

# Line of March's White Chauvinist, Anti-Worker Line on the Afro-American National Question

## Rehashed Revisionism and Trotskyism

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**T**he legacy of the new communist movement with regard to the national question is a rich one. The proletarian elements who emerged out of the powerful national movements of the 60's and 70's are among the best and most dedicated revolutionaries. In the previous generation, the maturity of the national movements, its Marxist-Leninist influence, surpassed that of the labor movement. While this is an historically transient phenomenon it is nonetheless true. The communists from the Afro-American national movement spent many years struggling through Pan-Africanism, cultural nationalism, and other views to seek out and discover the true source of the oppression of black people and the scientific guide of Marxism-Leninism to liberation. The Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) played a major role in fighting for a correct presentation of the Afro-American national question and the question of national minorities in relation to the multi-national proletariat and the struggle for socialism. In the course of the struggle, there was (and is) a danger of one-sidedness among comrades from oppressed minority background. But this was not (and is not) the main problem. The main struggle in the movement has been against chauvinism, against revisionist and Trotskyite liquidation of the national question, from both the 'left' and the right.

The historical demand of the early 1970's was to unite the cream of the crop from the anti-war and national movements around a correct Marxist political line and definition of tasks. For comrades coming from the spontaneous movement, the main danger was empiricism. WVO took the lead in struggling for a correct political line on questions including the trade-union movement, the vanguard Party and character of revolution in the

U.S., the national question, and in criticizing various revisionist lines on these questions. WVO struggled for comrades to study, implement, test, verify and develop these lines in practice, in the heat of class struggle. The CWP was formed to give leadership to the working class, national movements, women and youth movements, etc. It was formed in order to systematize the work, to crystallize and propagate the advanced experience from struggles around the country. CWP has been successful in accomplishing this task. This is proven by the development of the CWP since its inception. There have been weaknesses. In the struggle against revisionism, CWP went "too far" in our thesis that the Soviet Union had restored capitalism. In our practice also, we are guilty of a number of doctrinaire errors. Still, history has convinced us of the necessity for our struggle against revisionism in the 70's and the correctness of our struggle to forge the CWP and take up leadership in the class struggle.

Every error the CWP has made in the course of our fighting to implement our political line, every mistake we have committed in the course of leading struggles, are a million times more valuable than the smug declaration of the Line of March Editorial Board (LM) "critics" from the sanctity of their posteriors. We have learned from ours successes as well as our mistakes, and with our learning we have been able to make advances which neither Line of March nor the whole "anti-revisionist, anti-'left' opportunist" trend combined have matched.

The fact is that the "anti-revisionist, anti-'left' opportunist" trend is in shambles. Nothing has been resolved in "the trend," there is no political line unity on the trade union question, national question, character of the economic crisis, danger of fascism, or other lines. There has been virtually no united action on anything. The struggle against "ultra-leftism" has served as a cover for hiding out from the demands of the class struggle as well as a cover for revisionist lines on the character and tasks of revolution in the U.S.

## Line of March's "Race Theory"— Rehashed Revisionism and Trotskyism

Perhaps nothing reveals this so clearly as Line of March's thesis on the Race/National Question. This is one of Line of March's first attempts to positively address a key problem for making revolution in the U.S. Their line shows that LM has never made a break with revisionism or Trotskyism. The lines put forward in LM's "race thesis" are not new. It is old hash re-fried. The ability of LM to push the race theory as a new "breakthrough" of some sort, and the inability of the gullible "trend" to know any better, shows that many of the "anti-revisionist/anti-dogmatists" have learned *nothing* from the rich legacy the Afro-American national movement has brought to the Marxist-Leninist and the present-day revolutionary movement. Nor have they yet learned the ABC's of how to apply Marxism-Leninism to U.S. history and the problems of socialist revolution in the U.S.

The "race theory" of different forms and shades, from the liberals and legal Marxists (such as Line of March) and the modern revisionists (CPSU/CPUSA) to Trotsky and the Trotskyites (PLP, New Voice)—all have something in common. Theoretically their starting point is that the nation-state is the only basis for the national question; they use vulgar materialism and bourgeois a priori logic in applying Stalin's definition of a nation, and then conclude that it has never existed or that it has dissolved. Thus they declare that there is no material basis for the Afro-American nation, and no Afro-American national question.

The father of the race theory, Trotsky, wrote: "The Negroes are a race and not a nation: Nations grew out of the racial material under definite conditions. The Negroes in Africa are not yet a nation but they are in the process of building a nation. The American Negroes are on a higher cultural level. But while they are there under the pressure of the Americans they become interested in the development of the Negroes in Africa. . . . 99.9% of the American workers are chauvinists, in relation to the Negroes they are hangmen and they are also toward the Chinese. It is necessary to teach the American beasts."<sup>1</sup>

Like Trotsky, LM reduces the particular oppression of Afro-Americans to racism and racial oppression. In the most pragmatic Social Darwinist fashion, they synthesize the so-called material basis of racism.

### LM's Barely Hidden Chauvinism

LM covers up the real national and class content of the national question, national oppression and resistance, asserting that the national question can be or is already resolved within the confines of the imperialist system. The comprehensive historical materialist approach to the national question is liquidated. The strategic question of how to release the positive national sentiments of the Afro-American people both as part of the multi-national working class as well as a separate people and ally of the working class is liquidated. It is as if there is nothing in the historical or present-day bondage Afro-Americans suffer that gives them a particular historical mission as a people to contribute in the revolution in this country. It reduces in the most mechanical fashion the scope of the

national movement into mere immediate economic struggle against wage differentials or for the Ford Foundation's racial integration schemes, such as the Boston Forced Busing Plan.

LM tells us that "racial oppression is the principal basis for their (Afro-Americans) formation into a people." They also say, "A racial group is different than either a nation or a national minority. A racial group is identified on the basis of skin color. . . . In the U.S. to be 'white' also means 'not Black' and vice versa. Racial groups do not exist in isolation from one another, but only as interconnected poles of the oppressive social relation of racism." They add that "it is possible for nations to develop various types of relations with one another. They can be completely ignorant of each other's existence; there can be a relationship of equality, a relationship of dependence that is not necessarily oppressive. But there can be only one kind of relationship between racial groups, that of oppression."<sup>2</sup>

First we are told that there is no oppressed Afro-American nationality but a black racial group and that there could never be a relationship of equality between

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Afro-Americans and white people in this country, even under socialism. The only possible relations between blacks and whites is "oppression." White people oppress black people, black people oppress white people, or in a non-oppressive situation black people and whites would both lose their identity as a people. The entire historical destiny of Afro-Americans and their existence as a people is dependent entirely on whites overcoming their racism. It depends entirely on the subjective will of whites. Blacks have no positive identity of their own except that they are good anti-racist fighters.

