Black presidential candidacy had led him to unite with the notorious racist and segregationist George Wallace.

The right to vote and the right of Blacks to have representation in the government are democratic rights which must be supported. The right to government representation of Blacks is most important in their homeland in the South. In the Black Belt, the right to self-determination means the right of Blacks to own and control their land, the right to expropriate the white imperialists responsible for the national oppression and enslavement of the Black Nation, the right to governmental power of the Blacks, and the right to state unity of the Black Nation in the South. The right to vote is only a part of the struggle for equal rights and self-determination. But the Black bourgeoisie has not used the right to vote to advance the struggle against racism, for equal rights and for self-determination of the Black Nation. The Black bourgeoisie has used the right to vote and governmental "Black Power" for their own self-serving needs and as a means to spread reformist illusions amongst Blacks that Black national oppression will disappear when there are more Black politicians and Black capitalism. This is not true in Africa, this is not true here in the US. The Black bourgeois campaign for voter registration amongst Blacks is in order for them to better maneuver in the Democratic Party in order to achieve their own self-serving aims.

Presently, this plan is working like clockwork. There is even the possibility that during the march an announcement will come over the speakers saying that "Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday is now a national holiday." Already this bill has passed the House of Representatives section of Congress. We should not be surprised if such an announcement is made at this demonstration. And we can be sure it will be hailed by all the bourgeois Black leaders as a victory and a milestone.

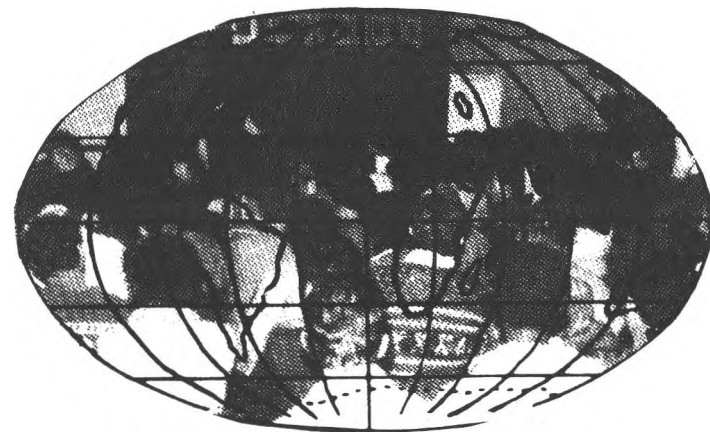
To follow these leaders is to continue to maintain the Black masses and Black workers in oppressive conditions. To avoid this, Black workers must take the struggle for their liberation in their own hands. Too often Black workers and the Black masses have been left out of the fruits of their struggles. In the civil rights struggles and victories, most of the gains went to middle class Blacks, while the majority of Blacks continued to suffer. This New Coalition of Conscience is just like the old one. It seeks to maintain the privileges of the Black middle classes won during the civil rights era, and to avoid being cast aside as they were during the Miami rebellions and the revolts against the Atlanta murders of Black children. They cannot liberate the Black masses, because they do not really speak for the masses of Black workers and toilers. They have, however, tried to co-opt and divert the genuine struggles of the masses.

Only the Black working class can ensure that the struggle for equal rights and self-determination is not abandoned or betrayed by so-called Black "leaders." The leadership of the rising Black movement must be taken away from the Black politicians and reformists and placed in the hands of the Black workers. Black workers need to organize in their unions, mass organizations, the unemployed, and rally the Black farmers, sharecroppers, youth, etc., around a revolutionary democratic platform that would lead to genuine emancipation of the Black Nation in the South and the establishment of equal rights. The Black bourgeois leaders do not even dare raise these elementary rights out of fear that American imperialism will cease to finance them. But Black workers have nothing to lose but their chains.

Black workers must examine the need to organize a national Black workers' organization as a vehicle to begin to take the leadership of the Black struggles away from the Uncle Tom sellouts and into their own hands. Black workers must begin to discuss now a plan of how to organize themselves to ensure that the struggles against racism, for equal rights and self-determination of the Black Nation in the South, do not get side-tracked and sabotaged, as has so often occurred in the past.

