



# SEIZE THE TIME



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# JUCHE!

"JUCHE MEANS HOLDING FAST TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLVING FOR ONESELF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION AND CONSTRUCTION IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS AT HOME." - - - KIM IL SUNG(DRK)

## Black Workers and National Liberation



This second of three parts on the series "Black Workers and National Liberation" deals with the formation and struggles of the Black working class in the first half of the twentieth century. This period is highlighted by the dynamic organizing of Marcus Garvey in the northern urban centers and the CPUSA and CIO's attempts to bring Black workers into the mainstream of the U.S. labor movement.

### BLACK WORKERS

The Knights of Labor were the successors of the National Labor Union. At their height they included more than six hundred thousand members. There was no successor to the Colored National Labor Union. Consequently thousands of Black proletarians joined the Knights. The program of the Knights of Labor was generally anti-capitalism and stressed the unity of the working class. However, it also had no specific program concerning Blacks and was permeated by racism throughout its ranks. It did not lend support to the anti-lynching campaigns of progressive Blacks in the post-reconstruction terrorized South. It also did little to combat the tendencies in Chicago and the West which would lead to night time riots of whites against both Black and Chinese workers, even after they had walked the same picket lines during the day. The head of the organization, Pomeroy, would not allow a leading Black organizer to introduce him as a speaker in the South. He also made statements that the Knights would not attempt to change social(racist) relationships in the South.

However, Black workers responded in a very principled way to the chauvinism of the white trade union movement. In the railway, mine and factory strikes of North America, Black workers proved to be excellent organizers, disciplined union members and militant strikers. But, the collapse of the K of L would see the coming of a new type of trade union organization that would dominate the trade union movement during modern times. This new type of trade union would be openly antagonistic to the struggles of Black workers and would build its base on the most reactionary and racist of white workers. Militant and revolutionary trade unions and workers' organizations such as the Socialist Party, CIO, International Workers of the World and the Communist Party, would come and go. But labor organizations such as the American Federation of Labor(AFL) would come to dominate the labor movement with such reactionary policies that the present day labor movement is the partner of capitalism in building fascism.

### THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The AFL began in 1881 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The AFL was radically different from the early trade unions in that it was a craft union rather than a mixed, broad union such as the NLU or K of L. The difference was that the earlier union attempted to organize the entire working class regardless of occupation. The AFL organized single crafts(such as miners, railwaymen, plumbers, etc.). This meant that from the beginning, the AFL had much less of an interest in organizing broad numbers of workers, but instead concentrated on narrowly defined crafts. This was important to Black workers. The crafts that the AFL organized were usually highly skilled trades such as railwaymen that had open policies of exclusion of Black workers. Most of the unions affiliated with the AFL, had strict clauses in their constitutions forbidding membership of people of color. The United Mine Workers' were the only major AFL affiliate that had significant numbers of Black members. The AFL's leadership under Samuel Compers openly encouraged Jim Crow policies of its union and stated that they considered Blacks to be second class union members and inferior human beings. As time went on the reactionary aspects of the AFL widened to more than their racial policies. They became corrupted by both the capitalists and organized crime and eventually sold out the rank and file of their own unions.

### THE RADICAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Despite the advent of many radical labor unions and political parties and organizations, the AFL would remain the dominant trade union organization to the middle 30's. Until the formation of the Communist Party in the mid-20's, the Socialist Labor Party and its offshoot, the Socialist Party were the dominant working class radical organizations. Except for the leftwing of the Socialist Party which included such proletarian leaders as William Haywood(who fought a losing battle inside the party against racism), both organizations continued the racist policies that typified the radical segments of the NLU and K of L. They used their line that the class struggle was the only important struggle to justify not supporting the anti-terror and anti-racist campaigns of Black labor in both the North and South. At the same time their leadership took delight in trying to outdo each other in denouncing "nigger movements". In fact, some of their leadership took the view that Blacks were worse than the KKK because their campaign against racist terror in the U.S. "detracted from the class struggle."

The primary mass organization of the progressive wing of the labor movement was the International Workers of the World (IWW or the "Wobblies"). This organization resembled in form the earlier labor organizations. Its principle program was to organize the entire working class into "one big union" to overthrow the capitalist class and place power in the hands of the workers. Led by such dynamic organizers as William Haywood(also a member of the Socialist Party), it led militant strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers in the mines and factories of North America. Extremely militant in their struggles, the Wobblies often faced the military apparatus of the state, from police forces to the army. Usually they responded in kind, and they did not always lose the ensuing battle. Their emphasis of women leadership tremendously helped their organizing. Women led some of the most militant strikes both in support of men workers and their own organizing drives. Several thousand Black workers participated in struggles led by the IWW. Black longshoremen in Philadelphia strongly backed the organization and were led by Black IWW organizer Benjamin Fletcher.

Unfortunately, the IWW had all the previous weaknesses of progressive labor organizations and some new ones too. Chauvinism of whites was still a problem, although not as severe. Much more serious were the errors of considering Black struggles to be secondary or even detrimental to class struggle, anti-organizational and anarchistic tendencies and a strong aversion to Marxism. William Haywood eventually split from the IWW on its stand on Marxism, socialism and the need for a communist party. Eventually the power of the state, combined with the internal weakness of its organization, wore down the IWW. By the depression it was no longer as effective as the newly organized Communist Party.

### THE URBAN MIGRATION AND THE GARVEY MOVEMENT

World War I had a tremendous effect on changing the nature of Black labor within the U.S.A. The increasing demand for industrial labor and entering a wartime economy at the same time that European immigration was shut off due to the war combined to provide a tremendous demand for industrial Black workers. Barron in his book, Demand for Black Labor states, "The Black labor reserve in the countryside that had existed essentially as a potential source of the industrial proletariat now became a very active source. Whereas in the past this industrial reserve had not been tapped in any important way except by rural-based operations such as lumbering, with the advent of the War the industrial system as a whole began drawing on it. This new demand for black workers was to set in motion three key developments: first the dispersion of black people out of the South into Northern urban centers; second, the formation of a distinct black proletar-

iat in the urban centers at the very heart of the corporate-capitalist process of production; third, the break-up of tenancy agriculture in the South, World War II was to repeat the process in a magnified form and to place the stamp of irreversibility upon it."

"Migration out of the countryside started in 1915 and swept up to a human tide by 1917. The major movement was to Northern cities, so that between 1910 and 1920 the black population increased in Chicago from 44,000 to 109,000; in New York from 92,000 to 152,000; in Detroit from 6,000 to 41,000; and in Philadelphia from 84,000 to 134,000. That decade there was a net increase of 322,000 in the number of Southern-born blacks living in the North North, exceeding the aggregate increase of the preceding 40 years. A secondary movement took place into Southern cities, especially those with shipbuilding and heavy industry." World War II continued this process of urbanization and proletarianization.

There were two major consequences of the migration of Black workers. One was that despite the increases in industrial jobs, Blacks were still assigned the lowest paid, dirtiest and hardest jobs available. There was not a merger of the Black and white working class. Besides holding the worst jobs in industries such as autos and steel, Blacks are often concentrated in industries such as textiles, coal and tobacco factories which have stagnant futures and difficulty recruiting white workers. Furthermore, the presence of large numbers of Blacks in the urban centers intensely antagonized white workers there. Immediately after World War I, there were over 20 race riots. The two biggest in the North were in East Saint Louis in 1917 and Chicago in 1919. Competition for jobs, bourgeois-fostered racism on the part of white workers and other strategies of the bourgeoisie to spur race war were the main causes of these riots. Usually these riots took the form of armed white mobs invading Black communities, lynching people and burning homes. In all cases, the entire Black community armed and defended itself from the invasions. When more of the white mobs started being killed than Black defenders, the bourgeoisie put an end to the mob activities. The urbanization of Black



Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter (top) kept auto plant shut down for 13 hours

workers and the ensuing racial wars that followed had two effects: one was that Blacks' position in the proletariat was ensured and from that time on would constitute a critical part of the working class. Secondly it was determined that Blacks, would always(with other peoples of color) occupy the lowest position in the working class under capitalism. Blacks would be the first fired, last hired, lowest paid and most unemployed. This dual aspect of being super-exploited and under-employed still describes the conditions of the great masses of Blacks within the U.S.

Black people brought a well developed history and understanding of struggle with them from the south. Within a few years after the height of the first wave of migration, Black workers developed the largest mass movement in the history of U.S. cities. The Universal Negro Improvement Association, under the leadership of Marcus Garvey, was able to organize millions of Black workers for struggle and protest.

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# MASS LINE AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

NOTE TO OUR READERS: We use the term "scientific socialism" the same way as many comrades use the term "Marxism-Leninism-Mao tse Tung Thought" because we wish to emphasize the contributions to revolutionary science by such comrades as Ho, Che, Cabral, George Jackson and many others. This is the accepted practice by many African Liberation movements. However, for the purpose of clarity we wish to state that we take Stalin over Trotsky and Mao over Khrushchev and detente.

## MASS LINE AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Malcolm X was the father of modern Black revolutionary nationalism. He developed positions on many subjects, such as capitalism, imperialism, racism, armed struggle and revolution. His analysis laid the basis for the revolutionary struggle of the past ten years. The pre-'71 Black Panther Party, SNCC, DRUM, African Liberation Support Committee, the Congress of African Peoples and many other Black organizations are the ideological heirs of Malcolm X. Over the past several years we have deeply refined and extended the ideology of revolutionary nationalism.

Black revolutionaries have become familiar with the works of DuBois, George Jackson, Fanon, Nkrumah, Toure and the great Amilcar Cabral. Through these writers we have become familiar with Uncle Ho, Chairman Mao, Che, Lenin and Marx. We are learning the theory of Scientific Socialism from these great revolutionary teachers, and we are attempting to apply the concepts of contradiction and dialectical/historical materialism to our practice. Revolutionaries have successfully applied the theory of scientific socialism to liberation struggles throughout the world. During the past two years, the majority of the Black Liberation Movement has adopted Scientific Socialism as its ideology.

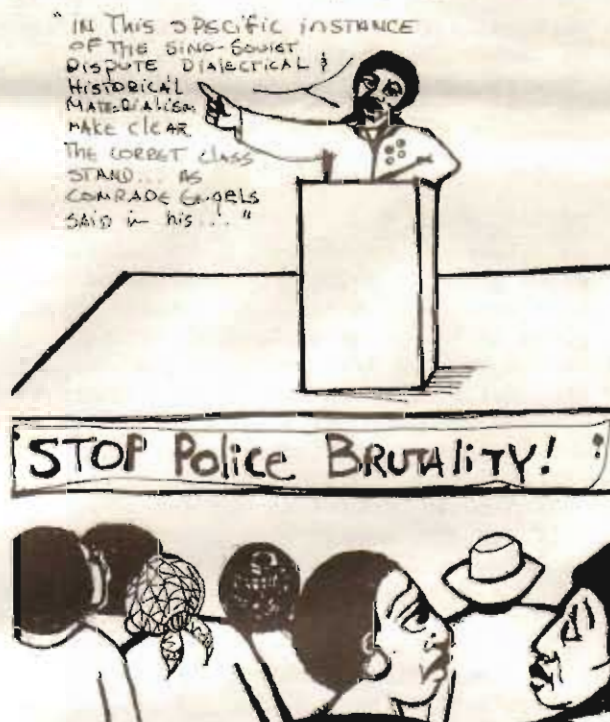
Many Black and Third World organizations, collectives and individuals have recently made the leap from cultural nationalism (the belief that one's traditional culture will be the fundamental factor in liberation), to revolutionary nationalism (the recognition that a complete overturning of the social, political and economic structures is necessary for liberation of an oppressed nation) and scientific socialism (the application of the theories of contradiction and dialectical/historical materialism to one's struggle combined with the recognition that socialism must be the goal). The ideological maturing of Black and other Third World revolutionaries within the United States is a very good sign. As Amilcar Cabral stated, "we would recall that every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory."

However, whenever we move to a new level, new problems occur. We have observed that many of our brothers and sisters who have recently embraced scientific socialism are applying it in an uncreative way and are losing their ties with the masses. These two problems (dogmatism or uncreativity and poor mass line or losing touch with the masses) express themselves in two ways. One way is that the sisters and brothers have a poor style of work. Secondly, sisters and brothers begin to lose their grasp of the essential issues concerning their people.

A poor style of work usually comes from and leads to isolation from the people. One example of a poor style of work is that, when revolutionaries 'discover' scientific socialism, they become wrapped up in the language of Marx, Mao, Lenin, etc. The language of scientific socialism is scientific and can be very difficult to understand. Often when we use this language to talk to the masses of people, we end up confusing them and not getting our message across. Like many intellectuals, we mystify them by using complicated language to explain the basically simple ideas of revolution. The genius of Malcolm X was that he could take concepts relating to Black people's oppression and revolution and translate them into the language of the Black masses. He dealt with subjects such as the struggle between Russia and China, the penetration of U.S. capitalism into the USSR and the relation-

ship of the national liberation struggles of the Third World to the lives of Black people in language we could understand. Now, many revolutionaries talk about, "contradiction and detente between the two super powers" and "the Sino-Soviet dispute." We must always remember who are our audience is and prepare our message in a suitable form. As Mao says, we must "shoot the arrow at the target."

Another example of bad style of work and misunderstanding of mass line is that newly socialist cadre put such an emphasis on study and internal development that they become isolated from the community and its struggles. An example of extreme isolation is provided by one Black organization which several years ago had an excellent base among Black workers and the community. They have grown progressively more isolated from the people. They have forgotten the nationalist spirit of the people (they are now half white) and are doing very little work in Black community struggles. They sent white cadre to address a forum in Watts they held on Black Liberation. Needless to say, the cadre could not handle the questions put to him by the audience. Many in the audience felt insulted and became turned off to "Black socialist" organizations. This group's newspaper is basically unreadable in both style and content. Now they are splitting up into many small pieces. A milder example of the same problem is provided by groups which schedule meetings with the masses on weekend nights. The great majority of Black workers are not interested in forums, study groups, etc. on Saturday night. Revolutionaries must go ever deeper into the masses of people and become one with them. This is even true on the weekend. A better alternative, which has worked successfully in many Third World communities is to provide a cultural alternative on the weekends which includes both political content and partying.



Not understanding which issues are most important to the people is an equally critical problem. Some brothers and sisters have told us that anytime you talk to the people you must raise the issue of "social imperialism and revisions" and that police brutality struggles are not important to work in because they are not working class. This is an extremely dogmatic and inflexible attitude toward working with the people. Doing work among the masses involves taking their ideas, organizing and concentrating them and then taking them back to the people for evaluation and action. On one hand, any revolutionary in a Third World community with good ties with the people knows that the issue of police brutality is one of the two or three most important concerns of oppressed peoples. On the other hand, we have often been told by progressive workers and community members that they do not see the direct relation of the Sino-Soviet dispute to many of our struggles. The masses are concerned with concrete issues such as health, housing, jobs, racism and police brutality. It is extraordinarily narrow-minded to say that we must always talk about social imperialism while not recognizing the importance of anti-brutality community struggles. We must shoot our arrows at the target!

Another example of not grasping what is essential is that many revolutionaries when attempting to bring revolutionary science to mass struggles often rely on long passages from Marx, Stalin and others. These passages, which are often out of context, usually confuse more than they clarify. Furthermore, we must realize that the masses, due to brainwashing of the bourgeoisie and opportunists, are often openly hostile to the teachings of 'communists'. We think that, when working in struggles involving middle and backward as well as advanced elements, it is better to use the people's heroes to make the same points. The teachings of Malcolm X, George Jackson, Frederick Douglass, Amilcar Cabral and many others are rich in revolutionary content and applicability to our liberation struggle. In fact, practice has shown that progressive brothers and sisters are introduced to scientific socialism from the standpoint of revolutionary nationalism. When introduced correctly, progressive brothers and sisters embrace wholeheartedly the work of revolutionaries from throughout the world. If forced on them, they will be hostile to studying scientific socialism for some time to come.



Finally we must try to figure out why these problems are so common. First we must realize that many revolutionaries who have recently begun studying scientific socialism come from a student background. These brothers and sisters bring with them many of the bad habits that are typical of intellectuals and those from middle class (petty bourgeois) backgrounds. These bad traits include not using the language of the people, alienation from the people and tendencies toward elitism. Brother Cabral describes the problems of intellectuals, students and the petty bourgeoisie in his book, Return to the Source. We have often found that it is useful for the sisters and brothers to work among the masses for a long period of time so that they can relearn the ways and attitudes of the people. Where possible in these depression times it is useful for these comrades to attempt to find and hold jobs that do not rely on their petty bourgeois skills. These have been effective ways of fighting the isolation of the intellectuals and petty bourgeois classes.

