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The recently passed civil rights law, according to Pres. Johnson and others, means freedom for the Negro people. In reality its passage has coincided with even greater murder and oppression of the Negro people.

Why this contradiction between Johnson's words and actual events? U.S. capitalism is in its imperialist dying stage. It's exploitation of the U.S. working class, black and white, intensifies daily as seen by the huge profits of the monopolies on the one hand and the growing unemployment and poverty on the other. Imperialism is more than the exploitation of the native working class. It is the export of finance capital to underdeveloped areas; it is the extraction of super profits from the colonial peoples--the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and the American Continent.

For over three hundred years, first in slavery and then under U.S. national oppression, the Afro-American people have been the main contributors to building and developing the Southern U.S. Except for a brief period following the Civil War they have been robbed of their labors, first by the slavery of the plantation owners, then by a combination of Northern capital and Southern white landowners. During the past three centuries the Afro-American, enslaved and oppressed have developed in the South a common territory, culture and language.

Since World War II the greatest exploiter and enemy of the colonial peoples has been the U.S. government with its aggressive campaign to install U.S. finance capital and armed forces in all corners of the globe and its wars on the colonial peoples in Korea, Cuba, the Congo and Viet-Nam--not to forget its "special" warfare of subversion, intrigue and counter-revolution in many other nations such as Iraq and Brazil.

Efforts by U.S. imperialism to conquer the world have clashed head on with the aspirations of the national liberation movements in various lands. This is the focal contradiction today. The Afro-American people have, no less than other oppressed peoples, struggled determinedly for their freedom. This struggle has been conditioned by their physical proximity to the greatest enemy of mankind, the government and armed forces of the Anglo-Saxon, U.S. imperialists.

Important new factors are influencing the course of the struggle of the Negro. New developments in farm machinery have eliminated much of the share-cropping in the South. Competition in the world capitalist market for sales of tobacco and cotton is extremely fierce and U.S. domination is weakened. Raw materials can be imported more cheaply from other areas of U.S. oppression, for example, iron ore from Venezuela costs less than from Alabama. Armaments industries have been moved to the South with whites receiving almost all the jobs.

Automation, greater imports of raw materials, less need for share-croppers, more Negroes on unemployment and on "welfare" mean that the Afro-American people are not the same source of super-profits to U.S. imperialism that they were thirty years ago. Further, the demands of the Afro-American people, limited though they are at the present moment, are a developing threat to the power of U.S. imperialism in the South--that vast area close to Latin America. U.S. reaction is haunted by the spectre of anti-imperialist unity between the impoverished Latin American and Afro-American people against their common oppressor.

Another pertinent factor is the increasing conflict within the U.S. imperialist camp itself. The Texan oil-military complex and many southern land holders have been forced to play second fiddle to the DuPont, Rockefeller, Kennedy eastern group in the business of exporting finance capital. Now the Texans are challenging for financial primacy and governmental power. They have their man, Goldwater, and they have far more influence on Johnson than on his predecessor.

The line and policy of Khrushchev and his U.S. echoes is capitulation to and support of the eastern grouping, claiming that this will stop fascism and war.

Both the Kennedy-Rockefeller and the Goldwater-Hunts very existence as imperialists is based on national oppression. The political gangsters representing Johnson and the Democrats in the South are the same landholding descendants of the slaveholders that represent Goldwater. The revisionists claim that Goldwater racism and fascism can be stopped by support of Johnson's hypocrisy, rather than united actions of the working class, the Negro people, working youth and students and many professionals and middle class elements.

What is President Johnson actually doing? He uses words about freedom in order, to confuse and weaken the Negro liberation movement as well as their potential allies at home and abroad. In practice he follows a policy toward Afro-Americans which is supported by both Texan and Eastern capital--the bloody oppression of the Afro-American people. He is following in the footsteps of Truman who dropped atom bombs on a colored people.

It is Johnson who sent his attorney-general to eulogize Berlin, the city from which Hitler operated his gas chambers. R.F. Kennedy, who claimed to have no power to stop lynching in Mississippi, had the power to urge the West German government to be a junior partner to the U. S. government in the racist, murderous assault on South Viet-Nam.

It is Pres. Johnson who has strengthened the FBI force in Miss. The FBI is mainly recruited from the Southern white middle class, the same elements who also furnish personnel for the KKK. The FBI did not secure the indictment and conviction of the white lynchers of Emmet Till, of Medgar Evers, of the little girls in the Birmingham church. But the FBI is the one organization which has the electronic spy system and the know how to tip off the KKK and local police force in the South on which Negroes are most militant, on when and where Negroes can be lynched with the least evidence. It is no wonder that the Mayor of Jackson, Miss. welcomed J. Edgar Hoover and the enlarged FBI force. He correctly sees them strengthening the genocidal campaign against the Afro-American people.