A genuine movement for Black liberation must derive its main strength from and base itself progressively on the masses of the most oppressed classes and strata... Black workers, Black unemployed, Black women and youth. This March on Washington must be made into a step toward the mobilization of Black workers to take the lead in their struggles. Twenty years ago the last march came about because the masses of Blacks forced it to happen through the mass struggles and protests that were taking place all over the South, for equality and basic democratic rights. As Malcolm X said, Blacks were coming to Washington, D.C., (grassroots Blacks) to shut down the capitol. At that time the leaders of the March on Washington were spreading illusions about the possibilities of making American capitalism work for the benefit of the Black masses in the same way that the present ones are. The difference was that that March was the beginning of the break-up of the reformist-led civil rights movement and the development of a Black Liberation Movement.

Let this march also be a turning point: the beginning of a new upsurge, that will lead to the development of a mass BLACK NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, to be led by the revolutionary Black working class.



International Correspondence No. 6

contains presentations and messages on the occasion of the celebration of the 65th Anniversary of the October Revolution, which took place in Paris and New York, as well as contributions to the debate on the national and colonial question.

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Against Racism . . . For Self-Defense

The rise in racial violence perpetrated against Blacks over the last few years has been disgusting. The killing of Black children in Atlanta, Georgia; the shooting of Black women in Chattanooga, Tennessee; the murder of Willie Turks in New York City; sniper attacks on Black joggers in Indiana; choke-hold victims in Los Angeles, California—these are the more well-known and publicized. Other remain un-publicized. The lynching of Michael Donald in Mobile, Alabama, in March 1982; 12 Blacks murdered in and around Jackson, Mississippi in 1981. In Cleveland, Mississippi, one Black man was found floating down the river with his sex organs cut off; in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi, Douglas Gray was found hanging from a tree in January 1981. In February of 1981 Roy Washington was found dead, badly beaten, in Holmes County, Mississippi, his hands tied behind him and shot in the head.

New Orleans police killed eight Blacks during 1980 alone; Michael Johnson was fatally shot in the chest by the police in Matthews, Virginia; Leroy Perry, a 48 year old Black man of Annapolis, Maryland, was killed by a cop in July 1981; three Black women arrested in Summerville, South Carolina, were forced by the police to perform sexual acts with them; five white youths attempted to run down three Black women in Far Rockaway, New York; a Black student was drowned in the Hackensack River by two white youths; three whites tossed a pipe bomb into the house of a Black Detroit family; white police in Florida distributed a flyer announcing "open season for shooting porch monkeys... regionally known as negro, nigger, saucer lips, yard apes, jungle bunnies, spear chuckers, burr head spooks and the Pittsburgh Pirates... it is unlawful to shoot any porch monkey in a Cadillac... to... trap within 25 feet of watermelon patches, or to bait traps with pork chops, watermelons, mangoes, collards, cheap whiskey, fried chicken, chitlings or flashy clothes." Is it any wonder that with this type of mentality among white police that Blacks in Miami rebelled when the murderers of Arthur McDuffie, all policemen, were let off the hook? These are only a few of the examples which show the depth of racist violence against Blacks.

Killings of Blacks in the US, especially in the south, reveal the racist and genocidal policies of US imperialism towards the Black race. It is 1983 and still the Black Nation in the South is confronted with a fascist-like, terroristic rule in the US. That most of the modern-day racist lynchings and racial violence take place in the South is no coincidence. The homeland of the oppressed Black Nation in the US is in the South. It is in the South that the majority of Black people are concentrated. It is in the South that the struggles for civil rights, for voter registration, for the right to the land, have historically originated. The heart of the struggle for equal rights and for self-determination of the Black Nation in the Black Belt is in the South.

Hence, it is in this region that historically, since the days of slavery, the exploiting ruling class has promoted and financed a system of fascist-like, racist reaction. The Ku Klux Klan, even prior to the birth of German nazism, promoting the racist ideology of white superiority, went on a racist crusade of lynching and massacres of Blacks at random in order to ensure that no Black liberation movement for equal rights and self-determination would erupt. Even simple democratic rights, like the right to vote and the right to Black legal representation in the government in the South, strike fear in the hearts of the imperialists.