Another common error which leads to problems we have been discussing is viewing scientific socialism as a miracle-working device that can automatically solve all our problems. We are all familiar with 'revolutionaries' who can quote other revolutionaries as eloquently as any Black preacher quoting the bible on Sunday morning. Yet these comrades do not seem able to solve problems or do work. This is called "book worship". No book, be it the bible or Marx can provide easy answers. Scientific socialism is a guide to action, a method of viewing the work and solving problems. It is the summation of over a hundred years of world revolution distilled into universal principles. Every revolutionary leader has emphasized that these principles must be creatively applied to the concrete conditions of any given liberation struggle. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions has always been at the heart of the scientific socialist method of work.

Mao sums up the role of cadre, correct style of work and mass line, "Twenty-four years of experience tell 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 task, 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. The reason why such evils as dogmatism, empiricism, commandism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and an arrogant attitude in work are definitely harmful and intolerable, and why anyone suffering from these maladies must overcome them, is that they alienate us from the masses."

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Seize the Time



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Garvey, a native of Jamaica, reached the U.S. in 1916 after UNIA had failed to take root in the Caribbean. The founding convention within the U.S. was held in New York City. That convention developed a program that had a pan-Africanist perspective. It included slogans such as "Africa for Africans" and supported the struggle of Blacks in the Caribbean. It included a broad program for struggle of Black people within the U.S. with demands revolving around white terrorism, unequal education and wages, job discrimination and Jim Crow policies. It urged Blacks to defend themselves by any means necessary, to disobey any unjust laws, urged Blacks not to pay taxes and defended the right of self-determination for any community of Blacks. Garvey's central thesis would be the relocation of all Blacks within the U.S. back to Africa.

Garvey was able to generate tremendous support among Black workers and petty bourgeoisie in the urban centers. His program was able to combine resistance to the day-to-day oppression of Blacks, with an ability to focus the nation consciousness of the Black nation into a tremendous self pride. While most of the leadership was petty bourgeois (doctors, small businessmen), the overwhelming majority of his supporters were working class. However, by 1925 Garvey was in jail and UNIA largely destroyed. Black revolutionaries have to be dialectical and understand both the positive aspects of his work--he led the most massive urban Black movement in history; and the negative aspects that led to his movement's rapid collapse.

The key to Garvey's decline in mass support lay in his inability to implement the UNIA program for Black struggle within the U.S. In order to implement his dream to move the masses of Blacks back to Africa, Garvey started to drop demand after demand in order to appease the white ruling class. Among the first demands to go were the demands of equality for Black workers. First he started urging Blacks to accept lower pay than white workers doing the same work. Then, instead of correctly pointing out the racist character of U.S. unions and trade union movement, he said that the white capitalist was the friend of the Black worker. Finally he started accepting support from the Klu Klux Klan and invited Colonel Simmons, Imperial Grand Wizard of the KKK, to speak at the UNIA convention. The abandonment of political struggle of Blacks within the U.S., when combined with financial disasters of the Black Star Line (the steamship company that was to transport the masses to Africa) and the opportunist attacks by petty bourgeois Blacks and Blacks in the labor movement led to UNIA's rapid downfall. But despite weaknesses and the downfall of Garvey, the UNIA represents a glorious chapter in Black struggle that must be studied carefully and dialectically by the Black Liberation Struggle.

#### THE DEPRESSION

The demise of the UNIA by the mid-20's led to shifting the focus of struggle by Black workers from national struggle to class struggle. This struggle was accentuated by the Depression. Blacks were hurt more by the Depression than any other group. The small gains made by the middle classes were virtually wiped out. Black workers suffered most. Black labor lost a third of all industrial jobs they had. Black unemployment ran twice that of white unemployment. During this period, Black continued to struggle both alongside white workers and independently.

During the earlier part of the decade, Black workers participated in the massive CIO organizing drives. The CIO was much more progressive than the AFL. The CIO concentrated on organizing the giant industries such as steel, auto, etc that the AFL ignored. The AFL would organize one craft (such as machinists). The CIO would organize all crafts in any given industry into one union. This insured much greater Black participation, since skilled and semi-skilled would be organized in any plant. The Congress of Industrial Organizations also had many Communist Party members on its organizing staffs. Their support of Black struggles had much to do with the success and militancy of the early CIO in organizing both Black and white workers in large numbers. By the 30's the CIO had over 200,000 Black workers. These workers provided leadership and made great contributions to CIO led struggles. Even the NAACP supported the CIO in its efforts to organize Black workers.

At the same time, the Black community started a "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign. Initiated by the Black bourgeoisie, the influx of Black workers and unemployed strengthened and intensified the struggle. Black unemployed often led the massive struggles of the Unemployed Councils during the Great Depression. However, towards the end of the Depression, Black workers began realizing that unionization would not solve many of the problems of Black workers. The changing politics of the Communist Party-led labor movement and changes in the Black nation itself would make this realization clear. Lower wages, worse jobs and higher unemployment continued to be the lot of Black workers.

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In 1941 A. Phillip Randolph headed a Black movement to demand that Blacks receive a fair share of jobs, etc. from the rapid expansion of the defense industry. As head of the all-Black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Randolph has played a significant role both in the U.S. labor movement and Black history. Despite the fact the the Brotherhood was an AFL union, it did not receive support from the other all-white railway unions in its early organizing attempts of the late 19th century. Randolph himself was a member of the early socialist movement. Like many early Black socialists, such as Dubois, Randolph supported the U.S.'s entry into World War I. Like many other labor leaders of the early period, he became increasingly conservative and supportive of the capitalist system as time went on.

However in 1941, his call for a massive march on Washington by Black people forced Roosevelt to establish the Fair Employment Committee. Randolph and other leaders thought this concession was enough and called off the march. Consequently the potential for organizing the power of Black workers along class and national lines was temporarily lost. Randolph's actions shows the weakness of organizing Black workers just to catch up with the status of white workers in the U.S. The power and militancy of Black workers' struggles depends on a view of national liberation and a new society. It would be only in the 60's that a Black workers' movement would again threaten the tranquility of the capitalist system.

#### THE CPUSA AND BLACK WORKERS

After the expulsion of the racist Lovestone group in 1920, the CPUSA moved to make support of Black Liberation a major plank in the party's platform. As early as 1917 communist leaders led the AFL organizing drive of the packinghouse industry's workers. 200,000 workers, 20,000 Black, were organized in this campaign. Communist Party leaders claimed that the 12,000 Black packinghouse workers in Chicago alone constituted the largest bloc of organized Black workers in the world.

The Communist Party's program was basically two-pronged. They believed that Black people in the South constituted a Black belt nation with the right to self-determination. Outside the South their program called for organizing and full democratic rights for Black people. Communists led vigorous campaigns to organize sharecroppers, defend the Scottboro Boys and organize Black workers into the CIO. By 1930 communist leaders claimed more than 1,500 Black party members. Black leaders such as St. Clair Drake and Adam Clayton Powell, despite serious differences with the Party recognized the CP's contribution to Black Struggle.

However, by the late 1930's the CPUSA was having difficulties in both organizing the Black masses and retaining its Black cadre. A number of factors contributed to these difficulties. One problem they had in common to many "multi-national" (we prefer the term "international") organizations. Blacks have a profound distrust of international organizations due to the racism of most self-professed white radicals and revolutionaries. Consequently bourgeois nationalist organizations are able to sow mistrust among the masses, as the NAACP did to the CP in the 30's. Today in many plants a common management tactic is to set up a committee of lackeys to negate the organizing work of a progressive union. A successful counter is a strong rank and file Black caucus that can voice both the class and national aspirations of Black workers. While often the masses of Blacks supported different communist led struggles,

they did not join these organizations in numbers. Party organizations such as the American Negro Labor Congress, which had white members, were never successful in organizing outside of party ranks. Even Communist Party leadership (Poster) admitted that the organizations's program was "too left for the masses". In face of opposition from the NAACP, Urban League and AFL, the ANLC was limited to mainly agitational work. The Party's failure to appeal to the class and national aspirations of Black people, especially outside the South, meant that the party would never have a strong organizational mass base. One of the problems with the CPUSA's line on the Black nation (and later with other mostly white organizations), is that the "Black belt nation" theory did not take into account the nationalist sentiments of increasing numbers of Blacks in the North. The demand (for democratic rights) that these groups focus on is inadequate. What was clear then, and even clearer now, is that Black revolutionaries who attempt to organize in the North must organize both around the class and national sentiments of Black people. Any program that ignores one or the other of these dual aspects of Black Liberation will not succeed.

In the late 30's the Communist Party had difficulty in retaining its Black cadre. Several reasons such as the lack of mass support from Blacks, racism of white cadre, contributed to this decline. Two of the main reasons were that many Black communists with petty bourgeois backgrounds strongly protested Stalin's repression of the petty bourgeoisie kulaks (wealthy peasants, small merchants of rural Russia, "tight fists"), Trotskyites and aristocracy in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, with the outbreak of WWII, many proletarian Black fighters left the Party because they refused to fight with U.S. imperialism against the fascist axis. Today Black communists such as George Jackson strongly disagree with Stalin's decision to liquidate class struggle within the U.S. during WWII. The end result was that the Black strength of the Party was decimated by the end of WWII and the CP as an organization has not been a major influence since.

#### THE SECOND MIGRATION

WWII had two main effects on the Black colony. One effect was that the migration of Black people from the rural South to the industrial centers was again accelerated. From 1940-50 1.6 million Black people migrated from the South to the North. This second migration included substantial migration to the shipyards and aircraft factories of the West Coast. It also included heavy migration from the rural South to the rapidly industrializing Southern cities. The second effect was, as Barron's book The Demand for Black Labor states, "WWII marked the most dramatic improvement in economic status of Black people that has taken place. ...The income of Black workers increased twice as fast as that of whites. The biggest improvement was brought about by the migration from South to North..." The first migration of Blacks to the urban North saw the rise of the Garvey movement. The second migration would also lay the groundwork for a larger social upheaval of the Black colony. First in the South and then in the cities of the North, the Black colony would rise up and struggle for two continuous decades. Black workers would play crucial roles in the struggles of Black people in those decades. Many organizations would try and win them over to their program. The new period would show friends and foe alike that Black workers when allied with other progressive classes of the Black colony would be the leading edge of the new revolutionary movement within the U.S.

In the early 20th century the Garvey movement showed the strength of organizing Black people along national lines and the danger of having an incorrect class line. The CPUSA showed the potential strength of organizing along class lines and the serious weaknesses of downplaying the national question in organizational forms. The 60's and 70's would be marked by Black people attempting to build revolutionary organizations along correct national and class lines.

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To be concluded in next issue, Vol. 2 #3 Black Revolutionary Organization and Black Workers; Strengths and Weaknesses of the Black Working Class and Their Role in the National War.



# BEHIND THE LINES

## WOUNDED KNEE 1975

Once again the U.S. government has opened hostilities against Native American people. On June 15, Russell Means, an American Indian Movement leader, was shot in the abdomen by a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) police officer. The officer claimed the shooting was "accidental". From his hospital bed, Means said it was intentional. The BIA acts as a special federal agency to control the lives of Native people. It maintains its own armed units that enter Indian lands essentially at will.

Because of the attack on Means, about 30 people gathered to protect AIM leader Dennis Banks. They used a house about five miles outside the Oglala Sioux reservation community and not far from Wounded Knee, the site of an 1890 U.S. military massacre of Sioux people and the 1973 occupation by the Independent Oglala Sioux Nation against combined US government forces.

Dennis Banks, like Means has been singled out for his work during the Wounded Knee occupation of 1973. Banks has been charged with riot and arson in connection with a February 1973 demonstration in Custer South Dakota (a town named after the justly punished mass murderer, General Custer of the U.S. Cavalry). In that demonstration, the Custer Chamber of Commerce building was burned down to the ground. The Chamber glorifies the memory of Custer to promote tourism.

The gathering of 30 people to protect Dennis Banks made government police agencies nervous. On June 27 the FBI issued warrants for "unlawful possession of firearms" for four people after a white man and his son told the FBI they were held for several hours by Indians and released unharmed.

It is "illegal" in America for people to even have the means to defend themselves from the armed attacks of government agencies. The Native American have consistently resisted this "law" of the government that broke its own treaty laws and committed mass murder and other atrocities against Native peoples. Other oppressed people can learn from their example.

**GRAND JURIES** - Grand juries are being used to repress the growing support for revolutionaries and their organizations. In New York sixteen people who were attending the trial and supporting the New York Five were called before a grand jury investigating an alleged escape attempt by the five. The Five are five Puerto Rican and Black comrades alleged to be Black Liberation Army members. They were accused of assassinating two members of the New York City Police.

Four of those called by the jury were lawyers for the five. They appear to be the main targets. Over forty political organizations and many individuals have expressed support for the sixteen's right to support political fighters. The sixteen have publically stated that they will not cooperate with the grand jury in any way.

In Los Angeles a federal grand jury has subpoenaed a film and all materials used to prepare the film. This film explains the politics and actions of the Weather Underground Organization. The 3 film makers, Haskel Wexler, Emile DeAntonio and Mary Lampson, have all refused cooperation with the grand jury. They accused the state of trying to gain information to which it is not entitled and of attempting to institute McCarthy-era type censorship over all who would support revolution. A committee has been formed to defend the rights of these film makers to make this film without interference from the government.

"Seize the Time" supports the anti-grand jury struggles of progressive people in New York, Los Angeles and anywhere else in the Empire. As someone close to the NY Five case commented, "It is obvious that they are attempting to make one's presence at a trial a militant act." In preparation for the upcoming rebellions due to a collapsing economy, the ruling class is tightening its grip and using fascist terror tactics. Any act of rebellion or support for those who rebel is being met with in-

On the excuse of these warrants, two FBI agents approached the house near Oglala. They wanted to enter the house and were refused several times. Finally the shooting began. The first two agents, Ronald Williams and Jack Colers and a Native American man inside the house, Joe Bedell Stuntz, died in the exchange. The FBI agents had called for reinforcements. These reinforcements took gunfire from bunkers set up around the house. The preparedness of the Indian warriors took the FBI by surprise.

According to an AIM spokesman, during the shooting, "the people on the inside stopped shooting and asked for negotiations, and they (the FBI) refused to honor any type of ceasefire or anything." The FBI had erected roadblocks around the house and thought they had the people inside isolated. But the roadblocks themselves began to receive fire from the outside. The people inside the house were able to break the encirclement and took to the rolling hills surrounding Oglala. Sporadic exchanges of gunfire continued until 1:30am the next day, June 27.

The outside support that people inside the encirclement received made the difference between a tragic slaughter of freedom fighters and their presently successful retreat to the hills of Oglala Sioux land.

Later the same day, the FBI captured one of the Native people sought on the original 4 warrants. They are now looking for at least 16 other people. FBI agents stated they were "hopeful" that the arrest of Herman Thunder Hawk would produce information concerning other people. The young brother has not been seen by lawyers since his capture, and it is not known what kind of "questioning" the government is using that makes them so hopeful.

Also, relatives and friends of Joe Stuntz, the brother slain inside the house, asked that the FBI return his body for burial according to Indian customs. The government performed an unauthorized autopsy before returning the body.

As of June 30, the government has not released any reports stating they have captured anyone else. Their patrols continue to harass reservation residents.

tense repression. It is up to us to counterattack even more strongly. Many areas have local committees formed to fight the grand jury system. Support these committees! If there is no committee in your area, form one. In response to the growth of the movement for liberation, the ruling class is turning more and more to the use of grand juries and rumor-mongering in its attempt to disrupt and infiltrate the revolutionary movement. We must not let them succeed.

**DENVER, COLORADO** - Grand Juries are not the only tactic the bourgeoisie uses to disrupt the left. The offices of the Defense Committee and supporters of Cameron Bishop have been repeatedly broken into the week of June 23. Cameron Bishop is an anti-war activist accused of blowing up high power lines leading to munitions factories in the Colorado Mountains during the Vietnam war. Police say they found



## SUPPORT ACTIONS

Two bombs exploded at Mount Rushmore, South Dakota Visitor's Center and at the office of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alameda, California early June 27. These were acts of solidarity and support for the struggle of Native Americans at Wounded Knee during the past few days.

The explosion at Mount Rushmore caused extensive damage to windows. Mount Rushmore is about 80 miles from Wounded Knee. Its security force was doubled. This center, like many other tourist centers in the area, is on land sacred to Indian people, but taken over by the government and local business concerns to glorify the expansion of U.S. imperialism across the American continent. White park rangers give lectures deploring "recent efforts to cast dispersions on the brave men who pioneered the West."

The explosions in Alameda caused about \$12,000 worth of damage to BIA offices. It was claimed by the New World Liberation Front, an underground group. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is the federal agency directly responsible for maintaining U.S. government control of Native people. Its bureaucracy and armed units are supported by about \$10,000 a year in federal aid for each Native American, while most Indians are forced to live on poverty level welfare grants. It also controls the tribal "governments", a poor imitation of the self-ruling tribal systems of the past.

