

# MOBILIZATION, CONTRA-MOBILIZING & THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

"Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution. This has become the irresistible trend of history."

"Twenty-four years of experience tells us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably strengthen our ties with the masses, and the wrong tasks, policy and style of work invariably disagree with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably alienate us from the masses."

"To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned."  
Central Committee of the  
Chinese Communist Party

## INTRODUCTION

We are entering a crucial period in U.S. history. Politically and economically the state is relatively weak. To counteract this weakness, the state has drastically increased repression. This increased repression is bringing on a higher level of mass resistance. Mass resistance is leading to evermore vicious repression. The dialectic struggle between repression and resistance has taken a qualitative leap over the past few months. On one hand we have seen the greatest wave of strikes (many by proletarian workers) since World War II, the strengthening of mass organizations and protests against the terror of the colonizing army (the police) in Third World communities, the increase of anti-imperialist demonstrations in solidarity with the peoples of Chile, Indochina, Africa, Philippines, etc., and the beginning of mass resistance and organization by the masses against corporate inflation, profits, unemployment and deportations.

On the other hand we see the beginning of an immense fascist contra-mobilization. The state has recently announced a new economic "plan" designed to transfer more of workers' wages to the capitalist class. Unemployment is higher than it has been in twenty years. The murder and imprisonment of Third World youth is occurring at an unprecedented rate. Third World people watch grimly as significant numbers of the white working class are taking the fascist road, bowing to racism and attacking Third World people and their demands in mass vigilante actions.

In the complex struggle between repression and resistance, revolutionaries and their organizations will play a critical role in determining whether the new fascist contra-mobilization or the new surge of the people's movement will have the upper hand. If we organize ourselves, unite with the masses, build strong national fronts, smash racism and successfully organize around socialism, the people's movement will win a great victory. If we grow even more divorced from the people, allow the masses to remain unorganized and bow to spontaneity, don't defend the masses and ignore the growth of racism, we will hand the enemy an enormous victory. In this complex and critical period of time, the ideology, organization, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement must be carefully considered and selected. But many revolutionaries forget that the correct ideology, organization, strategy and tactics are the ones that the masses adopt as their own for their own liberation. The masses will judge us by the clarity and strength of our practice and by how successfully we add clarity and strength to their struggles. The masses are well aware that in the re-

lationship between knowing and doing, practice is primary. We must unite now with whoever we can, clarify our ideology, advance our program and test everything by practice. If our practice is weak, we will fail.

## IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND PRACTICE IN THE PRESENT PERIOD

Over the past several months honest revolutionaries of all nations (races) within the U.S.A. have come to see the need for new Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties to lead the masses in the new period of revolutionary struggle. At first many thought that the main contradiction within the movement was between those who felt that a new revolutionary party would spontaneously spring from the mass movement and those who believed that the work of building new parties must be the primary task for revolutionaries. History readily shows that organizing can not go much further without the leadership of a comprehensive vanguard party and that much careful work was needed to create organizations of this type.

Now two new areas of struggle have emerged. The first is around the politics of the new revolutionary formations. The second area of struggle is around the composition of these new revolutionary formations and organizations.

POLITICALLY THERE ARE THREE MAIN AREAS OF STRUGGLE WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. They are:

1. What is the correct definition of fascism and is the U.S.A. a fascist state or not? What is the role of economic "reform"?
2. Should revolutionaries support underground organizations and clandestine actions in the present period? Should revolutionaries raise the question of self-defense in their mass work? What should be the relationship between clandestine and "aboveground" work?
3. What is the correct line on the national question? What national groups within the U.S.A. constitute nations, and which constitute national minorities? Should multinational or national organizations be the dominant form of organization in the present period?

## SUBJECTIVISM IN THE U.S. MOVEMENT

These questions are vital to a correct understanding of current events and tasks. However many revolutionaries are trying to study these questions in the absence of a sound knowledge of U.S. history, particularly the history of the internal Third World nationalities, or of the current struggles of the masses. These comrades are studying revolutionary theory but are neither connecting it with current practice or the long experience of the masses. Both Lenin and Mao faced similar problems in their revolutionary

struggles. Some revolutionaries in their study of theory become divorced from the masses, become elitist. Often they feel that since "they are the only correct ones" they can make revolution alone. Lenin dealt with that attitude in Russia, "One of the greatest and most dangerous mistakes made by communists (and generally by revolutionaries who have successfully accomplished the beginning of a great revolution) is the idea that revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone. On the contrary, if it is to be successful, all serious revolutionary work requires that we understand and translate into action the idea that revolutionaries can only play part of the vanguard of the truly virile and advanced class. A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid isolation from the people it leads and is really able to lead the whole mass forward."

