



The Internationale

PEOPLES SCHOOL FOR MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES™



New Outlook Publishers

Selected Works of Henry Winston



# What we'll be learning today:

- The Meaning of San Rafael
- Strategy for a Black Agenda
- The Moynihan-Kissinger Doctrine



# The Meaning of San Rafael



# Statement of the Political Committee of the Communist Party USA after San Rafael:

“The violent scene played out to its deadly end in the shadow of the San Rafael courthouse is an American tragedy which arouses profound concern and deep sorrow in all people of conscience throughout the nation.

“Behind the desperate deed of the imprisoned men and their youthful would-be liberator are the goading realities of a bestial prison system, brutal police handling, and a cynical and ruthless courtroom pattern devoid of justice or any touch of humanity or concern for the dignity, lives and liberty of arrested men and women; especially so when they are Black people...

“The Communist party has always made clear its opposition to acts of desperation or resort to gunplay on the part of individuals, no matter how awful the provocation or lofty the ideal. Communists reject the concept of revolutionary suicide or revolutionary superman-ism.

“Communists always stand for the extension and enrichment of life, and commit their lives to the cause of helping the masses to struggle in a winning way for a social system devoid of such tragedies and worthy of mankind.

“We are confident that Communists and all honest leaders of the people will be vigilant against reaction’s efforts to exploit the tragedy of San Rafael and to undertake diversionary assaults upon the Communist Party. ...”

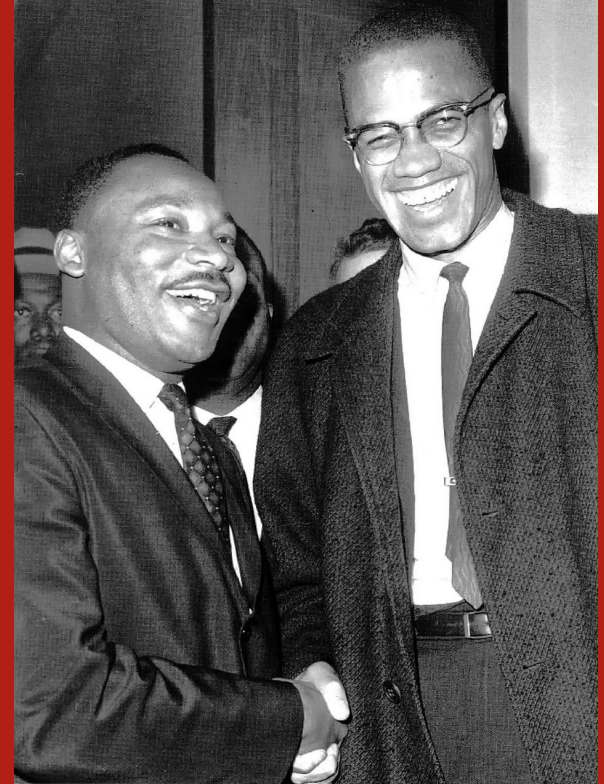


# The Meaning of San Rafael

There is a revealing continuity in motive and timing behind the frame-up of Angela Davis and the assassinations of Malcom X and Martin Luther King.

Malcolm X was murdered by the racist establishment, using a police agent to penetrate his personal bodyguard, at the very moment he was turning away from separatism, against capitalism, and toward united mass struggle.

Dr. King was gunned down when he began to identify imperialism as the source of racism, poverty and war, and was translating this deeper understanding into an opposition of new dimensions to poverty and racist oppression at home, and the related imperialist aggression in Vietnam. He was linking these movements with the Black workers' struggle to organize, and was pressing for the unity of workers of all colors as the essential force for meaningful change and liberation.





## The Meaning of San Rafael

When Angela Davis affirmed her membership in the Communist Party, her UCLA teaching post was taken away from her. When the brilliant young Black professor continued to intensify her social and activity outside the classroom, the plot to murder her in the gas chamber was initiated. The racist ruling class could not tolerate the meaning, the inspiration, to the nation's exploited and oppressed, of Angela's membership in the Party based on the liberating principles of Marxism-Leninism. Angela Davis was right when she said, "They have taken my job. Now they want to take my life." By dedicating herself not only to explaining the world but to changing it, Angela Davis won the love of millions—and the hatred of the ruling class.





