

MAIN LINE

TRANSFORMING THE CRIMINAL MENTALITY INTO A REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY

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Introduction

by Jason Renard Walker, Deputy Minister of Labor, NABPP-PC

Founded in 2005 by Comrade Rashid and Shaka Zulu, the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) is an aboveground, non-parliamentary, political organization. To clarify, we began as an autonomous prison chapter of the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) seeking to change the functioning of the free world NBPP into that of a genuine revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the oppressed New Afrikan communities.

Composed of expelled members of the Nation of Islam (NOI), the NBPP, which came into existence in the 1980s, had no interest in reshaping their narrow nationalist, reverse racist tendencies. So, we decided to go our own way and changed our name to the "New Afrikan" BPP Prison Chapter to more accurately reflect our orientation towards revolutionary Black nationalism and internationalism illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the practical and ideological contributions of the original BPP and allied forces.

The NABPP-PC is made up of many prisoners of war throughout Amerika's gulags, whose common interest is to destroy monopoly capitalist-imperialism from the ground up through building people's power and inspiring global socialist revolution. We are making an effort to carry on the legacy of the original Black Panther Party founded in Oakland, California by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in 1966.

We are in no way motivated by romantic nostalgia, and our organization is not simply a reboot of the original BPP. However, we do share many of their correct ideas, theories, and practices, including their 10 Point Program, and we apply Huey Newton's "Theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism." In response to monopoly capitalism's relentless drive to consolidate its global hegemony and in opposition to its strategy of mass incarceration, our strategy, and that of the United Panther Movement led by NABPP-PC, is to:

"Transform the 'slave pens of oppression' into 'schools of liberation' and the oppressed communities into 'base areas of cultural, social and political revolution' in the context of building a worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism, racism and police state repression."

We believe that Amerika's prisons are an important front in the struggle against imperialism. Since prisoners are concentrated together with lots of time on their hands and are among the most oppressed sector of Amerika's population, they have an opportunity to devote themselves to political study and discussion, and also to write and organize. This gives

prisoners the potential to become part of the vanguard of the oppressed class and people. To this end, we are using these "universities of the oppressed" to put his theory into practice, so eventually, upon our release from prison, we can form an outside central committee (similar to our current central committee), and the prison chapter will become one of many within the Party.

We recognize that in order to stand a chance in overthrowing the capitalist class and replace it with the working class, we first have to commit class suicide and remold our world outlook to that of the revolutionary proletariat. That is to say we must transform the criminal mentality into a revolutionary mentality. Since capitalist-imperialism, racism and police state repression are a big part of the international oppression we face; we need to create a worldwide united front to defeat it.

Huey P. Newton realized this when he announced that revolutionary black nationalism and internationalism were insufficient and he articulated his "Theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism." It wasn't until then that he realized that the struggle of Black people for liberation was a component part of the global struggle of all oppressed people against the monopoly capitalist-imperialist system spreading its hegemonic poison throughout the world. Nationalism in any form has become an anachronism because global imperialism makes individual national liberation impossible.

This is at the heart of his "Theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism." What is called for is the revolutionary educating and organizing of all the oppressed communities of the world and the development of solidarity and unity in taking on the protracted struggle to overthrow the empire of capital and replace it with the global dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what is meant by the slogan "All Power to the People!"

Amerika is no longer a country and our struggle cannot be bound by its national borders nor can our unity be restricted to those with black skin. To play a genuinely vanguard role, we must lead the people of the whole world in resisting and defeating capitalist-imperialism. His experience with and analysis of the imperialist system as it actually exists in this period defined the work of the original Black Panther Party and its allied forces which formed the basis of this theory.

The NABPP-PC agrees with Comrade Huey in this analysis and as a result, we see ourselves as intercommunalists applying the revolutionary science of dialectical materialism (DM) to the historical period in which we live, the forever changing conditions of neoliberalism, the final stage of capitalist-imperialism. Unlike narrow nationalists (be they black, white or whatever), that are only concerned with "their race" in competition to all others, we understand that there is only one "race"—the human race, and none of us can be free unless we all are.

This is why we have risen above the narrow confines of nationalism, racial supremacy and any other ideology that seeks to divide us and play one section of the people against another. As Malcolm X expressed in his last days:

"I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those who do the oppressing. I believe there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. I believe there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think it will be based on the color of the skin..."

—Interview with Pierre Berton, January 18, 1965

At this time, there are many opportunist lines that have gained currency on the "Left" and among the oppressed peoples and these must be exposed and defeated to advance the people's struggle to victory. In this we are continuing the legacy of the original Black Panther Party. In fact, Mumia Abu Jamal (and other former BPP members have) praised our work and our line for carrying on the struggle of the original Panthers; "unlike other formations which have used the BPP name, these youngsters actually read and study the works of Huey P. Newton, George Jackson, and other leading Party members. The struggle continues!" (Posted on "It's About Time!" August 2006)

Like the original BPP, we are advancing our application of revolutionary science through study of the writings of past revolutionaries, summed up as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). Since Leninism is Marxism in the era of Imperialism, (a period we are still in), his must be applied to continuously make a fresh analysis of changing conditions. Mao did just that and illuminated the reality that class struggle continues and intensifies under socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao set the stage for the development of Pantherism and the application of dialectical materialism to the present stage of Neoliberalism, the endgame of Imperialism.

Lenin defined Imperialism as "moribund capitalism,"

Because imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins. President Trump is the symptom not the disease. He is the product of neoliberal corruption and decline. Neoliberalism can be summed as "protracted war on the poor." To the bourgeoisie, the monopoly capitalists, robbing the poor to maximize the concentration of wealth at the top is "fine and dandy."

They can at least tolerate any flawed strategy or absurd idealist notions to misdirect the people's movements against their interests e.g. the false belief that the President, not the system is the problem. As "all-the-way revolutionaries," we see the "revolutionary but gangster" tendency as "reactionary suicide." We must rise above imitation of the gangsters that rule over us. We must strive to be the people's pride and set an example for the youth to emulate that will uplift our communities and make our people strong and invincible.

The principal contradiction in the world today is between the need of the monopoly capitalists to consolidate their global hegemony and the chaos and anarchy (including the threat of another world war) they are unleashing by attempting to do so. We must pull a new order out of this chaos and anarchy based upon people's power, equality and social justice for all.

The task of the NABPP-PC and the United Panther Movement it leads is to rally the advanced among the masses to create a new revolutionary vanguard rooted in the oppressed communities, based upon the most advanced revolutionary theory, applying the lessons of the past to serve the future. We have nothing to lose but our chains and a world to win! Dare to Struggle Dare to Win, All Power to the People!

Jason Renard Walker

Black, Brown and White, the Proletariat Must Unite!

by Tom "Big Warrior" Watts

There is no clear demarcation between Black, Brown and White people in Amerika. Historically, the classifications have changed considerably over time. Originally, Irish, German, Eastern and Southern Europeans, and Jews were not considered "white" by Anglo-Saxon Protestants. During "Jim Crow" segregation, anyone with a "drop of African blood" was considered to be "Black," at least in the South. "Brown" is sort of a "mixed bag" category, of "other people of color" who suffer "racial" discrimination. In the United Panther Movement, we recognize only one "race," the human race, but also recognize that discrimination comes down differently on different groups of people, so for the purpose of fighting racist oppression, it makes sense to organize within each group of people in accordance with the way they are perceived in society.

Black people were formed into a nation during "Jim Crow" segregation. The U.S. is still a predominantly "White Nation" with some 61.3% of its 325,719,178 people identifying as "Non-Hispanic White" on the most recent census. 13.3% self-identified as Black. Most of the remaining 25.4% identified as "Hispanic" or "Other." Now when a racist cop pulls someone over for harassment he doesn't "racially profile" as being "Black," (in other words for being "Brown,") he doesn't necessarily know their "nationality," that is if they are "Mexican," "Arab," "Pakistani," "Native American," "Puerto Rican," "Mulatto" or whatever. He's just targeting them for being "Non-White." So, there is definitely a case of "special oppression" directed at "Brown" people in Amerikkka.

Poor "Whites" are definitely oppressed in the U.S., but their oppression is strictly class-based. Most (but not all) of the "People of Color" share this class-based oppression, but in addition they face racist oppression. Most liberals and even many "white radicals" don't even try to hide their prejudice towards "Red Necks," "Trailer Trash," "Crackers" or what-have-you, and put the blame for white racism and reactionary ideas entirely on them, ignoring that the ruling class is the sponsor and beneficiary of these prejudices and ideas. They make a convenient "whipping boy." There is truth that the poor are most susceptible to "white supremacist" propaganda, but let's not kid ourselves, Blacks are susceptible to "anti-immigrant" propaganda directed at Mexicans and other "Brown" people too.

The "Blame Game" is a potent weapon employed by the ruling class to divide the oppressed and play one section against another. It is the task of revolutionaries to promote intercommunal solidarity and proletarian class unity. Within the United Panther Movement, the division into Black, Brown and White Panthers is about division of labor and going amongst the oppressed masses of each group to agitate, educate and organize to promote proletarian class consciousness and solidarity. All Panthers are equally regarded as comrades and bound to represent the same

ideological and political line to advance the revolutionary struggle.

DISTINGUISHING FRIENDS FROM ENEMIES

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies. A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray. To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes towards the revolution."

—Mao Tse-tung, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" (March 1926), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 13.

The Chinese Revolution was a lot simpler than the one we face today. It rather neatly divided into two stages, with the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist stage preceding the socialist revolution. Even still, the bourgeois nationalists betrayed the revolutionary nationalists relatively early on and forced a civil war that was only interrupted by the invasion of the Japanese imperialists with their blatantly colonialist intentions. Once they were defeated, the civil war resumed with the U.S. imperialists blatantly backing the bourgeois nationalists of the Kuomintang, who were defeated and forced to flee by the communist-led forces. This left the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) pretty much the sole power to lead the socialist stage of the revolution, though a bourgeois headquarters emerged within the upper ranks of the Party that eventually won out following Mao's death.

