

WHAT THE GUARDIAN GUARDS

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and anti-imperialist minded people are coming to this Guardian-sponsored event, because we take seriously our responsibility to build *internationalist solidarity* with the national liberation struggles of Zimbabwe, Azania, and Namibia, as well as those struggles within the empire dictated borders of the US. To us this means exposing the way in which the Guardian poses as anti-imperialist and internationalist, while it actually opposes internationalism. Exposure of the Guardian's opportunism is especially important now, when the Guardian has stopped being the "independent radical newsweekly" it was some years ago. Now, the Guardian has become an organization, joining other opportunist party-builders in refusing to deal with the true history of the US and its white and male supremacy; and in rejecting self-determination for the oppressed nations. The Guardian undermines the leading role of national liberation struggles inside and outside the borders of the US.

WHAT DOES THE GUARDIAN DO IN THE WORLD?

On National Liberation Struggles—

***AFRICA: The Guardian has never put forward the connections between national liberation in Africa and Black liberation in the US because it denies the Black Nation. Therefore, the leading role of the US internal Black Nation in the African solidarity movement is denied. We are told by the Guardian that everything is equal — "Yes — Soweto is Harlem, Newark and Watts. But it is also the steel mills of Pittsburgh, the auto plants of Detroit, the docks of San Francisco, and the coal mines of Appalachia." (Guardian, June 1, p. 19)

In its current issue of Nov. 2, the Guardian writes, "Even in the Black community where there has been a strong sense of identification with all of the struggles in Southern Africa, there has been a relative passivity . . . There can be little doubt that Young's appointment and high sounding statements have created an illusion in the Black community that in this case at least the enemy is not Washington."

Here the Guardian assumes the incompetence of the leadership of the US African solidarity movement, and is prepared to issue instructions. It sets this up through arrogant put-downs on the Black liberation movement and its leadership. The Guardian's charges fly in the face of reality. This "strong sense of identification" referred to by the Guardian was forged 400 years ago when white slavers kidnapped Blacks from Africa and forced them into slave ships bound for the US. The massive African Liberation Day mobilizations, the material aid and protest generated by and from Black forces, as well as the spontaneous eruptions of Black unrest during the New York Blackouts give lie to the Guardian's charges of passivity in the Black community. These events are slandered so the Guardian can build itself as the head of a new Africa Solidarity coalition, whose aims would be as the Guardian puts it, "to target every institution of the South African regime's presence in the US."

Without support for self-determination for the Black African peoples of Southern Africa or in the US, nor a word about defeating US imperialism, the Guardian wipes out the real solidarity tasks that progressive white forces must carry out.

***NATIVE AMERICANS: In all of the Guardian's 29 points for party-building there is no mention of Native American struggles for sovereignty and self-determination or the responsibilities of revolutionaries to support these. Unable to fit the struggles of Native Americans into their "multi-national working class" and "democratic rights" politics, the Guardian treats the struggles of Native Americans as if they were inconsequential, and extinct as nations.

***PUERTO RICO: In Puerto Rico solidarity work the Guardian also refuses to base itself on the principle of self-determination. Instead, Puerto Rican independence forces & white anti-imperialists working to Free the Five Nationalist Prisoners, and to support Puerto Ricans and Chicanos subpoenaed to the FALN grand juries are refused support, and told that work based on self-determination and the right of Puerto Rican people to gain independence through armed struggle "is too narrow an approach." Andres Cordero, speaking in Puerto Rico recently, after his release from prison, stressed that independence will only be achieved through armed struggle. CBS news carried this event, but the Guardian deliberately omitted any reference to Cordero's central point. In practice the Guardian rejects the right of the Puerto Rican people to use arms in their liberation struggle, and the FALN is denounced and placed on an equal par with US imperialism as an enemy of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

On Women's Liberation—

The Guardian's line on women is white and male supremacist in every way. The few times women are mentioned, the Guardian and its editor I. Silber, deny the revolutionary character of the struggle for women's liberation. The women's movement is attacked for its "go-it-alone strategy." White working class women's potential to lead and act in solidarity with national liberation is denied. In place of the fight against male supremacy and for women's liberation, the Guardian offers women the struggle for "democratic rights." It places the responsibility and leadership for this struggle solely in the hands of men. The Guardian denies the real privileges and power that men get from male supremacy, and wipes out the main source of leadership in the struggle for women's liberation — WOMEN.

