
How "CPML" Assists The Bourgeoisie In Oppressing The Black Belt Nation

In recent leaflets and issues of the ragsheet *The Call*, "CP-ML" has gone on and on about demonstrations in Tupelo, Mississippi, which they call an "All-American town", pronouncing these demonstrations "Marches for Black Freedom". Not once does "CPML" raise any polemics against the U.S. bourgeoisie's nickname for Tupelo, the "All-American town", but instead propagate it, attempting to erase the face that Tupelo is part of an oppressed nation existing in the Black Belt South. They do this to liquidate the question of an oppressed nation in the Black Belt South.

In *The Call* Supplement, "Tupelo: Battle in the Black Belt", "CPML" says, "Because national oppression is an integral part of imperialism the elimination of that oppression can only come about with the overthrow of imperialism. Therefore, the Afro-American people's liberation struggle is a component part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle for socialism."

"The current mass struggle in Mississippi is a concrete expression of that revolutionary movement. Up against the Klan, the police and the white supremacist power structure of the South, the UL is objectively in the front lines of this battle."

An analysis of the current struggles in Mississippi ("Marches for Black Freedom", boycotts of white businesses) will prove that the struggles are not a concrete expression of the worldwide revolutionary struggle for socialism. Instead, they are a reflection of the spontaneous struggle of the masses in the Black Belt South against exploitation and oppression, particularly national oppression. At the present time these spontaneous struggles are under the influence of petty-bourgeois and reformist leaders such as brick mason and building contractor Reverend Alfred "Skip" Robinson and attorney Lewis Myers of the United League of North Mississippi (UL). These "leaders" who desire to protect and extend their "right" to crumbs and privileges from the bourgeoisie, in turn uphold their responsibility to preserve bourgeois order and protect the status quo. This can be clearly seen by the reformist demands raised by the UL, such as:

- (1) affirmative action hiring in business, industry and government;
- (2) rehiring of two fired sanitation workers;
- (3) an end to Klan and police brutality.

These reformist demands will only strengthen the hold of the white capitalist and landlords in the Black Belt.

Concretely, by placing the "UL objectively in the front lines of the battle," the "C"P(ML) clearly shows itself to be the chief tailer of the spontaneous movement of the masses in the Black Belt South and supporters of the reformist and petty-bourgeois leaders of the UL, going against the resolution of 1928 by the Comintern which states: "The Party must apply united front tactics for specific demands to the existing

Negro petty-bourgeois organizations. The purpose of these united front tactics should be the mobilizing of the Negro masses under the leadership of the Party, and to expose the treacherous petty bourgeois leadership of those organizations."

So why does "C"P ("ML") raise this current struggle in Mississippi to be "part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle for socialism"? They do it to protect one of the most basic sources of their bribes, which come from the superprofits extracted by the U.S. imperialists from the subjugation of the black oppressed nation in the Black Belt South. Thus they tail this spontaneous struggle and lead it down the road of reformism, to keep the proletariat and oppressed masses away from the true struggle for national and social liberation, the socialist revolution.

Trying to revive the civil rights movement, which "C"P ("ML") says "Shook the Deep South" (*Call* Supplement, "Tupelo: Battle in the Black Belt"), they deny the fact that two trends are present in the national liberation movement. The civil rights movement reflecting a reformist trend and the national liberation movement reflecting the revolutionary trend. Following the lead of the U.S. bourgeoisie, which has launched a campaign to revive the civil rights movement — seen in how the birthday of Martin Luther King is celebrated as a national holiday, naming streets in major cities in the U.S. after King, erecting statues, etc., the "C"P ("ML") is in complete harmony with the bourgeoisie and its agents such as Eldridge Cleaver, who says he was influenced by the civil rights movement. Deng Xiaoping, in his recent visit to the U.S., paid special homage, bowing three times at the grave of King. Deng Hsiao-ping is lamenting losing King. Imagine—a pact could have been worked out to create a "third world country" in the Black Belt, and King then would have been one of those "progressives" of the Khomeini type. To present the Civil Rights movement as the path to true liberation is the same type of poison spread by the "three worlds theory". It is a sure way to maintain U.S. imperialist subjugation over the Black Belt nation.

The "C"P ("ML"), those boot-licking agents of U.S. imperialism, dream of the revival of the "good" old civil rights movement. King is dead, but there are other imperialist lackeys who will no doubt outdo themselves to fit the bill of an established "civil rights leader." And "C"P ("ML") will be there to assure that the path travelled is that one which suits the interests of U.S. imperialism.

The promotion of the Civil Rights movement is precisely this scheme. Thus a distinction between Carter's Human Rights campaign and the Civil Rights movement cannot be made.