Imperialism cannot allow the growth and development of the Black Liberation Movement, fighting for equal rights and for regaining the homeland in the South. So US imperialism promotes and finances this racist, terroristic policy in order to suppress the development of any potential Black revolutionary movement, a

movement that would shake and threaten the racist rule of capitalism.

What have the leaders of the new "Coalition of Conscience" done against this violence? How have they responded to this situation? In the face of such brutality, the national director of the August 27 march, Walter Fauntroy, is preaching a pacifist, genocidal solution. When the Ku Klux Klan tried to march in Washington, D.C., in November 1982, Fauntroy called on Blacks to collectively turn the other cheek. He opposed the massive militant protest of the Black masses preventing the KKK from marching in the streets of D.C. This is not a solution to these genocidal practices.

Such solutions as turning the other cheek, passive resistance, or the call for Black police will only lead to genocide of Blacks in the US. The Klan was prevented from marching on Washington, D.C., in November 1982, only because of the massive Black mobilization, supported by many progressive whites, which ensured that the Klan would not march. The government, the police—white and Black—would not and have not prevented fascist, Hitlerite elements like the KKK from freely marching in Washington, D.C., a city where close to 70% of the population is Black. As well, a Black police force will not stop racist lynch mobs or police killings. The police force, irrespective of nationality, is a repressive tool of the capitalist state which is utilized to ensure that the masses of oppressed do not rebel against the tyranny of capitalism. Black policemen still get paid by the same system that pays the white policemen. Their role is to protect the rule of the racist capitalists. Many of the cities in the US have large Black ghettos with substantial numbers of Black police. Yet, racism and lynchings persist.

The institution of a curfew in Detroit by the Black Mayor, Coleman Young, in this city with a large Black population, is only a call for the police force—Black and white—to repress the Black masses. Black policemen, like numerous Black politicians, serve not the interests of the Black workers, unemployed, youth, etc., but the interests of the capitalist state.

To fight the increasing racial violence and genocidal practices, Black workers and masses must seek the path of mass protest and self-defense. Mass protests, as that in Washington, D.C., or the Atlanta protests against the murders of Black children, or the Miami rebellion against police lynchings, must continue to be organized. But mass protest by itself is not enough. Rather than



demands for "non-violence" and more Black police, the Black masses must organize self-defense units such as those which were formed in Atlanta, at the Techwood Homes, against the rising murders of Black children. In their unions, mass organizations and communities, workers must organize self-defense units, through which the people protect themselves from racial violence and lynch mobs.

Black and white workers must demand in their unions that all workers take a stand against the Klan and for the right to self-defense. It is especially the responsibility of white workers and progressive people to expose and fight the racists within their ranks. For white workers and progressives to fail to fight against racist terror, against chauvinism and for the right to self-defense of the Black masses, is to aid the racists in this country to continue their genocidal practices against Blacks, as well as to weaken the struggle to unite the working class in the US against capitalist tyranny. White workers must actively support and unite with the struggle of the Black masses against racial violence and for the right to self-defense. The development of mass, united front struggles of Black and white workers against racism and for the right to self-defense is a key way to ensure that racist lynchers in the US will not have the freedom to kill Blacks. This path of struggle is a sure way to end the genocidal attacks against the Black masses in America.

(cont. from p. 1)

prison population are Blacks. The prisons have become virtually slave-like concentration camps. The ghetto life, the miserable health care, racism on the job, racism even in the union, all continue to exist. The future prospect is not one of achieving Martin Luther King's dreams, expounded 20 years ago, but the intensification of the capitalist nightmare in so-called "democratic" USA.

The Roots of Black National Oppression

The roots of Black National oppression do not stem from some racists, like Ronald Reagan, or the grand imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Today's Black national and racial oppression stems from the economic system of capitalism. Modern capitalism arose on the basis of the millions of dollars in primitive accumulation of capital that were gained from the slave trade. The Black race has provided the free and cheap labor on which capitalism grew into the blood-sucking imperialist monster that it is today. No imperialist country has profited more from the enslavement of the Black race than the US.

