

mine the solidity of our revolutionary organizations. Those following liberal and bourgeois individualist line promote the shameful line that any sacrifice for revolution or change in self for the sake of revolution is impossible. They pay lip-service to the revolutionary aspirations of our people and to MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT but when the time comes to concretely ignite a spark among our people to fight for our genuine proletarian aspirations and to apply MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT to building the PARTY by organizing actual discussion groups among advanced fighters these liberals and bourgeois individualists are not interested.

Our own experience is that revolution means hard work and self-sacrifice. We all have deep experience with the so-called "alternatives" offered by the bourgeoisie of working for "liberation" of self and sect in the guise of making revolution. All these avenues lead to fascism and create individuals in the fascist image, solely serving self. Since we all have genuine aspirations for revolution we have cast off this baggage and taken up the path of uncompromising struggle against fascism under the correct leadership of the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) and our great leader Chairman Mao. We are enraged against liberalism and bourgeois individualism inside the revolutionary movement and are determined to oppose this influence. We see clearly that all things which keep us from taking up the concrete and practical work necessary to build the PARTY and arouse the masses must be opposed. We have no hang-up about opposing all that is decadent, passive and moribund; that is each and every thing created by monopoly capital in its death-bed struggle. Our own experience shows that the new America can only be built in the image of the proletariat. That is in the spirit and image of the heroes described by Chairman Mao in his "Three Constantly Read Articles", this is the true spirit of our people, the spirit of revolutionary heroism and self-sacrifice and it is opposite of the expiring and collapsing spirit of the liberals, bourgeois individualists, social-fascists and fascists. We have vowed to oppose the influence of such degenerates within the revolutionary organization and the mass movement by repudiating bourgeois hang-ups and using the "Three Constantly Read Articles" as our guide for MAKING SELF TARGET OF REVOLUTION, MAKE MASSES TARGET OF REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA.

50. - LET US TAKE UP THE REVOLUTIONARY ASPIRATIONS OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS AS OUR OWN! - BUILD THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST WORKERS MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST)!

(Providence, 5/5) The following are excerpts from the presentation delivered by a member of Rhode Island Student Movement in the

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campaign to COMBAT CULTURAL FASCISM!

Since the publication of our political program in late August of 1971, RISM has experienced a significant growth and development. This growth has shown itself in two basic areas, the internal life of the organization and the external life.

In both areas a protracted struggle over correct methods of work led us to initiate a directed program in February 1972 on the basis of the general guidelines published in August. This directed program is the CAMPAIGN TO COMBAT CULTURAL FASCISM.

In the three months since the initiation of this campaign the struggle over correct or incorrect methods of work has intensified on all levels and has raised a number of serious political questions regarding:

1. WHAT IS A REVOLUTIONARY,
2. HOW CAN WE BECOME REVOLUTIONARY,
3. IN WHAT WAYS HAVE WE BECOME REVOLUTIONARY, and
4. WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM OUR PAST EXPERIENCE TO AVOID FUTURE MISTAKES IN STRENGTHENING OUR TIES WITH PEOPLE AND BUILDING ORGANIZATION ON A REVOLUTIONARY BASIS.

The CAMPAIGN TO COMBAT CULTURAL FASCISM was intended to do one major task in regard to our work among the masses. To develop the unity of all progressive elements locally in a common protracted struggle against fascist ideology and, in doing this, to provide an atmosphere in which revolutionary ideas, consistent with the present level of the American people's struggle against fascism could spread, struggled over and developed more fully.

The general question of "What is fascism" and "Does it exist here" are indeed real questions and the answers must be clear in all our minds, but these questions cannot remain at this level for long here in the heartland of fascism. It is necessary to know and understand the world, but knowledge and understanding become shallow and soon dissipate unless linked with participation in changing the world. This is the reason why we, at this time, are raising discussion under the general theme of unity, and the particular theme of mass democracy vs. social fascism.

The most important question now is not simply how to come to understand the world - but how to change the world and then further understand it by participating in changing the world in all spheres of our lives. This is done by uniting with others.

The question of organizing and uniting with others raises the more general question of WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY? To answer this question we must look much farther than the polemic of left journals and the well-wishing of many concerned individuals who say that they want to change the world. We have to look at what people say, what people actually do, and what the effect of these two things are in the world.

From our experience we've come to see that we can discuss whether a person or organization is genuinely progressive or revolutionary on the basis of a few major factors.

The first is in the regard for ORGANIZATION.

