

"Strategy for a Black Agenda" by Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist party, stands perhaps as the most complete ideological statement of the American revisionists on the contemporary Afro-American and African struggle.

Central to almost every position developed in this book is the falsification of the role of the Chinese Communist party and of the contribution of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Comprising 320 pages and organized into 15 chapters, this book opens with efforts to prove through the sloppy manipulation of jingles, phrases and out-of-context quotes that the ideas of Stokely Carmichael, Imamu Baraka, Roy Innis, Ron Karenga, James Boggs, John A. Williams, James Forman, Robert Allen and George Padmore are all racist manifestations of neo-Pan-Africanism.

According to Winston the root source of neo-Pan-Africanism is the acceptance and allegiance to the "racist" ideology of Mao Tsetung:

"This 'theory' of the 'third world' as the 'chief dynamic' of history is based on the Maoist substitution of race for class as the motive force of history. As depicted by Maoism, the nonwhite 'countryside' of the world is in struggle against the 'white metropolitan city'—a racial concept concealing the true motive force of history."

SINKING DEEPER

After devoting five chapters to this point and the thesis that only Dr. W.E.B. DuBois represents true Pan-Africanism because he was anti-racist, anti-imperialist and supported the Soviet Union, Henry Winston sinks deeper into his slanderous cesspool:

"Beneath the 'Marxist-Leninist' camouflage, the roots of the 'Thought Of Mao' are embedded in Han racist nationalism—a fact revealed by Mao Tsetung himself even in the year of victory for the Chinese revolution. In 1949 he wrote:

"The 40 years' experience of Sun Yat Sen and the 28 years' experience of the Communist party have taught us to lean to one side, and we are firmly convinced that in order to win victory and consolidate it we must lean to one side. In the light of the experiences accumulated in these 40 years and these 28 years, all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or the side of socialism. . . ."

Winston continues: "Mao's choice of the word 'lean' is indeed significant; the concept of 'leaning' to one side is far removed from the Marxist-Leninist principle of solidarity with one side—anti-imperialism. This statement was a clear signal to the imperialist powers that the 'Thought of Mao' retained deep nationalist reservations about unity with the world's working classes and national liberation movements—as well as the right of self-determination for the non-Han peoples within China.

"In fact, not even Mao's reasons for 'leaning' to the Soviet Union's side arose from principles of socialist solidarity! Instead, he was motivated by bourgeois nationalist, opportunist expediency: China needed to 'lean' on the Soviet Union's internationalism in order to win victory and consolidate.

"And so for a decade, the Maoists 'free-loaded' on the

massive material support of the Soviet peoples, extended at a time when they had not yet recovered from the vast human and material sacrifices involved in the decisive role in saving the world from Axis fascism—and simultaneously paving the way for the victory of the Chinese revolution. After this decade of massive Soviet assistance, the Maoists concluded that China's economy had become sufficiently consolidated for them to strike out on a more openly bourgeois nationalist course. Carrying out this aim, always inherent in the 'Thought of Mao,' required an end to the policy of 'leaning' to the Soviet side. This is the meaning of the Maoists' break with the Soviet Union and their decision to 'lean' more and more on to imperialism. . . ."

Winston's allegations are absurd and attempts to portray the Chinese Communist party and Chairman Mao as racists and opportunists reflect the hysterical screams of those who have leaped off the train of history and are lost in the jungles of capitalism.

Politically, these vicious attacks are designed to provide a theoretical justification for intervention in the internal affairs of the Peoples Republic of China by those in opposition to the Chinese Communist party and its chairman, Mao Tsetung. Such attacks, moreover, are futile efforts to hold back the rising tide of confidence in the works of Mao Tsetung and the disaffection with the line, policies and actions of the revisionist leadership in the Soviet Union and the United States.

A study of the Marxist-Leninist works on the national question, especially the works of Stalin and the policies of the Bolshevik party, will clearly demonstrate that national regional autonomy as practiced by the Peoples Republic of China is correct and not racist. Of course, it is contrary to revisionist policy to study and attempt to apply the theoretical contributions of Stalin. This may account for Winston's confusion and the liquidation of the national question in the United States by the American revisionists.

Winston also neglects to state that his out-of-context quote comes from the essay on the People's Democratic Dictatorship found in Volume Four of the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung. In that essay Chairman Mao poses a series of questions that critics of the Chinese Communist party had raised, including: "You are leaning to one side." At that time the entire international Communist movement recognized the Soviet Union as the leader of the socialist camp, a country that had to be defended. Moreover, the line, policies and actions of the Soviet Communist party under the leadership of Stalin was widely respected and close comradeship existed between the Chinese Communist party and the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Regardless of what he writes, Winston cannot negate this historical reality.

After the death of Stalin and beginning with the 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union in 1956, revisionism consolidated itself in the leadership of the CPSU. Some of its manifestations are the repudiation of Stalin, the line of peaceful transition to socialism, liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, attempting to impose upon other countries limited sovereignty, an international division of labor, the non-capitalist path to socialism. In

addition, the selling of arms at high prices and the buying cheaply of raw materials in the third world has nothing to do with proletarian internationalism.



Henry Winston, CPUSA national chairman [1964].

For more than four years after 1956 the Chinese Communist party kept the disagreements with the CPSU on a fraternal basis. It was not the first to begin public polemics but was duty bound to uphold Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is only in the fantasy of Henry Winston, Gus Hall and others that they can attribute the split in the international Communist movement to some nonsense about a deep-seated "racist" of "bourgeois nationalist" trend in the "Thought of Mao Tsetung" that favors "leaning toward imperialism."

For Winston's information, the Peoples Republic of China has repaid the Soviet Union for all loans after World War 2 and it is a country free of internal and external debt.

Consistent with his efforts to distort and revise Marxism-Leninism, Henry Winston offers to the Black masses an anti-monopoly coalition:

"Once this anti-monopoly strategy succeeds in breaking the control of state monopoly capital over Congress and the government, the forces exist, internally and internationally—in contrast to the anti-slavery period—that can prevent the betrayal of the struggle. There is such a perspective, and this is so, first of all, because the forces of class and national liberation, headed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, have changed the world balance of power."

Henry Winston and his party may try to separate monopoly capitalism from the state—the presidency, the Congress, the courts, the CIA, the FBI, the armed forces, the regulatory agencies, the various police operations and so forth. However, life itself, as well as the teachings of the Communist Manifesto, Lenin's "State and Revolution" and "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" proves that monopoly capitalism and the state are intertwined, requiring a proletarian revolution for their abolition.)

While it is beyond the scope of this particular column to refute all the incorrect formulations, the false statements, and distortions of facts throughout Winston's book, nevertheless, the filthy polemical challenge which he has launched in "Strategy for a Black Agenda" must be accepted by those who believe we need to dump the old, revisionist Communist party and build a new one.