Pres. Johnson's special envoy to Miss. is Allen Dulles. As former CIA head, Dulles has great experience in conspiracies against national liberation movements in the Congo, Viet-Nam and Cuba. He was welcomed by the governor of Miss. as someone "who speaks our language." Dulles is evidence enough of Pres. Johnson's opposition to, and hatred for, the Negro liberation movement.

A vote for either Johnson or Goldwater is a vote for genocide.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF REFORMISM:

For the past several years certain Negroes and many white "liberals" and revisionists have urged on the Afro-American people a policy of peaceful co-existence with their enemy, of peaceful transition, of non-violence, of integration. This line follows closely the propogande of the Democratic

Administration, the leadership of the Democratic Party and the Eastern leadership of the Republicans. It is based on faith in the courts, the state police and the FBI and on the goodwill of the government of U.S. imperialism. It describes enemies as friends. It has completely misled some honest people. While paying respect to the courage of the out of state youth summering in Miss. can it be denied that their good intentions are exposing some of the most capable Afro-Americans to lynchings?

The practice of non-violence, of faith in the enemy has failed in St. Augustine, Florida, in Georgia, in Birmingham and in Mississippi. Its bankruptcy has been witnessed by millions on television. In Mississippi, as only one example, over a hundred thousand Afro-Americans have been driven off their land, exiled, starved or murdered since World War II. And what is a Mississippi Negro supposed to win from the policy of non-violence? If he doesn't get lynched for registering he will have the "privilege" of voting for those who have committed genocidal acts against his people.

SELF DETERMINATION:

In 1929 the Communist Party, U.S.A. put forth the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people. This slogan, although not always implemented correctly, helped raise the struggle of the Negro people to new highs in the thirties. The mighty Scottsboro campaign, the Herndon case, the election of the first Negro councilor in N.Y.C. (then a Marxist-Leninist, now a revisionist) the attention to Negro workers and leaders in the organization of the CIO and many other struggles were a direct result of the correct policy of self-determination. Today the C.P.U.S.A., strongly influenced by Khrushchev, has betrayed the Afro-American people by urging them to accept Pres. Johnson at face value and by denying that the Negro Question is a national question.

Self-determination means the right of the Afro-American people to determine their own destiny, to choose their own form of government in the South and to decide whether to separate from the U.S. or to have an autonomous arrangement with this country. It means an end to national oppression by the white ruling class.

Self-determination for the Negroes in the South is interconnected with the rights of the Negro national minority in the North. This means special status for Northern and Western Negro communities. It means no white policemen in Negro areas without permission from Afro-American authorities chosen by their people. It means a fair quota of jobs for the Northern Negro to be established between their representatives and local and federal authorities. It means an end to taxation by the oppressors and an end to forcing Negroes into an army which oppresses other colored peoples.

The publishers of this document are students and upholders of Marxism-Leninism. Because of this we put forth some two years ago the banner of disarming the city, county, state and federal forces in the South and arming the Negro people. Today important Afro-American leaders are advocating armed action as the only possible answer in the South.

A recent editorial in Peoples Daily, a Chinese paper, discussed the Congo situation. It made the following declaration which in our opinion applies to all struggles for national liberation: "What is state power? State power is armed force; without armed force there can be no state power. What is independence? Independence is armed force; without armed force there can be no independence. What is freedom? Freedom is armed force; without armed force there can be no freedom. What is equality? Equality is armed force too; without armed force there can be no equality."

U.S. Marxist-Leninists support wholeheartedly the right of the Negro people to vote, to public accommodations, to live anywhere they choose, to attend what school they wish, etc. But we do not believe that the oppressed can "integrate" with the oppressor; we do not believe that tokenism is equality.

Equality, freedom, self-determination have never been won by any people except by armed struggle. Those that wish to keep violence and bloodshed to a minimum should be the first to advocate the organization of a National Liberation Front of Afro-Americans. They should be the first to protect its members and location from the Federal and local governments. For it is either effective armed resistance to the lynchers and for self-determination or it is intensified murder of unprotected Afro-Americans.

WHITE ALLIES OF THE AFRO-AMERICANS:

More and more Negro leaders are criticizing the white liberals for their ineffective role in the Afro-American liberation struggle. White revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists, should disassociate themselves from the liberal reformist approach. The white working class in the U.S., especially its higher paid section, has gone along with the national oppression of the Negro people and other oppressed peoples. As a reward, the white worker has the better jobs and the least unemployment. But what will happen to his job as U.S. imperialism is driven out of the South, out of Viet-Nam, out of the Congo, out of Latin America, as it has been driven out of Cuba, China, Northern Korea and Viet-Nam? What has happened to the white railroad firemen who allowed the Negro firemen to be discharged when the coal burners went and took their jobs?