The second is in the regard for the nature and strength of IMPERIALISM, and the strength of its major enemy, the world's working and oppressed people.

The third is in the regard for the MASSES; what faith you place in the capacity of the masses to change their conditions. The following part of the presentation will discuss some factors relating to each of these three.

I. One basic criteria as to whether something is revolutionary is the regard for a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY and REVOLUTIONARY THEORY... The main lesson to be learned from the history of class struggle in the U.S. is that WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY - THE ORGANIZATIONAL MEANS THROUGH WHICH ONE CLASS THROWS OFF ANOTHER - THERE CAN BE NO REVOLUTION.

...a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY must be built and steered on the basis of: UNITING WITH THE PEOPLE TO ATTACK THE ENEMY, AND ATTACKING THE ENEMY TO UNITE THE PEOPLE. Only in this way can a party be built which will proceed directly from the most basic needs of the masses, formulate policy on the basis of these needs, and do constant investigation as to the correctness of these policies.

To take up the slogan of: UNITING WITH THE PEOPLE TO ATTACK THE ENEMY, AND ATTACKING THE ENEMY TO UNITE THE PEOPLE, goes directly against the interests of the bourgeois ruling circles and upholds the basic interests of the American working class and people, that is, to have a revolutionary party which embodies (gives organizational form to) their interests and their revolutionary aspirations. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED REVOLUTION, NEED REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND NEED A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. WITH REVOLUTION WE HAVE EVERYTHING, WITHOUT REVOLUTION WE HAVE NOTHING.

...

The American people have their own revolutionary theory in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought - the highest and most comprehensive development of Marxism-Leninism. WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BASED ON THIS THEORY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CANNOT UNITE TO OVERTHROW FASCISM.

II. The second factor as to whether something is revolutionary regards the question of imperialism...

...no one can even begin to claim that US imperialism is in the interests of the American working class and people. The sharpening of the economic contradictions between the imperialist countries, the rapid decay of US economy, and the great willingness the imperialists seem to show in unleashing fascism on the American people - all these things point to the fact that US IMPERIALISM IS ENTIRELY ANTAGONISTIC TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORLD'S WORKING AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE, IN FACT, IT IS THE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BURY AMERICAN FASCISM AS PART OF THE WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM. The American working class is beginning to see the true nature of their oppressors

with clear eyes.

Rhode Island Student Movement has had a great deal of experience with placing fundamental questions before the people. We have long maintained that the American people's struggle is, in the main, an anti-fascist struggle. And that this struggle is part of the world-wide struggle against all forms of imperialism and colonialism. At no time have we seen people "turned off" for long to the idea that fascism is the major enemy of our people, and if they were "turned off" they were not from the ranks of the people. They were revisionists, sellouts, trotskyites, or some other kind of agent.

III. The third factor as to whether something is revolutionary lies in the regard for the masses. To discuss this point it is necessary to discuss methods of work, the content of a political line, and what questions and lines are brought out among the masses. RISM has begun to take up a style of work that is MASS DEMOCRATIC IN FORM and ANTI-IMPERIALIST IN CONTENT. Anti-imperialist content deals with the basic contradiction in the world today, between the forces of imperialism and fascism and the forces of national liberation and communism. This is the contradiction which is the main force shaping world political developments today. When people begin to see their own lives in the context of this major contradiction, its struggle and development, people can then begin to change and transform their own lives in the direction of the development of this contradiction.

In practical terms this means: PUTTING FULL FAITH IN THE MASSES, that people will change on their own, and also, that revolutionary initiative of the masses will only be released if they are mobilized on the basis of 1) solving primary contradictions - organizing to fight all forms of fascism and 2) participating in forms which are the exact opposite of fascism, i.e. mass democratic in form. Mass democratic form and anti-imperialist content are completely linked in form and content. One cannot exist without the other.

SOCIAL FASCISM appears in relation to the link between anti-imperialist content and mass democratic form. Progressive Labor Party is a good example. The political line that PL has is essentially an economist one, little different from the lines that were prevalent in the strikes and uprisings of the last century. Because class struggle is seen only in economic terms people cannot come forward and develop on the basis of their own internal contradiction, their own struggle between serving the bourgeoisie or serving the working class. Thus, PL takes up a style of work that is replete with verbal abuse, yellow rag journalism and betrayal. This was inevitable.