The millions in super-profits derived from Black slave labor and the semi-feudal plantation system in the Black Belt south, established the economic foundations for US imperialism. While Blacks slaved, were maimed and killed, the imperialists got richer. In order to secure their power, imperialism promoted the racist theory of white supremacy amongst all sectors of white America. Particularly, the white working class has been infected with the disease of white superiority and racism.

Racism is institutionalized. It is inherent in the entire superstructure of US capitalist society. Both the capitalist class and the labor aristocracy—the union bureaucrats and corrupted and privileged sectors of the working class, that receive more crumbs from the profits derived from super-exploitation of Blacks, oppressed nationalities and the colonies—are the main props of racism and white superiority. This racism is promoted by the system of capitalism in order to maintain a cheap, enslaved Black labor power that would ensure the continuation of super-profits for imperialism.

Racism also ensures that the working class—Black and white—will remain divided. A united working class means doom for capitalism! Racism is the secret of the impotence of the American working class. So long as racism continues to divide the US



multi-national working class, the class struggles of the US proletariat for workers' democracy, against capitalist tyranny, and for socialism will continuously be sabotaged. The privileged status of white workers, and racism itself do not benefit the American working class, but the American capitalist money-bags, who thirst for more and more blood-stained profits.

Blacks—Afro-Americans—since the days of slavery have been plundered and super-exploited. With the defeat of the slavocracy in the Civil War of 1860-65, Blacks were emancipated from chattel slavery. During the Reconstruction years of 1865 to 1877, freed Blacks organized themselves and in many areas of the South, built the most democratic society that America has ever known in its history. Blacks, in unity with the anti-slave whites, began to organize the South along democratic principles. The Afro-American people, of whom more than 90% were concentrated in the South, particularly in the cotton region known as the Black Belt South, began to develop into a nation.

During Reconstruction, Blacks in the Black Belt were developing all the features which comprise a fully developed nation. Black sharecroppers, landowners, tenant farmers, Black owned bank and lending institutions, Black merchants, colleges, were emerging to such a degree that there existed a flourishing Black economy in the South. The territory encompassing the Black Belt South formed a "crescent through 12 southern states, from Virginia's tidewater into North Carolina, South Carolina, lower and central Georgia and Alabama, into upper Florida, engulfing Mississippi and the Louisiana delta and wedging into eastern Texas and southeast Tennessee, with its western anchor in southern Arkansas."¹ By then, the former African slaves, after 200 years of slavery in the US, had a common historical development, developed a common English language, and a common psychological make-up, manifested in a common culture. Blacks in the Black Belt South had all the features that make up a nation, i.e., "a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."² The land of the Black Nation in the South, which had been worked upon for over 200 years by them as slaves, little by little began to be taken up into the hands of these former slaves, and frequently they had to defend it with armed struggles.

However, the growing bourgeoisie of the north did not take part in the Civil War out of a sense of justice and equality for the Black slaves. The military defeat of the slavocracy, and the abolition of chattel slavery cleared away the main obstacles to capitalist penetration of the South, for the rounding out of the national market under its complete and unchallenged dominance. With control of the southern market and the expansion of its capital in the South, the northern bourgeoisie had realized its potential of growth and ability to compete with other modern capitalist nations in the cotton industry. Until then, British capitalism had profited most from the cotton production from slave labor, used in its textile industry.