These acts, while mostly symbolic, are valuable because they educate and express support for Native American struggles. Amilcar Cabral told American supporters of the liberation struggle of Guinea-Bissau in Africa that the best way to support the struggle against imperialism is to take up arms and fight where you are.

someone breaking into the offices, but they don't know who he was because they did not book him. The files of the offices were disturbed, although nothing was taken.

P.O. Box 3071  
Denver, Colorado

**TEXAS(LNS)** - Ten campesinos were shot as they were walking out of the field of the Texano melon ranch by ranch supervisor, Chesley L. Miller. Two were seriously injured, one will probably lose his eyesight because of shotgun pellets lodged in his eyeball.

The campesinos were protesting the prevailing wages of \$1.60-\$1.70 per hour. The United Farmworkers Union, though it did not organize the strike, has been supporting it. Strikers have been present at the border towns in the southern Rio Grande Valley urging campesinos not to cross over to work in the melon fields. On May 26, there was a tremendous response at the border where 1,500 workers refused to board trucks at Reynosa, Mexico. At that time around 500 people were working at El Texano ranch. Thirty strikers went there to picket. Between 200-300 workers had walked out of the fields when Miller drove up at high speed in a pick-up truck and started firing at the strikers with an automatic rifle at close range. Miller then forced the campesinos to lie in drainage ditches for over an hour, threatening to shoot anybody that attempted to aid the injured workers. An ambulance arrived only after a campesino ran 3 miles to Reynosa for help.

Miller later told reporters that it was "open season" on the farm workers. "The police told me I was in my rights" he said.

When sheriff deputies arrived, more than an hour after the shooting, they refused to arrest Miller. He was arrested the next day after farmworkers who had been injured filed charges on 10 counts of aggravated assault.

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# BREAK DE CHAINS



Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass UP THE WORD. JOIN US, GIVE UP YOUR LIFE FOR the People.

GEORGE JACKSON



## AL GLATKOWSKI

The year 1970 March 14, saw the liberation of the SS Columbia Eagle. This courageous action was undertaken by Alvin L. Glatkowski and Clyde W. McKay. These comrades took this action because the SS Columbia Eagle, a ship which was bound for imperialist forces in Thailand, was loaded with 10,000 tons of napalm intended for use against liberation forces inside Indochina.

Al and Clyde seized control of the Eagle by arresting captain Swann and his aide, as well as the communications officer aboard the ship. Captain Swann was ordered to "quietly" retain enough crew members to operate the vessel, after which Al and Clyde gave the "abandon ship" order. Those crew members who were not retained to operate the ship launched lifeboats. Close behind was another ship that picked up these stranded crew members. Both Al and Clyde had previous knowledge of this nearby ship, so they knew that these crew members would not be stranded.

Back on the Eagle, the remaining crew members were assembled and new laws were established. All ranks were dissolved. The ship's store was opened to all crew members. No looting of absent crew member's belongings was permitted. All alcoholic beverages were thrown overboard. It was also stated that any attempt to sabotage the hijacking would be dealt with severely.

Several attempts were made by Al and Clyde to obtain political asylum from a number of countries. Prince Sihanouk finally answered by granting Al and Clyde safe passage to Cambodian waters.

At this time US imperialist forces began to react. Several ships were observed on the radar scope in pursuit of the Eagle. A statement was broadcasted by Al and Clyde declaring that the Eagle would be blown up if the ships came any closer. The ships turned back.

Upon arriving in Sihanoukville, Al and Clyde were welcomed by the Cambodian people. However, this celebration was short-lived. With the establishment of the Lon Nol and CIA coup in Cambodia, Al and Clyde found themselves under house arrest.

## GARY LAWTON ACQUITTED

On May 12 a third jury trial returned its verdict against Black organizer Gary Lawton. NOT GUILTY! Gary Lawton, 36, is a community organizer and member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Winter Soldier Organization. He was charged with the 1971 killing of two Riverside, California policemen. Other felony charges filed after his arrest in 1971 were dropped by the Riverside District Attorney three days after the verdict. The verdict came after four years, three trials and two years of imprisonment for Gary Lawton, and after four years of struggle and support from members of the Riverside community and supporters in the United States and the world.

In September of 1971, six months after the arrest of Gary Lawton, two other Black men were arrested and charged along with Lawton for murder and conspiracy. The two Black men were Nehemiah Jackson, a college student, and Zurebu Gardner, a janitor and student in Riverside.

After being transferred from one prison to another, Al and Clyde found themselves incarcerated on a prison ship docked on the Mekong River.

Following a year of imprisonment in Cambodia, Al was secretly flown back to the US. He was then placed in the Los Angeles County Jail (Maximum Security). Here, a guard polished his bullets while telling Al that he "better not come back to Los Angeles".

Even though Al was suffering severely from the torture he received in Cambodia the courts began the trial. (The Court psychiatrist ruled that Al was sane.) During a court session Al was approached by his "defense" with a deal. Al was given five minutes to respond. He agreed to go along with the "deal" trusting his lawyers to do what was best. Although Al was not in any kind of condition to make a decision of this seriousness, the judge quickly agreed. Al was sentenced to ten years in Lompoc Federal prison for "mutiny on the high seas" and "assault with a dangerous weapon." The second charge resulted from the fact that both Al and Clyde used handguns to seize control of the SS Columbia Eagle.

While at Lompoc, Al attempted to escape, but was apprehended. For this action Al received a year in solitary confinement plus a six year sentence to run concurrent with his previous sentence. During his time in the "hole" Al was charged with inciting a riot during a spontaneous prisoners' rebellion.

In 1974 Al appealed his case to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in hopes of getting a ruling on the legality of the Indochina war. Knowing that imperialism depends on military force, the courts refused to even consider the case. They claimed that Al had pleaded guilty to a crime at his first trial and therefore could not have another trial.

Al's recent parole hearing was as much a sham as the rest of the "justice" dealt out. A few days before Al was to appear before the parole board, the FBI showed up at the prison to question prisoners about Al's prison activities. In particular the FBI was interested in Al's work with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). Needless to say, the parole board hearing resulted in a token appearance by the board members, and Al was given a two year set-off. (He will go before the parole board again in 1976)

Recent information from reliable sources indicates that Al is being considered for transfer to America's new behavior modification prison in North Carolina. Buettner Prison has been established to alter the behavior patterns of "undesirables" and political prisoners.

It has also come to our attention that Al's life is now in danger from inside the prison walls. Coincidentally, this situation surfaced after several FBI visits to a number of reactionary pri-

soners, including an ex-VVAW/WSO prison member.

We should not be surprised at such tactics. The long history of government murders within prison walls is well known. We do not intend to let it happen to Al.

Though locked up, Al continues to organize prisoners around anti-imperialism. Al's mail is censored, copied and filed, trashed and refused. All of Al's visitors are subject to harassment from prison officials and government agents.

The Columbia Eagle Liberation Defense Committee (CELDC) is organized by the Santa Barbara Chapter of VVAW/WSO and the Lompoc Prison Chapter. We demand universal and unconditional amnesty for Al and for all war resisters. We believe that imperialism is the real crime. Those who struggle against imperialism are not criminals; they are political prisoners.

As imperialism gasps for more air, repression will increase. The people will suffer. We cannot realistically attempt to free each political prisoner on an individual basis. Al has fought imperialism by offering his life so that liberation forces might win their battle. Al is not a martyr. He is a freedom fighter who believes in the people. To only say "free Al" is not what Al wants. To throw off the shackles of imperialism is the issue.

Currently our lawyers are studying the possibility of filing a second appeal to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. This demands support from all in the form of organization, letters, and money. We also call for the same support for sisters and brothers, like Marilyn Buck, Ruthell Magee, Karl Armstrong, and the Attica Brothers, who are fighting for their lives.

FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE:

Columbia Eagle Liberation Defense Comm.  
% VVAW/WSO  
1421 State Street  
Santa Barbara, California, 93101

## MICHAEL JOHNSON



MICHAEL JOHNSON

On February 21, 1975, Michael Johnson and Herbert Caldwell were arrested for being in an allegedly stolen car. The car had been loaned to them by a salesperson on a used car lot.

Michael Johnson was charged with: assault on an officer, armed (10 years to life) and car theft (1 year minimum). Herbert Caldwell was charged with: accessory to the fact (10 years to life). On April 22 the charges against Herbert were dropped for lack of evidence.

Michael, on the other hand has been beaten twice and threatened several times. These attacks have been connected with the fact that he has refused and has supported others in refusing to submit to strip searches.

The workers at the jail where he is being held are currently fighting for their new contract. Following is a letter of support for those workers written by Michael when he learned about their struggle. The fact that Michael wrote this letter of support is an exemplary show of class solidarity. We should follow his example and sup-

cont. top of next page



## michael johnson - cont.

port him in his case.

"OPEN LETTER TO: The Mayor of San Jose and The Board of Supervisors of Santa Clara Co.

I wish to express my support and solidarity with the just demands of the subervient workers of the Santa Clara County Main Jail -- the cooks, the laundry workers, the janitors who are demanding higher wages and hazardous duty pay for kitchen workers. I feel that a wage incentive adequately administered will be of benefit not only to the workers but also to the prisoner population is where my main concern lies.

It has been brought to my attention that a recent pseudo-investigation has been made

in regards to the barbaric conditions existing inside the Santa Clara County Main Jail in San Jose, CA by representatives of the Board of Supervisors.

I feel it a responsibility to express my thoughts concerning these matters in hopes that a quantitative change is the most that can be expected until such time that we the people venture to seize control of all present institutions and transform them into qualitative social institutions which truly serve the needs of the people.

One of our primary demands remains the formulation of a multi-racial prisoner committee selected by the prisoners in order to address the real issues concerning the functioning of your jail as seen from the bottom up rather than from the top down.

In The True Spirit of Freedom,  
Michael Johnson

No. County Holding Facility  
Palo Alto, CA 94306"

Michael's trial is set to begin, July 24 at 8:45 AM at the Superior Court, Hedding St., San Jose, Ca.

For offers of assistance, ideas, donations and more information, contact:

Comm. to Free Michael Johnson

% United Prisoners Union

1899 Oak St.

San Francisco, Ca. 94117

(415) 863-1411 or 863-1410.

Michael Johnson's mailing address is:

NCHP

270 Grant Rd

Palo Alto, CA 94306

## BLACK WARRIOR KILLED

SALUTE TO BROTHER REMA

The most recent of Black warriors to be killed was Melvin Rema Kearney who fell seven floors from the Brooklyn House of Detention on the night of May 25, 1975, while trying to free himself. An escape from maximum security by a prisoner of war is one of the most daring of revolutionary acts. Pedro Chango Monges made it 'beyond the wall' but was recaptured. Such bold examples pave the way for others to do likewise.

Today, in solidarity, we give tribute to brother Rema and all freedom fighters like him who waged fierce struggle against great odds. They have proven time and again that nothing can stop a prairie fire that has been ignited for a purpose.

Despite the number of warriors killed, wounded, maimed, captured, and brutalized, the Black Liberation Army continues as a mobile, invisible, growing threat to the racist imperialist power structure, its apparatuses and its lackeys.

Revolutionaries may die, but the seeds of revolution multiply in the wake of their passing.

So we love Brother Rema because he was a brother who had true knowledge of this racist system. He knew that this type of system must be changed. He was a black brother who knew what needed to be done, and sacrificed all to do it. He loved his people deeply and gave his life trying to bring about righteous change for the oppressed people of the world. He was a Malcolm seed. He was marked for murder. Just as many other sisters and brothers and third world people who struggle to change the amerikkkan system is very clever at making the victim look like the criminal, and the criminal look like the victim. He was a victim of the amerikkkan dream, until he dug that it was just another scheme to keep the masses of people confused and divided. He was also a victim of his love, for some of those whom he loved and respected, let the people down, to be murdered in the streets of amerikka, and to be thrown into the dungeon's, never to be seen again, and their warrior mutilated and murdered by a rain of this system bullets, and still remain passive and indifferent. We are not ashamed to say that we loved Brother Rema and anybody else who has and will take up the gun for our freedom, for he was a warrior who loved us (the people). His entire body and soul was committed to the complete freedom of oppressed people by any means necessary. He refused to compromise for he realized there is no substitute for freedom. His spirit will always live in the hearts of the people, for his work will be part of the blueprint for tomorrow. We hope we will earn by our warrior's great love, clean our guns and prepare for the next battle. We have nothing to lose but our chains. So, we have cried, we have cleaned-up our warriors body and said goodbye and now we must move forward, with discipline, love, dedication, devotion and a strong desire and will to be free, by any means necessary.

## WOUNDED KNEE TRIAL

### CASE BACKGROUND

On February 27, 1973, several hundred Oglala Sioux and supporters from the American Indian Movement liberated the village of Wounded Knee. The occupation grew out of a long struggle against the conditions of poverty and oppression which face those on the Pine Ridge Reservation of South Dakota. After two weeks of occupation the military situation was at a stalemate. A ceasefire was negotiated and the government brought down its roadblocks. Hundreds of Oglala Sioux poured into Wounded Knee to show their support. On March 11, the traditional leaders of the Oglala Nation held a day-long meeting. They realized the historic importance of the liberation of Wounded Knee. It was seen as the beginning of the rebirth of the Indian Nation. The tribal leaders declared their independence from the United States. In proclaiming the Independent Oglala Nation they reaffirmed their desire to live by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty between the Oglala Sioux and the United States of America.

On that same day four men claiming to be postal inspectors entered Wounded Knee. The occupiers soon became suspicious of their activities. The four men were subsequently disarmed and deported from Wounded Knee. Although none of the three defendants were involved in the incident, the US government claims that they were "the leaders" of the occupation, and therefore responsible for the actions of the warriors.



CARTER CAMP



STAN HOLDER

The government's identification of Crowdog, Camp, and Holder, along with Pedro Bissonette (who was murdered by the BIA police in October 1973), Dennis Banks, Russel Means, and Clyde Bellecourt, as the "leadership" was an attempt to divert attention and resources from the supposedly "non-leadership" cases.

A second round of Wounded Knee "leadership" trials have ended in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Much to the amazement of the defendants and the Wounded Knee Legal Defense Offense Committee, the three defendants, Leonard Crowdog, Stan Holder, and Carter Camp, were convicted of armed robbery and assault on June 5, 1975.

Prior to their conviction, the defendants had asked, in pre-trial motion, that charges be dismissed on grounds of selective prosecution and government misconduct. The judge listened to the evidence, but went ahead and picked the jury in one day, without ruling on the defense motions. All three of the defendants were facing two federal charges; interfering with "postal inspectors" and alleged armed robbery of US government property (several pistols) from these "postal inspectors". The charges stemmed from an incident which occurred in Wounded Knee in March of 1973.



LEONARD CROWDOG

The government's case consisted of calling the three postal inspectors who entered Wounded Knee. Only two of the witnesses could even identify the defendants. The government's case was so weak that the defense rested without presenting a rebuttal or calling any witnesses. After two days of deliberation, a clearly pre-convinced, racist jury returned the conviction verdict.

The defendants, however, look at the conviction in a positive light. They feel that many people had fallen into relying on the court system due to the recent court victories in the other Wounded Knee trials. People had begun to forget that there is no justice for Indian people in the US. The recent convictions once again reaffirm the need to strengthen the struggle against the US government. As defendant Carter Camp explained, "We can struggle just as hard in the prisons as on the streets... This just adds more fuel to the fire of revolution in this country." **CONT PG 9**



# Collectives and Mass Organizing

## INTRODUCTION

The focus of this issue is on collectives - what they are and how they work. It is good to know how to start a collective and how the people in a collective should study and work with each other. But the main purpose for any collective should be its work with the people and their struggles. This is the focus of this article. We do not participate in revolutionary struggle in order to build collectives; we build collectives in order to build revolutionary struggle.

Seize the Time wrote this article to help organizers who are in collectives or trying to start collectives. We will look at the work of collectives in the context of mass struggles and mass organizations. This article was not easy to write because mass movements are even more complex than the internal workings of collectives. Mass movements don't just happen. They have a history based in the conditions of the society. If its leadership is strong, a movement can change the whole society. In fact, mass movements are the basis for social revolution - an overthrow of the old order, a breakthrough in human history. Therefore, organizers should take this and any other article as a guide, not a bible. Collectives still have to think things through for themselves.

## BROAD MASS MOVEMENT AND DIFFERENT SECTORS OF PEOPLE

Take a mass movement like the civil rights movement or a movement for national liberation. It expresses a basic idea - that all people have equal rights or that a nation of people should not be oppressed by any other nation. That basic idea affects many people's lives in many ways, economic, social and political. Different classes may be involved, and each class will see the struggle in a different light. Civil rights means, among many other things, striking down selective voter registration procedures, equal pay for equal work, quality education available to all children and open housing. Working people see civil rights in terms of job dignity, pay and conditions, like the Black garbage workers of Memphis that Dr. King worked with. Petite bourgeois people see civil rights in terms of government posts, professional education opportunities, Black businesses, etc. National liberation means, among many other things, a government representative of the majority of the nation's people, an end to the repression and degradation of a people's culture, throwing out the military forces of the oppressor nation and correcting the underdevelopment of an unbalanced, colonial economy created by the oppressor's greed. Again, different classes within a nation will have different views of national liberation.