What do they have to say about the role of Afro-American national culture—the Negro spirituals, the Negro National Anthem, the poetic and literary traditions which continue to play a strong role today in forging the Afro-American nationality? National culture is a necessity in the forging of any nation and any nationality. LM has no comprehension of the Niagara movement, the Garveyite movement, the Nation of Islam in the 50's, the Black Liberation Movement and Malcolm X, the Pan-Africanist movement and cultural nationalist movement, or the National Black Independent Political Party and National Black United Front today. Can LM say that any of these movements are simply anti-racist struggles? Does the historical nationalism of the Afro-American community simply spring from the sky? Do Afro-Americans have a natural tendency for "divisive" nationalism, as LM calls it? Or is national resistance a response to national oppression Afro-Americans suffer? Who is being real—LM or 30 million Afro-Americans?

Does LM think nationalism will disappear under socialism or do they plan to denounce nationalism as reactionary and repress it? This is exactly the scarcely hidden chauvinism of LM's racial analysis.

### Roots of Afro-American National Question

The forced removal of Africans and the start of the slave trade was the foundation for the industrial revolution in England and the backbone of the developing capitalist economy in New England. Not only was profit ripped off African labor in the Americas but the capitalists reaped huge profits from the business of shipping slaves. It was the rapacious development of rising capitalism that demanded the enslavement of the African, the genocide of American Indians, the robbery of East India and the forcing of European peasants off the land into starvation.

Slavery was one of the most brutal forms of exploitation of labor in U.S. history. The slave was considered inhuman and legally an inferior race. Slaves were owned as private property, like a plow. And slaves had the same rights as a plow. The slaves organized many forms of resistance such as refusing to work, breaking tools, escape routes (the Underground Railroad), and year-in, year-out rebellions, sometimes involving thousands of slaves.

The English demand for cotton combined with the invention of the cotton gin gave rise to an attempt by the Southern slave-owners to defeat the Northern bourgeoisie and extend the system of slavery North and West. This led to the Civil War of 1861-65. While the English bourgeoisie supported the South, the Civil War was primarily a struggle between the two systems, slavery and capitalism. As Marx wrote at the time:

"One sees. . . that the war of the Southern Confederacy is in the true sense of the word a war of conquest for the extension and perpetuation of slavery. . . The slave system would infect the whole Union. In the Northern states, where Negro slavery is in practice unworkable, the white working class would gradually be forced down the level of helotry. . . The present struggle between the South and the North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between *two social systems*, between the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system of the other."<sup>3</sup>

After the Civil War capitalism was given a green light to develop in the South and North. The Civil War was the second bourgeois democratic revolution in the U.S. From the perspective of the capitalists, it was a war to extend capitalism. But during the war and Reconstruction following the war, the main content of the black people's movement was against the slave plantation owners and the demand for land. Besides land, the ex-slaves demanded education, voting rights, representation in government, pay for their labor, and the right to own businesses.

The intense repression and resistance under slavery, and particularly the defeat of slavery, the victory of capitalism and the struggle during the Reconstruction period developed the Afro-American nationality. The

elements of the Afro-American nationality were gradually forged through hundreds of years under slavery. The different tribal dialects were replaced by the English language. Afro-Americans developed a common culture, such as Negro spirituals, which exists to this day. After the Civil War and under Reconstruction the gradual quantitative development of the Afro-American nationality took a qualitative leap, and finally brought forth the formation of a nation.

After General Sherman cut through Georgia and the North defeated the South, ex-slaves continued armed struggle throughout the entire period of Reconstruction. Reconstruction was a period of dual power, where blacks held state power in certain areas, controlled some state and local political offices, had representatives in Congress and developed a peoples' militia. During this period a network of black colleges was established (over 100) which exist to this day. Blacks moved rapidly to develop religious institutions, insurance companies, banks, and other businesses. A feeble nation was developed. But they were too late.

By 1880, U.S. capitalism was developing into monopoly capitalism, with a small group of finance capitalists monopolizing banking, industry, and transportation. The embryonic Afro-American nation was crushed. The target of the Afro-American people's struggle had shifted from the slave-owners to the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie. The Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877 represented the triumph of reaction, an alliance of the overthrown slave-owners and the Northern capitalists for a cheap, exploitable labor force. Blacks were stripped of the right to vote. Lynchings multiplied into thousands. Many blacks had their land stolen and there was a continual increase in the sharecropping system.<sup>4</sup> The Afro-Americans had weak political leadership, no independent black political party, and weak armed forces. Without these, blacks could not establish a nation-state and fully develop its national economy, culture, etc.

### LM Denies Formation of Afro-American Nationality

LM tells us, "Objectively this dynamically developing national economy, with the white bourgeoisie at the helm, amalgamated the incredibly diverse colonial population from throughout Europe and much of Africa into a single U.S. nationality. All 'Americans' shared a common national life although they occupied different class and racial positions within it. . . . Slaves were objectively integrated into the national economy and national life, but their political and economic powerlessness as slaves meant that they could be *subjectively* (emphasis in original) denied the American nationality."<sup>5</sup>

LM has done a whitewash over slavery and the formation of the Afro-American nationality. How were blacks "amalgamated" into a single U.S. nationality under slavery when blacks had no political rights, including the right to citizenship? How could blacks and whites share a common national life when black slaves could not leave the plantation, could not vote or own land and were excluded from national life in every way? Who is LM trying to kid?

If the denial of national rights and economic power means nothing and what counts is objective integration

into the U.S. national economy, then why weren't India and Southern China part of the U.S. nationality as well? Their economies were also integrated into the U.S. and British national economies as well, "objectively." It is struggle precisely against this chauvinist line of "objective integration" that forges nations, the U.S. nation included. It was precisely against the British chauvinist line that the U.S. colonies are objectively integrated with the English national economy that the war of 1776 was fought. It is precisely the struggle for political rights and economic power, what LM calls "subjective" denial, that has given rise to national liberation struggles against U.S. and British imperialism around the world. LM's arbitrariness on the national question even exceeds the chauvinism of the British imperialists. It is an imperialist annexationist argument. They argue the same way the Rockefellers argue, for example, that Puerto Rico is part of the "dynamically developing" U.S. national economy and has no right to self-determination.

LM argues: "Blacks have never been a nation in that they have never had a distinct capitalist economy, territory, etc. . . . But they are a people whose common conditions of life in a racist system have produced a cultural distinctness and political/psychological solidarity that is a material force in the class struggle."

LM turns reality totally upside down. The development of capitalism forged the development of nations as a historical reaction to the oppression. It was precisely during the period of the primitive accumulation of capital, that the characteristics of a nation, in India and in the Black Belt got delineated. At first there is no common territory, boundaries, "distinct" economy, etc. There is the development of a common language and culture, then a call for a nation. It then develops a nation-state *through struggle*. To say a nation must have full development of a "distinct" economy before it can be considered a nation with a right to self-determination is begging the question. Which comes first, the chicken or the egg? The national characteristics of an oppressed nation cannot become distinct or fully developed until it becomes a nation-state. To repeat the words to LM of the National Negro Convention in their 1864 declaration of *Wrong and Rights* to the U.S. government: ". . . we have been denounced as incurably ignorant, and, at the same time, have been, by stern enactments, debarred from taking even the first step toward enlightenment and personal and national elevation; we have been declared incapable of self-government by those who refused us the right of experience in that direction. . . ."