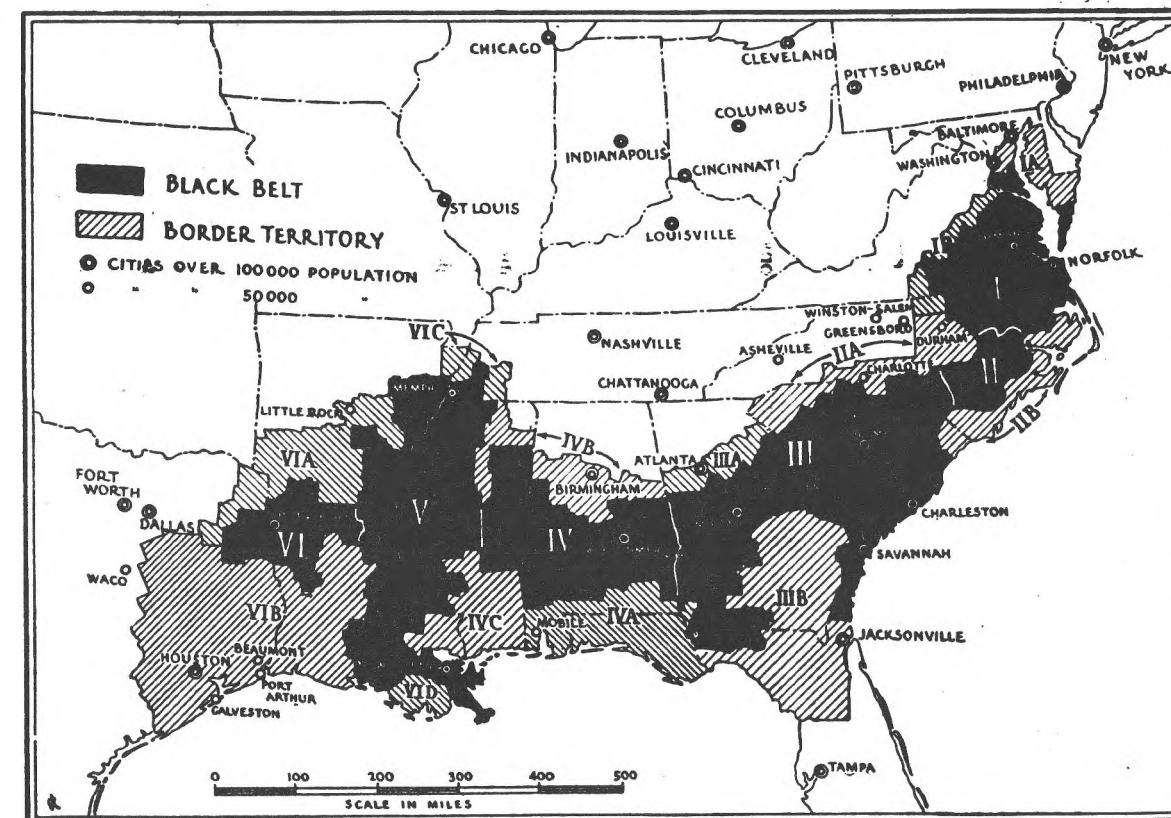
Following the defeat of the slavocracy, the northern bourgeoisie was able to consolidate its power throughout the US. By the 1880's and 1890's, American capitalism developed into monopoly capitalism, i.e., imperialism. The Black Nation's right to self-determination was denied and impeded by the rising northern, imperialist bourgeoisie. The monopoly capitalists gained control over the resources and land of the Black Belt and exploited them for their profitableness. The Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Morgans, the Duponts, to name just a few, gained control of oil, rubber, lumber, tobacco, textile, chemical and cotton industries throughout the South. The power Blacks had gained to govern themselves during Reconstruction was taken away, and the Black Belt was split up to dilute their strength where they formed a majority.

With the aid of the northern bourgeoisie, the developing imperialists, the white landlords maintained the agrarian economy in the South in colonial type bondage. The former slaves, now landless peasants, were forced into serving as cheap and super-exploited labor. Many Blacks were reduced to a status of peonage through the sharecropping system. The economic growth of the Black Belt was retarded. The Black Belt became like a large ghetto.

The Black Nation, forged out of the conditions of slavocracy and the plantation system, has been an oppressed Black nation whose right to self-determination has been denied. The enslavement of the Black Nation can most graphically be seen in the process of forced dispersion of the Black masses from their homeland in the South, and the process of white imperialist expropriation of Black land in the south. In 1910, 90% of the Black masses lived in the South. In 1940, 77% Blacks lived in the South. In 1950, 68% of Blacks lived in the South. By 1970 and 1980, 54% of the Black masses were concentrated in the South. Today, however, there is a reverse migration in which many Blacks are returning to the South. Nevertheless, the crime of stealing the land of the Blacks continues. In 1910 Blacks owned 15 million acres of land. About 70% of the Black population were farmers. By 1920, there were over 926,000 Black operated farms. Yet today, there are only about 55,000 Black owned farms, i.e. 3% of the total farm population in the US. The right to their land, the heart of the right to self-determination, continues to be flagrantly denied to the Black nation.