In this period, the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution faces the hegemonic power of U.S. imperialism and a transnational monopoly capitalist ruling class that is driven to consolidate its global hegemony and as a consequence is unleashing chaos and anarchy on a grand scale, including the threat of nuclear war. In this neoliberal stage of capitalist-imperialism, all of the contradictions of imperialism are intensified and call for the only solution possible which is the complete overthrow of the capitalist-imperialist system and its replacement by global proletarian dictatorship to carry out socialist reconstruction of the global political economy.

Whereas in the past it was possible to break the chains of capitalist-imperialism where they were weakest, as in the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and the wars of national liberation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Third World, the present situation calls for a more unified revolutionary struggle centered within the very "belly of the beast." As Mao pointed out in "A New Storm Against Imperialism" (1968):

"The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

"The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous aid and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the Black people in the United States.

"Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and

support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

"In 1963, in the 'Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism,' I said that the 'the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people. I still maintain this view.

"At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the Black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals of all countries and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the Black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off."

Mao nailed it right on the head! It is in this light that we must look at the vicious suppression of the Black Liberation Movement and in particular the original Black Panther Party (BPP), as well as the cowardly assassinations of not only Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. but also Malcolm X and BPP leaders, Fred Hampton, Sr., Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, George Jackson and dozens of others, as well as the numerous comrades railroaded into prison or forced into exile, and the thousands made victims of police harassment and intimidation. Alongside of the FBI directed campaign of infiltration, disruption, suppression, entrapment and murder, known as COINTELPRO, there was an equally vicious campaign involving thousands of Black agents going back to the 1920's to misdirect the Black movement by promoting narrow bourgeois nationalism, separatism and virulent anti-communism. Indeed, COINTELPRO, which was initiated in 1956, was a continuation and intensification of a policy initiated by J. Edgar Hoover as director of a special division of the Justice Department called the Bureau of Investigation tasked with surveillance and disruption of "subversive" organizations.

The first Black special agent was James Wormley Jones, a former Metropolitan DC police officer, who had worked his way up from patrolman to detective, and was commissioned as a captain of infantry in WWI in charge of Negro troops in France. Under Hoover's personal direction, he was assigned to infiltrate the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) where he was made Adjutant General of the African Legion (the UNIA's uniformed paramilitary arm) and had control over all incoming communications to the UNIA headquarters. A close confidant of Marcus Garvey, he was instrumental in setting him up for arrest and conviction for mail fraud in 1923.

In 1921, Wormley and four other Black agents who were infiltrated into UNIA expanded their operations to include infiltration of the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), a revolutionary nationalist fraction which was expelled from the UNIA at the UNIA's 1921 convention for opposing Garvey's alliance with the KKK, his questionable business dealings and promotion of Black capitalism, and lack of any concrete program for Black liberation. Similarly, he infiltrated A. Philip Randolph's journal, *The Messenger*. These agents provided intelligence to the Bureau of Investigation while in some cases sabotaging meetings, vandalizing offices and acting as agent provocateurs. Eventually, Wormley's cover was blown when he was recognized as a former D.C. police officer, and he resigned from the Bureau in 1923.

From 1919 to the present, the FBI has engaged in a nonstop campaign of infiltration, spying, blackmail, manipulation, misdirection, intimidation, coercion, entrapment, frame-ups, and murders of Black activists and organizations with the stated intention of preventing the rise of a "Black Messiah" to lead the struggle against racist national oppression. Side by side with the activities of the FBI has been the activities of the NSA, CIA and various other agencies including state and local police, military intelligence and even Mossad, the secret police of Israel. All of them intent on perpetuating the status quo of disempowerment of the New Afrikan masses in the U.S. and Black people internationally.

These counter-revolutionary, police state activities are not confined to the Black movements exclusively but have historically been applied to all manner of dissent including communist, socialist, anarchist, peace, environmental protection, religious, ethnic and labor organizations. The institutionalized dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is an ever present aspect of life under capitalist-imperialism. However, it is not confined to the activities of the political police targeting political activists and personalities. Oppression and repression is broadly directed at the basic masses, at Blacks and other people of color, workers and intellectuals. Files are kept on hundreds of millions of people who are not consciously political at all. Newspapers and all manner of media are monitored and infiltrated, academia and social and religious organizations are likewise managed to ensure that the ideas and ideals of capitalist-imperialism are properly propagated to promote public opinion favorable to the system of class exploitation and subservience to the ruling elite. This goes on globally on many levels all the time.

But, least we fall prey to the paranoia of "deep state conspiracy theories" which are intended to promote idealism, we must ground ourselves firmly in class analysis, recognizing that all ideas are rooted in and reflect the point of view of various classes with different relations to the means of production, and it is upon this canvas that the "deep state" is able to paint its scenarios to influence events and public opinion. Massive and well-funded as the state institutionalized agents of repression may be, they are none-the-less a small minority compared to the masses of people. In the final analysis, it is the masses of people not the agents of the bourgeoisie who are really powerful, and in the long run it is the people who will be victorious.

Essentially, capitalism divides people into two great classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; basically, those who own the means of production and those who own nothing but their labor power, which they are compelled to sell to the owners of the means of production in order to survive. That is; they must sell their labor power as a commodity (for wages) in order to purchase other commodities to satisfy their needs for food, clothing, shelter, health care, education, entertainment and so forth. Capitalism reduces everything, (even water), to a commodity to be traded for a profit. If they could, (and they may yet), they would convert the air we need to breathe to a commodity and seek to obtain a monopoly control over it. Between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, there is a strata of petty bourgeoisie (literally petite or "little bourgeoisie"), with various relations to the means of production, who in some way receive a "piece of the action" in the exploitation of the proletariat. Below the proletariat are the dependent poor who are oft times forced into the lumpen (literally "broken") proletariat, who are forced to survive by "any means necessary" (generally criminal activities).

Gone or rapidly disappearing are the classes (such as the peasantry and artisans) passed down from the previous mode of production, which was feudalism. Feudalism was the intermediate stage between, chattel slavery—the initial stage of the Epoch of Exploitation (civilization) which negated the initial stage of human social organization, which was primitive communalism. Capitalism is the highest and final stage of the Epoch of Exploitation, and capitalist-imperialism is the highest and final stage of capitalism. It too has its stages and neoliberalism (the current stage) is its highest and final stage. The next great epoch of human social evolution is that of global communism, and socialism is the transitional stage between capitalism and communism. Communism represents the negation of the transition from primitive communalism to the Epoch of Exploitation. In other words as private property overthrew and replaced communally-owned property, it in turn is overthrown and replaced by communally-owned property but on a higher plane of socialized and industrialized mode of production.

At each stage in this transition, the outmoded form of social organization became a brake and a hindrance upon the further development of the means of production. Eventually, it reached a point where, as Mao poetically put it: "Tools cry out for liberation!" Slavery accomplished things that tribal communalists could not even dream of let alone accomplish with their primitive (though free) forms of social organization. The rise of civilizations, of great cities and empires were built on the backs of slave labor. Roman legions could conquer vast barbarian hordes, but it was Roman slaves who built the roads and aqueducts and tilled the fields of great plantations that fed the legions and the great cities.

In its turn, capitalism has accomplished greater things than the emperors and aristocrats of Rome could dream of let alone accomplish. Yet this system of global capitalist-imperialism too has become an anachronism unable to resolve the crises it creates except by means of sowing the seeds for greater and more devastating crises. Once again: "Tools cry out for liberation!" and the contradiction between the highly socialized and globalized mode of production demands an

equally socialized and globalized ownership of the means of production. We have within our grasp the means and the technology to satisfy the needs of everyone on the planet for food, clothing, shelter, healthcare, education, transportation, entertainment and so forth, and what's more to do it in a way so as to protect the environmental sustainability of the planet for future generations, but all capitalist-imperialism can do is continue to concentrate all wealth and power into fewer and fewer hands while generalizing poverty and powerlessness among the masses of people, and in the process laying waste to the environment. All it can generate is unending wars and a downward spiral of crisis upon crisis. It is time to overthrow it!

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM

"Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between classes and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the suppression of the old society by the new."

Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction" (August 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, P. 314.

The rise of capitalism marked the rise of nationalism. As Marx and Engels expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848): "The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised the means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier, and one customs-tariff." In the period of rising capitalism, national groupings of bourgeoisie laid claim to their own national territories and proletarians over whom they created nation states to exercise a monopoly of the use of violence to enforce their class dictatorship and contest with the bourgeoisie of other nation states for control of trade and colonies to exploit.

But the very conditions that called forth nationalism also called forth internationalism and the development of a global capitalist economy. As Marx and Engels explained:

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere."

"The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature."

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image."

While capitalism is driven to “expand or die,” the world has a finite amount of territory to colonize and monopolize trade with. By the end of the 19th Century, the scramble for colonies had run out of fresh territory and the great powers began plotting to jump each other’s claims. The U.S. went after the weakened Spanish Empire in 1898. On the pretext of an explosion aboard the America battleship U.S.S. Maine in Havana Harbor, Congress authorized President McKinley to intervene in the ongoing independence war in Cuba, while disclaiming any imperial ambitions on the part of the United States. Spain had already announced an armistice on April 9th and speeded up its new program to grant Cuba limited powers of self-government, but Congress demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Spanish forces and recognized the independence of Cuba.