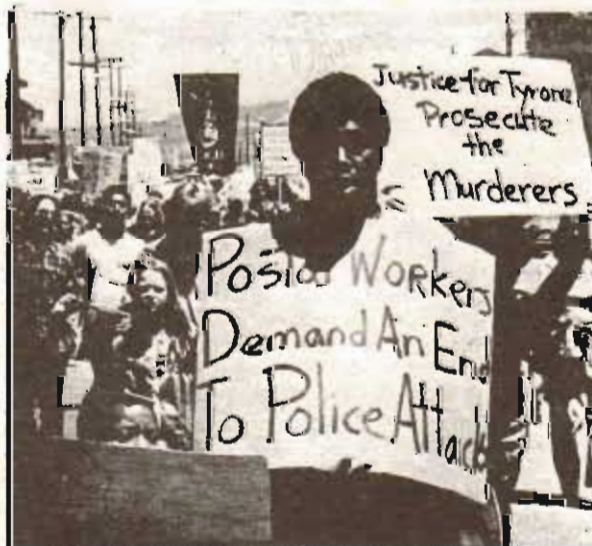
The error of becoming elitist and the error of studying theory for theory's sake are both subjective attitudes. Mao sums up this attitude while he was struggling with many intellectuals within the Communist Party of China, "With this attitude, a person does not make a systematic and thorough study of the environment but works by sheer subjective enthusiasm and has a blurred picture of the face of China today. With this attitude, he chops up history, knows only ancient Greece but not China and is in a fog about the China of yesterday and the day before yesterday. With this attitude, a person studies Marxist-Leninist theory in the abstract and without any aim. He goes to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin not to see the stand, viewpoint and method with which to solve the theoretical and tactical problems of the Chinese revolution but to study theory purely for theory's sake. He does not shoot the arrow at the target but shoots at random. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that we should proceed from objective realities and that we should derive laws from them to serve as our guide to action. For this purpose, we should, as Marx has said, appropriate the material in detail and subject it to scientific analysis and syntheses. Many of our people do not act in this way but do the opposite. A good number of them are doing research work but have no interest in studying either the China of today or the China of yesterday and confine their interest to the study of empty 'theories' divorced from reality." Practice is primary in the relationship between knowing and doing. To come to correct positions on the national question, clandestine work and fascism, we must start to analyze reality.

## THE CURRENT SITUATION

The growth of mass movement both in the direction of fascism and of revolution is becoming the primary aspect in the dialectical struggle between repression and resistance. If we study these two opposite movements carefully from the standpoint of revolutionary science, and guide our actions with this concrete analysis, we will take a step towards laying the correct basis of struggle.

This issue of "SEIZE THE TIME" contains extensive articles on the situations and analysis of the race riots in Boston and elsewhere, police brutality and mass protests, fascist organization, etc. We will sum up the main points of these articles so that we can view theory from the standpoint of practice. There are four main thrusts to the mass mobilization towards revolution:

1. Resistance to police brutality and murders and vigilante acts. Defense of POWs (political prisoners) is a closely connected and expanded front. The major political aspect of this movement is the right to self-defense. Increasingly the



POSTAL WORKERS AT MARCH IN OAKLAND TO DEMAND JUSTICE FOR TYRONE GUYTON, BLACK YOUTH MURDERED BY POLICE.



## MOBILIZATION

Continued from page 3

masses see the need for organized community defense to stop the vicious attacks on the community, and the need for organization to defend Political Prisoners and POWs on a coordinated nation-wide basis. One such organization is the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners.

2. Mass resistance is rapidly building against the mounting economic repression of the ruling class. This resistance is taking two main forms. One is increasingly militant struggles at the workplace. The second is a trend towards bringing the struggle against economic repression into the communities, organizing housewives, etc.

The ruling class freely admits it expects high unemployment among working people. Those who work will be taxed into poverty. Prices for everything, especially essentials (food, health care, housing) will rise enormously by the early part of next year. These conditions are already severe in Third World communities. White workers are beginning to experience some of this same economic repression.

3. There is a trend by Third World masses and progressive whites to lend much more visible support to the national liberation struggles of other peoples around the world. The anti-Marcos struggles of the KDP and its allies, the October celebration (national day of the People's Republic of China), African Liberation Day activities are all examples of mass support for world revolution. Black and progressive workers are supporting the boycott of Rhodesia by refusing to unload their ships. Numerous clandestine operations also indicate growing support for international anti-imperialist struggles.

4. The struggles for self-determination and democratic rights are still strong in Third World communities. Mass struggles to control such institutions as schools, housing, radio stations, health care facilities, fighting dispersion of Third World communities, etc. are all examples of struggles for self-determination occurring daily. Further, self-defense struggles must be seen as an aspect of the total struggle for self-determination.