This process of ruination and displacement of Blacks from their land forced them to move to the southern urban areas and then to the north. The ruined Black farmer and peasantry joined and filled the ranks of the working class and the unemployed. Many of the thousands of unemployed Blacks in the cities were former farmers or sharecroppers and tenants. Nevertheless, the land question of the Black masses remains a fundamental issue of the rights of Black people. Today, there still is a movement of Blacks fighting to regain their stolen land, as in the case of the Blacks of Harris Neck, Georgia.³

The right to self-determination of the Black Nation in the South means their right to govern and separate, if they so desire, in their homeland in the Black Belt South. In the same way that Palestinians have been forcefully dispersed from their homeland by the zionists, Blacks in the South have been forcefully



BLACK BELT AND BORDER TERRITORY

dispersed from their homeland by US imperialism. Like the Palestinians, Blacks must have the right to gain control of their homeland in the US. The right to self-determination of the Black Nation in the South is an elementary, democratic right which must be upheld by the entire working class and progressive sectors in the US. To fail to recognize this right is to aid the continued plunder and genocidal policies of US imperialism against the masses of Afro-Americans.

Support the Struggle Against Racism and for Self-Determination and Equal Rights of Black People

Conditions are maturing so that a new Black Liberation Movement can and will emerge, that would unite with the rest of the working class and oppressed nationalities. Already, the various spontaneous Black rebellions in Miami, Chatanooga, Atlanta, etc., are all reflections of a re-emerging Black revolutionary movement. The struggle against racism, against police lynchings, against the Klan, for equal rights, for voter registration, for land, etc., are all reflective of a re-awakening Black movement.

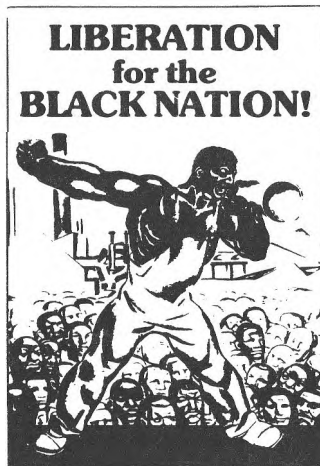
The call for the August 27 March on Washington by the Black bourgeois leaders, in unison with the Democratic Party and trade union leaders, reflects the pressures that the rising rebellious mood of the Black masses is imposing on the so-called leaders of the masses. While this call seeks to rebuild a coal-

tion against racism, fighting for "jobs, peace, and freedom," it also seeks to insure that the Black movement stays within their control. They fear the re-emergence of a revolutionary Black movement, led by the Black working class, joining with the rest of the advanced sectors of the multi-national working class in the US. Though fighting against discrimination, the Black bourgeoisie seeks to ensure that this movement takes a national reformist path of struggle (see our Call in Support of the Black Liberation Movement in the US). Most glaring, however, although they are against racism and for equal rights, the Black bourgeoisie, along with the labor aristocrats and US imperialism, have completely abandoned the right to self-determination of the Black Nation in the South.

While we support the necessity of massive mobilization against racism, fighting for jobs, peace, and freedom, we particularly call on the most advanced sectors of the US multi-national working class to fight against racism and to actively support the struggle for equal rights and self-determination of the Black Nation in the US.

Notes:

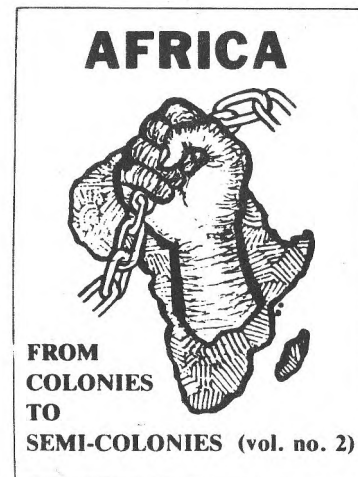
1. W. Patterson, *We Charge Genocide*, p. 22, 1951, (Petition to the UN for Relief from the Crime of the US Government Against Negro People).
2. J.V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*. 3. *Ebony*, July 1983, "Georgia Blacks Fight to Regain Ancestral Land."



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