# The Meaning of San Rafael

It is within this context that many of those involved in the liberation struggle have expressed their concern with Eldridge Cleaver's attack on Angela Davis and the Communist Party.

Of equal concern is the fact that some leading figures in the Black Panther Party have broken organizationally with Cleaver but have not yet made the break with his philosophy, which does such harm to the Black Panther Party and to the fight for Black liberation and against poverty and war.

Some leading Black Panthers are now jeopardizing the fight against racism and the defense of political prisoners by combining their public attacks on Cleaver with invention of "new" arguments and rationalizations for anti-Communism.



Eldridge Cleaver

Ironically, those in the movement who promote anti-Communism are picking up the traditional weapon of their racist imperialist oppressors. And when anti-Communism is encouraged by individuals who consider themselves militant fighters against imperialism, it becomes an even more disruptive weapon than when directly wielded by the ruling class and its mass media. No one can fight racism with anti-Communism. To fight racism, one must oppose and expose anti-Communism. There is no other way to liberation—in this country or any part of the world.

That the influence of Cleaver's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet ideology extends to many leading figures in the Black Panther Party, as well as others on the Left, is particularly evident in much of the current discussion about the meaning of the San Rafael incident.

Too much of this discussion reflects Cleaver's views—which unfortunately are "part of the problem" rather than "part of the solution." Cleaver—echoed by some others—insists that the movement must "focus" on San Rafael as an exemplary "act of revolutionary violence." "Only through actions," he asserts, "can we take our freedom and liberation."



# The Meaning of San Rafael

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Under cover of such “super-revolutionary” rhetoric, Cleaver in fact calls for the abandonment of struggle in the courts and the development of mass defense movements. He becomes an advocate of capitulation, of hopeless surrender to the government and the courts that are trampling upon the rights and lives of the political prisoners and of all the people.

Elitist, adventurist, anarchist tactics—individual terrorist actions of “revolutionary” suicide—cannot free political prisoners or advance the cause of liberation. Such tactics, or any form of accommodation to them—no matter who advances them—regrettably mesh with government provocations aimed at disorganizing the mass movement, which is the only basis for freeing political prisoners and achieving liberation.





# The Meaning of San Rafael



There are also some of the Left who “differ” with the view that San Rafael’s and other forms of “picking up the gun” are the only valid methods of struggle. Instead, these individuals advocate what they term “tactical diversity”—in reality a perversion of the concept of flexibility into an open-ended invitation to sheer adventurism.

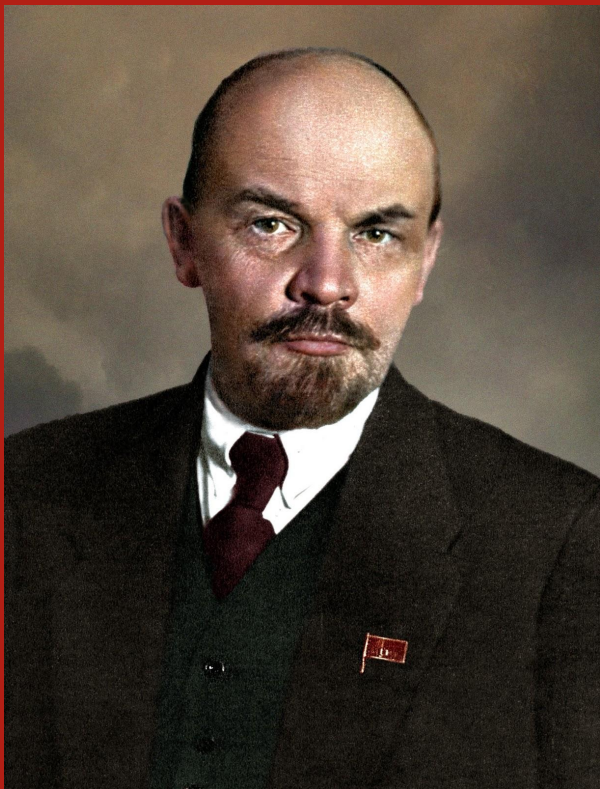
Those who play with adventurist concepts have learned nothing from the experience of the Black Panther Party. The Black Panthers’ rhetoric, focusing on “power coming out of the barrel of a gun,” helps only the ruling class. Calling for confrontations with the police supplants mass struggle against the enemy, who controls the economy, the government *and* the police.