All the revisionists and opportunists promote the struggle for reforms in the Black Belt because the last thing they want to see is the development of a revolutionary national liberation movement for self-determination in the Black Belt, utilizing revolutionary tactics to overthrow the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The 1928 Comintern Resolution on the Negro Question in the United States, which the "C"P ("ML") and all revisionist parties in the U.S. refuse to adhere to, established clearly the basis for the development of such a movement. **"The various forms of oppression of the Negro masses, who are concentrated mainly in the so-called 'Black Belt,' provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes. The Negro agricultural labourers and the tenant farmers feel most the pressure of white persecution and exploitation. Thus, the agrarian problem lies at the root of the Negro national movement. The great majority of Negroes in the rural districts of the south are not 'reserves of capitalist reaction,' but potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat. Their objective position facilitates their transformation into a revolutionary force, which, under the leadership of the proletariat, will be able to participate in the joint struggle with all other workers against capitalist exploitation."** Does "C"P ("ML") make any attempt to develop such a movement through transforming these potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat into a revolutionary force, under the leadership of the proletariat? No. Instead, as we've stated above, they are leaching on to the spontaneous movement of the masses in the Black Belt, protecting the bourgeoisie's interests, apologizing for that cruel national oppression and super-exploitation, pretending to be deaf and dumb regarding the existence of the remnants of slavery (sharecropping, tenant farming, etc.).

In the 1930 Comintern Resolutions on the Negro National Question in the U.S., it is stated that **"Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers"** is one of the three main solutions to the National Question in the Black Belt South, along with (2) Establishment of the State Unity of the Black Belt, and (3) the Right to Self-Determination.

"C"P ("ML") does not once mention confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists. Instead "C"P ("ML") wants to:

Save the land owned by black farmers, and

Return the land taken from the Black landowners.

Taken as a whole, Black-owned land never equaled 2% of U.S. farmland. Therefore, this solution to the agrarian question, the basis of the national question in the Black Belt South, would only increase the number of Black landowners. Black landowners, the upper strata of Black farmers, have always wavered in the struggle for national liberation.* This solution would not free the black sharecroppers, tenant farmers, etc., who compose a great proportion among the masses of black people, in the Black Belt South, from the oppressed and exploited

condition that they suffer, under the rule of the white landowners and capitalists. Only the seizure of the land offers a solution to the agrarian problem in the Black Belt.

"C"P ("ML") says the slogans of "Black Power" and "self-determination" are coming to the fore again in the Black liberation struggle. We pose this question to the "vanguard" "C"P ("ML"); although we know it lacks the courage to reply: how can self-determination be achieved without the seizure of land and the establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt? Harry Haywood, "veteran Black Communist," in reality a veteran revisionist, offers some answers in line with the program of the "Communist" Party ("ML"). Haywood says, "the essence of the right of self-determination remains the same: full equality for Blacks, which can only be guaranteed by Black political power in the hands of the Black masses and their allies, not power in the hands of the white capitalists and landlords. Only this right makes regional autonomy or any other form of unity truly voluntary." The essence of the right of self-determination does not simply mean "full equality for Blacks."

Self-determination for Blacks in the Black Belt South means **"complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the Black Belt, as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States"** (1930 Comintern Resolution, p. 30.)

After completely destroying the meaning of self-determination, i.e., the right to political secession, Haywood somehow assumes that Black political power in the hands of the Black masses and their allies will guarantee "full equality for Blacks"? Only the seizure of state power, of the means of production, and the establishment of socialism will guarantee equal rights for all nations and national minorities. As the Comintern Resolution of 1930 says, **"It is clear that, only a victorious proletarian revolution will finally decide the agrarian question and the national question in the South of the United States, in the interests of the predominating mass of the Negro population."** (Colonial Theses of the Sixth World Congress)

"C"P ("ML")'s social-chauvinist position is crystal clear and the workers of the oppressor "great" imperialist U.S. power, and the proletariat and masses of the Black Belt, will have to remove these and all social-chauvinists and centrists out of the way in order to carry out the socialist revolution in the U.S., overthrow the bourgeoisie, as the final solution to the national question.

It is the duty of the proletariat of the U.S. to defend unreservedly the right of the oppressed Afro-American nation in the Black Belt to self-determination, i.e., the right to political secession.

*Long live the revolutionary struggle for self-determination for the Afro-American Nation in the Black Belt South !!
Down with the petty-bourgeois and reformist leadership of the UL, and their tailers the "C"P("ML") !!*



*We are presently engaged in the theoretical work necessary to develop the Leninist line on the national question. Our starting point is the Comintern resolutions of 1928 and 1930.