There are four main elements in the contra-mobilization towards fascist consolidation:

1. Economic "reform" that strengthens the ruling class profit structure and attempts to solve inflation and recession by further impoverishing working and poor people.
2. Centralization and intensification of the state's repressive apparatus. The slow merger of FBI and police forces, the building of a national police force. The increased and widespread use of red and Black Hunting Grand Juries and new laws that are aimed at putting an even greater number of Third World and poor people into prison.
3. An attempt led by President Ford to further divide the working class by appealing to the more racist and basest attitudes of the white working class. This attempt is key to the mass aspects of the Fascists contra-mobilization.
4. An increased attempt to insure the USA's control of foreign countries by the

threats of increased military and CIA intervention in such areas as Indo-China, the Middle East, Africa the Philippines, Latin America, etc.

### REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND THE CURRENT SITUATION

We believe that the current situation clarifies the present struggles within the revolutionary movement. The theoretical fog surrounding the debates on fascism, clandestine work and the national question can quickly be dispelled by carefully studying current practice. The theory of building a 1930 type of United Front against Fascism can be shown false by such study. This type of United Front theory has three serious errors. Most fundamental is that this type of Front was designed to prevent fascism from establishing itself. The unchecked murders of Third World youth by racist occupation troops (police), continual assassinations of Third World revolutionaries by the ruling class, the economic depression that has engulfed Third World communities since 1965 all point to the fact that the Third World communities have been living under open fascism for some time. At the same time there has been a dramatic increase in the centralization of the ruling elements of the state (bourgeoisie, police and government), the increasing attack on working people's wages and rights all point toward a general intensification of fascism throughout the society. Fascism is here; strategies designed to prevent it are forty years too late. A further deficiency of the theory is the call for uniting elements of the bourgeoisie into the United Front. Which elements of the bourgeoisie will we unite with? McGovern who calls for more imperialism in Latin America and more military aid to Israel? Or Kennedy, who coauthored (with Rodino) the Senate law that the government is using to terrorize and deport African and Latino people within the US? This is revisionism at its worst! The bourgeoisie in this country is the most thoroughly corrupt in the history of the world. We cannot unite with it. We must destroy it. Lastly when this theory of combatting and defeating fascism was implemented in the thirties, international communist movement and the CPUSA dissolved themselves in order to implement the policy. The last thing we need now is to dissolve the international (within the US), and we must build communist parties, not dissolve them. George Jackson formulated the correct definition and policies about fascism in the modern era. Study his thought.

Practice also throws an illuminating light on the theoretical confusion surrounding CLANDESTINE WORK. Self-defense from imperialist (police) and vigilante forces may be the most important mass issue within the Black community and is becoming extremely important in Brown communities. The periods of reconstruction, pre- and post-World War I eras and the 30's were all marked by increased unity around economic and political issues between Blacks and poor whites that was broken by both the terroristic use of the state military forces and by vigilante actions by poor whites allied with the white bourgeoisie (KKK, Citizen's Councils, White Farmer Associations). Accompanying these racist, military actions were more repressive legislation aimed at Blacks (Jim Crow laws) and other Third World people and an intensive propaganda campaign designed at inflaming racism among the white working class. Besides the failure of progressive whites to combat the actions of both the bourgeois and racist white, a major weakness was that the Black community was unable to defend itself militarily. Fundamentally, lynch mobs and other murdering racist hoodlums will be stopped when the Black community can resist their reactionary violence by matching it with revolutionary violence and correct propaganda. Armed and organized mass self-defense organizations are the surest way to influence lynch mobs. If they can be stopped in the street then political education can be effectively carried out. At the same time, we know there are the super patriots who are uneducatable and want "all niggers

dead". The only way we can deal with them is thoroughly implementing the concept of self-defense. It is not a question of whether or not we can have struggle before there is a party to lead it. Struggle at all levels is here. Police and vigilante violence is the mass question in the Black communities. For Brown people this terror is not confined to the cities. In the field and small towns, the terrorism of the Teamsters, La Migra and the police is equally brutal. Self-defense is the theoretical and practical answer to brutality. Politics must always be in command of armed action. This is our guiding principle. When true Marxist-Leninist parties are formed, they must be in command of all aspects of struggle, including clandestine. But since there is no revolutionary party in most Third World communities to guide this struggle, it is even more necessary for revolutionaries to work in these mass struggles so that politics can be in command. We must work where the people are. The most advanced Third World activists are attempting to lead the masses to defend themselves. We cannot wait or hold back the masses. It should on the question of clandestine support for international struggles, Comrade Cabral (slain leader of the successful liberation struggle of Guinea-Bissau) spoke for the entire Tri-Continental revolutionary movement when he stated that "the best way to support our movement, is to take up arms and fight."