The Black Panther Party became a focal point for FBI Provocateurs and an easy target for nationwide frame-ups and genocidal attacks not because of the courage and militancy of its young members (although they possess these qualities in abundance), but because the party’s anti-Marxist, adventurist policies isolated it from the people and made it vulnerable to attack. Even more important, these policies helped make the total struggle against poverty, racism and war more vulnerable to enemy attack.

Further, the assaults on the Panthers resulted in the tragic loss of some of the movement’s best young fighters. The people cannot afford the sacrifice of Black youth like Fred Hampton, Bobby Hutton, and Jonathan Jackson. This is another vital reason why the struggle for liberation must be guided not by emotion but by the science of Marxism-Leninism.



# The Meaning of San Rafael



While these words may seem to have a bold new ring, in reality they represent a revival of pre-Marxist variants of anarchism rejected by Marx, Engels and Lenin. For example, in 1902, 19-year-old Stephan Balmashov, a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party—which considered Lenin and his Party too conservative—assassinated Dmitri Sipyagin, the Tsar’s Minister of Interior. The Socialist Revolutionaries immediately issued a leaflet supporting Balmashov’s act—which sounds as if it could have been written by one of those who advocate more San Rafael. Lenin took a major part of two issues (Nos. 23, 24) of *Iskra*, a revolutionary journal, to answer the views expressed in this leaflet.

“The first thing that strikes the eye,” he wrote, “is the words, ‘we advocate terrorism, not in place of work among the masses, but precisely for and simultaneously with that work.’” If this view were accepted, he continued, “all that history has taught will fall to the ground.” He said further:



# The Meaning of San Rafael

“the Socialist-Revolutionaries are talking themselves blue in the face in asseverating that they recognize terrorism only in conjunction with work among the masses, and that therefore the arguments used by the Russian Social-Democrats to refute the efficacy of this method of struggle (and which have indeed been refuted for a long time to come) do not apply to them... We are not repeating the terrorists’ mistakes and are not diverting attention from work among the masses, the Socialist-Revolutionaries assure us, and at the same time enthusiastically recommend to the Party acts such as Balmashov’s assassination of Sipyagin, although everyone knows and sees perfectly well that this act was in no way connected with the masses and, moreover, could not have been by reason of the very way in which it was carried out—that the persons who committed this terrorist act neither counted on nor hoped for any definite action or support on the part of the masses. In their naiveté, the Socialist-Revolutionaries do not realize that their predilection for terrorism is causally most intimately linked with the fact that, from the very outset, they have always kept, and still keep, aloof from the working-class movement, without even attempting to become a party of the revolutionary class which is waging its class struggle.”<sup>3</sup>



Stepan Balmashov

**Dmitry Sipyagin**

Дмитрий Сипягин





# The Meaning of San Rafael

There is an irreconcilable contradiction between isolated terrorist acts and mass struggle.

Today, in the context of our country, the San Rafael events must be seen as an act resulting from frustration. Jonathan Jackson “neither counted on nor hoped” to relate his act to the mass movement. In fact, Jonathan’s vastly courageous act must be considered in this light. Jonathan, along with Ruchell Magee, James McClain and William Christmas, took this path in the desperate and mistaken hope of finding a shortcut to expose conditions which prevail in the prison system. That system also unjustly and illegally holds Jonathan’s brother. At 17, Jonathan did not yet realize that in the battle for class and national liberation there are no shortcuts, no substitutes for militant class struggle.

That is why Jonathan Jackson’s action was one of futile self-sacrifice. The act that resulted in his tragic loss to the movement, and in the frameup of Angela Davis and her removal from the scene as a dedicated leader of the mass struggle, simultaneously jeopardized Jonathan’s aim—to dramatize the cause of freedom for his brother George and for all political prisoners.