RISM has had a great deal of experience and struggle inside and outside of the organization with those who have attempted to confuse the mass line with "ORGANIZE TO SOLVE MY VARIOUS HANGUPS" or "ORGANIZE TO ANSWER 1,000 QUESTIONS FOR ME." In opposition to these slogans we have maintained that, first and foremost, we must "ORGANIZE TO CHANGE THE WORLD" and in doing so, in building principled unity with others

on the basis of solving fundamental problems, we will solve all our secondary hang-ups.

TO MOBILIZE PEOPLE AGAINST FASCISM, WE MUST EMPLOY THE MASS LINE

The mass line is not a Gallup poll. If this were the case we would have to say that Richard Nixon is the legitimate representative of the legitimate aspirations of the American people. We all know this is not the case.

Chairman Mao teaches that:

To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we will isolate ourselves from the masses.

With a revolutionary party and revolutionary theory the American people have everything, without these two things the American people have nothing. To carry out the mass line means to PROCEED FROM THE FACT THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. This is not a matter of guesswork or scholarly investigation, our history bears this out. It is THE MAIN TASK of everyone who calls himself or herself a revolutionary to unite with others, to struggle over political line solely on the basis of proceeding directly from the needs of the masses, and to integrate with the masses.

All progressive elements in America must be united on the basis of opposition to FASCISM - but only under the leadership of a MARXIST-LENINIST party can the confusion and factionalism within the ranks of the American left be dispelled and only then can these ranks be strengthened, and only then can real struggle (struggle based upon unity in opposition to American fascism) be carried out.

New Leftists and reformists proceed from the opposite assumption that first we must unite on the basis of the most watered down slogans and then, somehow, raise our struggle to a higher level "in the future."

Revolutionary work must deal with change on various levels. Change goes on within the organization and within the individual. Unless we keep attuned to the question of how a person can begin to change his own life on the basis of the need to make revolution, we will isolate ourselves from the masses.

Our experience has shown us that when we tried to sit in closets and determine what the masses need at a particular time, we were invariably wrong. And when we did not prepare conditions for individuals to take up work in one way or another - the individual either did so in spite of our

close-mindedness - or didn't come forward at all. The struggle against these two erroneous tendencies still goes on.

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IS PART OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Trotskyism has no future in this country because it denies the internal basis for change. It disregards the necessity of the individual to make revolution in his own life, to revolutionize his thinking, and to do this in one's own place of work whether it be in the occupation of worker, housewife, or student.

The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. Furthermore, if progressive students don't wage class struggle against all the ideas in service to imperialism and spread healthy revolutionary ideas among the ranks of the intellectuals, we are doing the American revolution great harm.

A. To put full faith in the masses is to put fundamental questions and problems before the masses, most importantly to proclaim the fact that the LACK OF A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IS THE MAIN PROBLEM FACING THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE - and to actually struggle against those who say that something else (the war, abortion reform, population, etc.) is the problem. We must wage ideological struggle against those people among the masses, and in full view of all those interested.

B. To release the initiative of the masses means basically to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory.

The character of the worldwide struggle against imperialism is definitely mass-democratic. One look at the link between the popular forces and the people in all of the major National Liberation struggles shows us this.

SO MUST OUR WORK BE OF A MASS DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER. This is the only way that our ideas will be taken up among the masses, and become the ideas of the masses. If our ideas reflect peoples' experience, and people can actually change themselves and the world around them they will surely want to join the revolutionary ranks. If we tell the masses that imperialism is out there somewhere, or "not within your reach," we will be completely rejected, isolated from the masses, and of no use to anyone but the imperialists.

We have not presented these points as some kind of polemic against misleaders who would have us running in small circles changing nothing and building no organization. The question of unity is a serious one. We have all come here tonight because fascism is upon us. Begging favors from the imperialists will get us nothing but more imperialism.

The American working class definitely has revolutionary aspirations, and these aspirations will only be realized when a revolutionary party based upon Mao Tsetung Thought can:

1) Unite all progressive forces in the US on a principled basis, 2) go deep among

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the masses and always proceed from their most basic interests, and, 3) build a revolutionary mass movement in a stepwise fashion.

We have three things working for us: our desire for real change - to move over to the side of the working class, the fact that revolution is inevitable in class society, and the fact that the American working class has revolutionary aspirations.

The AMERICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT (ANTI-IMPERIALIST) has inherited and upholds these revolutionary aspirations. The AMERICAN COMMUNIST WORKER'S MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST) is the leading force in this country building a revolutionary party based on Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tsetung thought. We must take up this task as our own.

[This talk was delivered at Roger Williams College and reprinted in a R.I. Student Supplement, May 1972] end item.