March from San Francisco Chinatown to the City Hall to protest arrest of news vendor Harry Wong, for sell of pro-People's Republic literature on the sidewalks.

The NATIONAL QUESTION is the area of most bitter ideological struggle. Subjectivity in the form of emotionalism, racism, dogmatism (applying revolutionary science mechanically and not taking reality into account, being extremely inflexible), and elitism. There are three main areas of struggle around the national question. One is what national groups constitute nations; second is what should be the content of the political program for liberation of these national groups, and third, what type of revolutionary organizations should attempt to lead the national struggles. The first issue is fundamental. If a people constitutes a nation, the demand for self-determination potentially may become a demand for secession. Most revolutionaries as Stalin's definition of a nation as the starting point for their analysis (we of Seize the Time do). In this article we cannot discuss the subtleties of who constitutes a nation (in the next issue we will have an article that speaks to this question specifically.) We can sketch our positions on this question. The staff has come to the conclusion that people of African descent form a colonized internal nation. We feel that those who put forward the theory of a rural southern

Continued to page 17



## MOBILIZATION

Continued from page 6

Black nation are at best guilty of a gross distortion of the facts (80% of Black people live in the cities, evenly divided between north and south). Our study of the other National groups has not yet led us to any scientific conclusions except that Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Native Americans have the right to self-determination, including the right to secession. We feel that Asians do not constitute a nation but a national minority. We recognize the Chicano movement as an extremely powerful national movement, with full rights to self-determination. However there is sufficient struggle and investigation within the Chicano movement around a Chicano nation that we are awaiting positions from several Chicano organizations before taking a position.

The lines of struggle around both the political content of the national struggles and the form of organization best able to lead these movements are much clearer now. Organizations such as the October League have their heads sufficiently buried in the mud to be able to come up with such demands as "we must struggle to allow the Black bourgeoisie to equally compete with the white capitalists." This statement is not based either on historical experience, current practice or Marxism-Leninism. The USA is a monopoly capitalist state. The bourgeoisie is thoroughly corrupt. Blacks and other oppressed nations are thoroughly working class and heavily proletarian. The Black workers and masses do not want to trade white masters for negro masters (we have seen what has happened in Haiti!). The Black bourgeoisie to exist must be tied to the capitalist class. Its main role has been as a neo-colonialist (white lackey) comprador (traitor) class. Bourgeois Blacks mayors such as Gibson of Newark and Bradley of LA are strengthening the state's repressive apparatus in their cities. From Booker T. Washington (Rockefeller's first prominent negro lackey) to Roy Wilkins and Vernon Jordan (head of the Urban League), the Black comprador bourgeoisie has been used in an attempt to defuse and destroy the progressive and revolutionary Black movement. We are trying to destroy the ruling class, not provide them with Third World sidekicks. One half of oppressed peoples' demand is for socialism!

The other half of Third World people's oppression is national oppression. Many predominantly white organizations say that Third World peoples' demand is merely for democratic rights (the right to be "equal" to the other people exploited by capitalism). But this ignores that Blacks have largely given up on the road of trying to become part of the great American melting pot. The main thrust of Black people's struggles is the drive for self-determination. Control over local schools is considered more important to the Black masses than pie in the sky concepts of busing and integration. Self-defense is called for in response to vigilante attacks. Control the housing in your own communities rather than moving to others. The land question is critical for all TW people. Land is not simply a matter of who owns it. It also includes national autonomous control of social relationships, of collective defense, the economy, etc. We all occupy, let alone control, ridiculously miniscule parcels of land compared to the percentages of our numbers. However, many whites and petty bourgeois Black and Brown people refuse to discuss the question of self-determination concretely, which ultimately leads to the land question. Most revolutionaries of this group consider the borders of the present fifty so-called United States as being inviolate and assume they will exist in the same fashion after successful Revolutionary Mexico will certainly make some claims for areas of the Southwest. Native Americans, Black, Chicanos and the island peoples will also make just demands for land. Even if there is no secession, wealth, including land, will be drastically redistributed to correct centuries of cruel injustice. Secession is a question that will not be solved by armchair revo-

lutionaries. The masses will make that decision for themselves. Remember Wounded Knee! Any revolutionary who will not support the right to self-determination is not a revolutionary but a reactionary in disguise. This is a basic tenet of Marxism-Leninism. We must remember Comrade Lenin's statement, "The proletariat of the oppressed nations cannot confine itself to the general hackneyed phrases against annexations and for the equal rights of nations in general that may be repeated by any pacifist bourgeois. The proletariat cannot evade the question that is particularly 'unpleasant' for the imperialist bourgeoisie, namely, the question of the frontiers of a state that is based on national oppression. The proletariat cannot but fight against the forcible retention of the oppressed nations within the boundaries of a given state, and this is exactly what the struggle for the right of self-determination means."