"We claim that we are, by right, entitled to respect; that due attention should be given to our needs; that proper rewards should be given for our services and that the immunities and privileges of all other citizens and defenders of the nation's honor should be conceded to us. We claim the right to be heard in the halls of Congress; and we claim our fair share of the public domain [the Black Belt South: editor], whether acquired by purchase, treaty, confiscation, or military conquest."

The inexcusable error LM makes theoretically is that they think capitalism liquidates nations rather than creates nations, forges their character, and sharpens the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations.

If LM argues that there is no nation in the BBS, how

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## Line of March has no comprehension of the Afro-American national movement or its history.

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do they view the nations and national liberation movements in Africa, which have even less class differentiation and "distinct" economy? Consider the words of Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau: "The working class hardly exists as a defined class, it is just an embryo. There is no *economically viable* bourgeoisie because imperialism prevented it being created."

If LM is to be consistent, they must also argue that many African countries are not nations and that many national liberation movements in Africa (past and present—including Namibia's SWAPO, Polasario and PLO in the Middle East today) have no material basis. They have no "distinct" economy or developed class structure. On what basis can their national liberation movement be supported? This is the logical outcome of the logical-historical analysis and methodology of liquidating the Afro-American national question. If it smacks of Trotskyism to the reader, that's because it *is* Trotskyism. It's the classical, revisionist and Trotskyite liquidation of the national question.

LM has already drawn the conclusion in relation to South Africa. "The U.S. nationality includes Blacks and whites, as well as other people of color of Asian and Latin American ancestry. The South African nationality includes whites, Blacks, Asians, and 'coloureds'."

The blacks of South Africa (Azanians) have been forged into a common nationality in the struggle against the white settler regime of South Africa. The white chauvinist logic of LM liquidates the existence of oppressed nationalities and the right to self-determination precisely where national oppression is most pronounced. This naked white chauvinism and national nihilism have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism whatsoever. LM's comfortable philosophical view liquidates the whole bloody process in the formation of nations and the struggle for nationhood.

### Racist and National Oppression

It can be seen that LM's liquidation of the Black Belt South nation is off the wall. But blacks *do* suffer racial oppression. What is the connection between racial oppression and national oppression? And what is the difference between the two? Why is there so much popular confusion on this question, and why does LM add to this popular confusion? These questions must be answered, if only in brief.

First, what is racism? Racism is the ideology holding that racial differences among people (such as the color of the skin and natural biological features) are the basis for social differences, i.e. inequality. And further, that these biological racial qualities determine a people's material and spiritual life, that people are divided into a "superior" race and "inferior" race. The former is

destined to rule and the latter is sub-human, destined to be ruled.

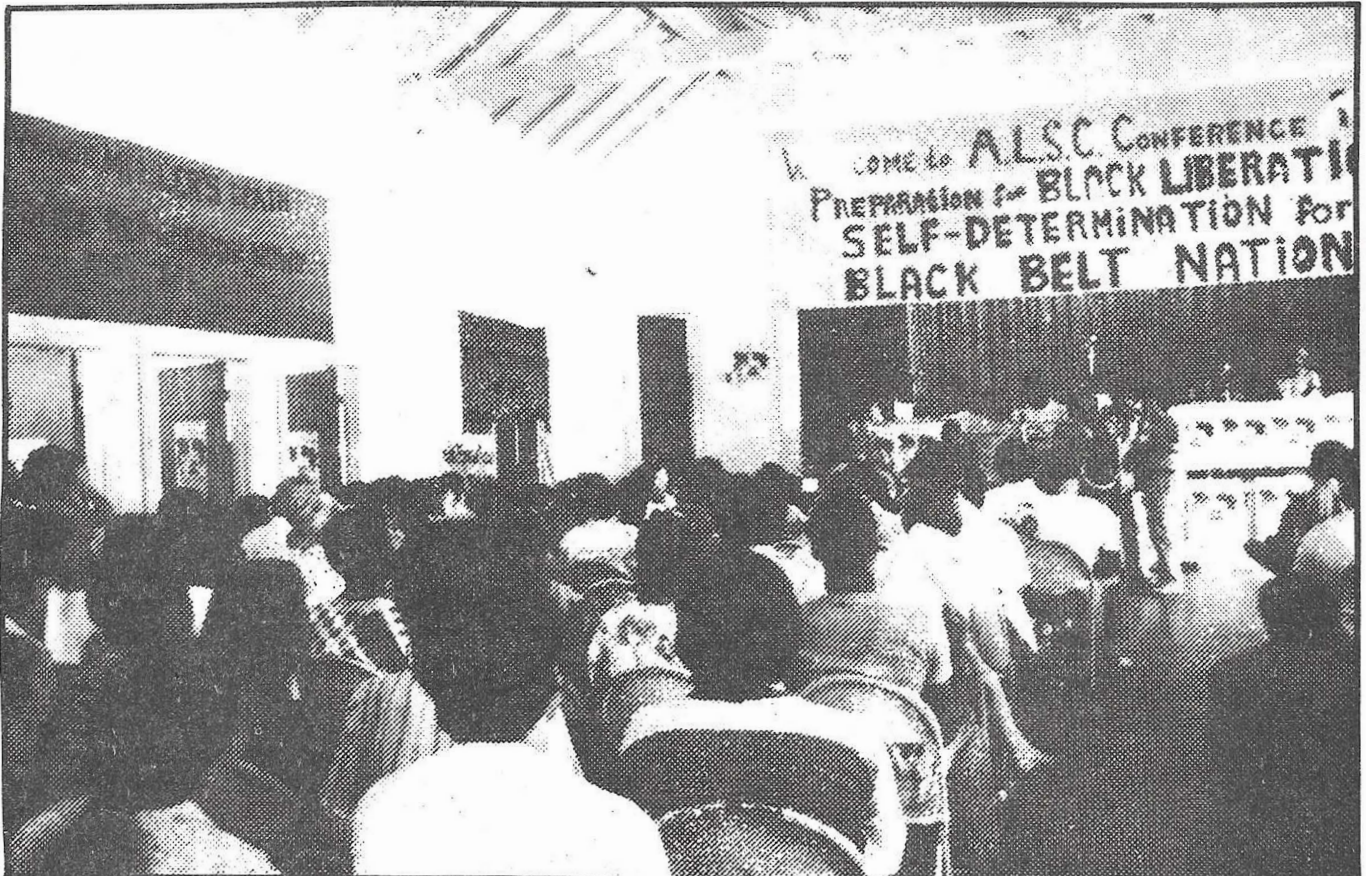
From the beginning racism was a false conception of history. Racist ideology covers up the objective and real social relations between people, which are the relation between the productive forces and the relations of production, and class contradictions, which under slavery was the contradiction between slaves and slave-owners. Racism in the U.S. historically arose from the material conditions of slavery in the South and has been actively promoted by the bourgeoisie ever since. With the development of imperialism, the U.S. bourgeoisie further used racism for their plunder of colonial and semi-colonial countries, thereby transforming racism into a most brutal reactionary imperialist ideology. Although the *original* material conditions under slavery that gave rise to racism have long been transformed, racism as an ideology did not passively die away. This is an example of the relative independence of ideology from the material base.