The Guardian ignores, and wrongly interprets the heaviest attacks on women, and the lesbian and women's movements. The Guardian is not concerned about the government-sponsored International Women's Year Conference that is taking place in Houston, Texas later this month. At the IWY Conference, tens of thousands of women are going to fight for abortion and against sterilization; for gay rights and for ERA legislation. Attacks on oppressed and oppressor nation peoples and women are mounting from the state and white and male supremacist right wing forces such as the KKK, Nazis, the Save Our Children campaign and the Eagle Forum. The Guardian's politics on women aid the state and thoroughly undercut the struggle against these attacks.

For white people to build a movement in solidarity with national liberation we must base ourselves in active support for the right of self-determination of oppressed nations and against the material and social system of white supremacy, which is a major prop of US imperialism in the white working class. Also, we must fight in support of women's liberation and against male supremacy.

Instead of this the Guardian uses its reputation for international reporting of liberation struggles to hide its opportunist betrayal of national liberation struggles in the US; and it liquidates the meaning of white supremacy inside the white working class. The fact that many Black, Mexicano, Native American, Chicano and Puerto Rican organizations and individuals reject this white supremacist denial of their national rights to self-determination, simply doesn't interest Silber who characterizes revolutionary nationalism as "bourgeois go-it-aloneism."

This is not a paper debate. The Guardian is not a "neutral" independent newspaper, but a force trying to lead the left in a dangerously wrong direction. The Guardian's political line has damaging consequences that are felt in the world. They must be defeated if we are to move forward.

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee

FROM: Prairie Fire Organizing Committee
TO: The readers of the Guardian

- PFOC has been aware of deep political differences between ourselves and Irwin Silber and the Guardian.
- Now Silber is going all-out against revolutionary anti-imperialism—beginning in the Guardian of July 20, 1977 and continuing with his frenzied "Fan the Flames" column of July 27 on the national question, and in his earlier writings attacking women.
- Silber calls PFOC insignificant—but what he can't stand is any serious challenge to the Guardian's right wing opportunism and chauvinism.
- PFOC is not the real target. The Guardian rages at all genuine politics of revolutionary liberation in the US. Silber heaps contempt and white supremacy on Black and Native American peoples especially.
- Silber's case is weak, and so he falsifies the political statement of PFOC and still worse, he treats Lenin's analysis of imperialism the same way.

We challenge the Guardian to print and debate facts instead of inventions. We are forwarding the documents.

To Guardian readers: You can obtain the original and genuine materials of the revolutionary position of PFOC directly from us. *BREAKTHROUGH*, PFOC political journal: No. 1 contains our Provisional Political Statement; No. 2 has a general reply to the Guardian's lines with a special article on its line on women, a reprint from the Native Study Group of Vancouver, Canada on Sovereignty, reprints from the African Peoples Socialist Party newspaper *Burning Spear* about the white left and women's struggles; *BREAKTHROUGH* No. 3 will have more on the Guardian's anti-liberation politics.

☐ 6 issues of *BREAKTHROUGH* or ☐ 5 issues of *BREAKTHROUGH* plus 1 copy of "The Split of the Weather Underground Organization." Either is \$5 plus \$1.00 postage; total \$6.00. Less than six pieces, \$1.25 including postage. Order from:

PFOC, P.O. BOX 40614 Station C, San Francisco CA 94110

*The Guardian did, however, offer to run the ad if PFOC would allow them to rewrite it, saying that they would write to us about this! They finally said they would not run it at all. PFOC also demanded in writing of editors I. Silber and J. Smith that the Guardian print 10 pages of our Provisional Political Statement as well as eight pages of Lenin's work, *Imperialism*, both of which they have falsified constantly in their 'party building' articles as well as in the Guardian attacks on PFOC. This they have categorically refused to do. So much for the Guardian's pretenses about "serious debate", "freedom of the press", and "democratic rights."

BREAKTHROUGH

- Vol. 1, No 3-4 (double issue): This issue continues PFOC's exposure of the white and male supremacist line of the Guardian, reprinting materials from the history of the Black liberation and Native American struggles. Also featured is "The Meaning of Miami", an analysis of the cur-

rent wave of attacks on women and on lesbians and gay men. Other material includes an interview with a representative of ZANU; coverage of the struggles of Dessie Woods, Skyhorse and Mohawk, and Sid Welsh; and a photo essay on behavior modification in South Africa and US prisons.