Spain declared war on the United States on April 24th, followed by a U.S. declaration of war on the 25th, which was made retroactive to April 21st. The ensuing war was pathetically one-sided, since Spain had readied neither its army nor its navy for a distant war with the formidable power of the United States. The U.S. Pacific fleet pounced on the Spanish fleet lying at anchor in Manila Bay in the Philippines on May 1st. Commodore Pery destroyed the Spanish fleet without losing a single man and only seven seamen were wounded. The U.S. military then proceeded to occupy the city of Manila. In July, the U.S. staged a combined amphibious and naval assault on Santiago, Cuba, where the outgunned Spanish Caribbean fleet was scuttled on the beach and the U.S. forces, (including future President Theodore Roosevelt and his “Rough Riders”), captured Santiago on July 17th. By the Treaty of Paris, Spain granted independence to Cuba, and transferred sovereignty over the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Guam to the U.S. for a sum of \$20 million. Now this caused some embarrassment to the U.S. which had proclaimed it had no imperialist ambitions, but President McKinley solved this problem by claiming God had spoken to him in a dream and asked him to “benefit and Christianize” his “little Brown brothers.” Never mind that they’d been “Christianized” already by the Spanish colonizers.

Evidently they had a “bad connection,” because God failed to communicate his intentions to the Filipinos, who had already liberated the rest of their country before the Spanish in Manila surrendered to the Americans, and they figured they had a right to independence like Cuba. So McKinley sent the U.S. military to correct his “little Brown brothers.” The Philippine-American War (1899-1902) was not as popular back home as the “splendid little war” America had just fought with the Spanish. The U.S. couldn’t posture as the “arch foe of imperialism” when war correspondents kept writing about the widespread use of torture employed by the U.S. military on the indigenous people in their efforts to root out the Filipino guerrillas.

Mark Twain, the famous humorist, enjoyed pulling Uncle Sam’s beard at every opportunity over the war:

“The funniest thing was when at the close of the Spanish-American War the United States paid poor decrepit old Spain \$20,000,000 for the Philippines. It was just a case of this country buying its way into good society. Honestly, when I read in the papers that this deal had been made, I laughed until my sides ached. There were the Filipinos fighting like blazes for their liberty. Spain would not hear to it. The United States stepped in, and after they had licked the enemy to a standstill, instead of freeing the Filipinos they paid that enormous amount for an island which is of no earthly account to us; just wanted to be like the aristocratic countries of Europe which have possessions in foreign waters. The United States wanted to be in the swim, and it, too, had to branch out, like an American heiress buying a Duke or an Earl. Sounds well, but that’s all.”

—interview “Mark Twain in Clover/Joseph in the Land of Cornbread and Chicken.” *Baltimore Sun*, 10 May 1907, p. 14

Even after the Filipino “rebels” surrendered, the “Moros,” Muslim tribes who lived in the Southern Philippines, an area that includes Mindanao, Jolo and the neighboring Sulu Archipelago, who had never accepted the yoke of Spanish colonialism, continued to resist. The Moro War (1902-1913) was even less popular and certainly more vicious. Many prominent Americans, including Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), became consciously anti-imperialists. They formed an Anti-Imperialist League of which Samuel Clemens became the vice-president. Some of his more memorable quotes on the subject are:

“I am an anti-imperialist. I am opposed to having the eagle put its talons on any other land.”

“Who are the oppressors? The few: the king, the capitalist and a handful of other overseers

and superintendents. Who are the oppressed? The many; the nations of the earth; the valuable personages; the workers; they that make the bread that the soft-handed and idle eat.”

“Why is it right that there is not a fairer division of the spoil all around? Because laws and constitutions have ordered otherwise. Then it follows that laws and constitutions should change around and say there shall be a more nearly equal division.”

And: “God created war so that Americans would learn geography.”

Vladimir Lenin, the Russian revolutionary Marxist leader summed up that imperialism represented more than an aggressive and exploitative foreign policy or the acquisition of overseas colonies, that it was in fact a new stage in the evolution of capitalism. As he explained in *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916):

“Imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites, when the features of the epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system had taken shape and revealed themselves in all spheres. Economically, the main thing in this process is the displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly. Free competition is the basic feature of capitalism, and of commodity production generally; monopoly is the exact opposite of free competition, but we have seen the latter being transformed into monopoly before our eyes, creating large-scale industry and forcing out small industry, replacing large-scale by still larger-scale industry, and carrying concentration of production and capital to the point where out of it has grown and is growing monopoly: cartels, syndicates and trusts, and merging with them, the capital of a dozen or so banks, which manipulate thousands of millions. At the same time the monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist above it and alongside it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts. Monopoly is the transition from capitalism to a higher system.”

“If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. Such a definition would include what is most important, for, on the one hand, finance capital is the bank capital of a few very big monopolist banks, merged with the capital of the monopolist associations of industrialists; and, on the other hand, the division of the world is the transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unseized by any capitalist power, to a colonial policy of monopolist possession of the territory of the world, which has been completely divided up.”

“But very brief definitions, although convenient, for they sum up the main points, are nevertheless inadequate, since we have to deduce from them some especially important features of the phenomenon that has to be defined. And so, without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its full development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

“(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this ‘finance capital,’ of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of

the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.”

World War I occurred precisely because the “Great Powers” sought to re-divide the world and their respective colonial possessions and spheres of influence. World War I killed more people (9 million combatants and 5 million civilians) and cost more money (\$186 billion in direct costs and another \$151 billion in indirect costs) than any previous war in history. Of course, some people profited tremendously from the war, the rich got richer, particularly the international bankers and the military industrial complex in the U.S. In Russia it created the conditions that allowed the proletariat to seize power from the bourgeoisie and create the first socialist state, but it was no picnic. The imperialist powers tried to kill it in its infancy, invading and giving aid to the reactionary white armies and boycotting the Soviet Union. The workers attempted revolutions in the defeated German and Austrian cities, but were sold out by the various socialist parties that had betrayed internationalism during the war. The victorious Allies imposed reparations and conditions on the defeated countries that nurtured the rise of fascism and set the stage for World War II.

During World War II, the Nazis and other fascists went all out to attempt to defeat the Soviet Union. Starting Sunday, June 22nd 1941, Operation Barbarossa had four million Axis soldiers invaded along a 1,800 mile front driving the Soviet Red Army back and capturing over five million troops during the war, the majority of whom did not survive captivity. Over 1 million Jews were exterminated and many other Russian civilians were killed or enslaved by the occupying fascists. Prior to the invasion, the Axis forces had conquered most of the rest of Europe, excepting the British Isles. But everywhere resistance movements sprang up, often under communist leadership, to harass and disrupt the fascist lines of communication and force them to garrison all of the occupied territory. The Partisans were often women and youths as well as older men and escaped POWs. The fascists committed terrible reprisals for every act of sabotage or resistance, often destroying whole villages, and suspected or captured partisans could expect no mercy.

The powerful Axis juggernaut ground to a halt at the gates of Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad, where despite great hardships, the defenders held their ground, buying time for fresh armies to be assembled in the East for a counter offensive and for the Russian winter to take its toll on the invaders. Under Stalin’s leadership, the Soviet Union had developed from a backward “wooden plow” economy into an industrial powerhouse, and now the tanks and planes rolled off the assembly lines into battle—sometimes only blocks away. Hitler had gambled on crushing resistance with a massive blitzkrieg. His armies were ill-equipped for winter campaigning. By the time the American and British Allies opened a second front on D-Day, June 6th, 1944, the once mighty German Army was in retreat all along the Russian Front, out of fuel and morale, driven backward by the Red Army all the way to Berlin, where Hitler committed suicide in his bunker.

The U.S. emerged from World War II as the sole imperialist superpower. The Soviet Union was also a superpower as head of the “Socialist Camp,” which soon included China, where the Communist Party came to power in 1949. “The Chinese people have stood up!” Mao proclaimed:

“It is because we have defeated the reactionary Kuomintang government backed by U.S. imperialism that this great unity of the whole people has been achieved. In a little more than three years the heroic Chinese People’s Liberation Army, an army such as the world has seldom seen, crushed all the offensives launched by the several million troops of the U.S.-supported reactionary Kuomintang government and turned to the counter-offensive and the offensive. At present the field armies of the People’s Liberation Army, several million strong, have pushed the war to areas near Taiwan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechuan and Sinkiang, and the great majority of the Chinese people have won liberation. In a little more than three years the people of the whole country have closed their ranks, rallied to support the People’s Liberation Army, fought the enemy and won basic victory....”

“We have closed our ranks and defeated both domestic and foreign oppressors through the People’s War of Liberation and the great people’s revolution, and now we are proclaiming the founding of the People’s Republic of China. From now on our nation will belong to the community of the peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world and work courageously and industriously to foster its own civilization and well-being and at the same time to promote world peace and freedom. Ours will no longer be a nation subject to insult and humiliation. We have stood up. Our revolution has

won the sympathy and acclaim of the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world.

"Our revolutionary work is not completed, the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolutionary movement are still forging ahead and we must keep up our efforts. The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down; they will fight to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they are sure to engage in sabotage and create disturbances by one means or another and every day and every minute they will try to stage a come-back. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance.

"Our state system, the people's democratic dictatorship, is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and for thwarting the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration, and this weapon we must firmly grasp. Internationally, we must unite with all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples, and first of all with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, so that we shall not stand alone in our struggle to safeguard these fruits of victory and to thwart the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration. As long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall always be victorious.

"The people's democratic dictatorship and solidarity with our foreign friends will enable us to accomplish our work of construction rapidly. We are already confronted with the task of nation-wide economic construction. We have very favourable conditions: a population of 475 million people and a territory of 9,600,000 square kilometres. There are indeed difficulties ahead, and a great many too. But we firmly believe that by heroic struggle the people of the country will surmount them all. The Chinese people have rich experience in overcoming difficulties. If our forefathers, and we also, could weather long years of extreme difficulty and defeat powerful domestic and foreign reactionaries, why can't we now, after victory, build a prosperous and flourishing country? As long as we keep to our style of plain living and hard struggle, as long as we stand united and as long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall be able to win speedy victory on the economic front.