Slavery and racism hampered the development of capitalism in the U.S. before, during, and shortly after the Civil War, and that was why the northern bourgeoisie supported the abolition movement against slavery and racism. But once they won their victory, they turned around and utilized racism, remolded it to their monopoly capitalist interests for *national* (and colonial) oppression, using many of the old *forms* but *changing* the class and national *content*.

Because racism, chauvinism and nationalism exist in

the ideological superstructure (people's thinking), the day-to-day oppression of blacks manifests itself in both national and racist forms. But the real *content* of this oppression and resistance is not a racial question but a national and class question. For example, Jesse Helms of North Carolina may consider himself just a good ol' racist, but in content he is a bourgeois imperialist. Likewise, Malcolm X originally thought the oppression of blacks stemmed from racial exploitation; he called white people the enemy. He later came to see the true content of the oppression of Afro-Americans as *class* and national oppression, which stemmed from *capitalism*. He then identified, not white people, but the capitalist "bloodsuckers," as the enemy.

The fact that the manifestation of national oppression takes on a racial form is precisely because racist ideology reacts on the base. As Engels said, "The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—and even the *reflexes* of all these struggles *in the brains of the participants*, political, juristic, philosophic theories, religious views and their further development into a *system of dogma*—also *exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles* and in many cases *preponderate in determining their form*."<sup>10</sup> For example, the struggle of blacks for emancipation under slavery often took the form of acute religious distress and yearning of salvation from God to deliver them from evil. Was the real content a yearning for God or a yearning for freedom? Was the content aimed against "evil" or against the slave system?



The sixth annual African Liberation Support Committee Conference held in Greensboro, North Carolina, 1978. Self-determination for the Black Belt Nation was a theme of the conference.

Because day-to-day black oppression manifests itself in racial forms does not mean that racism has a material base under capitalism. Nor does it mean that the content of black oppression is racial exploitation. If that were true than all whites would benefit from racial exploitation and all whites would have a material interest in maintaining the racial system. The struggle would be between the "reactionary" white workers and the races, not between classes, oppressed and oppressor nations.

Of course this is the view of PLP and other assorted Trotskyites. And, of course (you guessed it), this is the view of LM—white workers are "cushioned," white workers have a "white community of interests" with the bourgeoisie and so on. But we will address this later. Let it suffice to say that LM race theory can lead nowhere but to a thoroughly reactionary anti-working class Trot line. It is the labor aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie who are "cushioned" with crumbs from the bourgeoisie's table, not the masses of white workers. The serious problem is not that white workers are "cushioned," but that too many LM Editorializers are "cushioned." This is the material base for LM Editorializers' petty-bourgeois, anti-working class views and their chauvinism. As Lenin pointed out: "Chauvinism and opportunism in the labor movement have the same economic base—the alliance between a numerically small upper stratum of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie."<sup>11</sup>

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## The national characteristics of an oppressed nation cannot become distinct or fully developed until it becomes a nation-state.

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### LM Twists Lenin's Line

We do not derive our authority on the Afro-American national question from Lenin's limited writings on the subject. But what little Lenin did write LM distorts. LM "walks around" Lenin's dialectical understanding of the national question.

After classing Afro-Americans an "oppressed nation," Lenin goes on to explain "that the especially favorable conditions in America for the development of capitalism . . . produced a situation in which vast national differences are speedily and fundamentally, as nowhere else in the world, smoothed out to form a single 'American' nation." Here Lenin was clearly referring to "the white population . . . 88.7% of the total." Lenin classed Afro-Americans with the Irish in England's annexed territory who both "belong to unequal nationalities."<sup>12</sup> Lenin never lumped Afro-Americans an the white population into a single "American" nation (the melting pot theory), but this is exactly what LM does. They are very fond of quoting Lenin's statement concerning the "single 'American' nation" but they quote Lenin completely out of context. They never quote Lenin's line on Afro-Americans in the South, which was that they are an "oppressed nation." Half-quoting, and

quoting out of context, seems to be a devious habit of LM.

LM's technique of liquidating the nation is their same old "logical-historical" crap and a mechanical checklist approach on Stalin's criteria for a nation, e.g., a common language, territory, economy, and culture. The inexcusable error LM makes, theoretically, is that they fail to make the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. What really hangs them methodologically, however, is their infatuation with abstract elementary logic, which makes it impossible for them to see the complex interrelations of national and racial oppression in the real world.

### Oppressed and Oppressor Nations

Lenin pointed out that the "nation-state" is the form *most suited* to modern "capitalist, civilized, economically progressive conditions, as distinguished from medieval, pre-capitalist, etc." But, "To this we must add Kautsky's still more precise concluding remark that states of mixed national composition (known as multi-national states, as distinct from national states) are 'always those whose internal constitution has for some reason or other remained abnormal or underdeveloped' (backward)."<sup>13</sup>

Stalin adds: "This special method of formation of states could take place only where feudalism had not yet been eliminated, where capitalism was feebly developed, where the nationalities which had been forced into the background had not yet been able to consolidate themselves economically into integrated nations."<sup>14</sup>

### The Black Belt Nation

Lenin wrote: "They [the Negroes] should be classed as an *oppressed nation*, for the equality won in the Civil War of 1861-65 and guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic was increasingly curtailed in the chief Negro areas (the South) in connection with the transition from the progressive, pre-monopoly capitalism (imperialism) of the new era, which in America was especially sharply etched out by the Spanish-American imperialist war of 1898 (i.e., a war between two robbers over the division of the booty)."<sup>15</sup> (emphasis added)

### Afro-American National Question and Preparation for Socialist Revolution

The Afro-American national movement is a direct reserve and component part of the proletarian revolution in the U.S. The chief enemy of the Afro-American people and target of the proletarian revolution are the same—the U.S. monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie. Only the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialism can set the basis to guarantee freedom and consistent equality for the Afro-American people and an end to national oppression. The problem of communist strategy in relation to the Afro-American people is, as stated earlier, the general mobilization disposition of the Afro-American people as a whole against monopoly capitalism, based on the positive national sentiments of Afro-Americans as a part of the multi-national working class and as a separate people. Communists must be able to win over the best representatives of the Afro-American people, its most advanced and revolutionary fighters. Communists must

prove themselves the most consistent fighters against national oppression. They must have a correct analysis of the various classes in the black community and must apply correct tactics towards them.

The overwhelming majority of Afro-Americans are workers. They suffer both class and national oppression. They are the last hired and first fired, work the worst jobs and are the most victimized by the monopolies. Afro-American workers have a militant history, and are one of the most politically conscious sectors of the working class.