The brutality of the racist ruling class is boundless. It is not enough for this class—with its institutions of exploitation, oppression and repression—to drive the Jonathan Jacksons into self-defeating acts of desperation. Its strategy also calls for a form of double jeopardy—exploiting the desperate acts themselves in order to defeat the mass struggle.

Those who fail to see through this strategy of the ruling class, and instead indulge in “super-revolutionary” rhetoric, obstruct rather than build the movement to free Angela Davis and all political prisoners.



# The Meaning of San Rafael

This movement is an integral part of the struggle for an *alternative* for millions of Jonathan Jacksons caught between the dead-end pressures of rat and drug-infested ghettos and unemployment, or forced service in a racist war. These millions want an alternative to genocide in *all* its forms, and toward this end, white allies have a special responsibility.

Although the rhetoric of some would lead one to think otherwise, their role is *not* to provide a cheering section for genocide in the form of “revolutionary” suicide. Their role is to join in building the united mass movement to end racism. They cannot meet this responsibility without rejecting all forms of “super-revolutionism,” which results in accommodation to, rather than struggle against, racism.





# Discussion



# Strategy for a Black Agenda



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

### *Two-Sided Pressure on King*

Thus, even before the hunger and frustration of Black masses led to the spontaneous outbursts in Watts, Detroit and Newark, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. encountered attacks not only from reaction but from segments of militant youth under the influence of sectarianism and pseudo-revolutionism.



The Watts riots, sometimes referred to as the Watts Rebellion or Watts Uprising, took place in the Watts neighborhood and its surrounding areas of Los Angeles from August 11 to 16, 1965.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

While the open attacks from the latter were a relatively new development, King had long experienced pressure from the establishment liberals, the NAACP, the Urban League and others to limit mass struggle and to rely on the courts and “friends” within the two major parties. In this period—as the war in Vietnam continued and domestic conditions worsened—this pressure from the Right increased, and was particularly aimed at preventing King from linking the Black liberation movement with the anti-war struggle.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

At the same time, the frustrations of radical youth were intensified by the escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965—immediately after the new Civil Rights Act was passed. Many Black and white radicals, including Carmichael, Cleaver, Newton, Forman and Hayden, began to step up their attacks on the Civil Rights struggle. *They placed themselves in opposition to King, who was determined not to abandon, but to strengthen, the forces of the Civil Rights Decade, to deepen and broaden them into a realignment that could carry the struggle against poverty and racist oppression to a new level.*



During their visit to the United Nations, in 1964, Dr. Martin Luther King and his wife Coretta Scott King are greeted by Mr. Ralph J. Bunche, UN Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs.  
Photo: © UN Photo/Yutaka Nagata



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

If King was not without error in coping with pressure from the Right, and later with that of the pseudo-radicals, his overall record was one of firm adherence to militant non-violent mass struggle. The maturing of his leadership, his recognition of the decisive role of the working class, his evolvment toward an anti-imperialist position, all of his steady and remarkable growth reflected his rejection of both the opportunist pressures to limit mass struggle and the super-revolutionary pressures to substitute the rhetoric of violence for the power of mass struggle.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*



King has been dead more than five years, but the attacks on his strategy and objectives continue from the Right and the pseudo-left. In fact, while Nixon is bent on destroying the advances of the Civil Rights Decade, it is ironic that the new “revolutionists” are so certain there is nothing worth saving from it! But Nixon recognizes—and fears—what the super-militants refuse to see—the Civil Rights Decade created the pre-conditions for the much higher level of struggle needed in the period ahead.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

### ***Pressing for a New Beginning***

When King was assassinated in the spring of 1968, he was leading the strike of the predominantly Black sanitation workers of Memphis. His commitment to this courageous working-class struggle was a vibrant indication that, in pressing for a new beginning in the strategy against racist oppression, poverty and war, he had come to a *full* realization of the meaning of his first major struggle, the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott. This landmark battle was sparked by



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

Mrs. Rosa Lee Parks, a Black *working-class* woman, and carried on with courage and tenacity by, primarily, Black working-class men and women. In the course of a decade of leadership of the liberation struggle, King came to understand that it was workers, more than any other stratum, who possess these qualities.





## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

King recognized that since these special qualities of workers had brought about the historic turning point in Montgomery, leading to the nationwide involvement of many other sections of the population, including Black and white youth in the struggle for equal rights, the new stage—the struggle for jobs, for an end to poverty, racism and war—demanded a new strategy based on the working class, Black and white.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

Although King's views were not identical with the Marxist conception of the role of the working class—which sees this class not only as the main social force but as the leader in the anti-monopoly struggle—he had come steadily closer to this outlook. *Moreover, it is especially meaningful that King moved in this direction at the time when Marcuse and others, with the assistance of the mass media, were making their greatest headway in promoting the idea among radical youth that the Marxist concept of the working class was outdated.*



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

### ***Democracy, Liberation and Socialism***

Another ironic contradiction in the role of many of the new radicals emerged at the end of the Civil Rights Decade: As they lost sight of the historic significance of that period, and more and more heaped abuse on it and its preeminent leader, they became the inadvertent helpmates of the ruling class, whose conscious aim it was and is to distort the meaning of that period to the masses.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

It should not be forgotten that for many long decades the ruling class hid the true history of Reconstruction from the people of this country. Now, at a time when the Black liberation movement has forced at least the beginnings of attention to the Reconstruction era, it would indeed be strange if the rhetoric of the pseudo-revolutionaries helped the monopolists conceal the true meaning, the heroism and achievements of the Civil Rights Decade. This must not be allowed to happen.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

It is important to understand the meaning of this period, and the vital leadership role in it of Martin Luther King, who came to an awareness of the revolutionary relationship between the fight for rights, for security, for peace and the liberation struggle. Despite their “revolutionary” rhetoric, this is something the pseudo-radicals have failed to comprehend. In rejecting this central meaning of the civil rights struggle, these radicals caricatured the Marxist principles they so often proclaimed.



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

As Lenin persistently emphasized, the fight for democracy is at the heart of the class struggle. He continually warned against the ideas of those who ignored the connection between the struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism. In "A Caricature of Marxism," he wrote:

*All* democracy consists in the proclamation and realization of rights which under capitalism are realizable only to a very small degree and only relatively. But without the proclamation of these rights, without a struggle to introduce them now, immediately, without training the masses in the spirit of this struggle, socialism is *impossible*. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 74.)



## Chapter 15: Strategy for a Black Agenda - *Strategy for a Black Agenda*

**Lenin also emphasized that Marxists must:**

. . . know that democracy does *not* abolish class oppression. It only makes the class struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, and that is what we need. . . . The more democratic the system of government, the clearer will the workers see that the root evil is capitalism, not lack of rights. (Ibid., p. 73.)



# Henry Winston on the Self-Determination, Black Belt Thesis and the National Question.





# Discussion



# Moynihnan-Kissinger Doctrine and the “Third World”



# Who was Daniel Moynihan and why is he important?

- Moynihan served as Assistant to the Labor Secretary under JFK and Lyndon B. Johnson and as Assistant to President for Domestic Affairs
- He was later made the US Ambassador to the UN
- In 1965, he published a report that sought to take blame for poverty in the black communities away from corporate America and placed the blame on family structures within the black community



Daniel Moynihan



## Moynihan Report Briefly

During the '60s, the Moynihan Report came up with an "analysis" of the condition of Black people in the U.S. that placed the blame for their intensifying problems not on the oppressor but the victims. The reasons for inequality in jobs, housing, education, etc., were—according to this report—not to be found in the class and racist structure of U.S. state monopoly capitalism but within the Black community.



## Moynihan Report Briefly

the Administration has selected Moynihan to project an international counterpart of the racist concepts in his report: i.e., to blame the widening economic gap between many of the underdeveloped and less-developed nations and the imperialist nations not on U.S. and world imperialism but on its victims.

In 1964, on the eve of U.S. imperialism's escalation of its "pacification" program in Vietnam, Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Moynihan, then Assistant Secretary of Labor, as head of a committee to develop a program for "pacification" of the Black masses, who refused to interpret the legal gains of the civil rights struggles as an end, but rather as a new starting point in their long fight for the *substance* of equality.