"An upsurge in economic construction is bound to be followed by an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere. The era in which the Chinese people were regarded as uncivilized is now ended. We shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture.

"Our national defence will be consolidated and no imperialists will ever again be allowed to invade our land. Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the heroic and steeled People's Liberation Army as the foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.

"Let the domestic and foreign reactionaries tremble before us! Let them say we are no good at this and no good at that. By our own indomitable efforts we the Chinese people will unswervingly reach our goal.

"The heroes of the people who laid down their lives in the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution shall live forever in our memory!

"Hail the victory of the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution!

"Hail the founding of the People's Republic of China!"

—Mao Tse-tung, "THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UPI" September 21, 1949

Speaking to the assembled leaders and delegates of the world communist movement in Moscow in 1957, Mao stated: "Over a long period, we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously with respect to each concrete question. If we do not despise the enemy with respect to the whole, we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown

throughout the world. However, in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism unless we take them seriously. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one by one. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly—we know we can finish it. Actually, we eat it mouthful by mouthful. It is impossible to swallow an entire banquet in one gulp. This is known as a piecemeal solution. In military parlance, it is called wiping out the enemy forces one by one."

He further stated: "It is my opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning point. There are two winds in the world today, the East Wind and the West Wind. There is a Chinese saying, 'Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind.' I believe it is characteristic of the situation today that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism have become overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism." ("Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties," November 18, 1957).

But all was not as it seemed. Since the death of Comrade Stalin on March 5, 1953, a new bourgeois class that had emerged in the upper ranks of the Party and state bureaucracy were busy with plans to "de-Stalinize" the Soviet Union and consolidate state capitalism and imperialism under the cover of socialism. Nikita Khrushchev emerged as the "top dog" of this pack of curs. On February 23-24, 1956, Khrushchev delivers a "secret speech" to a selected group of delegates to the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and others, attacking Stalin and his leadership of the Soviet Union and the world communist movement. The speech, which would become public and be published in the *New York Times* and other major newspapers, sent shock waves through the world communist movement causing masses of communist party members to resign and ultimately led to a split in the world communist movement.

Defenders of Stalin and revolutionary Marxism-Leninism rallied around Mao Tse-tung. Within China there was bitter struggle between the Maoists and the "capitalist roaders," who rallied around Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, which reached a peak in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the 1960's. Following Mao's death in 1976, Deng Xiaoping led an internal coup to replace the Maoists and consolidate the position of the "capitalist roaders." By 1991, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. could no longer maintain even the façade of socialism nor hold together the "Socialist Camp" or the Soviet Union, and it all broke apart turning into openly capitalistic nation states.

THE EMERGENCE OF NEOLIBERALISM

Even before the collapse of the "Socialist Camp," a new ideological-political line was taking shape in the West in contradiction to both socialism and "Cold War" liberalism called "neoliberalism." The definition and usage of the term has changed over time. It was originally an economic philosophy that emerged among European liberal scholars in the 1930s in an attempt to trace a so-called 'Third' or 'Middle Way' between the conflicting philosophies of classical liberalism and socialist planning. In 1947 a conference was convened in Switzerland to discuss: "The problem of the creation of an international order conducive to the safeguarding of peace and liberty and permitting the establishment of harmonious international economic relations." It was attended by various bourgeois economists, philosophers, historians and business and political figures, who formed the Mont Pelerin Society.

During the "Cold War," Keynesian economics, developed by the British economist John Maynard Keynes during the 1930s in an attempt to understand and get out of the Great Depression, dominated the West. Keynes advocated progressive taxation and increased government spending to stimulate the economy, as well as concessions to organized labor and the growth of a large middle class. Initiated as "New Deal" liberalism, this morphed into "Cold War" liberalism after World War II, driven by fear of the "Socialist Camp" and the potential for the spread of working class revolution. "Cold War" liberals were fiercely anti-communist but reform minded. In the words of John F. Kennedy: "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable." But this philosophy did not sit very well with the oligarchy of the super-rich.

Backed by super-wealthy patrons, neoliberalism found a home in academia and intellectual "think tanks." Amended to suit the ambitions and prejudices of its sponsors, neoliberalism emerged as doctrine under the administrations of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the 1970's. Milton Friedman, the chair of the Chicago School of Economics, was an advisor to them both. He also traveled to China and Eastern Europe to advise those

government on how to apply neoliberal policies. Chile and the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet was an early testing ground for Friedman's theories. It has since then become the ruling rationale of the capitalist empire, and represents the final stage of capitalist-imperialism. In essence it is a matter of "war upon the poor" and unbridled dictatorship of the rich.

Everything has its beginning and its end and its stages of development and decline. As Mao pointed out, capitalism had its beginning with the enslavement of Black people and it will surely have its end with their complete emancipation. Electing a Black man President of the United States did not do it, nor could it have. Separation could not do it, or else Haiti would be a paradise instead of a pest hole, which it certainly is. No, the only solution is to play the role of leadership of the world revolution Huey Newton envisioned. Pantherism alone holds forth the prospect of Black liberation for those who would dare to seize it.

As Sun Tzu, the ancient sage of the Art of War pointed out: "What is of supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy's strategy." He also taught: "The secret to success is having a strategy and knowing when to move, and when to be patient and wait for the perfect time to make your move. If you know your enemy, and then plan your strategy around that knowledge, you can easily attack where he is not prepared and move when he does not expect you to move." To defeat the strategy of capitalist-imperialism we must turn theirs on them with our own. They have the strategy of mass incarceration of the poor and the youth, particularly poor Black, Brown and White youth from the oppressed communities. We must adopt the strategy of transforming their prisons into our "schools of liberation."

They have the strategy of cutting back on social services and programs to assist the poor, the needy, the children and the elderly. We must counter this with the initiation of "Serve the People" survival programs centered in the oppressed communities and illuminated by revolutionary agitation, education and organization of community-based people's power. We must fill the vacuums they create with Panther Power. They promote subjective idealism, we must counter by teaching dialectical materialism. They glorify individualism, we must counter with teaching communalism. They promote racial hate and narrow nationalism we must counter with intercommunal solidarity and Panther Love! The more they spread lies, the more scrupulously we must tell the truth.

THE NEGATION OF THE NEGATION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Contrary to what some may think, Marxism has never held the right of self-determination to be an absolute right. As Lenin explained: "The various demands of democracy," writes Lenin, "including self-determination, are not an absolute, but a small part of the general democratic (now: general socialist) world movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole, if so, it must be rejected" (see Vol. XIX, pp.257-58). The duty of communists is to advocate for communism; global, stateless, classless society. The question is "how do we get from here to there," and if advocating for self-determination for a particular country helps us get to there from here, we are for it.

Further, Lenin points out that:

"Developing capitalism," says Lenin, "knows two historical tendencies in the national question. First: the awakening of national life and national movements, struggle against all national oppression, creation of national states. Second: development and acceleration of all kinds of intercourse between nations, breakdown of national barriers, creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.

"Both tendencies are a world-wide law of capitalism. The first predominates at the beginning of its development, the second characterises mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society" (see Vol. XVII, pp. 139-40).

So, we see that nations and nationalism belongs to a distinct historical period—that of capitalism—and it exists as a unity of opposites. Nations are formed in the rising stage of capitalism and become anachronistic in late capitalism. A lot of ink has been put to paper on the Black National Question in the U.S. Clearly, Black people did not belong to any nation when they were brought here under slavery. They did not even belong to a single tribe, they came from different tribes, from different regions and spoke different languages, had different customs and so forth. Under the conditions of slavery, they were stripped of these identities, taught a common language and so forth, but they did not become a part of the White American Nation. Some effort was

made to integrate them under Reconstruction, but this was reversed under "Jim Crow" segregation. After giving it some consideration, the 3rd Communist International (Comintern) concluded that they met the criterion of a separate nation in the "Black Belt" South, with the right to self-determination, and constituted a national minority elsewhere in the U.S. But even as this determination was being made in 1928, the process of dissolution was underway due to the "Great Migration." Hannah Foster writes in *The Black Past*:

"The Black Belt Republic was a proposed black autonomous state in the American Deep South proposed by African American communists and for a time endorsed by the Soviet Union and the international communist community. The Black Belt itself is a crescent shaped band of predominately African American counties stretching from eastern Virginia to eastern Texas. The term was also used to describe the rich, almost black soil prevalent across the region.

"Initially, the American communist party did not have any sort of special relationship with or policy towards African Americans. In 1921 however, Soviet leader V.I. Lenin criticized American communists for not recognizing the importance of 'Negro work' and not actively recruiting blacks, who he saw as the most oppressed of the proletariat and a group with potential to spearhead a radical new American labor movement. Soon afterwards the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), which was the first black group to be incorporated into the U.S. Communist Party (CPUSA), began urging it to develop a cohesive and decisive policy on racial issues.

"A handful of black communists, including ABB member Harry Haywood, studied at the International Lenin School in Moscow in the mid-1920s and explored ways in which the African American experience of oppression fit in with the larger framework of class struggle against imperialism. In Moscow, Haywood drew parallels between the struggle of blacks in the United States and anti-colonial movements elsewhere, declaring the oppressed black population in the South to be a 'nation within a nation.' He further developed the thesis on the Black Belt Republic and called for the establishment of the Republic in a detailed 'Resolution on the Negro Question,' which he submitted to the Sixth Congress of Communist International (COMINTERN) of 1928. The resolution condemned racism within the Communist Party of America, acknowledged that many whites would live as citizens in the Black Belt Republic, and pointed out the unionizing needed in the Black Belt would be primarily of agricultural workers, who made up 75% of the black population in the south.

"Soviet leader Josef Stalin embraced the Black Belt Republic as a viable and promising solution to the 'Negro Question.' He declared black self-determination to be a priority of the international communist community, and commanded the American Communist Party to eliminate those perceived as racist from their ranks.