So, a mass movement includes many areas of struggle and many people who have different reasons for supporting the struggle. Many times these differences are great enough that people form separate organizations that focus on particular aspects of a mass movement. In many national liberation struggles, separate mass organizations commonly exist for women, students, religious sects, industrial workers and peasants as well as militias and other fighting units. The make-up and goals of these groups can lead to great or small political differences.

The specific conditions of struggle may make these differences very hard to overcome or not a great obstacle in working together. For example, in this country there are great differences in the immediate goals of white workers and Black workers. The history of white racism, the lack of leadership from the left, especially white communists, as well as continuing differences in economic status, make these differences very hard to overcome despite the fact that in the long run, both Black and white workers will benefit from the end of Black national oppression and U.S. capitalism. If the Black liberation movement becomes stronger and more unified, if anti-racist, anti-imperialist white communists begin working with the masses of white workers and if the current economic crisis of America continues, these differences will be easier to overcome.

If groups can work together, then their differences may be more like a realistic division of labor, that reaches and invol-

ves more people in the same basic movement, as is the case with the many organizations of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam.

## THE ROLE OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS:

### BROADENING THE STRUGGLE

Mass organizations are meant to involve anyone who has an interest in the struggle and wants to contribute in anyway. Mass organizations should be easy to join at some level. People who are just starting to be involved, to understand why they should be active, should be welcome. The youth and other kinds of people who have been excluded from social and political activity and education should be welcome (this includes women with families who are still limited many times to "children, kitchen and church"). Mass organizations should have well-defined areas of work and goals so that people can identify, "this is where I can contribute; this is something I know about."

However, mass organizations do have limits. They appeal to a specific segment of society and set themselves goals which often fall short of the whole movement. There are often problems coordinating the work of many mass organization for the best results. Sometimes a mass organization by itself will fail to understand how changing or postponing one goal or program is necessary to achieve a greater or longer-range goal. A women's organization may pursue leadership roles for a few women rather than seeking the involvement of many women in strengthening their families as a defensive unit against police brutality.

In some cases, mass organizations may not be able to respond quickly and forcefully enough to a struggle. An incident may touch off a response among the people that mass organizations may not have anticipated. Or an area of struggle may have many small, weak committees, but no unified political direction (In many places, the struggle of prisoners and political trials suffers from this weakness.)



The National Committee to Combat Fascism was an organization between the grassroots community struggles and the collectives of the Panther Party. In it activists could be judged on their potential to become Panther Cadre.

## THE ROLE OF COLLECTIVES:

### UNIFYING THE STRUGGLE

The need for collectives grows out of the limitations of mass organizations in organizing the struggle. If you look at the experience of people who want to form collectives or have formed collectives, they generally have had experience in mass organizations, often as leadership and/or organizers. Collectives (meaning Marxist-Leninist cadre type collectives, not working committees) are formed because:

1. Advanced people see a need for a longer range, broader view of the movement than any single mass organization or aspect of struggle would have, in order to guide people's work towards the same goals.

2. Being able to make and implement the long-range, broad analysis and strategy that will link and lead mass struggles takes collective experience, study, dedication, discipline and security.

3. It is unrealistic and destructive to expect everyone or even a large minority to have that level of experience and discipline in order to contribute to the struggle. Mass organizations are meant to involve large numbers of people at whatever level they can contribute. They should not be asked to do that and the job of cadre collectives. We have seen many organizations (the Black Panther Party, Venceremos, etc.) fall apart, partly because they did try to do both.

The main purpose of collectives and cadre organizations in a mass movement is to provide a central strategy that unifies all these various aspects of struggles and their mass organizations for revolutionary struggle. A central strategy includes one main goal for each specific stage of the struggle, who would be the strongest forces to achieve that goal, who would be reliable reserves and on what basis major alliances between different types of people would be made. While force of character, discipline, etc. are essential, these and all other characteristics of good collective leadership and good cadre depend on this political strategy being correct for the struggle of the people. This is what organizers mean by providing leadership to mass struggles.

But a collective can not stop there. A collective must make its strategy available. It must test and refine its strategy in action. It does so by working with the leading people of mass struggles. In any mass struggle, there will be some people who have had more experience in organizing others and more knowledge of struggle's history and relationship to over-all conditions. There will be people who become known for their dedication and their ability to figure out what to do next. They are the most active, militant and disciplined people in a struggle. These people form the basis of any collective.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF COLLECTIVES TO MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND STRUGGLE

Forming collectives from advanced people should not mean destroying mass organizations. A collective cannot give leadership to a mass struggle by recruiting all the active people as soon as they can say "Marxism-Leninism-Mao tse-Tung Thought" out of that struggle into collective discipline and study. Nor can the collective lead a mass struggle by sending in all its cadre to take leadership positions without regard to developing activists among the people. Either approach prevents the collective from being closely linked to the people. We see many examples of these errors. Perhaps it would be more helpful to talk about an example of correct practice.

A few Black Panther Chapters in the late sixties did function as cadre collectives. The BPP cadre would investigate a community (even if they were from it), identify its struggles and the most active, most advanced people and begin working with those people. The cadre would provide guidance, encouragement and resources to those activists. In some places the BPP cadre helped people set up a mass organization, the National Committee to Combat Fascism. The Committee had a number of specific programs - Breakfast for Children, anti-drug programs, anti-police brutality organizing, welfare rights and community political education. In other places, BPP cadre worked with existing mass organizations to encourage them to adopt revolutionary struggle. Everywhere the BPP cadre would clearly express a political strategy that people could use (sometimes it wasn't enough or it was wrong, but it was out there for people to test for themselves). That's why the BPP was recognized for sometime as the leadership of the Black Liberation movement in the US.

After a period of observation and testing in struggle, the chapter would approach an active organizer to join, but only if this strengthened the overall movement and did not seriously interfere with the activ-



ist's relationship to his people. The chapter took a number of conditions into account. Had the person developed enough discipline and political knowledge? Had the struggle, that he or she was involved in, reached a logical pause? Did he or she still have commitments that would be disrupted by collective demands?

This collective approach to leading mass struggles means that the collective must balance its time between involvement in mass struggles and mass organizations, and its own study, discipline and development of strategy. Some organizations like the Communist Party USA have their cadre almost totally in mass work. These cadre either express little politics or opportunist politics, meaning they will organize people up to a point but for what purpose? The CPUSA will organize for reform, but not for revolution.

Other organizations spend almost all their time on collective study, forums, internal splits and ideological splits of the "Marxist-Leninist" movement. These people organize little, because they don't have any relationship to the people who will make revolution.

The balance between work in mass struggles and internal development is not something we can define for all collectives on paper - 20 hours for one and 15 for the other. No, this is something every collective has to think about, what's going on around it and where each of its members are at politically. If a lot of people in the Tenant's Union you are working with just got eviction notices, that's not the time to study "Wage, Price and Profit" (a book by Marx). On the other hand, if your collective is working in any Third World (or white working class) community, everyone in the collective should have a good basic understanding of their people's history yesterday if not sooner. If you are doing workplace organizing, Lenin's "What Is To Be Done" on the dangers of economism is very important. In any type of organizing, all cadre should be familiar with Mao's works on mass line and leadership.

#### WHAT KIND OF COLLECTIVE

People just starting or thinking of collectives often ask how should a collective be organized. First, the people starting the collective should be very clear on whether they need a primary or a secondary collective. A primary collective means each cadre places this collective's political strategy, study, discipline and security first in order of priorities. This kind of collective is the basic unit of a scientific socialist party. Its discipline is democratic centralism (meaning free discussion but once a majority position is established, the minority must carry out the decision.)

A secondary collective is organized by one or two cadre to bring together a number of active people working on the same project. This is particularly useful when there are 5 to 8 active people scattered throughout a large factory or a union or an army base, etc. The relationship of primary collective to secondary would be like that of teacher to student or parent to child. The alert teacher or parent must be able to learn from as well as teach the student or child.

The second question is: should a collective be a general collective of organizers from a variety of struggles (prisoner support, workplace, cultural, women, youth, etc.)? This type of collective depends on a fairly uniform level of practice and theory among its members and is defined by geography and/or community. OR should this collective be based on a single work area (all the advanced people of a cultural center, a people's medical program, or in factories or in prison committee work)?

We should look at how each type of collective would relate to mass organizations and struggles to decide which is better at doing what kind of things. The work focus collective would be easier to bring together. The people are involved in the same programs and would probably see each other anyway. The subject matter of the collective would already be defined. But that also means that people don't have to develop a strong sense of discipline. Uneven development between different members would be more likely. This could lead to lack of discipline and the break-up of the collective in the long run, if people are asked to do things they are not sure of.

But more important, this type of collective is more likely to fall into a narrow view of things, since it is not based on looking at the whole movement. It has less leadership to offer a mass organization in that sense. Once this collective organizes its work area, it will have great difficulties linking up with other collectives and mass organizations into other areas of work and providing them with over-all political leadership. The work focus collective would make a very good secondary collective, so long as it does not demand that every member be a highly experienced and discipline cadre. It could help consolidate a spontaneous struggle and form the beginnings of a mass organization.

The general collective is harder to bring together. The people would all be active organizers in many different areas of work. But it can give its members and mass organizations more political leadership in the over-all strategy of the movement. It has less danger of being narrow-minded and being viewed as a clique by others. But it must be careful not to overload its members with study, meetings and mass work. The



CADRE DOING SELF-DEFENSE

collective should remember that people need to hold down a regular job and/or schooling plus keep in touch socially with their neighbors and friends. The general collective also has a potential for linking the work of several mass organizations and providing them with political leadership. This point is very important, because these links will form the basis for united fronts (within oppressed internal colonies) and for political parties. In the long run, the general type collective is better able to be a primary collective. This is exactly the kind of organization that revolution in this country needs now.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATION/COMMUNICATION

There is one specific exception to the general collective - propaganda collectives. This is because of the nature of propaganda work. It focuses on communications that will link and benefit many types of struggle. Members of propaganda collectives have to become familiar with many organizations and struggles. They must be able to work with many types of people in order to collect information, sum up experience, write articles and be understood by many kinds of people. They also must develop an over-all view of the whole movement in order to judge the importance and content of individual articles, speeches, etc.

Communications, however, should not be just the job of propaganda collectives. Communications are key to any collective's work with mass organizations and the people. Attention paid communication shows you respect people enough to keep them aware and to take their opinions and suggestions into account. Good communications helps to divide up the work by involving more people, yet also keeps the work unified. If your collective is working with a large mass organization, you should not only talk with those people directly concerned with an aspect of work. Your collective should also work with the central or area leadership of the mass organization to keep them informed and responsible. This way you help to strengthen the unity and leadership of the mass organization.

#### COLLECTIVES AND NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Lastly, in national liberation struggles, collectives have a special responsibility in mass organizing. For example, among Black people, several classes will benefit by revolution and have supported revolutionary actions. This means there are

many more kinds of mass organizations involved in this struggle than in a "purely" proletarian revolution. Generally an umbrella organization is formed to aid the struggle. It is called a "National Liberation Front". Because a Front needs to have a clear strategy to unite broad segments of a society, the role of cadre collectives is vital. Not only that, these collectives must represent a dedicated, organized and experienced political party.

#### SUMMARY

Mao sums up the relationship between collectives and cadre organizations to mass struggles by saying, "It is essential for the success of the rectification that a leading group should be formed in each unit in the course of the movement, made up of a small number of activists and with the heads of the given unit as its nucleus, and that this leading group should link itself closely with the masses taking part in the 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 long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level. The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore 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 and to win over the backward elements. A leading group that is genuinely united and linked with the masses can be formed only gradually in the process of mass struggle, and not in isolation from it."

## N.Y. FIVE

BREAK DE CHAINS

The trial of five brothers in New York charged with the assassination of two police officers in 1971, recently ended with a guilty verdict for three of them.

Albert Washington, Herman Bell, and Anthony Bottom were convicted by a jury definitely not of their peers and sentenced to 25 years to life in prison.

Gabriel and Francisco Torres, two brothers also tried in that case, were acquitted. Their acquittal was a tactical move by the judge to insure that someone was convicted in that case. A trial last year ended in a hung jury, with a majority of jurors voting for acquittal on most of the brothers.

The Five were charged with the assassination of two New York police officers that were ambushed near a housing project in Harlem on May 21, 1971. The Black Liberation Army claimed credit for the executions in a communique released a few days later, explaining that the acts were in retaliation for crimes committed against the Black community.

Several months later, at the end of summer 1971, Anthony Bottom and Albert Washington were arrested in San Francisco, California. Following the machine gunning of two police officers. They were convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to life in prison in California.



# PROBLEMS OF CADRES AND ORGANIZATION \*\*\* LE DUAN

After the Party has worked out a correct political line, organizational work in general, and cadre work in particular, are decisive factors for success in the revolutionary tasks.

In what follows, I shall be dealing chiefly with the problem of cadres, and, in relation to this problem, I shall be discussing only some of the most important aspects. With regard to organization, I shall mainly be discussing fundamental aspects related to the study and solution of the cadre problem.

## THE BUILDING OF A CONTINGENT OF CADRES MUST PROCEED FROM THE POLITICAL LINE AND TASKS

Cadre policy, if it is to be correct, must proceed fully from the requirements of the revolutionary tasks. *The revolution needs a contingent of cadres who are equal to their political tasks, with regard to their number and quality as well as to their composition, a contingent of cadres capable of fulfilling to the highest degree the requirements of the political tasks in each period.*

Complete loyalty to the ideals of socialism and communism, to the interests of the working class and the nation, to the political line of the Party; the severest sense of organization and discipline; close contacts with the masses; and the ability to fulfil the tasks assigned—these are fundamental, *unvarying* requirements in the qualifications of cadres, in whatever period. Nevertheless, from the national democratic stage to the socialist stage, the revolution obviously undergoes *basic changes* in its character and tasks. That is why we cannot stop at general principles when tackling the problem of cadres.

In the national democratic revolution, which was a long and arduous process comprising many stages and involving many forms of activity, sometimes underground, sometimes legal, sometimes armed struggle, sometimes political struggle, and often with a highly diverse combination of many forms of struggle at the same time, our Party trained batch after batch of cadres who lived up to President Ho Chi Minh's teaching: "Be true to the Party and loyal to the people, fulfil any task, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy."

### I. Relationship between cadres and the political line and tasks.

*A wise political line produces good cadres. Cadres are trained and mature under a wise line. On the other*

*hand, they take part in the making and development of the line. They ensure the realization of the line. Without competent cadres, even though we have worked out a line, it will be useless. If cadres are bad, they will damage the line itself. If cadres are good and able, they not only help to carry out the line creatively but also contribute to its development.*

Of course, a wise line alone cannot exclude the possibility of wrongdoing and degradation on the part of cadres because whether a cadre acts rightly or wrongly, is good or bad, depends on many other factors than the line, including his personal attributes. However, a correct line is the basic condition in bringing the revolutionary tasks to success, and as such it produces one batch after another of good cadres and keeps to a minimum the possibility of cadres committing errors in political orientation. To be sure, in a revolutionary movement it is hardly possible to prevent a few bad, opportunist elements from infiltrating into the revolutionary ranks. However, if we have a strong mass movement arising from and developing along a correct line, and if the majority of our cadres stand firmly on this correct line, noxious tendencies not only have little chance of swaying our cadres but also are very likely themselves to be swept aside. But the picture will be quite different if errors are committed in the political line. A wrong line will take the cadres away from a correct direction, throw confusion into their ranks, and push numbers of them into wrongdoing. Of course, in such situations, there are always those who are alert enough to tell right from wrong and are able to defend the truth. But to bring the movement back on to the right path, the revolution must



Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Workers' Party reviewing troops in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam\*\*\*

pay what is sometimes a very high price, including in terms of cadres, the most valuable asset of the revolution.

Cadres are the people who organize the fulfilment of the line. Thus it is clear that cadres decide the success or failure of a line. By creatively and fruitfully organizing the application of the line, and bringing into play the abundant experience they have accumulated, cadres not only translate the line into reality but also positively contribute to the improvement, development and concretization of the line. And this is an extremely important, *a prime requirement* of any cadre. We witness at any given moment, every day and every hour, the emergence of new problems to which the Party must provide correct answers. Any cadre who does not grasp this reality, who is not sensitive to the new, who does not take pains to think, to make efforts to understand the realities, who lacks the ability to think independently and creatively in the process of applying the Party line and policies, is not a good cadre. Sooner or later he will be outstripped by life. Lenin said: "In our struggle we must remember that communists must be able to reason. They may be perfectly familiar with the revolutionary struggle and with the state of the revolutionary movement all over the world: but if we are to extricate ourselves from desperate poverty and want we need culture, integrity and an ability to reason"

### 2. Class stand and revolutionary qualities

In the Marxist-Leninist view, the inevitable success of socialism does not stem from the natural disposition of man or from some moral principles, but from objective laws of development of society. The Party line is actually the reflection and application of the laws which have been enunciated in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The socialism we are building can be achieved only on the basis of these laws, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is our class stand, the foundation of our concept of morality.