We must tell the white worker that the Afro-American liberation movement is part and parcel of the entire national liberation struggle, that it is invincible. U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, its bloody tactics of today help doom it for tomorrow. White workers, students, professionals--U.S. imperialism means aggression and war. The mounting terror against Negroes threatens you also with a fascist dictatorship. You can never be free until your black brother is out of slavery. Unite with him in the struggle for better conditions on the job and in the communities. Support his struggle for freedom, for self-determination.

SOCIALISM & NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE:

Some people in POC & Progressive Labor use the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people--but after a Socialist revolution in the U.S. This sounds quite revolutionary and is no doubt an effort to disassociate themselves from the CPUSA which has made President Johnson its theoretician on the Negro question.

We believe that the national liberation struggles of all peoples are increasingly led by Marxist-Leninists, by fighters for Socialism. We believe that following the example of China and Mao Tse-tung, all Socialist nations should support the struggles of the Afro-American people. As the Chinese have pointed out, the Socialist nations are the property of the working class and national liberation movements of all countries and both have the need and duty to give each other mutual support. The Negro people will learn from the experiences of the Socialist lands as their parties and people will learn from the struggles of the Afro-American people. All oppressed nations will take the path of Socialism, some in the course of national liberation struggles, some almost immediately after national liberation and some after a longer period.

We do not feel that the slogan of self-determination after a Socialist revolution is correct concerning the Afro-American liberation struggle for the following reasons:

- (1) It is of great importance that more of the leadership of the liberation movement be in the hands of Negro workers and that more Negro workers be won to Marxism-Leninism. This will be done primarily by how correctly white and Negro Marxist-Leninists act in the present struggle and by the experience of the Negro masses in the liberation struggle. It will not be accomplished by saying "wait for Socialism."
- (2) The struggle of the Negro people involves all classes including the small but important group of bourgeois Negroes. To equate Socialism

and Negro liberation at this moment is to negate the possibility of uniting the largest number of Negroes against U.S. imperialism.

- (3) We will never achieve Socialism in the U.S. without an effective campaign against white chauvinism among white workers. The heart of that campaign is to win white workers for the right of Negroes to state power in the South and to national minority status in the North, the right of Negroes to defend that power with arms.
- (4) The concept of Socialism first in the U.S. and then Negro liberation overestimates U.S. imperialism strategically and underestimates it tactically. The question is one of mobilizing all possible forces against U.S. imperialism today--to point out that its present reign of lynching and terror can be turned into their opposite--national liberation for Afro-Americans. For it is possible that a greatly weakened U.S. imperialism could exist in the North & West while an independent Negro nation flourished in the South--just as it is possible for an independent Cuba to exist 90 miles from the shores of a weakened U.S. imperialism.

A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN THE SOUTH:

One of the most vicious acts of Browder revisionism was the liquidation of the Communist Party in the South in 1944. The present group of Browderites led by Gus Hall oppose a vanguard organization in the South, they are busy revising and liquidating in the rest of the country.

It is the task of Marxist-Leninists in the north and west to smash the revisionists and to help reestablish a Marxist-Leninist Party in the south. Such a Party must have its own leadership and make its own decisions. Such a Party will carry on the great traditions of Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglas and James Ford, as well as thousands of other fallen Afro-American leaders and martyrs. It will apply the teachings of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung on the national question to the South. It will unite the Afro-American struggles with that of all national liberation movements. It will free the South from the hated white ruling class.

We advance the following demands for immediate action:

DISARM ALL FEDERAL, STATE & LOCAL AGENTS OF THE WHITE RULING CLASS
IN THE SOUTH!

ORGANIZED DEFENSE BY THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE--ARM THE NEGRO PEOPLE!

OUTLAW THE KKK, BIRCH SOCIETY AND ALL WHITE SUPREMACIST ORGANIZATIONS!

AN END TO THE FBI--THE STORMTROOPER RACIST AGENCY FOR NEGRO OPPRESSION!

BOYCOTT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS--NO VOTE FOR OPPRESSORS OF THE
AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE!

TRIAL BEFORE NEGRO COURTS AND JURIES FOR ALL INVOLVED IN THE RECENT
LYNCHINGS AND ASSAULTS IN GEORGIA, FLORIDA AND MISSISSIPPI!

MUTUAL SUPPORT BETWEEN THE AFRO-AMERICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND
NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA!

UNITY OF BLACK AND WHITE AGAINST THE MONOPOLIES--AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM!

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE!

We invite criticism, correspondence and discussion on the above.

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