"Stalin's official endorsement of the idea of Black Belt Republic and black self-determination was extremely controversial within communist ranks. Many black leaders and communists were skeptical about the practicality and benefits of the Black Belt Republic especially when thousands of African Americans were leaving the region for Northern cities and industrial jobs.

"Nonetheless the recognition of black struggle from an international organization was significant. Although the Black Belt Republic never came to be as an autonomous republic, and the CPUSA abandoned the idea by 1934, the concept of African Americans being in the vanguard of the coming Communist revolution, continued to hold sway long after the 1930s."

The Black Belt Thesis was a point of contention between the original BPP and Robert Williams's Republic of New Africa (RNA). Huey was willing to go as far as to say he would agree to abide by a referendum of Black People in the U.S., held by the United Nations, as to whether or not the majority wanted to form a separate nation in the Black Belt South. It was also later a point of contention between different forces in the New Communist Movement of the 1970's and 80's, such as the October (M-L) League and the Revolutionary Union—which would later become the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (USA) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (USA). In a letter welcoming Robert Williams back to the U.S. in 1969, Huey summed up the Panthers' position

as:

"The Black Panther Party's position is that the Black people in the country are definitely colonized, and suffer from the colonial plight more than any ethnic group in the country. Perhaps with the exception of the Indian, but surely as much even as the Indian population. We too, realize that the American people in general are colonized. And they're colonized simply because they're under a capitalist society, with a small clique of rulers who are the owners of the means of production in control of decision making. They're the decision making body, therefore, that takes the freedom from the American people in general, and they simply work for the enrichment of this ruling class. As far as Blacks are concerned, of course, we're at the very bottom of this ladder, we're exploited not only by the small group of ruling class, we're oppressed, and repressed by even the working class Whites in the country. And this is simply because the ruling class, the White ruling class uses the old Roman policy of divide and conquer. In other words the White working class is used as pawns or tools of the ruling class, but they too are enslaved. So it's with that historical policy of dividing and ruling, that the ruling class can effectively and successfully keep the majority of the people in an oppressed position; because they're divided in certain interest groups, even though these interests that the lower class groups carry doesn't necessarily serve as beneficial to them.

"As far as our stand on separation, we've demanded, as you very well know, a plebiscite of the U.N. to supervise, so that Blacks can decide whether they want to secede the union, or what position they'll take on it. As far as the Black Panther Party is concerned we're subject to the will of the people, but we feel that the Republic of New Africa is perfectly justified in demanding and declaring the right to secede the union. So we don't have any contradiction between the Black Panther Party's position and the Republic of New Africa's position it's simply a matter of timing. We feel that certain conditions will have to exist before we're even given the right to make that choice. We also take into consideration the fact that if Blacks at this very minute were able to secede the union, and say have five states, or six states, it would be almost impossible to function in freedom side by side with a capitalist imperialist country. We all know that mother Africa is not free simply because of imperialism, because of Western domination. And there's no indication that it would be any different if we were to have a separate country here in North America. As a matter of fact, by all logics we would suffer imperialism and colonialism even more so than the Third World is suffering it now. They are geographically better located, thousands of miles away, but yet they are not able to be free simply because of high technological developments, the highest technological developments that the West has that makes the world so much smaller, one small neighborhood.

"So taking all these things into consideration, we conclude that the only way that we're going to be free is to wipe out once and for all the oppressive structure of America. We realize we can't do this without a popular struggle, without many alliances and coalitions, and this is the reason that we're moving in the direction that we are, to get as many alliances as possible of people that are equally dissatisfied with the system. And also we're carrying on, or attempting to carry on a political education campaign so that the people will be aware of the conditions and therefore perhaps they will be able to take steps to controlling these conditions. We think that the most important thing at this time, is to be able to organize in some fashion so that we'll have a formidable force to challenge the structure of the American empire. So we invite the Republic of New Africa to struggle with us, because we know from people I've talked to, (I've talked to May Mallory, and other people who are familiar with the philosophy of the Republic of New Africa), they seem to be very aware that the whole structure of America will have to be changed in order for the people of America to be free. And this again is with the full knowledge and full view of the end goal of the Republic of New Africa to secede. In other words, we're not really handling this question at this time because we feel that for us that is somewhat premature, that I realize the psychological value of fighting for a territory. But at this time the Black Panther Party feels that we don't

want to be in an enclave type situation where we would be more isolated than we already are now. We're isolated in the ghetto areas, concentrated in the north, in the metropolitan areas, in the industrial areas, and we think that this is a very good location as far as strategy is concerned, as far as waging a strong battle against the established order. And again I think that it would be perfectly justified if Blacks decided that they wanted to secede the union, but I think the question should be left up to the popular masses, the popular majority. So this is it in a nutshell."

(The Letter Huey P Newton Black Panther Party/ BPP to Robert F. Williams & Republic of New Afrika/RNA 1969)

Later, in Huey's speech at Boston College in 1970, he would take the matter to another level, stating that:

"The United States, or what I like to call North America, was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from a nation to an empire. This caused a total change in the world, because no part of an interrelated thing can change and leave everything else the same. So when the United States, or North America, became an empire it changed the whole composition of the world. There were other nations in the world. But "empire" means that the ruling circle who lives in the empire (the imperialists) control other nations. Now some time ago there existed a phenomenon we called—well, I call—primitive empire. An example of that would be the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of what was thought to be the known world. In fact they did not know all of the world, therefore some nations still existed independent of it. Now, probably all of the world is known. The United States as an empire necessarily controls the whole world either directly or indirectly.

"If we understand dialectics we know that every determination brings about a limitation and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words, while one force may give rise to one thing it might crush other things, including itself. We might call this concept "the negation of the negation." So, while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. They were doing this because in a socialist society it is necessary to have some centralization of the wealth, some equal distribution of the wealth, and some harmony among the people.

"Now, I will give you roughly some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. These are economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity, and safety.

"In 1966 we called our Party a Black Nationalist Party. We called ourselves Black Nationalists because we thought that nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing conditions a little more, we found that it was impractical and even contradictory. Therefore, we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that in order to be free we had to crush the ruling circle and therefore we had to unite with the peoples of the world. So we called ourselves Internationalists. We sought solidarity with the peoples of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought were the nations of the world. But then what happened? We found that because everything is in a constant state of transformation, because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media, because of the fire power of the imperialist, and because of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire, nations could not exist, for they did not have the criteria for nationhood. Their self-determination, economic determination, and cultural determination has been transformed by the imperialists and the ruling circle. They were no longer nations. We found that in order to be Internationalists we had to be also Nationalists, or at least acknowledge nationhood. Internationalism, if I understand the word, means the interrelationship among a group of nations. But since no nation exists, and since the United States is in fact an empire, it is impossible for us to be Internationalists. These transformations and phenomena require us to call ourselves "intercommunalists" because nations have been transformed into communities of the world. The Black Panther Party now disclaims internationalism

and supports intercommunalism.

"Marx and Lenin felt, with the information they had, that when the non-state finally came to be a reality, it would be caused or ushered in by the people and by communism. A strange thing happened. The ruling reactionary circle, through the consequence of being imperialists, transformed the world into what we call 'Reactionary Intercommunalism.' They laid siege upon all the communities of the world, dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people were not served by the institutions in their own land. The Black Panther Party would like to reverse that trend and lead the people of the world into the age of 'Revolutionary Intercommunalism.' This would be the time when the people seize the means of production and distribute the wealth and the technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world."

(Huey Newton's Speech at Boston College 18th November 1970)

The same logic would naturally be applied to Aztlán in the U.S. Southwest and to the indigenous nations within the U.S. This does not rule out the creation of autonomous regions and communities, quite the contrary. The very idea of intercommunalism implies separate communities working together in solidarity. Huey's visit to People's China in 1971 further illuminated his understanding, as Comrade Rashid pointed out in: "Black Liberation in the 21st Century: A Revolutionary Reassessment of Black Nationalism" (2010):

"Huey saw that Blacks were an oppressed nation inside America, but his ideas on charting our path to liberation took a quantum leap forward when he visited and toured Mao's revolutionary China. There he found that numerous racial and ethnic minorities had attained genuine liberation within China's socialist state, without separating or integrating in the classic sense.

"What Huey observed in China gave him a blueprint for organizing Black folks to become self-reliant in the very urban communities where they were concentrated in preparation for revolution in the U.S. The BPP's implementation of these ideas quickly earned it the label of the "greatest threat to imperialism's security, and the U.S. government concentrated its forces in an all-out campaign to destroy the Panthers. Here's what Huey found in People's China that inspired the BPP's STP survival programs and illuminated his ideas about Black liberation in America:

"I saw, crystal clear, how we can start to reduce the kinds of conflicts that we're having in [Amerika]. I saw an example of that in China... what I saw was this: when I went there, I was very unenlightened and I thought I knew something about China. I thought, as it has been said so often, that China would be a homogeneous kind of racial/ethnic territory. Then I found that 50 percent of the Chinese territory is occupied by a 54 percent population of national minorities, large ethnic minorities. They speak different languages, they look very different, and they eat different foods. Yet there is no conflict. I observed one day that each region—we call them cities—is actually controlled by those ethnic minorities, yet they're still Chinese.... I'm talking about a general condition in China where ethnic minorities I've observed control their whole regions. They have a right to have representation in the Chinese Communist Party. At the same time they have their own principles.... The cities in his country could be organized like that, with community control. At the same time, no Black control so that no whites can come in, no Chinese can come in. I'm saying there would be democracy in the inner city. The administration should reflect the people who live there."