Our class stand and the whole of our morality consist in struggling with self-denial for national independence, for the welfare and happiness of our people, for socialism and communism. *In the past, this stand and morality consisted in struggling to*

*All lines and policies of our Party are aimed at this objective. That is why our class stand, our morality, actually consists in struggling for the successful realization of the line and policies as well as all tasks laid down by the Party.*

Class stand should not be understood in an intuitive and spontaneous way. The workers themselves, if their movement grows out of sheer spontaneity, cannot have a working-class stand. They can, at best, achieve trade union consciousness and trade unionism — which stops at economic interests of an immediate, partial and professional character. Trade unionism is, in Lenin's words, "the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie." (1)

*we must grasp class stand from a concrete, historical point of view.*

II

## ORGANIZATION AND CADRES

### I. Relationship between cadres and organization

We have discussed the relationship between cadres and the political line and tasks. The problem of cadres must also be examined in the context of the close relationship between cadres and organization.

We cannot conceive of a cadre outside the organization because the cadre is an element of the organization. The cadre lives in a definite organization, in the apparatus whereby an organization operates. Organization is formed by man. Man is the main component factor of an organization. An organization cannot operate without man. *A product of man, an organization cannot but depend on man, on his qualities and capacities of action. On the other hand, after organization has become a quantity existing in its own right and has struck deep roots in life, organization in its turn has a decisive effect on man. It determines who will do what, what position and function he should hold in the apparatus of activity. It defines beforehand the direction and objective of man's actions. It directs man and obliges him to act one way instead of another. Organization, in its activity, brings forth in man definite characteristics and qualities. It trains man. The capacities and effectiveness of man's activity depend on organization. Organization increases man's strength manyfold. Organization creates a new quality. Marx wrote: "Just as the combat strength of a cavalry unit or the resistance of an infantry battalion differs in substance from the sum total of the individual strength of each cavalymen or each separate combatant, the sum total of the mechanical strength of each separate worker also differs from the mechanical strength created when they work in co-ordination and at the same time in the same indivisible work... The problem is not only to increase individual productivity, but also to use cooperative methods to create a new production force that operates as a single, collective force." (1).*

All this is directly related to the examination and resolution of the problem of cadres. For instance, in looking for the strong points and weaknesses of Party cadres and members, if we confine ourselves to examining their ideological qualities and assessing their ideological standard separately from the question of organization, if we fail to see the influence and impact of organization on cadres, then we are overlooking one main ground for the correct examination and resolution of the cadre problem.

A strong Party branch and a strong Party executive committee give rise to strong Party members and cadres. Wherever the Party branch and committee are rickety, the Party members and cadres find their fighting strength reduced and are prone to degeneration and backsliding. Of course, the reverse in this case is completely true, because in their relations with the organization, Party cadres and members are at the same time the effect and the cause. However, even if this or that individual is the cause of the shakiness of the organization, the question still remains essentially a question of organization. Because those individuals who are members of

\* Lê Duẩn: *Mỹ văn đề về cán bộ và về tổ chức trong cách mạng xã hội chủ nghĩa*. Sự Thật Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973. Second edition.

(1) V.I. Lenin: *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 384.

(1) Karl Marx: *Capital*. (In Vietnamese), Sự Thật Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. 2, pp. 22, 23.



the organization, but have thought and acted contrary to its requirements, have done so because the organization either lacks the necessary guarantees in criteria or the necessary rules for activity and behaviour or is not strong enough to compel the individuals concerned to comply with the norms, rules and decisions of the organization. That is why, in any case, we must proceed from organization to examine and resolve the question.

Man's strength lies in his organization. Only within and through organization and through relationships with other persons and realities can a man show what he is and what he is capable of. Of course, we cannot conceive man as part of a machine. Man is an entity endowed with conscience, will, dynamism and initiative, and each man has his own character and capabilities. That is why it cannot be said that an organization has no room for the role of the individual. If each person is a cipher, the organization itself cannot exist because an organization is actually the combination of many persons. In fact, how can there be the "collective capacity" (Marx) of the organization without the effectiveness of each person? Obviously, there must be strong people if the organization is to be strong, and there must be good people if the organization is to be good. On the other hand, this fundamental point must be made clear: the strength of a person lies in organization and organization creates a new strength which differs completely in quality from the sum of the strength of separate persons. The dialectic in this case consists in the following: a strong organization ensures the strength of each person and the strength of each person makes the strength of the organization.

To do cadre work well is to place a cadre in his right place and promote him at the right time, and place him in the most appropriate conditions of organization which will enable him to give full play to his talents and creativity as required by the revolutionary tasks. And this is actually to increase the strength of organization because the strength of organization makes itself felt through the active and creative work of each person and constitutes a collective, organized force.

In an organization where functions and tasks are not clear, where the distribution of work is irrational, where norms of work and the allocation of responsibility are not well defined, where the relationship and cohesion among the various component parts or their homogeneity are lacking, any person in it will tend to become impotent and inefficient because it is a weak organization. An individual, detached from his organization, is capable of nothing. In an organization which is an organic whole, the strong points of each person will be multiplied while his weak points will be limited and overcome and each person will think and act with all the moral and physical strength of the organization. Organization helps "eliminate the limitations springing from individuals and develop their collective capacities." (1). If the whole body is strong, every organ and every cell will also be strong and vice versa.

2. Cadre work is the first and foremost task in organizational work

Cadre work is, in its essence, organizational work and it is precisely because of the need for organization, and in view of the

necessity to ensure the highest efficiency of leadership and management that we must do cadre work well, considering it as the first and foremost task of organizational work.

Cadre work must be done in meticulous, careful and thorough manner because men, cadres, are the soul and the motive force of organization. How many cadres and what kinds of cadres are needed for such and such an organization with such and such tasks? That is the starting point for reaching judicious decisions on cadres. So far, in many cases, we have not acted exactly in this way. Often we make overstatements or understatement, we make inordinate inferences or omissions when assessing a cadre. We use generalities to assess the qualities and capabilities of a cadre and finish up by taking in a man who cannot do the job. In some instances, we do not even proceed from the job and organization to place men, but instead create jobs and organizations out of the need to place men. Such humps are still on our backs.

3. Collective method of work and individual responsibility

Each cadre holds a definite position of work in his organization, in the leading and managerial apparatus. Whether each cadre fulfils his responsi-

bility or not naturally influences the common activity of the whole organization, the whole apparatus. If he does his work well, the effectiveness and strength of the whole organization will increase accordingly. Conversely, if he works poorly, the effectiveness and strength of the whole organization suffers. Here, we must point out that the role of those who head an organization, the leaders, is very great and has a decisive character. That is why they must meet very high requirements. The leaders must embody loyalty and dedication in the implementation of the line and policies of the Party and State and must have the necessary capabilities and determination to bring those line and policies into effect. They must have rich experience, foresight and aliveness to the new, a creative, imaginative mind to combine collective leadership with the ability to make clear-sighted decisions on the basis of a deep knowledge of the tasks assigned and a firm grasp of the situation. With high determination to achieve the set objective, leaders must have the capability to organize and mobilize their collaborators and the masses to follow suit. They must show a high sense of responsibility, great determination and a principled attitude in handling affairs. They must take into account and really respect the opinion of others, and calmly listen to the suggestions of the masses even if they do not agree with them. They must have a generous attitude toward others, and a high sense of self-criticism, must dare to admit their errors and mistakes and have the determination to correct them. These are indispensable qualities in leaders. If they possess these qualities, leaders will enjoy the necessary prestige and trust without which they cannot lead.

The capability and effectiveness of the leadership directly depend on whether or not the leaders can build a united and like-minded collective around themselves. In this collective, each cadre must have a profound sense of being the collective master, a high sense of responsibility toward the common cause and place common interests first. While putting all his mind and energies in service of the common success of the collective organization and clearly realizing his function and role in the common cause, each cadre must accomplish his personal responsibility assigned by the organization with his greatest efforts and with self-imposed discipline. Concern for the common objective, the common interest, the common cause, must be manifested first of all in the full execution of his personal responsibility. Whether this personal responsibility is accomplished or not is the first criterion in appraising the contribution of each to the common cause. At the same time, each must closely co-operate with others in the working collective. An organization, by definition, is a collective, a working collective in which every member needs the others, the one working with and for the others with the aim of achieving a cause which transcends the capabilities of each separate individual. Co-operation therefore is essential.

Co-operation is effected first of all through the accomplishment by each member of his personal responsibility because the non-accomplishment of the task of one person immediately affects the accomplishment of the tasks of others. In an organization, if every member needs the co-operation of others, it is because of the organic interrelation among the various parts of the work as parts of one and the same whole. Distribution of work implies in itself co-operation, and inversely co-operation implies a distribution of work. The question is to understand this relationship and to put it fully into practice in our work. While accomplishing his task, each must show concern for the others and help them accomplish their tasks. Bound together by a common objective — in the broadest sense, the objective of the entire society and, in the narrower sense, the objective of the organization in which they work — everybody in the collective should be animated by mutual affection, without which there can be no co-operation and joint efforts in the struggle for the triumph of the common cause. We must rejoice at the successes of our comrades as at our own and concern ourselves with the difficulties of our comrades as with our own. We must rejoice at the progress of our friends and comrades as at our own; and we should never be motivated by personal ambition and calculations of rivalry and jealousy. These are decisive factors for building a really intimate and united collective. And such an intimate and united collective is actually the strength of the organization. With such a strength, no task is unrealizable and no difficulty insurmountable. Struggle and mutual love are the *raison d'être* of man

and, in the first place, of revolutionary cadres.

4. Our strength lies in our organization

We cannot speak of cadres without speaking of organization. However, organi-

zation is an extremely complex question. Organizing in the most effective way requires a whole science, the science of organization. We cannot organize in any way we fancy. Organization has its own laws. An organization is created to ensure the realization of the political line and tasks. Accordingly, any organization must conform with the political line and respond to the requirements of the realization of the political tasks. Any organization must also suit the objects to be organized and the areas in which the organization wants to exert its influence. Different spheres of activity require different forms of organization. For instance, in productive activity, the objects of organization are the working people and the means and objects of labour, whereas in fighting, the objects of organization are the combatants, weapons and armaments, and the objective is to defeat an organized and armed enemy engaged in a life-and-death struggle with us. Each sphere of activity has its specific laws. Obviously, economic laws differ from the laws of war. Accordingly, the organization and methods of organization in different spheres of activity cannot but differ among themselves. The forms of organization also vary with the period, depending on the level and extent of development of the objects of organization. Things and social and economic processes are developing unceasingly and the role of organization consists in vigorously promoting this development. Therefore, organization must be very dynamic and flexible at the same time. An organization can give full scope to its strength only when it fully corresponds with its objects and the laws of development of its objects. When it does not, organization may seriously hamper the development of its objects. An organization may be either highly revolutionary or highly conservative. It is most revolutionary when it fully corresponds with the needs of life. It is most conservative when it develops a tendency to inertia while life is constantly changing and moving forward. *The big industrial organization has a highly revolutionary character whereas the handicraft organization has a highly conservative character.*

We should ponder over and draw the necessary lessons from the following words of Lenin: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia." (1) He also said: "In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organization." (2) Once, Lenin put it in an even more imperative way, stressing that the

1. V.I. Lenin, *op.cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 407.

2. V.I. Lenin, *op.cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 413.

whole task is to "organize, organize and organize." (1) After power has passed into the hands of the revolution, Lenin pointed out that "the most important and most difficult aspect of the socialist revolution is the tasks of organization." (2)

5. It is necessary to make ideology and organization into one

We should get rid of our inveterate habit of talking of ideology alone (and in many cases we

do not understand correctly what ideology actually means) and seldom speaking of organization. To carry out revolution, we must have a revolutionary ideology and also a revolutionary organization. Organization ensures the realization of ideology. Organization ensures that words are matched by deeds. If we speak of ideology without speaking of organization, that is more empty theorising and empty morality without any practical effect. That is the inherent defect of petty-bourgeois intellectuals and Confucian scholars. Practising means organizing. If we want to practise anything, we must have an organization and must make ideology one with organization. It is actually out of the needs of action, of the needs of revolutionary practice that we must have a revolutionary ideology. No revolutionary movement can take place without being prepared and promoted by ideological campaigns. The deeper the revolutionary changes we want to effect, the deeper and more extensive the ideological campaigns we must undertake. Without revolutionary theory and revolutionary ideology, there can be no revolutionary actions. However, theory and ideology alone are absolutely insufficient. As Karl Marx pointed out, "Ideology is essentially incapable of achieving anything."

1. V.I. Lenin, *op.cit.*, Vol. 27, p. 55.

2. V.I. Lenin, *op.cit.*, Vol. 27, p. 237.



# What Does "Collective" Mean?

This article was written by the Chicano Communication Center. We reprint it here as an excellent guide to organizers on the nature of collectives. Groups interested in forming collectives should do further study on democratic centralism and organizational forms comprising of more than one collective.

One of the main questions for organizers is, how to organize ourselves? This is a very important question, because if we cannot do a good job inside our own groups, how can we do a good job with anyone? It is also a very basic question because it concerns the relationship of the INDIVIDUAL to the GROUP.

The answer to this question lies in the general, overall politics of the group. If the group is committed to changing the capitalist system, then it will need an internal organization or structure which will advance that process of change. It will need to organize itself so as to advance the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

Today, Chicanos and others are talking about being "collective". What does this mean? A collective, or colectivo, is a small group of people (usually about 5 to 10) who share the same goals, principles and work. Among these principles, the most important is to serve the people (meaning the poor and working-class majority). This is the basic principle and everything is built on this principle of responsibility to the people.

Therefore, members of the collective feel responsible for each other and act accordingly. Therefore, everyone's opinion is taken into account when a decision is made. There is no pyramid structure, with leaders at the top looking down on the group. Information is shared among everyone, not controlled by a few. A collective is a revolutionary FAMILIA.

To think and act in a collective way is the opposite of capitalist thinking, which teaches us that each person is a separate individual whose life is not basically linked to other people's lives. The individual look out primarily for himself/herself and his/her private property (which includes your family). The capitalist way of thinking means competition and self-centered individualism. It usually means selfishness, too, but sometimes there are unselfish people--that is they don't grab for themselves--who are very individualistic.

Capitalist societies do allow for certain responsibilities to others--such as going to PTA meetings, or saving a drowning child. But these are either concessions to Christianity or sideline activities--not the basic meaning of life, the essence. The essence of life in capitalist societies like the U.S. is anti-collective and in the end ANTI-PEOPLE.

To a certain degree, Raza tradition is pro-collective and anti-capitalist. The communal, land-sharing traditions of our past helped to make us collective. So did the fact that, as an oppressed people in the U.S., we often practice group self-defense against an alien culture. But today those old traditions have been weakened by the pressures of living under capitalism. Our traditions also lack political development. We need a stronger, political consciousness. (Of course, political doesn't mean candidates and elections; it means an understanding of how the society works.)

To be collective is not just nice. It is the correct life-style and work-style of people who are fighting the capitalist system. It is politically necessary. In other words, collectivity rises from a foundation of anti-capitalism. It is rooted in our political goals.

In armed struggle or underground struggle, it is not possible to have a collective or be collective at all times. There must be a chain of command. There must be secrecy; not everyone can or should have all information. But it is still possible to apply the collective spirit in some situations: to share instead of to grab, to develop a sense of responsibility among everyone, not just the leaders, to encourage the thinking of all members on questions of strategy.

It should also be said that a collective is not the same thing as a "hippie commune". Those supposed communes were not political.

Let us go back to the beginning of this

paper when we explained what makes a colectivo, and examine those ideas in detail.

1) Sharing the same goals, principles and work--the most important principle being our responsibility to the people.

a. This means that everyone in the collective understands that ALL of their actions affect the group and eventually the people--el pueblo. Those actions include matters that are often labelled "personal". There are very few so-called "personal" matters that do not affect el pueblo in the long run. A person's sex life may seem "personal"--but we have seen how this can cause problems such as division in a movimiento organization. When a person's sex life affects the group, it becomes a political issue. If it hurts the work of the group, it hurts el pueblo.

b. In a collective, there must be constructive CRITICISM and SELF-CRITICISM (critica y auto-critica) by the members. The purpose, and only purpose, of this process is to strengthen the group and make it serve the people better. This is one of the most difficult things for people to accept. Criticism makes many people defensive. They need to understand that the purpose of criticism is not to tear down the person, but to STRENGTHEN THE GROUP. Also, people are afraid to criticize because they don't want to lose somebody's friendship. But this is putting individual relations above the good of the people.