The black bourgeoisie is a small and relatively weak class. It has never developed because of imperialist oppression. Objectively, whether they are conscious of it or not, the black bourgeoisie stands in contradiction to monopoly capitalism, and is an ally of the socialist revolution. A recent *Black Enterprise* article on Wallace and Wallace (the second largest black business with \$1 million in yearly sales) illustrates the point. Wallace, the owner, is a leading black Republican. Nonetheless, his own economic position has placed him in acute opposition to both the Carter and Reagan Administrations, which represent the big monopolies, including the oil monopolies. Wallace refines oil. The struggle for economic survival has led him to support struggles in the third world and the U.S. directed against the oil monopolies and against discrimination. The article says: " 'He's a small businessman who's been trying to buck the oil barons,' said one congressman familiar with the ups and downs of Wallace and Wallace's relationship with the federal government. 'The profits he's been making have been poured into the refinery. But every time he moves two steps forward, he gets knocked back'...Wallace says that he's been able to stay in business in the past three years only because of his friendship with two foreign governments—Venezuela and Libya. 'If it wasn't for them, we wouldn't be here talking about a success story,' he says. 'My family would be on food stamps. They (Libya and Venezuela) saw me as a mirror of themselves before 1974, when OPEC was formed...They used to get kicked around, too.' The six-foot four inch entrepreneur fumes when he talks about his business problems...His troubles all started, he says, when Carter Administration officials decided that he was moving too fast.'"<sup>16</sup>

The plight of Wallace and Wallace is characteristic of the black bourgeoisie as a whole. Communists must know how to utilize the contradictions between the black bourgeoisie and monopoly capitalism in order to unite the Afro-American people as a whole to oppose monopoly capitalism. Not to do so is Trotskyist toying with the revolution, rather than serious preparation to overthrow monopoly capitalism.

LM predictably takes a backward view on the Afro-American liberation movement. They say that the black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are not strategic class allies of the proletarian revolution. They argue that while this analogy is correct for "real" national liberation movements, it does not apply to the struggle of Afro-Americans in this country. Their words on the black bourgeoisie are: "The miniscule minority bourgeoisie may unite with the struggle against inequality and the denial of democratic rights because they are obstacles to

their class advancement. But their class interests stand fully in favor of capitalist private property, and even with racism, in that they, too, can unite with the usefulness of a specially exploitable workforce. In addition, certain black bourgeoisie depend on a revolutionary struggle against racism."<sup>17</sup>

We wonder if by their revolutionary struggle against racism LM means the overthrow of monopoly capitalism, or are they talking about something totally different? The target of the proletarian revolution is not capitalism *in general*; it is not aimed at small and medium-sized farmers, nor at small and medium-sized businesses (such as black business).

The target of the revolution is not capitalist private property *in general*, but the handful of finance capitalists who maintain a *stranglehold* over the entire economy. The monopoly capitalists not only strangle the workers, they also strangle small and medium businesses, and they attempt to strangle each other. It's outright stupidity to say that the interests of the black bourgeoisie stand "fully in favor of capitalist private property." It's 100 years too late to talk about capitalist private property *in general*, when capitalism has already developed into *monopoly capitalism* into imperialism. This is the era of *imperialism*, and the class interests of the black bourgeoisie "stand fully" *against* imperialism. To refuse such *allies* as the black bourgeoisie and farmers is refusing to take up the *class struggle against imperialism*.

LM says the black petty bourgeoisie is "in a contradictory position." "Their class interest vacillates, and many of them depend on the continuation of racism to maintain their petit bourgeois status as merchants, servicers, ministers, or professionals for the oppressed black community."<sup>18</sup> How LM can think that the black petty bourgeoisie *depends on racism* to maintain their status is beyond reason. Over 80% of the black beauty parlors, barbeque pits, art studios, etc. cannot survive their first year. Why? Precisely because they are oppressed. Black ministers and artists neither need racism nor depend on it. This totally sick liquidationist logic overflows from the belief that black culture, art, and religion are simply a reaction against racism and once racism disappears, so will black culture. LM believes racism and capitalism help black culture flourish! This is truly a racist argument on a high level. The oppression of Afro-Americans under capitalism does not help the black petty bourgeoisie or black culture and institutions to flourish, it blocks that development in every way. With the overthrow of capitalism black culture will grow and develop manifold, its revolutionary aspects will be promoted and developed as part of the U.S. multinational socialist culture. It will not disintegrate and disappear as the LM chauvinists wish.

### LM and the Right to Self-Determination

The right to self-determination means the right to secession, to separate land and government, control over the schools and other institutions. It does not mean community control, where monopoly capitalists rule the government and various nationalities fight for control over the crumbs handed down to them.

Stalin wrote: "The right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its

destiny, that no one has the right to *forcibly* interfere in the life of the nation, to *destroy* its schools and other institutions, to *violate* its habits and customs, to *repress* its language, or *curtail* its rights.”<sup>19</sup>

The right to self-determination is not a reformist demand, as in the demand for “community control.” The right to self-determination cannot be won under the confines of imperialism for the reason that imperialism is reactionary all along the line. U.S. imperialism could not exist without the suppression of unequal nations and colonies.

Communists do not view self-determination as a thing in itself, but subordinate to the general struggle for socialism. Communists uphold the *right* of self-determination for all oppressed nations *unconditionally*, and oppose forced annexations “from above.” However, communists distinguish between the general content of nationalism directed at monopoly capitalism, and narrow nationalism (or national exclusiveness), which is directed at other peoples. Therefore communists may agitate for or against secession depending on whether or not it weakens imperialism, and whether or not it strengthens proletarian unity.

Today, communists have the task of propaganda and agitation for the right of self-determination for the historical homeland of Afro-Americans in the Black Belt. This is important both to educate and combat chauvinist prejudices within the working class movement, as well as to win the confidence of the Afro-American people. This is an essential revolutionary task for all communists to struggle for the unity of the working class.

LM tells us: “The political strategy to defeat racial oppression is also different from the one required to end national oppression. The liberation of an oppressed nation from an oppressor nation means winning the right to self-determination and either becoming an independent nation or an equal partner within a federated multi-national state. Neither of these solutions is correct for racial oppression. Racially oppressed peoples make up only a portion of the class structure in the U.S. and therefore have no basis either to win or exercise the right of self-determination. In fact, such demands would place the burden of the struggle against racism solely upon Black people, with others reduced to supporting them and working for revolution in their ‘own’ country (much as we do in relation to national liberation struggles in other

parts of the world). On the other hand, these demands strengthen narrow nationalism and utopian illusions among Black people.”<sup>20</sup>

Today, there is no popular movement among Afro-Americans for self-determination. Afro-Americans obviously understand the economic and geographical benefits of a larger state. The possibility exists to unite white and black workers to fight the budget cuts, plant closings, layoffs, as well as against Klan terror, etc. The possibility exists to unite black and white workers in a general assault against capitalism, in a direct struggle for socialism without intermediary stages, such as the secession of the Black Belt South. This would be the most direct route towards the emancipation of black and all exploited and oppressed people in the U.S. At present, when there is no popular movement for secession, when the possibility exists to unite the proletariat for a direct assault against the capitalist system, to agitate for actual secession (as opposed to upholding the *right* to secession) would only divide the class and foster narrow nationalism. However, to draw from this the conclusion that the right to self-determination is an empty slogan with no “practicality” is a profound mistake.

“But what solution would be most compatible with the interests of the toiling masses? Autonomy, federation or separation?”