## Moynihan Report Briefly

By picturing the Black condition of inequality as arising within the Black “family structure,” this report identified the *results* of oppression as the *cause* of oppression. Thus, it runs head on into the fact that Black family life—despite the “distortions” caused by 200 years on the auction blocks of Northern slave traders and Southern slave owners, followed by more than 100 years of racist economic, social and political pressures of genocidal proportions—has shown a matchless capacity for survival through struggle!

Among its numerous contributions to racism, the Moynihan Report labeled the Black community a “tangle of pathologies.” (This is a phrase Moynihan took over from the writings of Dr. Kenneth Clark. Clark used it in an anti-racist sense, but because the phrase has no scientific *class* content Moynihan was able to twist Clark’s intent into its opposite.)

Now, courtesy of Moynihan, we have yet another racist stereotype at large in the land, aimed at covering up the fact that the “tangle” of institutionalized racism generated by monopoly is the source of inequality.



## Daniel Bell's "Revolution of Rising Entitlements"

Basing himself on the premise that the people's demands cannot be met, Bell assists the ruling class in its aim of containing "the resolution of rising entitlements." Ignoring the massive need for jobs, the relationship between inflation and corporate profits and the gigantic military expenditures, he claims that "every imaginable anti-inflationary policy impinges on the welfare of some major interest group." In reality, of course, an inflammatory policy" would "impinge" on the "welfare" of only one "major interest group"—the tiny minority of monopolists.



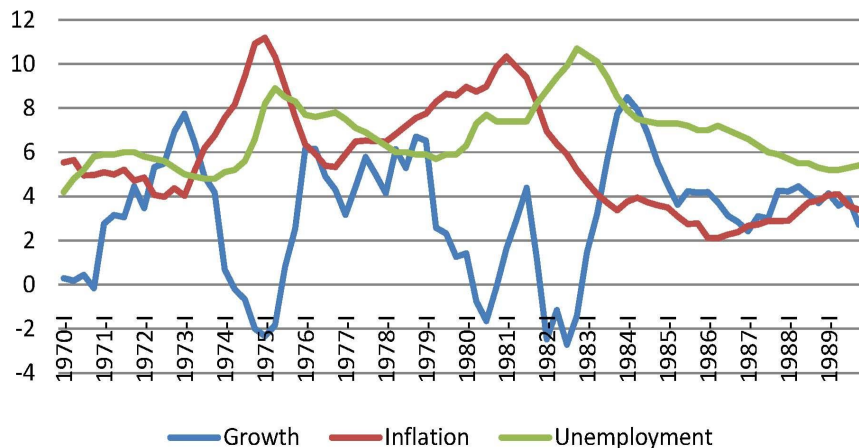
# Daniel Bell's "Revolution of Rising Entitlements"

Social programs also "impinge" on the "welfare" of the monopolists—and Bell assists the ruling class in developing a rationale for cutting back on them. Stating that social programs can be financed only through higher taxes or economic growth, he asserts,

"... paradoxically, economic growth may be the source of a distinctive 'contradiction' of capitalism—a contradiction that may prove to be its undoing. For growth has become inextricably linked with inflation, and it seems unlikely that any democratic society can abolish inflation without disastrous political consequences."

Obviously, Daniel Bell equates "democracy" with continuing monopoly domination of the nation's social, economic and political life. Bell speaks ominously of the "dilemma associated with economic growth and inflation." Should an attempt be made to break out of the allegedly insoluble "contradiction" between economic growth and more inflation, or the further slowing of economic growth and the escalation of unemployment, Bell foresees only "danger."

## Growth, Inflation, and Unemployment, 1970-89



We see that inflation is generally directly proportional with unemployment and inversely proportional to economic growth



## The Anti-Monopoly Coalition is Needed to Halt the Crisis in Capitalism

A massive independent people's alternative to the two parties of the ruling class would most certainly result in "undoing" monopoly's stranglehold. Bell reveals monopoly's fear of such a formation when he warns that "one third of the electorate now designates itself as 'independent.'"