The Chinese recognize 55 distinct ethnic minority groups comprising 8.49% of the population of mainland China. Some minority autonomous regions are very large though sparsely populated. In addition to these there are unrecognized ethnic minorities who have distinct cultural differences, such as religion, but without autonomous territory. There are subgroups within the dominant Han ethnic group with various distinguishing features such as dialect, dress and customs, and within the recognized ethnic minority groups there are subgroups with very different languages and other cultural differences sharing a common region. Great effort is made to give special representation to minority ethnic groups in political decision making and to preserve their cultural traditions and languages while allowing them full access to education and employment opportunities in the mainstream Chinese society.

In the course of revolutionary struggle, there may be various stages and steps in political configuration that will be necessary or expedient to achieve global revolutionary intercommunalism and set the stage for global, borderless, stateless, classless community society. We may, for example, support dismemberment of the existing United States or the reconfiguration of a Socialist States of North America including the present territories of Canada and Mexico. It will depend upon circumstances and the will of the people. What is clear is that nationalism is in contradiction with the trend of history leading to the end of class divisions and exploitation.

Revolutionary nationalism can never be more than a 'stepping stone,' a transitional stage between bourgeois nationalism and 'all-the-way revolutionary' consciousness. A child learns to crawl before he or she can walk and to walk before he or she can run. It would be idealist to expect an infant to get up and run with you to the park. If you want to take them along, you must carry them. That doesn't mean they will never walk, or never run, or even that they might not end up being able to outrun you. It also doesn't mean that we should discourage an infant from struggling to get up and walk or a toddler from trying to run, just because they are apt to fall down a lot. It is through struggle we learn and develop our strength and coordination.

We all start out self-centered and learn to consider others as we mature. If we never learn to have empathy and consideration for those who are different from ourselves, who look different, speak a different language or have a different culture than ours, we suffer from arrested development. Black, Brown or White, if we can say "I love my people" but cannot love others as well, we have a problem with our human development. Maybe yesterday we could not even say "I love myself." That is what alienation can do to you, and capitalism produces alienation. How can you love others if you are filled with self-hate? How can you love yourself and hate others who are different from you? We must struggle to be fully human and overcome alienation and self-centeredness. If we can't feel Panther Love how can we give it to the people?

In the final analysis proletarian consciousness is human consciousness because the proletariat must become the human race to end class division and oppression. It is the last class in history. It is the only "all-the-way revolutionary" class.

WHITE NATIONALISM IS INHERENTLY RACIST AND REACTIONARY

White nationalism is bound up with the history of European colonialism, slavery and genocide and dispossession of the indigenous American peoples. It is important to realize that the Europeans were not "white people" until they crossed the Atlantic. Even then they were too caught up with their rivalry as Frenchmen, Englishmen, Dutchmen or Spaniards and representatives of competing colonial empires to recognize any overriding ethnic kinship, and the legacy of hundreds of years of religious wars between Protestants and Catholics fueled deep religious, and dehumanizing prejudices and hatreds. The first conception of "separate races" the English conceived was between themselves and the Irish, whom they considered an inferior and "wild race" unfit for self-government, lazy, dishonest and violent. It was through this lens that they came to see other "non-white" peoples.

As Theodore Allen pointed out in his seminal work, *The Invention of the White Race* (2012):

"In 1607 the first permanent English settlement in America was founded at Jamestown, Virginia. By the end of the first third of the century four more permanent Anglo-American colonies had been established, Somers Islands (the Bermudas), 1612; Plymouth (Massachusetts), 1620; Barbados, 1627; and Maryland, 1634. The English were confronted with the common twofold problem crucial to success in the Americas: (1) how to secure an adequate supply of labor; and (2) how to establish and maintain the degree of social control necessary to assure the rapid and continuous expansion of their capital by the exploitation of that labor, in each of these respects, however, the English case differed from those of other European colonizing powers in the Americas, in ways that have a decisive bearing on the origin of the 'peculiar institution'—white racial oppression, most particularly racial slavery—in continental Anglo-America."

In Vol. 1, Allen asserts: "However one may choose to define the term 'racial'—it concerns the historian only as it relates to a pattern of oppression (subordination, subjugation, exploitation) of one group of human beings by another." Racism cannot be separated from the economic system that called it into being. While all legitimate socialists agree

that "race" is a purely "social construct," Allen argues that we must recognize it "not simply as a social construct, but as a ruling class social control formation." This is exactly the point Mao was making when he stated: "In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling clique among the whites which is oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals, and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are carrying out oppression, aggression and intimidation against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world." ["Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" (August 8, 1963)]

It can only serve to help perpetuate racism to erroneously ascribe its source to be "human nature" or "gene ics" or any other source but the capitalist ruling class, as many advocates of black capitalism do. Apologists for and advocates of white supremacy likewise seek to camouflage the true source of their racism by pseudo-science or Biblical interpretation or some other device. All racialist-based theories have this in common, they are incapable of defeating racism, and in fact nurture and perpetuate it. Pantherism has always opposed cultural nationalism for this reason, as its program is to end racism and capitalism.

In his summary Allen delineates the basics of class society:

"The essential social structure in class societies is this: First, there is the ruling class, that part of society which, having established its control of the organs of state power, and having maintained domination of the national economy through successive generations and social crises, is able to limit the options of social policy in such a way as to perpetuate its hegemony over the society as a whole. Being itself economically non-productive, it is at the optimum a small numerical proportion of the society.

"Secondly, there is the intermediate buffer social control stratum, classically composed of self-employed small land-owners or leaseholders, self-employed artisans, and members of the professions, who live in relative economic security, in social subordination to the ruling class and normally in day-to-day contact with their social inferiors.

"Finally, there are those devoid of productive wealth (except their ability to work), who constitute the majority of the population, and whose condition is generally one of extreme dependency and insecurity."

In the case of the American colonies, the ruling class was far away in England calling the shots and relying on an intermediate class of colonial administrators, colonists and dependent lackeys to represent their interests. As Allen points out: "The hallmark, the informing principle, of racial oppression in its colonial origins and as it has persisted in subsequent historical contexts, is the reduction of all members of the oppressed group to one undifferentiated social status, beneath that of any member of the oppressor group." Comparing the colonial system applied in English occupied Ireland to the American colonies, "demonstrates that racial oppression is not dependent upon differences of 'phenotype,' i.e., of physical appearance of the oppressor and the oppressed." However, by drawing the distinction between African and European bonded labor and reducing the African to lifetime chattel slavery, it effectively divided the exploited class and empowered the ruling class.

The lesson of Bacon's Rebellion (1676) was that the united force of European and African bonded and free labor could easily overpower the colonial administration and loyal middle class colonists. It was to prevent a reoccurrence of such rebellion that the "peculiar institution" was conceived. It took a few decades, but step by step the "undifferentiated social status" of the Negro was evolved in colonial legislation and societal norms.

The distinction between the "white" colonists and brown-skinned "Indians" was also a process of social construction. Initially few in number and desirous of trade, the English colonists sought to create alliances with at least some of the indigenous peoples. The spark of Bacon's Rebellion lay in the colonial governor's refusing to allow Bacon to be a part of his fur trade with the Indians, and the hunger of the freed white bond servants to settle on Indian lands, which provoked retaliation and Indian raids on the frontier settlements. The reluctance of the governor to take punitive actions against the Indians angered the colonists on the frontier and gave Bacon a platform to challenge the governor's authority. A similar rebellion also broke out in the Maryland colony around the same time.

In contrast to the history of conflicts between the colonists and Indians of the New England and Southern colonies, Pennsylvania colony had a unique beginning with more than 50 years of coexistence without a single case of colonists murdering Indians or vice versa. Indeed, Pennsylvania became a haven for Indians fleeing conflicts with settlers in the other colonies. The colonial proprietor, William Penn, had a vision of creating a peaceful haven for all victims of intolerance and came to the Indians unarmed and without a militia. He insisted on fair treatment and honest trading, and arranged all land purchases with the Indians personally. Eventually, the honeymoon ended when his heirs took over, but for some time the relationship between the Quakers and Moravians and the Lenape Indians continued even as the Indian settlements were pushed west by successive colonial wars.

While Penn and some other wealthy Pennsylvania colonists kept Black slaves as servants, slavery played a minor role in the Pennsylvania colony, and Philadelphia became the seat of the first anti-slavery society in America. One of the first "bones of contention" between the Penn heirs and the Lenape was their insistence on giving sanctuary to runaway slaves. Numerous Blacks as well as runaway white bondservants and others were adopted into the Lenape nation and other Indian tribes along the frontier. The practice of adopting captives in war and of intermarriage downplayed the development of sharp racial distinctions that would develop with continued westward expansion. White nationalism developed over time fueled by both the institution of slavery and "Manifest Destiny." It became most pronounced in the South in the period of "Jim Crow" segregation and in the West with the annexation of northern Mexico, the "Indian Wars" and the oppression of Chinese "coolie" laborers.

SLAVERY AND WHITE RACISM ARE ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS TO THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

Ken Lawrence pointed out in "Karl Marx on Slavery" (1976):

"Throughout Karl Marx's long career as philosopher, historian, social critic, and revolutionary, he considered the enslavement of African people in America to be a fundamental aspect of rising capitalism, not only in the New World, but in Europe as well. As early as 1847, Marx made the following forceful observation: 'Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance. Without slavery North America, the roost progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe out North America from the map of the world, and you will have anarchy—the complete decay of modern commerce and civilisation. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations. Thus slavery, because it is an economic category, has always existed among the institutions of the peoples. Modern nations have been able only to disguise slavery in their own countries, but they have imposed it without disguise upon the New World.' Marx's view of slavery was not static. Like all other exploitative social systems, Marx viewed modern slavery as a system with a dynamic rise as productive forces developed, followed by stagnation, decline and overthrow. Most importantly, it was a society which created the seeds of its own destruction—the contending classes which stood in constant opposition to one another."