“All these problems the solution of which will depend on the concrete historical conditions in which the given nation finds itself.

“More than that; conditions, like everything else, change, and a decision which is correct at one particular time may prove to be entirely unsuitable at another.”<sup>21</sup>

A sharp line must be drawn with the chauvinist or national nihilist who cannot even conceive of conditions, such as fascist pogroms (like the genocide against Jews in Europe), under which the demand for secession would become a popular and immediate revolutionary demand of the Afro-American people where conditions make life unbearable. Under such conditions, the support for the right of self-determination could well determine whether the proletariat could be united to overthrow imperialism or not. Under such conditions, the CWP would fight for immediate secession of the Black Belt South, in order to weaken imperialism and to unite the Afro-American people and the working class movement to heighten the struggle for socialism. It may take much less than an Auschwitz to spark a movement for self-determination in this country.

It could be the denial of the voting rights act in the South which sparks off a movement for self-determination. But what sparks off a movement for self-determination is not the issue here. The issue here is that the basis for such a movement exists. It exists because of the historical character of national oppression against Afro-Americans which is not decreasing but *increasing* and it exists in the historical character of national resistance of the Afro-American people.

A brief look at the editorial pages of major black newspapers will prove the point. Carl Rowan, a nationally syndicated black conservative, recently wrote in summation of the 1981 NAACP Conference that “President Reagan is absolutely convinced that the social programs of the last 50 years failed, and have left blacks in bon-

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**The white chauvinist logic of Line of March liquidates the existence of oppressed nationalities and the right of self-determination precisely where national oppression is most pronounced — as in South Africa.**

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Sandi Smith addresses the ALSC Conference. Sandi was a founding member of the Youth Organization for Black Unity in the early 70's, became a communist and helped lead the CWP's work in the Black Belt South. She was assassinated by the KKK/Nazis and U.S. federal agents on November 3, 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina.

dage... But the blacks he spoke to think of the very social programs that he derided as being the difference between *black survival and black genocide* over the next half century... The problem is that this president is 'coming from' places, social circles, intentions, that even the most affluent among those black delegates do not understand and have not been programmed to accept."<sup>22</sup> (Emphasis added)

These words from a leading black *conservative* show that the Afro-American people are no longer able to live in the old way. The crisis of the 80s will give rise to demands and fights that LM unprophetically calls "utopian illusions." Carlos Russell, a leading black political scientist and journalist wrote recently, "We have to take a bold step... We have to build an independent party; an independent newspaper; an *independent foreign policy*. Yes, we have to make linkages with other Africans, and the Arabs, and be willing to think unthinkable thoughts, such as an independent economic policy based on foreign capital."<sup>23</sup>

These are by no means the isolated sentiments of Carlos Russell, but represent a rising view within the leading circles in the black economic, religious, and social and political circles. Does the call for an independent black foreign policy, and an independent economic policy sound like a simple anti-racist struggle? No. They reflect the growing demand for self-determination as a means for survival for Afro-American businesses, intellectuals, and masses. It does not take a great leap in logic to see how massive repression or economic strangulation could give rise to the demand for self-determination in the Black Belt South as a way of rallying the Afro-American people and reversing the tendency towards dispersion. *Black Enterprise* recently wrote: "As

resistance to our progress grows and as the conservatives attempt to dismantle programs which helped move us forward, a sense of community becomes more important than ever. The sense of collective struggle is made more difficult by the geographic dispersion and economic divergence which has developed in the last two decades among black people."<sup>24</sup>

For LM's argument that supporting the right to self-determination reduces the tasks of "whites to supporting a national liberation struggle and separates it from the process of revolution in this country," we say LM has "utopian illusions" about revolution in this country. Supporting the liberation movement of Afro-American people is a crucial task to unite the multi-national working class and a component part of revolution in *this* country. To ignore this is not "harmful in the struggle against racism," it is racism. Supporting the struggle against national oppression and the right to self-determination of Afro-Americans cannot be "much as we do in relation to national liberation struggles in other parts of the world," the political implications are much greater for the revolution in this country and the support must be a thousand times greater and more direct.

Lenin pointed out the significance of the national question in Europe long ago. The lessons of the black liberation movement in the sixties drew out the significance of his argument for the revolution in the U.S. most sharply. Lenin wrote: "The struggle of the oppressed nations *in Europe*, a struggle capable of going all the way to insurrection and street fighting, capable of breaking down the iron discipline of the army and martial law, will 'sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe' to an infinitely greater degree than a much more developed rebellion in a remote colony. A blow delivered against the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland is a hundred times more significant politically than a blow of equal force delivered in Asia or in Africa."<sup>25</sup>

Only monstrous doctrinairism of pedantic chauvinists, who neither learned anything from the sixties nor knows anything of the eighties could deny the immense revolutionary significance of supporting the right to self-determination of the Afro-American people, and its implications for sharpening the class struggle in the U.S.

### LM's Absurd Line on Struggle For Democratic Rights

"The solution to national minority rights is equal rights, but [equal rights] is no solution to racial oppression. The overthrow of capitalism, not the equality of language and culture or the right of self-determination, is the strategic program of the struggle against racism."<sup>26</sup>

From the theoretical standpoint, this is an absurdity. Lenin wrote long ago, "All democratic demands are 'unachievable' under imperialism in the sense that politically they are hard to achieve or totally unachievable without a series of revolutions."<sup>27</sup>

The history of the Afro-American liberation movement fully confirms Lenin's analysis. What have been the character of these "reformist" demands of blacks in the North? They have been for example:

- I. The struggle against terror, violence, and

abuse: whether by police, racist organizations, or individuals.

- a. For the outlawing and disbanding of the KKK, etc.
  - b. The right to bear arms and organize for self-defense.
  - c. For the immediate release of all victims of white ruling class frame-up.
  - d. Abolish the death penalty.
- II. The unqualified right to vote.
- a. Equal black political representation, and the right to sit on all juries.
  - b. An end to gerrymandering and redistricting to ensure maximum political representation for blacks.
- III. Black workers.
- a. Full employment. Complete equality with white workers in wages, hours, and working conditions.
  - b. Enforcement of right of blacks to work any job in all trades and professions.
  - c. Full employment and welfare compensation for the unemployed at government and business expense.
- IV. Housing.
- a. An end to residential segregation known as "redlining."
  - b. For an end to special high rents in black neighborhoods
  - c. For adequate facilities in black neighborhoods for health, recreation and culture (free clinics, hospitals, playgrounds, pools, libraries, etc.).
  - d. For tearing down dilapidated housing now inhabited by blacks and their replacement with sanitary and well-built, quality apartments and houses at the government's expense.
- V. Education
- a. The unrestricted opportunity of blacks to secure high school and college education of their own choosing.
  - b. For tearing down the shacks and fire-traps used as school buildings, and against overcrowding, part-time sessions and corporal punishment..
  - c. For building new modern high schools and elementary schools with equal equipment, curricula, staff and appropriations.
  - d. For adoption of textbooks and histories that give a true account of blacks. To get rid of those which promote white superiority. For popularization of the revolutionary traditions of black people around the world.<sup>28</sup>

I will end here, although I have not even touched on the historic demands of black women, youth, professionals, soldiers, businessmen and landowners. These demands have been fought for in various ways including legal channels, mass resistance to evictions, boycotts, take-overs, and literally hundreds of revolutionary uprisings. There are long histories of heroic struggle behind

every one of these "reformist" demands.