March on African Liberation Day to show support and solidarity with the liberation struggles in African. These marches were coordinated with other activities, including leafleting factories about the role of US imperialism at home and Africa.

Another aspect of self-determination that causes considerable struggle is the form that organizations which lead the national movements should take. Most predominantly white organizations put forward the line that we must have a fully multinational communist party now. Most Black revolutionaries and their organizations put forward the line that in the present period, strong nationalist based Marxist parties are needed. The organizations which call for the immediate establishment of a multi-nationalist communist party now say, "One Class, One Party." Their reasoning is as follows: the vast united working class of the USA should be a powerful revolutionary force. They assert that the class contradictions are primary over the national contradictions and that therefore, a multinational communist party is the correct organizational form for right now.

To us this reasoning is very flawed. We recognize the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But to merely state that truth is to look merely at one side of a situation and not from all sides. First and foremost this line on organizational form does not recognize either the strength and content of the national movements or the deep historical contradictions within the working class. Many Black revolutionary observers including George Jackson have commented on how in the proletarian struggles of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, white and Black workers would be on strike together during the day but when night came frustrated white workers would invade Black and Chinese communities to find and lynch their "fellow" workers. We can see the same contradictions manifested today in the working class from West Virginia to Detroit. In West Virginia, there is a large right-wing mobilization of the white working class. A militant mass struggle against school books that have leftist politics, third world revolutionaries and

materialist conception of religious thought. Over 20% of the miners struck their jobs in support of banning these books. Boston's anti-busing struggles, Detroit's anti-Black struggles, all point to a concrete and sometimes antagonistic contradiction between Third World and white workers. What many revolutionaries do not understand is that there is a materialistic basis for these contradictions. Brother James Boggs has extended Lenin's teachings on the proletariat of imperialist nations. Lenin stated that the riches derived from imperialist exploitation are used in capitalist states to buy off a sector of the proletariat. They confuse this section with the shortrange advantages of imperialism in order to hide the long range benefits of socialism. Boggs has applied that analysis to the modern USA. His thesis is that the white working class has materially benefitted from both racism and imperialism. Furthermore, the short term material gain from imperialism and racism have been so great that there is a caste structure super-imposed on the class structure. The white working class is resting on the exploitation of Third World workers internally and of foreign workers. We need only to look at the difference between white working communities and Third World communities (streetlights, sidewalks, schools, etc.), the stratification in the factory by races (whites usually have the more "skilled" positions, TW people the hardest, most dangerous, lowest paid positions), to understand why the ideology of racism is so successful among white working people.

We feel that if Black revolutionaries were members of multinational parties, in the present period, it would be almost impossible for them to lead a community struggle to defend the community from vigilante attacks. There is a deep distrust of white workers by Third World workers and poor people. In any workshop one can see vividly the national contradictions. The experience of Third World revolutionaries for the past ten years shows that it is extraordinarily difficult to struggle for either national liberation or proletarian internationalism from the base of a multinational organization. The practice of both white revolutionaries and white workers has been too inconsistent for either Third World revolutionaries or masses to place trust in multinational organizations as viable leadership for the national movements. As George Jackson stated, "racism (of whites) is still the greatest obstacle to unity."

We also feel that revolutionaries who call for the immediate forming of a multinational communist party grossly underestimate both the strength and the political content of the national movements. Any honest analysis of the last ten years quickly shows that the most progressive political struggles have mostly sprung from the national movements. A more extensive examination of US history will show that since the Civil War this has almost always been the case. During the last ten years the Black Liberation struggle has been the leading edge of the revolutionary movement: in numbers, organizational form, militancy of the masses and ideology. The political content of these last ten years of struggle can best be summarized as a massive national move for self-determination.

The old (pre-1971) Black Panther Party (the most successful communist party since the thirties), Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement, the mass urban rebellions, community control struggles, AIO, Black Students struggles are all manifestations of the national struggle of Blacks. These struggles represent different aspects of the national struggle - community control, self-defense, revolutionary organization, international support, etc. Even the revolutionary Black union movement of Detroit and industrial centers grew out of the national aspects of working class oppression of Black people. One only has to look at the origins of most Black activists and cadre to realize the strength of this movement. They have come from either the

Continued on page 18



## MOBILIZATION

Continued from page 17

Black Panther Party, the DRUM organizing, BSU struggles and/or ALD organizing. For similar reasons the best mass-based Puerto Rican organizations have strong lines on independence, nationalism as well as being socialist ideologically. Both the Chicano and Asian movements have strong histories of both activists and struggles coming out of aspects of their national movements. The Chicano Moratorium, farm-workers struggle, La Raza Unida, RDP, AIM, Wounded Knee, Red Guards, and I Wor Kuen are all examples of struggles, cadres and organizations that have sprung from their national movements.