Self-criticism is very difficult for an oppressed people like Raza. We have made pride into a weapon against the enemy. In a collective, we must set aside pride when it hurts the group or el pueblo. Also, people try to "save face" and avoid being completely honest. Such things are deep habits that must be broken for the sake of el pueblo y la lucha. We must fight our own bad habits.

Criticism and self-criticism must always be CONSTRUCTIVE and SERIOUS. It must not become a nasty game of petty attacks. It must be sincere, with a true political consciousness.



We must also break the habit of ASSUMPTIONS. Sometimes there is a deep understanding between people, and words aren't necessary. But this is rare, and it can be dangerous to rely on that understanding. We must not ASSUME someone else is aware of a problem. We must also break the habit of thinking, "If you can't feel what you are doing wrong, too bad--I shouldn't have to tell you."

No group can learn and progress, unless there is honest criticism and self-criticism. This is one of the most important tools in making revolution. Criticism and self-criticism do produce conflict and struggle, even pain. But OUT OF THAT STRUGGLE COMES A STRONGER UNITY, a higher level of unity, a more truthful unity. Criticism and self-criticism will not destroy a group if people remember that THE PURPOSE OF IT IS TO SERVE EL PUEBLO.

c. In a collective, all resources are the responsibility of all members, because in the end those resources belong to el pueblo. These resources include:

Material resources, such as money, equipment, cars. In a collective, there is no "mine" in the sense of private property, possession. There can only be a "mine" in

the sense of primary responsibility for something (the car I drive isn't mine but I have primary responsibility for taking care of it.) If people think of all material resources as belonging to el pueblo, then they should take good care of them and see that they are used in the most efficient way. In a collective, you do not make individual decisions about the use of resources. Decisions are made by the whole group, or according to policies laid down by the whole group.

Time and energy of the members. Each person must think of his/her time and energy as resources that belong to the group as a whole--and through the group, to el pueblo. A person therefore doesn't decide how to use his/her time according to personal mood, but according to group and work needs. We must try to think: my time and energy are not my private property. If I decide ON MY OWN to go to a bar or party, for example, instead of a meeting where my presence is needed--then I am being anti-collective and not serving el pueblo.

Health, including mental health, of the members. This is also a resource of the whole group, and thus of el pueblo. People must take care of their health and not consider their bodies or minds as their private property. A person who fails to take care of his/her health will not be able to work well, and this hurts the group--el pueblo. Other people are also responsible for looking after the health of an individual, of all individuals in the collective.

2) Feeling responsible for each other, and acting accordingly. What one member does is the concern of all. If a person is misusing resources, the others have a responsibility to take action. We cannot say, "Well, it's his life, or her time, or his energy, or her typewriter, or his car...so I won't interfere." No me meto en eso--this idea has counter-revolutionary effects on our struggle. It is liberalism, coping-out.

This applies especially to children. They are not just the concern of the mother or the father, but everyone's.

3) Take everyone's opinion into account in decision-making; no pyramid structures; sharing of information. No pyramid structures means that the group doesn't have a jefe or jefa at the top who tells others--below--what to do, regardless of their opinions. All important policy and program decisions are made by the whole group, not by one person or a small clique. In order to take part in making these decisions, people must have INFORMATION. Information is power, a source of control. Information about important matters cannot be the private property of one person in the group, or a few people.

Like the other principles given here, these must not be carried to an extreme. If 6 people in a group feel that a certain policy is right, and one person is against it, there should be discussion--but then it may be necessary for the majority to rule. At that point, the 7th person must accept the group decision and carry it out with as much dedication as if he or she had been in favor of it. This is collective leadership.

Also, sharing of information is not only the responsibility of the person who has it. Others should ask questions, and work to keep themselves informed, not just sit back and complain against the person with the information. It is a two-way street.

There are two problems in this. One is the leader who tends to dominate and monopolize information. The other problem is people who do not assume responsibility themselves, and thus ALLOW that kind of domination to happen. No one in a collective should, for example, go to a meeting or on a trip or to a picket line or a demonstration without knowing what it's all about. The spirit should be, on both sides: IF YOU HAVE KNOWLEDGE, TEACH OTHERS. IF YOU DON'T HAVE KNOWLEDGE, LEARN. If you know, teach; if you don't know, learn.

To be collective is to learn, grow and change--in order to serve the people better and make the revolution. To be collective is not an end in itself. It is a TOOL, to build with. It is a life-style and a work-style, but it must not become the only life



## Le Duan (cont.)

*Cadres build up a movement and in return the movement gives birth to cadres.* That is a law in the question of cadres.

Cadres must mingle with the masses in this movement, march in the van to set an example for the masses, persuade and organize them, understand their feelings and aspirations, and concern themselves with their everyday moral and material life. They must show modesty and simplicity, listen to the opinions of the masses, gather the masses' experiences and knowledge to complement their own experiences and knowledge. They must constantly place themselves under the control of the masses. In this way, cadres are trained, selected and tempered, and mature along with the movement. And the movement will not cease to give rise to new cadres, able organizers springing from the masses, from the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals—people who, by their self-denying work and their creativity, have made the most notable contributions to socialism and proved their strong attachment to the socialist ideal. These are *new men* of socialism whose most prominent characteristic is their consciousness of being the collective masters and their ability to assume this role, their new attitude toward work, their high sense of organization and discipline. Closely linked with their collectives in the struggle for the common cause, they constantly foster and develop their fine moral qualities and their intellectual powers in accordance with the requirements of a man who is the master of society, master of nature and master of himself.

### III

#### LET US ENDEAVOUR TO TRAIN AND FOSTER CADRES

Generally speaking, cadres are products of a movement. They mature in the organization, in the life and activity of the organization, in the process of work and struggle to bring to reality the political line and tasks. On the other hand, in order to give rise to a movement and to ensure its more and more vigorous development, we must have cadres. To ensure that our organizations can operate, and operate fruitfully, we must have cadres and good ones at that. That is why, the foremost task of all revolutionary movements and all revolutionary organizations is to *endeavour to train and foster cadres* in a systematic manner. At the same time, cadres must endeavour to *train themselves and raise their capabilities*. This task is now posed before us in all its urgency.

All of this requires from each cadre sustained and major efforts, a strict sense of responsibility in learning and training in order to raise himself constantly to the level of his tasks. His responsibility consists first of all in *learning* and he must understand this word in its fullest and deepest sense. It is necessary to read books and newspapers, to acquire therefrom the knowledge accumulated by mankind. Lenin said: "One can become a Communist only after having enriched one's mind through the acquisition of all the treasures of knowledge created by mankind... only on the basis of modern knowledge can that society (Communist society—L.D.) be created... and without this knowledge, Communism remains but an aspiration." (1) It must be said that quite a few of our cadres are still lazy, very lazy in the matter of reading books, and some do not even read Party newspapers. That is absolutely unpardonable for a Party member and cadre. Of course, reading books is not synonymous with being a bookworm. However, we cannot use opposition to being a bookworm as an excuse for laziness in learning. The point is to know how to read books in order not to become a bookworm but to acquire knowledge, to enrich our minds with science in all practical matters.

We must learn not only through books and newspapers, but also in practical life, in our own work, in the summing up of the experiences of our work, through frequent self-criticism and criticism. The ultimate goal of learning through books is to solve questions arising from life and work. *Summing up experiences and self-criticism and criticism* are methods of study of paramount importance. A cadre must create for himself the habit of thinking independently and the capacity to analyse, in the process of endeavouring to carry out his tasks, the class significance, the socio-economic effect of each measure being ap-



Le Duan and Prince Souphanouvong of Laos

plied. He must proceed from his own experience to review each step he has taken and hence to draw accurate and scientific conclusions that will help him to illuminate the path ahead, give the fullest scope to what is right and severely and sincerely to make self-criticism of the wrong without fearing to mend his errors and persist in his efforts. Never should he be complacent. It is difficult for any cadre who lacks such qualities and qualifications to mature and to be equal to his tasks.

We must combine learning through books with learning from the practice of life, work, the experiences of the collective, the experiences of one's organization and of kindred organizations, the experiences of the leaders and of the masses, the experiences of our country and of others, the lessons of success and also the lessons of failure. *Theory constantly linked with practice and practice enlightened by theory, our minds active at all times, and our thinking always linked with action, this is our method of learning.* This is the main method for improving our theoretical thinking and our capacities for practice. In both these areas our deficiency is still evident, limiting our creative powers and preventing us from achieving the highest results in our work.

The leading and managerial tasks of the Party and State are very heavy and will become more and more so. With our full sense of responsibility to the people, we never hide our weaknesses, shortcomings and even the errors sometimes committed in our work. The fact is that "the art of administration does not descend from heaven, it is not inspired by the Holy Ghost. And the fact that a class is a leading class does not make it at once capable of administering... We, therefore, say that the victorious class must be mature." (2) It is precisely for that reason that we have realized all the importance of the task of learning. "Learn, learn more, learn forever." Every cadre, whatever his position, whether he is an old hand or a newcomer, must study hard. The higher his position and the heavier his responsibility, the harder he must study because some defect or error resulting from his incapacity could lead to great damage. Veteran cadres must study still harder in order to meet new requirements. New and younger cadres naturally must show the greatest zeal and perseverance in learning. They must show genuine modesty and should never be complacent or consider themselves as knowing more than others. They must show determination to scale the highest peaks in all domains of knowledge necessary for our cause of creating a new society.

*The sense of organization and discipline* is absolutely necessary in revolutionary struggle. That is why one of the foremost qualities which a cadre must constantly foster is the sense of organization and discipline. This is the most important virtue manifesting the ideology of the proletariat of being the collective masters, which is basically opposed to individualism and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberalism.

The victories recorded by our people are extremely great. Extremely bright prospects are open to us. However we should by no means rest on our laurels and forget that the road to our ultimate goal remains very long, very complex and full of hardships. Our Party and people are facing new battles that require concentrated and major efforts to give a powerful stimulus to the building of a new economy, a new regime and a new man so that the socialist North can develop to the highest degree its historic influence on the revolutionary cause of the whole country in the new stage. The victories of historic significance recorded in the past period of struggle prove that our people, our nation, under the leadership of our Party, armed with an independent, sovereign, correct and creative line, are fully capable of solving the questions posed by the present era in the life of our nation. This is a firm basis for our confidence in final victory in the process of our struggle for the radiant future of our country and for the high peaks of human civili-

## COLLECTIVES

CONT.

and work of the group. It is also a set of goals, a long struggle, a process of constant change—not something we achieve and then stop, or something we can achieve quickly and easily. It is a STRUGGLE.

We said before that a collective is a small group of people. What about larger groups? How should they organize themselves?

Larger groups need more structure, but the same idea can work. When there are more people, the idea is called DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM. Democratic centralism is actually an advanced form of the collective. Under this form, the majority rules and the minority not only goes along with them, but supports them. "Democratic" means that the opinions of everyone are considered, and the individual's needs are considered. "Centralism" means that people do not fly off in different directions, but accept leadership from a central group chosen by everyone. This is often called a Central Committee. They are not at the top, above everyone else. They are at the center, in the midst of everyone else. There must be centralism if an organization is to be effective and do its job. All in all, there is a balance between being democratic and being centralized. The needs of the individual are considered in relation to the needs of the group—the collective—but the group needs come first.

Everyone in a collective should be thinking ahead, toward the time when they will be in a larger organization and need to apply the collective spirit. We must always be building for the future, developing ourselves and trying to include others. Así es la lucha.

SOME EXAMPLES ----- ADD YOUR OWN

#### Collective or revolutionary

- Pride in being part of a struggle; pride in what the people do.
- Willingness to share with your fellow workers, including your thoughts and feelings.
- Manhood that says: I will struggle for justice even if I must die.
- Womanhood that says: I will fight for justice even if I must die.
- Getting a job done because it needs to be done.
- "We" "Our" "Nuestro pueblo" "La Revolucion"

#### Capitalist or counter-revolutionary

- Pride in yourself alone and what you as an individual do.
- Being unwilling to share, keep things to yourself.
- Manhood that says: to be a man, I must not act like a woman.
- Womanhood that says: I must keep my man at any price.
- Getting a job done so I will be appreciated and admired.
- "I" "Mine" "Me"

"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer. In this respect it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labour."

LENIN

#### FROM THE EDITORS:

We apologize for the inconvenience of not having an address to write to for this issue of SEIZE THE TIME. We will have a new, permanent address in our next issue. Meanwhile we hope that people will save their criticisms and contributions for that issue. Groups of people should consider studying and distributing this paper if it helps them in their work.

We ask that people and organizations consider exchanging, subscribing and/or distributing papers. We welcome news reports from peoples' struggles, articles, letters, poems, artwork and cartoons.

(1) V.I. Lenin: *Selected Works*, (in Vietnamese), Su Thai Publishing House, Hanoi 1960, Vol. 2, pp. 443, 444.



# WORLD REVOLUTION



## DHOFAR-THE NEXT VIETNAM ?



Every week brings us a new threat from Ford or Kissinger or Jackson about the possibility of US military involvement in the Middle East. There is an unfortunate tendency on the part of the people to accept this at face value as necessary to protect "national interests" against "strangulation." But if US troops are sent into the middle-east it is likely that the prime target will be Dhofar, the Southern province of Oman on the Persian Gulf. Few US citizens have ever heard of this country, yet for the last ten years the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), has led the Dhofar people in an increasingly successful war of national liberation.

In 1965 in the mountains of Dhofar armed struggle broke out against the rule of the Sultan and his British backers. Though the guerillas were outnumbered and poorly equipped, they scored important victories and gained widespread support

among the people. The 1968 victory of the Marxist forces in the neighboring people's republic of Yemen provided the insurgents of Dhofar with a safe rear and led to their adoption of Marxism and a determination to spread anti-imperialist armed struggle throughout the entire Gulf region.

Since 1965 about 90% of the territory of Dhofar has been liberated. Schools and hospitals have opened new lives for a people that had been deprived of even the most basic services by a reactionary government. Women have begun to participate in all aspects of the liberation process.

In June 1971 the struggle spread to the North of Oman. By 1972 the momentum of the revolution created national demonstrations as far North as the Trucial States. Unless something was done the spirit of liberation would soon get out of hand. And all of this was happening in the Persian-Arabian Gulf, an area with about 60% of all known oil reserves in the world.

But the Nixon doctrine of "let Asians fight Asians" had a Middle-East variant, "let Iranians fight Arabs".

In earlier stages of the liberation struggle, British military forces helped the Sultan try to crush the people. After a few years, however, it became obvious that more help was needed. The response by the imperialists is a classic example of the "Nixon Doctrine" at work. Iranian troops of the fascist Shah, armed with the most sophisticated US weaponry, and trained by US "advisors" invaded the liberated areas.

The first Iranian army was met with fierce resistance and was soon defeated. Surprised, the imperialists huddled, and chose a course of action. They sent in a larger invasion force, and adopted tactics developed in Vietnam; massive bombing, free fire zones, economic blockades and other forms of barbarism, including torture. The people, led by the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), have continued to resist and in fact have dealt heavy blows to the imperialists.

Meanwhile the Iranian army, as the army of the US before it, has learned something about the nature of their "mission". Many of them are refusing to fight at all and others are not fighting well. Demonstrations against the war by students and workers back in Iran have been important forms of international solidarity. In the face of all this and other problems as well, the Shah has been increasingly nervous about continuing as a front for British and US interests in the area.

However, as the determination of the people expresses itself in continued resistance the imperialists grow more and more vicious. This was made clear in a recent international appeal for material aid which said, in part:



U.S. made Hovercrafts - Iranian Soldiers  
( Newsweek, May 21, 73 )

"During these times our people in Dhofar, the Western Region, and in the liberated zone, face what is beyond the imagination. They face dispersion, collective killing of children, aged people and women and the shelling of dwellings and animals in a way never before witnessed during the past ten years of the fighting... Misery and poverty are establishing themselves in this area and the outcome of this is hunger and disease which is killing our people in a way equal to the tortures received from the enemy himself directly."

In this setting, the possibility of direct US intervention is very great indeed. But even if US troops are not sent in, the people of the US have an interest in the just struggle of the PFLO. For the arms and airforce of the Shah were purchased with the money extorted from US oil consumers. As the struggle grows, the Shah's needs will also expand and the drain on our pockets will grow. Thus whatever we do now to aid the people of Dhofar will be a direct blow to US imperialism and a contribution to internationalism.



Vietnam - Reconciliation,  
Reconstruction, and Reunification



# THE VANCOUVER CONFERENCE

Hundreds of women and men traveled to Vancouver, Canada for a quickly-called conference with representatives of the Vietnamese people on May 17. Two representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) and two representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) were welcomed by a representative of the American Indian Movement (AIM), speaking for the Native American Peoples of the Americas. The welcome was continued with over 175 solidarity statements from a wide range of anti-imperialist organizations and groups.

For many, meeting with the Vietnamese had a very special significance. Some had been struggling in the U.S. and Canada for many years against U.S. imperialism and others had actually fought as U.S. troops in Vietnam. A representative of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization stated that "Your welcoming us, especially those who waged war on your people, as comrades and in friendship, teaches us the meaning of humanity."