Have these historic demands ever been met by the capitalist system? Are they increasingly being met? No, the answer is the opposite. National oppression and inequality have been steadily increasing throughout the era of imperialism to qualitatively new proportions today. Certainly democratic demands can be fought for in a reformist way. But the point is that you can never win them that way. This fact has become increasingly clear to Afro-American people in the last 20 years.

The struggle for equality and democracy has produced many astounding popular revolutionary leaders such as Malcolm X, who realized blacks can *never* win

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## Line of March thinks racism and capitalism helps black culture flourish! This is truly a racist argument on a high level.

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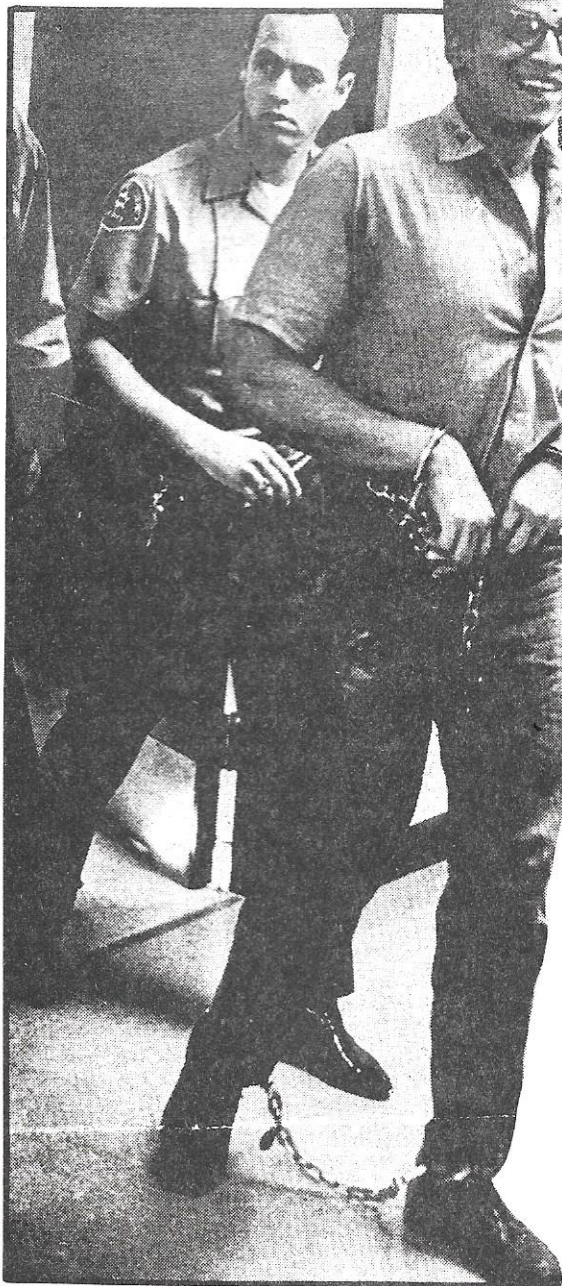
freedom and equality under capitalism. It's "like trying to get a chicken from a duck egg," he said. Malcolm X was profoundly correct. Why is it that LM, with all their Marxist schooling and historical scope, cannot catch up?

It is LM who is tailing the black liberation movement. The May 1980 rebellion in Miami which was consciously focused at police and government institutions, showed that Afro-Americans are coming to see that the struggle for equality and the struggle against imperialism are synonymous. Who will lead this struggle? Certainly not the LM liquidators.

What political demands can the Line of March race line offer? Is their support for the Boston forced busing plan an example of their "revolutionary strategy"? The Boston forced busing plan was used to split backs and whites, and did nothing to upgrade the quality of schools in the black community. In fact, it closed down schools and laid off teachers as part of the plan. It buses blacks to the most rundown schools in the area. Is this what LM calls progress? Blacks in Boston were not demanding some artificial equality or integration into white neighborhoods. What they wanted was *quality* schools in *the black community* and the *right* to go to the school of their choice, which would more likely be petty-bourgeois suburban schools with good facilities rather than a dilapidated South Boston High. The Boston busing plan was *forced* not only because whites didn't want it, but because blacks didn't want it either. *Forced* integration with no improvement in the real education and quality of black schools is revolutionary according to the race thesis. It must be, because now you can say you have whites off their "cushion" sitting in dilapidated black schools, and blacks (on a "cushion") in the most *dilapidated* white schools. It is around such empty Ford Foundation integrationist schemes designed to pit white workers against blacks such as the bourgeoisie's Boston forced busing plan that Line of March hopes to unite white and black workers to fight for revolution.

What other political demands can the race thesis of-

George Jackson, Malcolm X and Fred Hampton. Revolutionary leaders of the black liberation movement in the sixties, they linked the struggle for equality and freedom to the overthrow of capitalism. All three were murdered by the U.S. government.



fer in their "strategy for revolution?" What does a revolutionary struggle against *racism* look like? What are black people going to win? Is LM going to get everybody to promise not to be racist anymore? are they going to launch a moral "good vibes" crusade among white people? This is not good enough. LM cannot possibly translate "anti-racism" into concrete revolutionary demands which meet the needs and aspirations of Afro-American people for an end to national oppression, for genuine equality and democratic rights.

The popular revolutionary program for socialism in the United States must include equal rights for Afro-Americans (and all oppressed nationalities) as a component part. The struggle for equality and the right to self-determination are the primary demands which guarantee national freedom for the Afro-American people. To negate this is chauvinism and national nihilism pure and simple. The socialist revolution will be a sham and a humbug (and quite impossible) without an uncompromising revolutionary struggle for the equal rights including *the right to self-determination* for the Afro-American people.

### **LM's Reactionary Anti-Working Class Line**

LM's race theory can only lead to a reactionary class standpoint on both the question of class analysis of white workers *and* the Afro-American national movement in this country. They say: "The principal contradiction of racism is between the white bourgeoisie and racial minorities. . . . The secondary contradiction for racism is between the white racial group and the Black (or non-white) racial group. The extension of racial privilege to white people is based on its opposite, racial oppression of minorities. . . . The unity of the white racial group behind the bourgeoisie is the critical support for racism and bourgeois rule in the U.S. generally. That unity and those privileges must be smashed."<sup>9</sup>

To assert that white workers are "privileged" in the middle of today's economic crisis is not a statement of the conditions of most white workers but only of how isolated LM is from the suffering and the angry temperament of the masses of white workers.

The race theory inevitably obscures the fundamental class division between proletariat and bourgeoisie. It is entirely no surprise that LM's United Front Against War and Racism "strategy" attaches no strategic importance to leading the class struggle among white workers.