We are not rejecting internationalism or the unity of the working class. But proceeding from the concrete analysis of concrete conditions (the living essence of Marxism), we realize that both the racism of the white working class and the development of the national movements preclude a unified organization at the present time. The primary aspect of the USA revolution is national liberation movements. We recognize that the different movements have different laws and history of development. Different movements will merge at different times, other movements will remain independent for a longer period. We also recognize the eventual need to unite with all internal revolutionary forces.

As the crisis of imperialism deepens, white workers will begin to lose some of their skin privilege. We can already see this process starting as schools become worse, neighborhoods more rundown and paychecks smaller. This new economic repression is sure to heighten class consciousness and struggle among white workers. The imperialists' strategy is to deflect the white masses from class struggle by inciting reconstruction-Hitler types of racist vigilante actions. If white revolutionaries can combat the racism of white workers and bring revolutionary politics to class struggles, the process of building a unified communist international within the United States will be possible.

We also recognized the need for joint practice now. We feel that certain forms of work, such as workplace, some propaganda, international support etc., demand joint practice. Strategically we must have councils of coordination at local, regional and national levels to coordinate the tasks of revolution. Jackson sums up well on the dialectical relation between independence and cooperation as applied to the Black Nation: "The Black Colony must actively invite other revolutionary people to follow their example. We must give refuge to the refugees, and eventually work on some means to coordinate our operations with theirs at every level (emphasis added). However, we cannot delay our own preparations towards a united Black revolutionary culture. No one will undertake to aid us unless they sense the power of our movement. It is Blacks who must play...the role of liberating the Black colony...To expect that someone else will take the full responsibility for our own liberation is suicide."

Mao tee-Tung sums up the experiences of the national liberation movements and the principle of self-determination. Chairman Mao teaches, "Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions...Only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and other working people to achieve their own emancipation...In wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism."

### THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE MASS MOVEMENT

"However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained

for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level." As Chairman Mao teaches, revolutionaries must on one hand be connected with the masses in their struggles, and on the other hand sufficiently organized to provide leadership for the mass struggles. The experience of the World Revolution teaches that revolutionaries cannot withdraw from the masses they are trying to organize. We believe that the primary task of the revolutionary movement is the building of Marxist-Leninist combat parties. Specifically we believe it is the immediate task of Black revolutionaries is to form a Black revolutionary party.

However we differ from some revolutionaries because we don't believe these organizations should be multinational for reasons we explained earlier. Also we feel that it is incorrect to pull cadre out of mass work to build the party. Party building is the primary task of every revolutionary, but we do not want to build parties that are divorced from the masses. It is a hard job to build a party and continue as much mass work as possible. It is a job we must do. To maximize our mass work we must be aware of certain principles to guide our work.



The FIRST PRINCIPLE we must be aware of is "who do we organize". The job of revolutionaries is to organize the advanced elements of the masses and then rely on them to organize the middle elements and win over the backward elements. "Leadership must be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements." Who are the advanced masses? This question must be answered differently for each national movement and the white working class. In general, the advanced masses are proletarian, semi-proletarian (including non- and under-employed workers) and the youth.

The SECOND PRINCIPLE we must be aware of is "where do we organize". The answer to this question may seem simplistic but every revolutionary movement has had to struggle over the answer. As Lenin states "If you want to help the 'masses' and win the sympathy and support of the masses, (you) must absolutely work wherever the masses are to be found." In the national movements the masses and activists are to be found in an amazing variety of struggles. But the main thrust of mass movement in the Black community is against police and vigilante action. Activists often become themselves aware of this principle and most of the advanced activists are found in the strongest mass struggles.

The THIRD PRINCIPLE is that activity of the masses and a strong, organized re-

volutionary leadership is not sufficient for successful revolution. The masses themselves must be organized and have their own organizations. In the US the struggles of mass organizations have had glaring weaknesses. Some organizations weakened and became service oriented as opposed to struggle organizations. Other mass organizations are destroyed because revolutionaries within these groups come into conflict with the masses. Revolutionaries confuse mass organizations with cadre organizations and try to force the discipline and ideology of cadre organizations on mass organizations that may not be ready for them. Sometimes revolutionaries treat mass organizations like they are merely farm clubs for "party" recruits, not organizations legitimately trying to deal with the daily needs of the masses. The problems we have had does not take away from the fact that the masses need organizations.