Far from bringing the "disastrous political consequences" Bell predicts, an anti-monopoly alternative is the only way to block still greater onslaughts against the people's rights and living standards. Bell inadvertently confirms this when he slates:



# The Anti-Monopoly Coalition is Needed to Halt the Crisis in Capitalism

“... it has become increasingly clear in recent years that the revolution of rising entitlement may become unmanageable. If this process is not reversed, it will work to undermine the legitimacy of our society.”

When Bell asserts that this “process” must be “reversed,” he is pointing in the direction of pro-fascist measures. Only through mass struggle for an independent alternative can the people prevent this drastic “reversal” of their rights. Without such a struggle to “undermine” the “legitimacy” of monopoly’s control of government, it is impossible to combat unemployment, inflation, poverty and racism.

Contrary to Bell, “economic growth” is crucial to meet the vast needs of the people. *Only the monopolies profit from production that diverts from instead of helps to meet the people’s expanding needs.*

Ben Davis, Paul Robeson and Henry Winston





# The Anti-Monopoly Coalition is Needed to Halt the Crisis in Capitalism

When the Bells and Moynihans distort this issue—which is at the heart of the crisis facing the people—their aim is “undoing” the people’s struggle against the intensifying disaster synonymous with monopoly rule.

The source of escalating inflation, taxes, unemployment, poverty and racist oppression is the class and profit aims of US imperialism, based on exploitation and national oppression, domestically and internationally. Inherent in capitalism, these factors are aggravated by monopoly control and militarization of the economy.



# Discussion & New Members Introductions



# New Member Introductions

- What is your name, pronouns and state (or country/territory)?
- Where do you work? Is it unionized?
- How did you find out about the People's School?
- What do you think about tonight's class?



Discussion & Wrap Up



## Announcements

- The PSMLS has recovered our old Youtube account we lost to wreckers in 2022 and we have re-uploaded all our old videos. Like, subscribe, and check out what subjects we covered prior and what we aware saying in the past.
- PCUSA Cell Chairs need to call members of their cells to remind them about attendance.
- The next issue of New Masses (2025) has begun production. If you have art you want us to feature, email it to [info@partyofcommunistsusa.net](mailto:info@partyofcommunistsusa.net).



## Volunteers Needed!

We are in need of volunteers for the staff of the People's School! Here's a few roles we need filled:

- People to help manage posting on our social media and podcast platforms
- Video Editors, Audio Editors, Graphic Designers, Artists, Narrators
- Facilitators, Web Controls, Moderators

Email [info@peopleschool.us](mailto:info@peopleschool.us) if you're interested and try to attend our next staff meeting if possible.




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## Materials to help promote the school!

### What is the Peoples School?

The *Peoples School for Marxist Leninist Studies* is part of a long-line of American Communist Party sponsored schools, such as the *Jefferson School of Social Science* and the *People's School of Marxist Studies*.

The PSMLS was initiated by and is sponsored by the *Party of Communists USA*, but it is not a party school, which allows a wide variety of perspectives that don't necessarily reflect the party line.

We hold classes online every week on Tues at 8 PM EST - 9:30 PM EST and Thurs at 9 PM EST - 10:30 PM EST. These are public classes on Zoom that are organized into sections of presentations, and discussion periods. Join our classes and participate in collective education!



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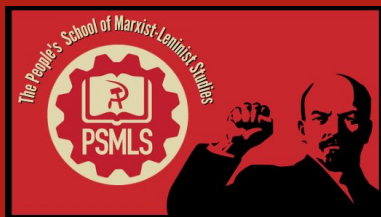
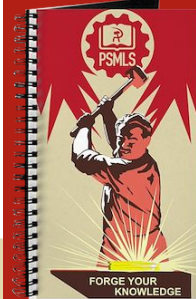
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- V. I. Lenin



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# Harry Bridges School of Labor

[luel.us/laborschool/](http://luel.us/laborschool/)



The Harry Bridges School of Labor is a monthly class held 2x per month. Classes cover a variety of topics aimed at building class consciousness among union members.

March's class is on "Triangle Waistshirt Factory Fire" Class will be March 5, 2024 at 9pm EST/6pm PST and Saturday March 8, 2024 at 7pm EST/4pm PST.





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