For LM, the ultimate strategic question is that the U.S. working class must "break completely" with racism before there can be a revolution. LM's trade union position also boils down to "bringing the line of opposition to war and racism to the labor movement." Here, LM has made a fundamental break with historical materialism. The masses make revolution not out of some mystical spiritual transformation, but out of historical and practical necessity. If revolution depended on a "complete break" with racism, there would never be a revolution.

As long as capitalism exists, racism will continue to exist. If you were to tell black workers that under socialism white workers will "break completely" with racism, none would be so naive as to believe you. You will never convince the majority of whites to make

revolution out of feeling sorry for blacks.

It is precisely in the thick of the struggle of white workers against the bourgeoisie on issues most hurting *to them* that racism and militarism must be exposed as tools of the ruling class. Communists must organize white workers by fighting for OSHA, job security and other basic economic issues, and win their respect. It is on the basis of fighting in the class struggle that workers will respect and respond to communist leadership to fight national oppression and racism. This is the real challenge which LM conveniently avoids. They would rather wage an ideological crusade to purify white workers and make them "break completely" with racism before they start strategically organizing them for revolution.

This approach is extremely similar to that of the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee which instead of politically analyzing and solving the ways to win over workers and black people to communism, "solves" it by an ideological crusade to purify their heads. The LM wants to anti-racize the entire U.S. working class "completely." They try hard to amplify the PWOC's incorrect line on the national question a thousand-fold. Certainly they will have even less luck. In fact, their line will lead to a narrowing of communist influence in the class, and will result (if practiced by those in the plants) to helping the working class to the right.

### **Conclusion**

LM has not broken with any of the worst chauvinist prejudices which have been pushed by revisionists and Trotskyites historically. That is, the underlying view that nationalism is reactionary, and that white workers are reactionary. This is the underlying basis and inescapable conclusion of all race theories. It can only lead to a liquidation of our revolutionary tasks in both the working class and national movements. Many communists in the movement have a sufficient background in the workplaces and national movements, and a sufficient grasp of Marxist theory not to be diverted for a few minutes. But the advancement of class and national struggle itself will seal the verdict on liquidationism. Fortunately, the future of the communist movement is much brighter than the historical irrelevance LM's race thesis has "condemned" themselves to.

LM should remain in their amorphous state, because in their obsession to distinguish themselves as theorists of the U.S. revolution they only expose their backwardness. The more LM persists, the worse it gets, and the more

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**In conclusion, Line of March has not broken with any of the worst chauvinist prejudices pushed by revisionists and Trotskyites historically.**

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you dig into it, the more its reactionary class content comes out. As the old Chinese proverb goes, "the guts of a pig show nothing but the shit." They will *not* win over the best revolutionary leaders of the Afro-American people with this thoroughly chauvinist line. Only the most blind chauvinists and national nihilists will follow this line. LM has forgotten how many revolutionary Afro-Americans have died for the principles LM so easily negates. Revolutionary Afro-Americans will only laugh in their face, if they don't spit in it first. □

### Postscript

After we had finished writing this article, the pamphlet "The New Communist Movement: An Obituary" by the Movement for a Revolutionary Left came to our attention. Written by a collective in Eugene, Oregon, it has the following significant passages regarding the Line of March:

"Some now consider that the question of whether or not to merge with the CP (the revisionist Communist Party, U.S.A.), or create a separate structure is purely a tactical question (The Line of March)... Those in and around *The Line of March* in late 1980 began to actively seek a comradesly dialogue with the C.P...."

The cat is out of the bag. Having reversed the verdict on the fierce struggle against revisionism that took place in the New Communist Movement in the late 60s and throughout the 70s, the Line of March revisionists have found their true home. No longer hiding under "anti-revisionism," they have followed their lines to their logical conclusion — political and soon organizational unity with the modern revisionists of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

In contrast, we of the CWP have never for a moment forgotten the lessons Lenin taught on the character of revisionists — as appropriate here as when we first printed them in 1975 in the struggle against the revisionism of the October League (now the near-defunct Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist):

"An opportunist will put his name to any formula and as readily abandon it, because opportunism is precisely a lack of definite and firm principles." (*What Is To Be Done*, 1902) And also, "When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget a feature that is characteristic of present-day opportunism in every sphere, namely, its vagueness, diffuseness, ellusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree' with both and reduce his difference of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, good and pious suggestions, and so on and so forth." (*One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, 1904)

The role of the Line of March Editorial Board in the communist movement is now clear as are their "tactical" considerations. As hidden agents of the revisionist Communist Party, U.S.A., they are trying to hoodwink the comrades into repudiating every struggle against revisionism learned in the last decade. More sinister yet is their attempt to corral those in the communist movement into a headlong march into the swamp of counterrevolutionary revisionism and into the arms of its main propo-  
nent in the U.S. — the CPUSA.

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2. *Working Papers of the National Conference on Racism and National Oppression* (NCRNO), Oakland: Line of March Publications, 1981, 23.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, New York: International Publishers, 1974, 79-81.
4. Lenin graphically illustrated how monopoly capitalism intensified and perpetuated the semi-feudal semi-slave conditions of Afro-Americans in his study on capitalist agriculture:  
"Having 'freed' the Negroes, it [the American bourgeoisie] took good care, under 'free' republican-democratic capitalism, to resort to everything possible, and do everything possible and impossible for the most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes... While the proportions of illiterates in 1900 among the white population of the U.S.A. was 6.2% among the Negroes it was as high as 44.5%! One can easily imagine the complex of legal and social relationships that corresponded to this disgraceful fact from the sphere of popular literacy.  
"What then is the economic basis that has produced and continues to support this fine 'superstructure'?... It is the typically Russian, 'purely Russian' labor-service system, which is known as share-cropping.  
"These are not even tenants in the European, civilised, modern-capitalist sense of the word. They are chiefly *semi-feudal* or — what is the same thing in economic terms — *semi-slave share-croppers*." [Emphasis added except for last word.]  
"In 1910: free, republican-democratic America had 1,500,000 sharecroppers, of whom *more than* 1,000,000 were Negroes. And the proportion of share-croppers to the total number of farmers is not *decreasing*, but is on the contrary, steadily and rather rapidly *increasing*."  
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emphasis added.

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23. Ibid., emphasis added.
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26. NCRNO, 24.
27. V.I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," *Collected Works*, vol. 23, op. cit., 40.
28. This section is excerpted from the "Immediate Program of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights" which came out in the 1930s.
29. NCRNO, 22.

## Study Questions

1. What is the process of formation of the Afro-American nationality? Why were Africans not assimilated into the dominant American oppressor nationality?
2. What is racial oppression? What is the difference between racial oppression and national oppression?
3. How does Line of March liquidate the Afro-American national movement? How do communists tap the nationalism of Afro-Americans to prepare for socialist revolution?
4. Are the masses of white workers cushioned? What is the difference between the masses of white workers and the labor aristocracy? What is the best way to combat chauvinism and racist prejudices in the working class?
5. Why is Line of March's United Front Against War and Racism strategy an idealist conception of how to mobilize white workers against the bourgeoisie? How do communists build unity in the multinational working class?