Marx distinguished between the chattel slavery of antiquity and the slavery imposed on Africans in America, recognizing that the later were essentially proletarians because of their integration into the global capitalist system. Likewise the Chinese "Coolies" forced to work building the railroads alongside Black slaves, convicts and immigrants. As Marx noted in *Capital*:

"Whilst the cotton industry introduced child-slavery in England, it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage-earners in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the New World." (Karl Marx, *Capital, Volume I*, Chicago, Charles Kerr & Co., 1906, page 833)

Marx goes on to explain:

"...as soon as people, whose production still moves within the lower forms of slave-labor,

course labor, etc., are drawn into the whirlpool of an international market dominated by the capitalistic mode of production, the sale of their products for export becoming their principal interest, the civilized horrors of over-work are grafted on the barbaric horrors of slavery, serfdom, etc. Hence the Negro labor in the Southern States of the American Union preserved something of a patriarchal character, so long as production was chiefly directed to immediate local consumption. But in proportion, as the export of cotton became of vital interest to these states, the overworking of the Negro and sometimes the using up of his life in 7 years' of labor became a factor in a calculated and calculating system. It was no longer a question of obtaining from him a certain quantity of useful products. It was now a question of production of surplus-labor itself." (*Capital I*, page 260.)

After the Civil War, instead being integrated into the proletarian work force or becoming small scale farmers with their promised "40 acres and a mule," the majority of freed slaves were forced into a semi-feudal relationship of "share cropping" with their former slave-masters and other landlords. This relationship was enforced by the terror of groups like the KKK and local law enforcement (who were often the same people). The system of "Jim Crow" segregation was built up to maintain this exploitative relationship. It was particularly important to keep the poor whites, many of whom were in the same semi-feudal condition of "share cropping," from uniting with their Black neighbors. This in fact occurred in Oklahoma in the "Green Corn Rebellion" in August of 1917, when thousands of poor white, Black and Native American share croppers took up arms against the imposition of the military draft.

At the core of the rebellion was a radical tenant farmers' organization called the "Working Class Union (WCU)" which claimed a membership of as much as 20,000 in Eastern Oklahoma alone. Influenced by socialism and the militant Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which declined to organize tenant farmers, these semi-proletarians planned to march across Appalachia to Washington D.C. to confront Woodrow Wilson who had run for reelection on the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War," even though he had secretly committed the U.S. to enter World War I on the English side after he was reelected. Although a quarter of the votes in the region had been for the Socialist Party, the sharecroppers felt they had been betrayed by "Slick Willy" and rallied around the sentiment: "Now is the time to rebel against this war with Germany, boys. Boys, get together and don't go. Rich man's war. Poor man's fight. The war is over with Germany if you don't go and J.P. Morgan & Co. is lost. Their great speculation is the only cause of the war."

The "Green Corn Boys" were gathered on Roasting Ear Ridge on the Muscogee Creek Nation reservation awaiting contingents from western Oklahoma when they were confronted by an armed sheriff's posse that had been brought by an informer. After exchanging a few scattered shots, the rebels dispersed. In the following days, many were hunted down, whipped with ropes and arrested. Three rebels were killed, one of whom was Clifford Clark, an African American tenant farmer. Some 450 were rounded up, about half of whom were released without charges. 150 were tried, convicted and sentenced to jail terms of from 90 days to 10 years in prison. One can but wonder what the effect might have been had they carried out their planned march. They had already been joined by a contingent of Oklahoma coalminers.

Both the Socialist Party and the IWW were suppressed by the government because of their opposition to the war, although neither had taken part in the "Green Corn Rebellion." As reported by Wikipedia:

"During World War I the U.S. government moved strongly against the IWW. On September 5, 1917, U.S. Department of Justice agents made simultaneous raids on dozens of IWW meeting halls across the country. Minutes books, correspondence, mailing lists, and publications were seized, with the U.S. Department of Justice removing five tons of material from the IWW's General Office in Chicago alone. This seized material was scoured for possible violations of the Espionage Act of 1917 and other laws, with a view to future prosecution of the organization's leaders, organizers, and key activists."

"Based in large measure on the documents seized September 5, one hundred and sixty-six IWW leaders were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in Chicago for conspiring to hinder the draft, encourage desertion, and intimidate others in connection with labor disputes, under the new Espionage Act One hundred and one went on trial en masse before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis in 1918. Their lawyer was George Vanderveer

of Seattle. They were all convicted—including those who had not been members of the union for years—and given prison terms of up to twenty years. Sentenced to prison by Judge Landis and released on bail, Haywood fled to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic where he remained until his death.

"In 1917, during an incident known as the Tulsa Outrage, a group of black-robed Knights of Liberty, a short-lived faction of the Ku Klux Klan, tarred and feathered seventeen members of the IWW in Oklahoma. The IWW members had been turned over to the Knights of Liberty by local authorities after they were convicted of the crime of not owning war bonds. Five other men who testified in defense of the Wobblies were also fined by the court and subjected to the same torture and humiliations at the hands of the Knights of Liberty."

Other Wobblies were subjected to attacks around the country, including Frank Little, a leading member, who boasted of being "half white, half Indian and all IWW." He was lynched in Butte, Montana in August of 1917. In Brisbee, Arizona, where the IWW was organizing among white and Mexican-American miners, "hundreds of armed vigilantes rounded up nearly 1,200 men, whom they forced into 24 cattle cars of a train, shipped them to New Mexico, and abandoned them in a remote area. The deportees were without shelter for weeks until U.S. troops escorted them to facilities where many were held for months." Such actions were applauded by the bourgeois press as "patriotic" and "necessary for the security of the country." The specter of Bolshevik revolution was alluded to as an imminent threat. Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs was arrested for sedition after giving a speech urging resistance to the military draft in 1918. Debs ran for President in 1920 while imprisoned in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and received slightly less than a million votes.

THE WHITE NATIONALIST IN THE WHITE HOUSE

The administration of Woodrow Wilson saw the greatest upsurge in White Nationalism in U.S. history. While the original Ku Klux Klan had been effectively suppressed by federal law enforcement in the 1870s, the KKK saw a mass revival following the 1915 release of the first full-length motion picture *The Birth of a Nation*. Originally released as *The Clansman*, it was repackaged with an endorsement from President Wilson in the opening credits:

"The white men were roused by a mere instinct of self-preservation Until at last there had sprung into existence, a great Ku Klux Klan, a veritable empire of the South, to protect the Southern country."—Woodrow Wilson

The Birth of a Nation was the first film to be screened at the White House. PBS reported that:

*"On the evening of March 21, 1915, President Woodrow Wilson attended a special screening at the White House of **The Birth of a Nation**, a film directed by D.W. Griffith and based on **The Clansman**, a novel written by Wilson's good friend Thomas Dixon. The film presented a distorted portrait of the South after the Civil War, glorifying the Ku Klux Klan and denigrating blacks. It falsified the period of Reconstruction by presenting blacks as dominating Southern whites (almost all of whom are noble in the film) and sexually forcing themselves upon white women. The Klan was portrayed as the South's saviour from this alleged tyranny. Not only was this portrayal untrue, it was the opposite of what actually happened. During Reconstruction, whites dominated blacks and assaulted black women. The Klan was primarily a white terrorist organization that carried out hundreds of murders. After seeing the film, an enthusiastic Wilson reportedly remarked: 'It is like writing history with lightning, and my only regret is that it is all so terribly true.'"*

The film introduced what would become the official uniform of the KKK and the idea of burning crosses. Attempts to ban the film by the NAACP were ineffective, and with Wilson's enthusiastic support it was the original "box office success." The second Ku Klux Klan was established in Atlanta in 1915 as a mass fraternal organization, with professional recruiters and marketing techniques, making profit from the sale of KKK uniforms and literature. It spread like wild fire across the South and the Midwest particularly. By 1925, the Klan had as many as 4 million members and was able to muster 30 thousand uniformed Klansmen to march down Pennsylvania Ave in Washington, DC.

During the "Red Summer of 1919" there were hundreds killed in white riots in over three dozen cities as a wave of reactionary white racist violence swept over the country. Returning veterans had found that formerly white working

class neighborhoods had been rezoned as Negro ghettos to accommodate the influx of Black migrants from the South answering the call to meet the demands for labor in the war industries. Now these factories were laying off, and there were no provisions for employing the returning soldiers. Returning Black soldiers carried themselves with a new found pride that was seen as arrogance and defiance. It was a time of labor unrest, and not infrequently the capitalists employed Blacks as strikebreakers. Fascism was on the rise in Italy and fear of Socialist revolution was being stoked in the press as well as anti-Semitism, an I-Catholicism, anti-immigrant and anti-Negro paranoia. The KKK and other White Nationalist groups were having a field day.

THE BURNING OF BLACK WALL STREET

On May 31, 1921, all Hell broke loose in Tulsa, Oklahoma. It all started when a young Black male tripped getting on an elevator and fell onto a young white girl who was the elevator operator and she screamed. He said he was sorry and ran away, she understood, and that would have been the end of it, but then the newspapers got hold of the story and it read that a Negro had assaulted a young white girl in an elevator and something should be done about it. So the police picked up the young man "for his own protection." Then an armed white mob, incited by the KKK assembled outside the police station calling for a lynching. A group of armed Black men arrived on the scene to see that he young man was not lynched. One of the white men tried to snatch a gun from a Black man and it went off. That was all it took.

Throughout the night and into the next day the battle raged around the Black community of Greenwood, a prosperous community known as the "Black Wall Street." Tulsa was an oil "boom town" and the Black-owned banks handled the accounts of the Indians who owned the land where the oil was discovered. Black merchants were raking in the dough as he town "boomed" into a city. This prosperity incited the jealousy of the poor white "rough necks" and other new arrivals to the city. For once "Jim Crow" segregation was working in the Negroes' favor as the brown-skinned Indians shopped in Black-owned stores. But now their stores and banks were being set on fire as white-piloted airplanes flew overhead dropping incendiary bombs. Others on the ground threw fire bombs and torches. Looters set fires after grabbing all they could carry. More than 35 city blocks went up in flames.