The FOURTH PRINCIPLE is that revolutionaries must have a disciplined and principled style of mass work. When attempting mass work we must start with the needs of the masses, crystalize it and take it back to the masses for action. There have been great problems with revolutionaries in mass organizations. Major problems have developed when the organization is mass in form but has a communist core. The practice of revolutionaries in the Black, Filipino and Chicano movements suggests that this is a very dangerous situation. When contradictions appear in the core, the organization as a whole is unprepared to deal with them. Usually the non-communists and/or non-revolutionaries outside the core drift away as the activists struggle over correct political line and the practice begins to slip. We must remember that the masses are taught first and foremost through practice. If the practice of a mass organization begins to slip, that organization is in serious trouble. It seems that this danger could be partially avoided in this period of time by forming mass organizations that do not have a thoroughly revolutionary core. This does not mean that revolutionaries cannot be in the core - they must! However it seems that mass organizations with leadership that represents the masses have a better chance of survival. Revolutionaries must struggle to raise the level of consciousness in these organizations by on one hand struggling with them and on the other hand presenting the revolutionary analysis and program through party practice and propaganda. After the seizure of state power and the establishment of revolutionary power, mass organizations will be thoroughly revolutionary. But this leadership must be developed through mass struggle now.

The FIFTH PRINCIPLE is that we must become competent in our mass work. Revolutionaries style of work has often been very damaging to our work. Our propaganda must be easily read and presented in an attractive manner. We must be prompt and keep our word and do our tasks. Sloppiness is criminal! We must pay much more attention to detail. We must become professionals. This is our life work. To save the children we must command the respect of the masses. We can only command respect when our work and our style of work deserve it.

The SIXTH PRINCIPLE is that we must develop correct forms of mass organizations. These organization should be around health, housing, education, women, drugs, culture and all concerns of the masses. In the present period especially important types of mass organizations are around the issues of self-defense and resistance to economic exploitation. One mass organization of importance that we must build from scratch are political workers' organizations. The IWW of the early 20th century era offers some lessons on the potential of this type of organization. During this era, the building of industrial unions was revolutionary. But now these unions are usually used to reinforce the rule of the bourgeoisie. This is why we must build our own revolutionary workers' organiza-

Continued on page 19



# CLASS STRUGGLE!

## SCISSOR BILL

JOE HILL, Wobbly songwriter and organizer, was framed and executed during a Utah Strike in 1915.

On the night before the execution of Joe Hill, a speaker cried at a protest meeting: "Something is going to happen. You hear it everybody? Joe Hill will never die."

"Scissor Bill" was Joe's song to the patriotic worker who refused to organize with his whole class... the racist scab.

By Joe Hill  
(Tune: "Steamboat Bill")

You may ramble round the country anywhere you will,  
You'll always run across the same old Scissor Bill.  
He's found upon the desert, he is upon the hill,  
He's found in every mining camp and lumber mill.  
He looks just like a human, he can eat and walk,  
But you will find he isn't, when he starts to talk.  
He'll say, "This is my country," with an honest face,  
While all the cops they chase him out of everyplace.

CHORUS:  
Scissor Bill, he is a little dippy,  
Scissor Bill, he has a funny face.  
Scissor Bill should drown in Mississippi,  
He is the missing link that Darwin tried to trace.

And Scissor Bill, he couldn't live without the booze,  
He sits around all day and spits tobacco juice.  
He takes a deck of cards and tries to beat the Chink!  
Yes, Bill would be a smart guy if he could only think.  
And Scissor Bill he says, "This country must be freed  
From Niggers, Japs and Dutchmen and the god darn Swede."  
He says that every cop would be a native son  
If it wasn't for the Irishman, the son-of-a-gun.

CHORUS:  
Scissor Bill, wouldn't join

Scissor Bill, the "foreigners" is cussin';  
Scissor Bill, he says "I hate a Coon";  
Scissor Bill is down on everybody  
The hottentots, the bushmen and the man in the moon.

Don't try to talk your union dope to Scissor Bill,  
He says he never organized and never will.  
He'll always be satisfied until he's dead,  
With coffee and a doughnut and a lousy old bed.  
And Bill, he says he gets rewarded thousand fold,  
When he gets up to Heaven on the streets of gold.  
But I don't care who knows it, and right here I'll tell,  
If Scissor Bill is going to heaven, I'll go to Hell,

CHORUS:  
Scissor Bill, wouldn't join the union,  
Scissor Bill, he says, "Not me, by Heck!"  
Scissor Bill gets his reward in Heaven,  
Oh! sure. He'll get it, but he'll get it in the neck.