The afternoon session began with presentations from the PRG and DRV representatives, followed by a question and answer period. A major theme that ran through the talks given by Madame An and Mr. Phat, as well as through the question and answer periods could be summed up briefly as "Reconciliation, Reconstruction, and Reunification."

Madame Pham Thi An pointed out that Article 21 of the Paris Peace Agreements embodied the U.S. government's promise to help rebuild Vietnam. The Vietnamese clearly welcome American attempts to make the U.S. government live up to this agreement. However, while stressing the responsibility of the U.S. government in this matter, they also said that all financial as well as other forms of assistance from American people would be welcome.

Saturday evening, an informal farewell reception gave the U.S. and Canadian people a chance to talk directly with the Vietnamese. The convention then concluded with an expression of solidarity between Native Americans who had been struggling against U.S. imperialism since its inception, and those who had given U.S. imperialism its first resounding defeat. In a deeply moving ceremony, Native Americans of many different tribes passed a symbolic peace pipe to the Vietnamese delegation.

## — summing up —

Throughout the conference, women predominated in leadership positions. It was quite significant that the men who worked closely with them were able to accept their leadership. The enthusiasm, dedication, and competence of the women themselves expressed the explosive force of women struggling together.

During the criticism-self-criticism meetings which followed the conference, one criticism was consistently made. No Black organizations were represented and Asian groups were underrepresented. Yet the Vietnamese delegation had originally indicated that they would especially like to greet comrades from the Third World, women, and veterans. The Vietnamese explained that they placed the utmost importance on Third World struggles.

The composition of those in attendance did not reflect the forces which have provided and continue to provide leadership for revolutionary growth in this country. White people played the primary roles in organizing the Vancouver conference, because they were the ones initially contacted. The lack of Third World participation reflects a basic lack of ability to communicate with national movements as well as the lack of a basis for white people to organize Third World people, even into something as simple as the Vancouver conference. Unless we can build a qualitatively higher level of international unity, that will continue to be the case.

The solidarity which came out of that conference was a powerful force. It brought fresh strength and renewed commitment to hundreds of organizers. Such solidarity, harnessed by the conscious political struggle for unity, is an essential force in building a revolution.



## AFRICA

LOURENCO MARQUES, MOZAMBIQUE- The week of June 22 saw the founding of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The new republic was the result of ten years of valiant armed struggle by the Mozambiquean people. The people were led by their organization FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique).

Samora Machel, the first President of the republic, in a speech to cheering thousands outlined the goals of the new state. Under the guiding principles of the worker-peasant alliance and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work", Machel stated that building a strong economy was one of the first priorities of the new country. The imperialists have been waging an intentional destabilization campaign ever since they learned that Mozambique would become free. Machel also stated that Mozambique was an anti-imperialist state dedicated to the complete liberation of Southern Africa. Internally, Machel listed the complete emancipation of women, the extension of health care facilities throughout the country, and the youth as area which had priority. Concluding, Machel called on the people of Mozambique to continue their vigilance against imperialist and class enemies.

The liberation of China, Indochina, Guine-Bissau and now Mozambique are

great victories for the people of the world. Our duty is to defend these victories and help create the conditions for many more victories. As Almirar Cabral showed us the best way to support the national liberation struggles of others is to take up arms and liberate ourselves.

NAKURU, KENYA- On June 19, Angola's three liberation movements agreed to end the fighting among themselves. The agreement ended six days of negotiations between the three sides in this Kenyan town. The meeting was called to order by Kenya's President, Jomo Kenyatta. Many Angolans had been killed in the bitter fighting.

The agreement declared that they will integrate their armed forces, liberate prisoners, and build unity in preparation for Angola's full independence which is due in November. Much of the fighting had been between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA). The MPLA's co-founder was Almirar Cabral and is considered one of the most progressive movements in Africa. The FNLA has been under suspicion for many reasons including its statement that would allow Gulf Oil to remain after liberation.

African freedom fighters throughout the world acclaimed the decision to end the fighting. It signals another step forward in the struggle to liberate Africa and Africans.



BUENOS AIRES - On June 25 the workers of Argentina launched a paralyzing general strike. President Maria Isabel Peron instigated the strike by refusing wage increases that would have only made up 1/3 of the inflation that has plagued Argentina. The strike was called by the General Labor Confederation which encompasses most of Argentina's 2.5 million unionized workers. The Labor Confederation has always been the backbone of the Peronist movement. A confrontation between the government and the union could split Argentina. The 7 hour strike closed down Buenos Aires, Rosario, Cordoba and La Plata. As June closed labor leaders met to determine if the strike will be extended.

Earlier this week, the Montoneros claimed they received a \$60 million ransom for two directors of the Bunge y Born company, an agricultural and industrial giant with overseas interests. The ransom included a "fine, for exploitation of the Argentine people". The fine was paid in the form of: a million dollars of food and clothing for the poor, sweeping wage increases and benefits to workers in the company's plants. Long Live the Spirit of Che Guevara!

BEHIND THE LINES CONT.

## U.S. ATTACKS BLACKS

Police, vigilantes and various government agencies have launched a massive attack on Black people within the United States. These attacks include police and vigilante attacks on innocent Black people; the systematic repression and murder of Black freedom fighters and their organizations; intensifying the use of courts railroad more poor people to jail and the dual efforts of the ruling class and the government to eliminate jobs, health services and food for poor and all oppressed peoples.

The most vicious form of the attacks are the brutal vigilante and police assaults on Black communities throughout the U.S. In early June, police in Hamlet, North Carolina badly beat a Black woman. This incident led to two nights of rebellions. In Pensacola Florida, Blacks have been protesting since December the murder by police of a Black traffic violator. Fifty four peaceful demonstrators were beaten and arrested for protesting the murder. In Taft California the thirteen remaining Black residents were literally run out of town by a drunken white lynch mob. Black youths ten years and older are being regularly in cities such as New York and Atlanta. Police are frequently attacking entire communities in Kansas and Virginia. The police forces of the S.F. Bay Area have proven exceptionally vicious and have murdered over ten un-armed Black youths in the past two years.

One of the most threatening aspects of these attacks is the increasingly open cooperation between police and vigilantes. In Taft when whites fired on Black In Taft when the Blacks were run out and Hampton Virginia when whites fired on Black children, the local police refused to arrest the attackers. When six vigilantes threw a man off a cliff in Redondo Beach California for allegedly stealing a television set, the police stated that "you can't take a man's TV set, sitting in front of the TV drinking a beer, isn't that what America is all about?" Brothers and sisters in Pensacola discovered in their investigation that white vigilantes had been secretly riding in patrol cars with the sheriffs.

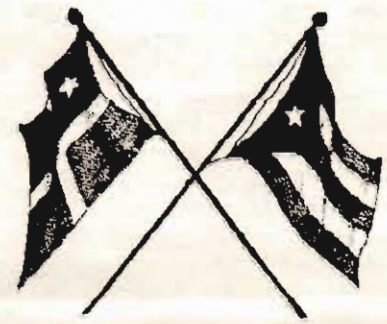
These attacks on the Black community extend to the Black Liberation Movement. Government attacks on the San Quentin 6, Wilmington 10, the Republic of New Africa, Black Liberation Army and numerous other Black revolutionaries and their organizations are vicious. When Melvin Rema Kearny, accused Black Liberation Army member and Prisoner of War, was attempting to escape from a concentration camp, the rope he was descending was cut, sending him to his death. When Kombozi Amistad was wounded in a shootout, he was stomped on as he laid bleeding to death as lay on the floor. Earlier in New Orleans alleged BLA members were subjected to electric shock

torture. Revolutionaries must emphasize in their mass work that all segments of the Black community are under attack and when we defend the BLA, other Black organizations and prisoners of war, we are defending ourselves.

The prisons are overflowing with Blacks and other people of color. On one hand the ruling class has decreed that Blacks are not to have jobs, education or health services. Their lackey, Gerald Ford, has vetoed every piece of legislation that would provide even token relief for the poor people in the United States. Meanwhile the Urban League states that unemployment for Blacks is over twenty five percent. Even by government figures unemployment among young Black males is over forty-five percent. Senator Buckley is leading the newest fascist assault on the lives of Blacks. Under his food stamp bill. Any family of four that makes only five thousand a year would no longer be eligible for food stamps. At the same time Gerald Ford is pushing through a new "crime" bill that makes any economic crime (crimes involving property) punishable by life imprisonment. Under this bill dissent would often be punishable (officially) by death.

Other people of color in the United States are under attack. Chinese demonstrators in New York were brutally attacked by police at city hall while they were protesting police brutality in Chinatown. The U.S.'s brutal attacks on native Americans (see Wounded Knee newsnote) have never ended. Righteous self-defense of Native American warriors has never ended also. In Texas ten Chicano union organizers were brutally murdered. One ranch owner gleefully stated "It is open season down here."

Genocide against Black and other people of color is a real possibility within the U.S. As the economy becomes worse the living conditions of Third World people will become much worse. The enemy realizes that as repression becomes worse, resistance will grow. They are preparing their fascist machinery to deal with protest at any form. What we must do is pull together, defend each other, resist every blow and attack the attackers. As George Jackson showed us, we must "Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the People."



June 14 and 16 saw the continuation of bombing attacks in support of Puerto Rican Liberation in Chicago, New York and Puerto Rico. On the morning of June 14, the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN) attacked two downtown Chicago office buildings. The first explosion went off at the United Insurance Building which houses the United of America Bank. The second explosion went off at the Midcontinental Plaza Building. The caller from the FALN demanded "Free all Political Prisoners". Previously the FALN had claimed credit for several bomb blasts in New York and Puerto Rico.

The bomb explosions on June 16 were all in support of workers' struggles in Puerto Rico. In New York the Weather Underground claimed credit for a huge blast at the Puerto Rican Banco de Ponce. The blast shattered windows all the way up to the sixth floor.

The Weather Underground stated they bombed the bank in support of 500 cement workers at the Ponce Cement Company. The firm is owned by Luis Ferre, a former governor of the island and a personal friend of Nixon and Rockefeller. The firm is the largest producer of cement on the island. Three other bombings have occurred on the island in support of the strike.

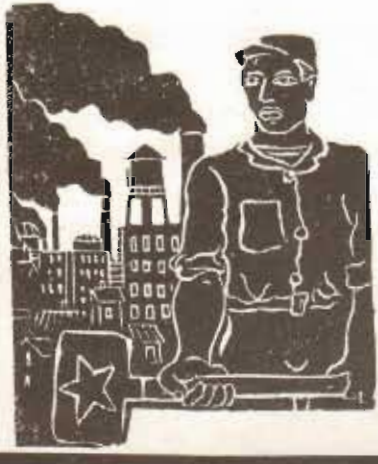
On the same day in Puerto Rico, four bombs destroyed telephone installation lines. The Puerto Rican Telephone Authority is being struck by its workers. They have been on strike since April 22. 5000 phone lines have been knocked out since the strike has started.

Chairman Mao has stated that the three necessary elements for a successful national liberation struggle are a revolutionary Party, a National United Front and a People's Army. We must remember that revolutionary violence is most effective when connected with the struggle of the masses. The struggle of oppressed communities, workers and poor people need to be supported by any means necessary. We are sure that the forces waging armed mass struggle for Puerto Rican National Liberation will be successful and Puerto Rico will be free!





# CLASS STRUGGLE



The main element missing in the GI movement is the GI organizer. The outside support center has a definite function, and there are a few still in existence. However few organizers actually work inside the military and to organize people effectively, this is a necessary condition.

It is unfortunate that the movement has so few organizers in the military because the US military (National Guard and Reserves as well as active duty) is a strategically important area of work. In limiting the ability of the ruling class to use its armed forces against the people at home and abroad, the GI movement is a critical and sometimes decisive force. For example in the immediate post WWII era hundreds of thousands of GI's stationed in the South, Southeast and East Asia demonstrated for demobilization and non-interference. This was a key reason why the US could not intervene in the Chinese revolution to a greater degree. Also, during the riots of the 60's, some Black National Guardsmen refused to serve or turned the guns around. The GI movement of the late 1960's and early 1970's clearly helped make the US forces useless in Indochina. Many Vietnam GI's also became revolutionaries as a result of their experiences.

However, military organizers generally have not lasted in the service. Most GI's who become politically active during their service or (in the past) when being drafted simply say "the hell with it!" and act on the philosophy of "what if they gave a war and nobody came." They challenge the brass out front in their unit and attract a lot of attention. But part of the military's strategy to repress the GI movement is the "surgical" technique of discharging everyone in sight. The only known troublemakers who stay inside are those who are ineffective in the eyes of the brass. This, combined with the turnover rate, means that most if not all of the GI organizers of the late 60's and early 70's are now civilians and they generally can not get back inside even if they want to because of their record. Faced with these conditions, we clearly need to develop a better understanding of what effective GI work is about.

## ON THE OUTSIDE

But military organizers generally have not lasted in the service. Most GI's who become politically active during their service or when being drafted in the past simply say, "the hell with it!" and act on the philosophy of "what if they gave a war and nobody came?" They challenge the brass out front in their unit and attract a lot of attention.

Part of the military's strategy to repress the GI movement is the "surgical" technique of discharging everyone in sight. The only known trouble-makers who stay inside are those who are ineffective in the eyes of the brass. Combining this with the turnover rate means that most, if not all, of the GI organizers of the late 60's and early 70's are now civilians. Generally these individuals can not get back inside the military even if they want to, because of their records. Faced with these conditions, we clearly need to develop a better understanding of what effective GI work is about.

The people with past practice in the military or the veteran's movement are often best suited to do GI work. They know how the system works. They know how it feels. They can help active duty GI's best. They can also help civilians with cleaner re-

# ORGANIZING IN THE MILITARY

ords to go inside and organize effectively. They can provide outside connection and support as well as help organizers avoid the errors that they made.

By choosing bases well, outside organizers can establish good projects. They can do counseling, out-front work like off-base demonstrations, printing up newspapers, distributing materials, etc. As the connecting link to the community, they can tie the amnesty movement (amnesty for the GI organizers of the past, among others) to the GI movement through a National Campaign for a Single-Type Discharge.

## COLLECTIVE ORGANIZATION

An organizing project is too important not to be organized collectively, because of the disciplined professionalism required. The need for political clarity can come only from collective work. Further, a collective can survive an individual's departure because it functions as fingers on a hand. If one finger is lost, it's still possible to use the hand. The need for tight security is another reason that makes a collective the best form for political work at an outside support center.

## ON THE INSIDE

Without GI organizers there can be no GI movement. Well-balanced and capable people should be encouraged to enter the military armed with an understanding of how to do effective work inside.

The volunteer army's "equal opportunity" push to get poor working class women inside also makes this a critical organizing area. There is a tremendous basis for an anti-sexist dimension to GI organizing. Women inside can best be organized by other women. Women organizers should seriously consider going into the military.

The "volunteer" army has not made military organizing impossible. The enlistee is often more angry than the draftee was because the enlistee was duped, and knows it.

The Mayaguez incident has sent shock waves of reaction throughout the armed forces. The mounting casualty figures, the obvious arrogance of the action, the official dishonesty and media complicity are all things that are driving home the facts of life to GI's, and provoking a reaction. For example, the news media has leaked out information that a number of Marines were disciplined for refusing to mobilize as part of the Mayaguez assault force.

Life inside the military is not as bad as reputed if one is doing effective political work, and if close ties exist with outside local people. Getting out is not extremely difficult and can be done in a politically productive manner when the time comes. On the other hand, such a step should only be taken after serious consideration and with full awareness of the difficulties as well as the possibilities involved.

It is also mandatory for activists inside to have a clear grasp of some fundamental principles. Those are: 1) Security is essential. Military intelligence

agents will be assigned to become your friends. Due to the discharge strategy of the brass, the ability of the activist to remain inside and free to do work requires tight security. Organizers who expose themselves should not expect to remain inside. When the brass can discharge the organizers, they can root out our necessary infrastructure before we are able to firmly establish it. This has happened already. 2) Fighting the Trainee Brainwash. The trainee brainwash (sometimes known as boot camp) is a shock treatment assault on the "civilian" mentality. The organizer will find her/his own stability threatened. She or he may find a few comrades in the training company or platoon, but it is usually impossible for trainees to develop the togetherness necessary for effective work. The main struggle in trainee organizing is the battle for the minds of the middle elements who are a majority among the trainees. Through low level work, and/or clandestine action, the organizer should attempt to crack the brainwash. What happens during the trainee period sets the tone of the average GI's entire tour of duty.

During this trainee period the organizer should not expose herself to the enemy. This is the time when people will be "tracked" and labeled as troublemakers. Although the organizer may have been able to obtain a strategic assignment, exposure will destroy this strength. The brass will make sure that the exposed individual is isolated and/or thrown out immediately.