The Black defenders of Greenwood put up a good fight as long as their ammunition held out, which enabled many residents to flee. But eventually, the white mob surged forward and overran the district, raping and killing and stealing what they could carry. The next day reinforcements arrived by special train to augment the National Guard. The white mob went home and some 6,000 of the surviving residents of Greenwood were rounded up and put in detention camps by the guardsmen. The Red Cross estimated there were 800 hospitalized and some 300 dead, and in the wake of the Tulsa Riot, the KKK boasted they had made 3,200 new recruits in Tulsa. Another group was brought to world attention, and that was the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), a Harlem-based secret society that advocated armed self-defense and socialist revolution. They were credited with organizing the defense of Greenwood.

THE ABB CROSSES THE COLOR LINE

Like the original BPP, the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) went through a transformation the more the studied and applied revolutionary science to their practice. Founded in 1919 as a response to the "Red Summer," the ABB was the inspiration of a young West Indian journalist named Cyril Briggs. His original orientation was towards Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism. Inspired by the oratory of fellow West Indian Marcus Garvey, his original intention was to build the ABB as a fraction within Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Briggs was editor and publisher of *The Crusader*, a monthly publication financed by George Wells Parker, a Black businessman in Omaha, Nebraska, who was the founder of the Hamitic League of the World, a pan-African nationalist group.

Briggs was also influenced by another fellow West Indian named Hubert Harrison, who had been the leading Black spokesman of the Socialist Party of America, but had quit over the issue of entrenched white chauvinism within the Socialist Party. In 1917 he founded the Liberty League and *The Voice*, the first organization and the first newspaper of the race-conscious "New Negro" movement. Briggs and Harrison became good friends. Like Briggs, Harrison was a strong advocate for armed self-defense for the Black community. *Wikipedia* notes hat:

"In January 1920 Harrison became principal editor of the Negro World, the newspaper of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Over the next eight months, he developed it into the leading race-conscious,

radical and literary publication of the day. By the August 1920 UNIA convention, Harrison had grown increasingly critical of Garvey. Harrison criticized Garvey for exaggerations, financial schemes, and desire for empire. In contrast to Garvey, Harrison emphasized that African Americans' principal struggle was in the United States, not in Africa. Harrison did however contribute to the UNIA's 1920 "Declaration of the Negro Peoples of the World". Though Harrison continued to write for the Negro World into 1922, he looked to develop political alternatives to Garvey."

Briggs also became strongly critical of Garvey's opportunism, and in particular his cozying up to the KKK to support his "Back to Africa" movement. In June of 1921, *The Crusader* announced that it had become the official organ of the African Blood Brotherhood. In August, Briggs and the ABB delegates were expelled from the UNIA's International Convention for openly criticizing Garvey, who denounced them as "traitors and Bolshevik agents." Briggs and Garvey became bitter enemies, and Briggs took Garvey to court for "ethnic insult" for repeatedly calling him a "white man" publicly because of his light skin. Briggs won the case, and Garvey retaliated by giving the judge secret correspondence from Briggs where he advocated training guerrilla fighters to infiltrate into European colonies in Africa to foment national liberation struggles.

Harrison introduced Briggs to his white radical friends he had maintained in the IWW, who were strong supporters of organizing Black as well as white workers, and who were now aligned with the newly formed, and still underground, Communist Party of America. Briggs became one of the first Blacks to join the Party in 1921. In 1925 the African Blood Brotherhood was dissolved into the new Communist Party-sponsored organization, the American Negro Labor Congress, which Briggs became the National Secretary of. In 1929, he was elected to the Communist Party's Central Committee. The core of Black leadership that came over from the ABB were successful in bringing tens of thousands of Black people into the Party or ANLC, and in winning the Party to undertake organizing in the South and to combat white chauvinism within its own ranks.

CLASS WAR AND BLACK LIBERATION

The Communist Party USA ultimately failed to become a revolutionary vanguard to lead the struggle in North America, but it was not without some good efforts made by sincere comrades: Comrades who sacrificed their lives and their freedom, comrades who went into the coal fields and the sweat shops, who organized among the poor white and Black sharecroppers, and the Chicano farmworkers and miners; who stood up to the KKK and the American Legion, to J. Edgar Hoover and police state. There is a rich legacy of struggle from the 1920's, 30's and the 40's, from those who volunteered to go fight fascism in Spain and those who fought it in Mississippi and Alabama.

All over the world, millions have fought for the Red Flag of Revolution, have shed their blood, suffered in prisons and endured torture and privation. There have been great victories and great setbacks. Colonies were liberated from colonialism and masses were lifted out of poverty and hopelessness, but the capitalist-imperialist system was not overthrown, and today it seems we are at square one again, where we must go back to basics and build from the grass roots up. But we are not starting from nowhere, we stand on the shoulders of giants: Men and women who dared to struggle and who changed history and left behind a legacy for us to build upon.

I have heard people disparage that "all our heroes are dead, and the dead can do nothing to help us." This is not true! Most of the great advances in medicine were made by people who are now dead. Disease is still with us, but we are not helpless before it, we are not blaming evil spirits or witchcraft. In every field of science we turn to the accumulated knowledge of those who went before and then add to it by our own efforts and summation of practice and experimentation. We learn from the past and make it serve the present and the future, discarding what is no longer applicable or erroneous and improving or superseding it with new ideas and methods.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is inherently revolutionary and anti-dogmatic. It demands we make fresh analysis of concrete conditions and develop new strategies and tactics to overcome obstacles and seize new opportunities. As Mao explained: "If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by

'failure is the mother of success' and 'a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit.'" ("On Practice," (July 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 296-97.)

Today we have new kinds of bacteria resistant to old types of antibacterial medicine. We have super viruses that mutated because they were not killed by the old treatments, and so it is with capitalist-imperialism. Colonialism mutated into neo-colonialism and liberalism into neo-liberalism. The racism of today is unlike the racism of the past. The Alt-Right is different from the old KKK or Nazi Party. There is change but there is also continuity. How much different is Bernie Sanders from Eduard Bernstein? They even look alike. Summing up the essence of Marx's theory Bernstein stated:

"The coercive laws of competition and the growing wealth of capital in society tend to lower constantly the profit rate, whilst this is delayed by forces working in opposite directions but is not permanently stopped. Overproduction of capital goes hand in hand with forces creating a superabundance of workers. Greater centralisation is always spreading in manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and an expropriation of the smaller capitalists by the greater grows. Periodic crises brought about by the anarchy in production in conjunction with the under-consumption of the masses are always reappearing in a more violent and more destructive character; and they hasten the process of centralisation and expropriation by the ruin of innumerable small capitalists. On the one side is generalised the collective—cooperative—form of the process of work on an always growing scale, in an ascending degree; on the other side increases 'with the constantly diminishing number of capitalist magnates who usurp and monopolise all the advantages of this process of transformation, the mass of misery, oppression, servitude, deterioration, exploitation, but also with it the revolt of the working class constantly increasing and taught, united and organised by the mechanism of the capitalist process of production itself.' Thus the development reaches a point where the monopoly of capital becomes a fetter to the method of production that has thriven on it, when the centralisation of the means of production and the socialisation of labour become incompatible with their capitalist garment. This is then rent. The expropriators and usurpers are expropriated by the mass of the nation. Capitalist private property is done away with.

*"This is the historical tendency of the manner of production and appropriation, according to Marx. The class which is called upon to carry out the expropriation of the capitalist class and the transformation of capitalist into public property, is the class of the wage earners, the proletariat. For this purpose must the class be organised as a political party. This party at a given moment seizes the power of the State and 'changes the means of production first of all into State property. But therewith the proletariat negates itself as a proletariat, therewith it puts an end to all differences of class and antagonisms of class, and consequently also puts an end to the State as a State.' The struggle for individual existence with its conflicts and excesses is over, the State has nothing more to oppress 'and dies off.'"—(Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism: Chapter I: The Fundamental Doctrines of Marxist Socialism*)*

But then he endeavors to correct Marx and evolve a "Marxism" that proposes socialism could be achieved through peaceful means through legislative reform in democratic societies. Young people today who "feel the Bern," who ardently believe that things would be so much different today if Hillary had not stolen the Democratic Party primaries and Sanders had defeated Trump in the general election, ignore the lessons of history, even recent history. Did Bernstein's reformed SPD with its "peaceful road to socialism," prevent or facilitate Hitler's rise to power? Did electing Obama advance or retard the cause of Black liberation? Obama never even claimed to be a socialist, but he at least held out the illusion of change while continuing the trajectory set by his predecessors. He merely served as a "whipping boy" for the extreme right wing to attack "socialism" and mock the idea of Black leadership.

The basic analysis Marx outlined has NOT been proven wrong, but he evolution of capitalism into capitalist-imperialism has globalized the process. World wars created new conditions, the Russian and Chinese revolutions created new conditions, the rise of the hegemonic power of U.S. imperialism created new conditions, but the reality that the proletariat must seize power from the bourgeoisie to advance society to communism hasn't changed. The necessity of preparing for and waging class war has not

changed. Lenin and Mao have advanced Marxist theory in the course of waging this class war under these changing conditions. We MUST advance it further.

Mao called to our attention the key struggle of this period. Comrade Huey further illuminated it. We must stand on the shoulders of these giants and reach new heights. We must dare to challenge the whole imperialist, world-dominating, capitalist system and bring to bear the power of the people. Take a good look at Donald Trump—if he is not a “paper tiger” than such does not exist! Any empire that would have him as its leader is ready for the dust bin of history! Never have the people had more to win and less to lose! Are we such pathetic creatures that we must bow down before these clowns and let them lead us to the destruction of humanity just because they are rich and we are poor? We may have nothing in our pockets, but that doesn’t mean we have nothing in our hearts and nothing in our heads!

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!

DARE TO TAKE UP THE LEGACY OF THE PANTHERS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!