Washington D.C.- The present negotiations between the UMW (United Mine Workers) and the coal industry are crucial to the future of the U.S. economy. If the miners go on strike, energy resources will be less than they were last winter and every major industry would be badly crippled. For example if the strike lasts longer than forty-five days the steel industry would have to completely shut down. Many utilities would also have to shut



Graphic by Irs

down. Federal energy chief Sawhill, predicts "economic disaster".

The issues are substantial. Safety is one of the major issues. Nearly four hundred miners have been killed in accidents since the last contract was negotiated. The miners are also demanding a cost of living escalator as part of the package. The miners state that since some companies had between four and eight hundred increases in profits since last year, the coal industry can well afford the union's demands. This strike highlights many of the contradictions facing the ruling class. If one hand they meet the miners demands, other unions and workers will want similar settlements and the ruling class profits would be seriously cut. On the other hand if they do not bow to the workers' demands the militant miners will surely strike, creating economic disorder. As our Chinese comrades state, "the world is in great disorder, The situation is excellent!"



Azania (Peking Review)-Some 5.6 million African workers are groaning under the reactionary rule of South African authorities. They are victims of oppression and exploitation by racism and colonialism. The discriminatory wage system enforced by the authorities is aimed at dividing the working class. The average wage of African workers is one-tenth that of white workers, and worse still in the mining industry where the figure is one-nineteenth. They toil under abominable working conditions and live without security. Inflation and soaring prices over the years have left them in abject poverty. In this unbearable situation, the workers have waged large scale and sustained strikes since the beginning of last year. This year has witnessed a new upsurge in the worker's struggle.

In January this year, 10,000 textile workers in Durban downed tools to protest against the discriminatory wage system. Armed police were called in to suppress the strike action, but this only resulted in mightier waves of protest. The strike, which persisted for two weeks, paralysed the production of 11 textile plants. Twenty thousand African workers at a gold mine southwest of Johannesburg walked out on June 9, demanding a wage increase. Despite brutal suppression by the South African authorities, the workers stood their ground. On July 9, 400 African and other coloured workers at a pharmaceutical factory near Durban went on strike. The action spread to Johannesburg, East London and other cities, rapidly bringing the number of striking African workers to 10,000.

Panic-stricken, the reactionary South African authorities, while stepping up arms expansion and suppression, indicated their willingness to meet the workers' wage increase demands. But their brutal suppression and political deception have served only to make the Azanian people see more clearly their hypocrisy and become more determined to continue the struggle. Encouraged and spurred on by the excellent revolutionary situation in Africa, the Azanian people are pressing on with their struggle against racism, ruthless exploitation and plunder by monopoly capital and for national liberation. They are sure to win final victory!

tions. At the same time we must work with-in mass organizations like trade unions, because that is where the masses are now.

National liberation movements abroad have taught us that in national struggles, the various mass organizations must be united into one broad National United Front that unites all the masses. The building of progressive political mass organizations should be the primary task in our mass work.

We must remember that mass organizations must be built around the most progressive demands of the masses. These new mass organizations must reflect a political level in line with the advanced section of the masses. Progressive mass organizations should include advanced and intermediate people but reflect the consciousness of advanced people.

### SUMMATION

Revolutionaries must rely on the masses and be connected with them in order to lead the masses. In order to best lead the masses we must build Marxist-Leninist combat parties. In the process of building these parties we must clarify our ideology in several areas - the most important being fascism, clandestine work and the national question. Whatever ideological struggles take place must not be carried on only from the standpoint of revolutionary science but also that of history and the current situation. Also in the process of building revolutionary parties, we cannot allow ourselves to become isolated from the masses. It is extremely important that we correct several deficiencies in our mass line and mass work as we build the party. The international and domestic situation is characterized by great disorder. Internally repression is rapidly mounting in quantity and viciousness. In response, the masses are again taking up the banner of mass struggle. Revolutionaries have the choice of taking up the difficult task of leading the mass movement or bowing down to liberalism and letting it sweep past them. Chairman Mao summed up the experience of our Chinese comrades when he told the Chinese movement that, "In a very short time...several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power however great will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? to trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly." We too have to choose quickly!

Build Fighting Leninist Parties  
Rely on the Masses  
A Luta Continua  
Staff of Seize the Time

### How Much Money Do The Rockefeller's Have?





"WE ARE FROM 25 TO 30 MILLION STRONG, AND WE ARE ARMED. AND WE ARE CONSCIOUS OF OUR SITUATION. AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CHANGE IT. AND WE ARE UNAFRAID."



WARNING TO AMERICA