"Holdovers" are people awaiting judicial action or whose orders have been delayed. They are often assigned to trainee units. Organizers assigned to trainee units as "holdovers" will have the responsibility of this organizing.

## CLANDESTINE ACTION

Conditions inside the military make clandestine action generally quite useful. The degree of fascism inside the military makes many activities which would be legal on the outside illegal and more politically charged inside. An underground here would be very important.

The mind of a GI condemned to 14 hours of KP in a day can generate many creative ideas. Actions should be evaluated first in terms of their liberating effect on the outlook of the masses of GI's, and second, to instill fear and panic among the brass, possibly to force a concession. Targets should be outside of the participants' immediate unit in order to avoid heat. Preferably targets should be hated symbols of racism, repression, militarism, etc. Activities such as spray painting, sabotaging a mobilization effort, distributing materials on base, burning down just about any headquarters or military "courthouse", and teaching an officer a lesson, can often spark other such activities by other GI's. This is particularly true during a stage of rising mass consciousness.

A small tight squad, usually no more than three people, is essential for

Cont. on next pg.



Brothers, one partially hidden giving both the peace sign and power, meet with Okinawan students supporting base workers strike during a strike in 1971. At that time a Special Forces private who refused riot control duty laid it out this way, "I didn't want to go out and club lots of Okinawan people because that's what the Pig is doing to Black people back in the states. I feel that the Okinawan people's struggle is the same struggle as all oppressed (or Third World people) against one foe - the fascist, American military regime..."



# MESSAGES TO THE PEOPLE

The murder of Popeye Jackson, prison activist, has created much confusion and bitterness among the left in the S.F. Bay Area. While there were many criticisms of his politics and life style, many were convinced that he was dedicated revolutionary committed to struggle. The New World Liberation Front has issued a statement which they deny any responsibility for the action. They also state that he was an agent who needed dealing with. Since that time there has been no concrete evidence offered that Popeye was snitching. There have been statements from the SLA, Weather Underground, and VVAW-WSO (Bay Area AWMF), denouncing the action and stating their belief that Popeye was a true comrade. The Black Liberation Army and the Black Guerilla Family have both issued statements on Popeye's execution. We have and are reprinting the BGF statement. Unfortunately we were not able to obtain of the BIA statement by press time. We will attempt to briefly summarize it and will try to get it by next issue. It stated that the repressive apparatus of the state was having difficulty infiltrating the underground and were resorting to rumour mongering to disrupt the left. They also pointed out that rumours that Defense Captains Robert Webb and Fred Bennet were pigs led to their tragic executions. Contrary to the cases of pigs Jane Alpert and Chris Thompson, Popeye as of now has not been proven to be a pig. Their statement concluded with a call to reread Blood In My Eye.

Our practice has repeatedly shown the dangers of rumour mongering. In our view the reason much of the left refuses to work together is that many have been labeled pigs on the basis of no evidence. Once labeled as an agent, it is difficult to do effective work. Be vigilant! The FBI files show that one of their most effective methods was to have an agent enter an organization and start labeling everyone pigs.

## 'BLOOD IN OUR EYES'

The following communique was sent to the media by the Black Guerilla Family, an underground organization within the California prisons. In recent communiqués, the New World Liberation Front requested that the BGF put forth an analysis concerning the murders of Popeye Jackson and Sally Voyer, and this message is in response to that.

clandestine activity. Very careful advance planning, scouting the target, and a good retreat are all part of what is required to make a clandestine action successful. Check out the base library for books on strategy of people's war and counter-insurgency.

## COMBAT SITUATION

In a combat theater, the whole situation is more intense. Mass consciousness is more advanced. The organizing is vitally important, and has a tremendous impact upon history. Clandestine activity in particular is raised to a qualitatively higher level. The military finds it virtually impossible to be secure within its own ranks. For example, weapons and explosives are readily available and easily accessible in the army.

## MASS LEADERSHIP AND COLLECTIVES

Consolidation of a small group is very necessary to figure out what mass questions to raise and how to raise them. Consolidation must involve collective study, analysis of conditions and development of clear strategy. The kind of issues that the military can be attacked upon include the repressive legal system, stockade conditions, general living conditions, racism, sexism, support for outside struggles, like "no scab lettuce on base".

Mass questions of great importance may arise that require a mass organization for effective mobilization and work. The use of mass organizations are often worthwhile and necessary, although they are more open to infiltration. Especially if this is the case, a secure collective must exist. Not everyone should work openly. This ensures the survival of the infrastructure when the inevitable discharges occur.

## TO THE PEOPLE:

This is long in coming because we had decided not to become involved. However, due to the conflict and speculations which have risen, we feel it is necessary to clarify our position and give an objective opinion.

First, we did not, in any way or form, consent to the action that was initiated against Popeye Jackson and Sally Voyer.

Revolution is by no means a pleasant task and it is not to be used to serve personal ends. It depicts the sad state of Capitalism/Capitalist Society. Revolutionaries are principled, and take care in not harming innocent people, as the objective is to eradicate the forces which/and that oppress the people.

We feel that the murder of Popeye Jackson and Sally Voyer was the work of the pigs.

As to the murder of Sally Voyer, there is no justification to the left... especially the guerrilla army, but it serves the pigs' interests to create confusion within the left and to maintain control through that confusion.

The charges lodged against Popeye, we feel are void of foundation. If not, we demand a factual root of proof.

The constant attacks of the Adult Authority does not appear to be favored treatment. Since when has harassment become favored treatment? The pigs have little else to do but set up special divisions of harassment to persecute those who are out front struggling above ground.

Putting one in jail on petty crimes further impoverishes the poor and is a setback to any forward progress. It has been an easy process to isolate Popeye with information known only to a select few.

It is a general fact that pigs use trivial charges to show a tendency or propensity for a high criminal mentality.

Popeye had done 19 years inside the walls and to return him for petty crimes is contrary to the spouted illusion of rehabilitation which in an aspect means if a man commits a lesser crime than the one he originally entered prison for, prison has served a purpose, to an extent.

Popeye was involved in an area of social reform which is a step to consciousness raising. As far as we know, he was informing (making aware) the outside of things within, inside, and their

## UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPERS

An underground newspaper is an effective educational tool. It can be published with the help of outsiders. It must be distributed clandestinely on base. Both insiders and outsiders have different roles in contributing materials and in distribution. Insiders can use the newspaper most effectively as an organizing tool on base. Outsiders can get it published. Outsiders can be openly identified in the paper with counseling services and political education projects such as films.

## NATIONALISM OF THIRD WORLD GIS

Effective work requires a grasp of the national consciousness of third world GIS. White activists deal with national relations not because of a desire to build separate movements, but because of a recognition of the necessity to lay the groundwork for realistic alliances.

Third world GIS can organize powerful national movements. The Vietnam-era GI movement made this forcefully clear. The movement of Black GIS was the single most powerful force crippling the military from within. White GIS will be most successful at organizing white GIS. The alliance of these forces is essential to prevent internal contradictions from becoming primary over the united front against the brass. The main obstacle to this is usually the failure of white organizers to ensure that the white movement is anti-racist and respects the autonomy of the third world movement. Third world GIS will generally be able to unite in struggle with white GIS in significant mass scale only when coming from a position of strength. These principles have been demonstrated repeatedly in practice. Without application of these principles, the movement will, at best, be crippled.

relationship. This type of work places one in a position of having a constant tail by the pigs, which leads to harm--Murder! So, in this respect, many who work aboveground, must be more security conscious to go. function, underground.

As for Popeye's lifestyle, we have to understand that this is Amerikka; the concrete jungle. One must fit within the given terrain or identify with those of his immediate circle.

With the economical situation as it is and Popeye having a defunct prison trade, it is likely he did much wheeling and dealing to survive. Not that we justify this process. In fact, we are against it completely. But, if one only knows one way to survive until something better comes along, we expect him to survive or--do we ask him to lay down and die?

The charges of Popeye being an agent, a snitch, could easily have been substantiated by entrusting him with false information known only to a chosen few. And in relation to the charge of what did he inform and on who and if this was known, to what degree was it detrimental?

Not that it is necessary to substantiate degree for our purposes, but to expose these accusations to the people because they must know!

We are not convinced, due to our association and personal knowledge of his background during his stages of incarceration, that Popeye Jackson was a snitch. Investigation from without, by our guerrilla forces, was conducted and no claim was made that Popeye was a snitch. His support to the prison movement remains strongly embedded in the hearts and minds of the incarcerated classes. His support to prison relations and to fight injustice to prisoners on many levels is not forgotten. Could also work to the contrary and be a tactical play by the pigs to give the alleged charges against him authenticity. It is unlikely the assassin, if caught, will confess to the crime of violence since it is more than likely that he was under orders.

We condemn this particular act and urge the people to be more objective in their analysis of situations of this nature, to prevent future murders of personnel as the pigs have managed to achieve their goals. Prevent these acts before they materialize.

Struggle to live and live to fight and fight to win. In the Spirit of Comrade Jackson.

BLACK GUERRILLA FAMILY

## BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

Similarly, alliances should be made between women and men in the GI movement. The strength of the sisters inside is based at least in part, in their getting together as women. In order to be able to unite with women in the military, men must make a firm commitment to attack sexism in themselves and in their struggles against the enemy.

An additional factor is the basis of unity which exists between third world men and women in the military, because of their common national movement. White organizers both male and female, should be careful to recognize the fact that the question of sexism, as well as other issues within third world movements, can best be dealt with by third world organizers, and that whites can easily make serious errors around these questions.

## SUMMING UP

In summation, in order to make necessary inroads into GI organizing, a stable infrastructure of strategically placed organizers combined with a well organized structure of outside support centers must be developed. Both inside and out, the collective is the key to effective work.

In GI organizing, communists must pull revolutionary work together. The main task today is organizing organizers. This is a part of the process of party building.

In the white and national movements these developments are proceeding slowly. Within the white and national movements the assembly of cadre organizations requires that ties with communists doing other kinds of work (like labor organizing, prison organizing, community work, women's unions, etc.) be developed. Seize the Time is one vehicle for the development of those ties.



# FROM THE SISTERS



## Sisters:

This section of the paper is open to contributions of women throughout the revolutionary movement. Please send us articles, poems, graphics or stories you would like to see printed and we will do our best to get them in.

If we are to be fighters, we must develop theoretical weapons!

The article on this page by Frances Beal was written in 1969. At that point, the white women's movement was dominated by white petit-bourgeois women and was primarily involved in consciousness raising. Therefore, there are certain weaknesses in trying to apply what the article is saying to the women's movement today.

However, what the article says about the necessity of the white women's movement being anti-racist and anti-imperialist as well as anti-sexist still applies.

We would like to print articles that sum up anti-imperialist, anti-racist women's practice in this paper. We would also like to exchange criticisms of the Frances Beal article in the hopes of trying to develop a Marxist/Leninist analysis of the white women's movement.

Please send your articles and/or criticisms to:

## poetry ....

### a love poem

I love you  
for all our moments  
past, days/years to come  
I have seen you  
in your despair  
in your creations  
in your heart  
in your soul  
I have seen you  
in the mirrors of myself

and still  
I dare proclaim to the world  
I love you

at times we are in the  
eye of a hurricane/  
our love is the force  
that holds us in torments  
of bitterness, of self-hate,  
of our own self-inflicted  
self-destruction  
(all taught and imposed  
by a destroyer world)

through all this and more  
I love you

we have only our kisses to  
hide us from the pain of the streets  
our only home is the valley  
that lies between our thighs  
and the flowers of our love  
still the hurt of the outside  
world pounds at our doors  
lodging themselves between  
all laborers  
until one day our love/  
the love of humanity/  
will eat away the destroyer  
A pact of Peace and Love  
between ourselves  
between all workers

peace of my soul/ man of my life

I love you

for now  
for tomorrow  
for humanity

by: KUDAKA

The lamentations  
of the loon  
call the spirit to awaken  
And I glimpse the last rays  
of the beauty of the  
setting sun  
And I ride my horse  
that has seen many battles  
in full warriors dress  
to join my people  
In the land where the  
sun now sets  
I am free, and I am at peace  
with my spirit  
My people all,  
I go to join them.

by: VELLWOOD

# Excerpts from "DOUBLE JEOPARDY"

by Frances Beal

## ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF BLACK WOMEN

The economic System of capitalism finds it expedient to reduce women to a state of enslavement. They oftentimes serve as a scapegoat for the evils of this system. Much in the same way that the poor white cracker of the South, who is equally victimized looks down upon blacks and contributes to the oppression of blacks-so, by giving to men a false feeling of superiority (at least in their own home or in their relationships with women)- the oppression of women acts as an escape valve for capitalism. Men may be cruelly exploited and subjected to all sorts of dehumanizing tactics on the part of the ruling class, but they have someone who is below them-at least they are not women.

Women also represent a surplus labor supply, the control of which is absolutely necessary to the profitable functioning of capitalism. Women are consistently exploited by the system. they are often paid less for the same work that men do and jobs that are specifically relegated to women are low paying and without the possibility of advancement.

Those industries that employ mainly black women are the most exploitative in the country. The hospital workers are a good example of this oppression; the garment workers in New York City provide us with another view of this economic slavery. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) whose overwhelming membership consists of black and Puerto Rican women has a leadership that is nearly all lily-white and male. This leadership has been working in collusion with the ruling class and has completely sold its soul to the corporate structure.

To add insult to injury, ILGWU has invested heavily in business enterprises in racist apartheid South Africa-with union funds. Not only does this bought-off leadership contribute to our continued exploitation in this country by not truly representing the best interests of its membership, but it audaciously uses funds that black and Puerto Rican women have provided to support the economy of a vicious government that is engaged in the exploitation and murder of our black brothers and sisters in our motherland, Africa.

The entire labor movement in the United States has suffered as a result of the superexploitation of black workers and women. The unions have historically been racist and male chauvinistic. They have upheld racism in this country and have failed to fight the white-skin privileges of white workers. They have failed to struggle against inequities in the hiring and pay of women workers. There has been virtually no struggle against either the racism of the white worker or the economic exploitation of the working woman, two factors which have consistently impeded the advancement of the real struggle against the ruling class.

The racist, chauvinistic, and manipulative use of black workers and women, especially black women, has been a severe cancer on the American labor scene. It therefore becomes essential for those who understand the workings of capitalism and imperialism to realize that the exploitation of black people and women works to everyone's disadvantage and that the liberation of these two minority groups is a stepping stone to the liberation of all oppressed people in this country and around the world.

## RELATIONSHIP TO WHITE MOVEMENT

Much has been written recently about the white women's liberation movement in the United States and the question arises whether there are any parallels between this struggle and the movement on the part of black women for total emancipation. While there are certain comparisons that one can make because we both live under the same exploitative System, there are certain differences, some of which are quite basic.

The white woman's movement is far from being monolithic. Any white woman's group that does not have an anti-imperialist and anti-racist ideology has absolutely nothing in common with the black woman's struggle. In fact, some groups come to the incorrect conclusion that their oppression is due simply to male chauvinism. They therefore have an extremely antimale tone to their dissertations. Black people are engaged in a life-and-death struggle and

to combat the capitalist, racist exploitation of black people. While it is true that male chauvinism has become institutionalized in American society, one must always look for the main enemy-the fundamental cause of the female condition.

Another major differentiation is that the white women's movement is basically middle class. Very few of these women suffer the extreme economic exploitation that most black women are subjected to day by day. This is the factor that is most crucial for us. It is not an intellectual persecution alone; it is not an intellectual outburst for us; it is quite real. We as black women have got to deal with the problems that the black masses deal with, for our problems in reality are one and the same.

If the white groups do not realize that they are in fact fighting capitalism and racism, we do not have common bonds. If they do not realize that the reasons for their condition lie in the System and not simply that men get a vicarious pleasure out of "consuming their bodies for exploitative reasons" (this kind of reasoning seems to be quite prevalent in certain white women's groups), then we cannot unite with them around common grievances or even discuss these groups in a serious manner because they're completely irrelevant to the black struggle.

## THE NEW WORLD

The black community and black women especially must begin raising questions about the kind of society we wish to see established. We must note the ways in which capitalism oppresses us and then move to create institutions that will eliminate these destructive influences.

The new world that we are attempting to create must destroy oppression of any type. The value of this new system will be determined by the status of the person who was low man on the totem pole. Unless women in any enslaved nation are completely liberated, the change cannot really be called a revolution. If the black woman has to retreat to the position she occupied before the armed struggle, the whole movement and the whole struggle will have retreated in terms of truly freeing the colonized population.

A people's revolution that engages the participation of every member of the community, including man, woman, and child, brings about a certain transformation in the participants as a result of this participation. Once you have caught a glimpse of freedom or experienced a bit of self-determination, you can't go back to old routines that were established under the racist, capitalist regime. We must begin to understand that a revolution entails not only the willingness to lay our lives on the firing line and get killed. In some ways, this is an easy commitment to make. To die for the revolution is a one-shot deal; to live for the revolution means taking on the more day-to-day life patterns.

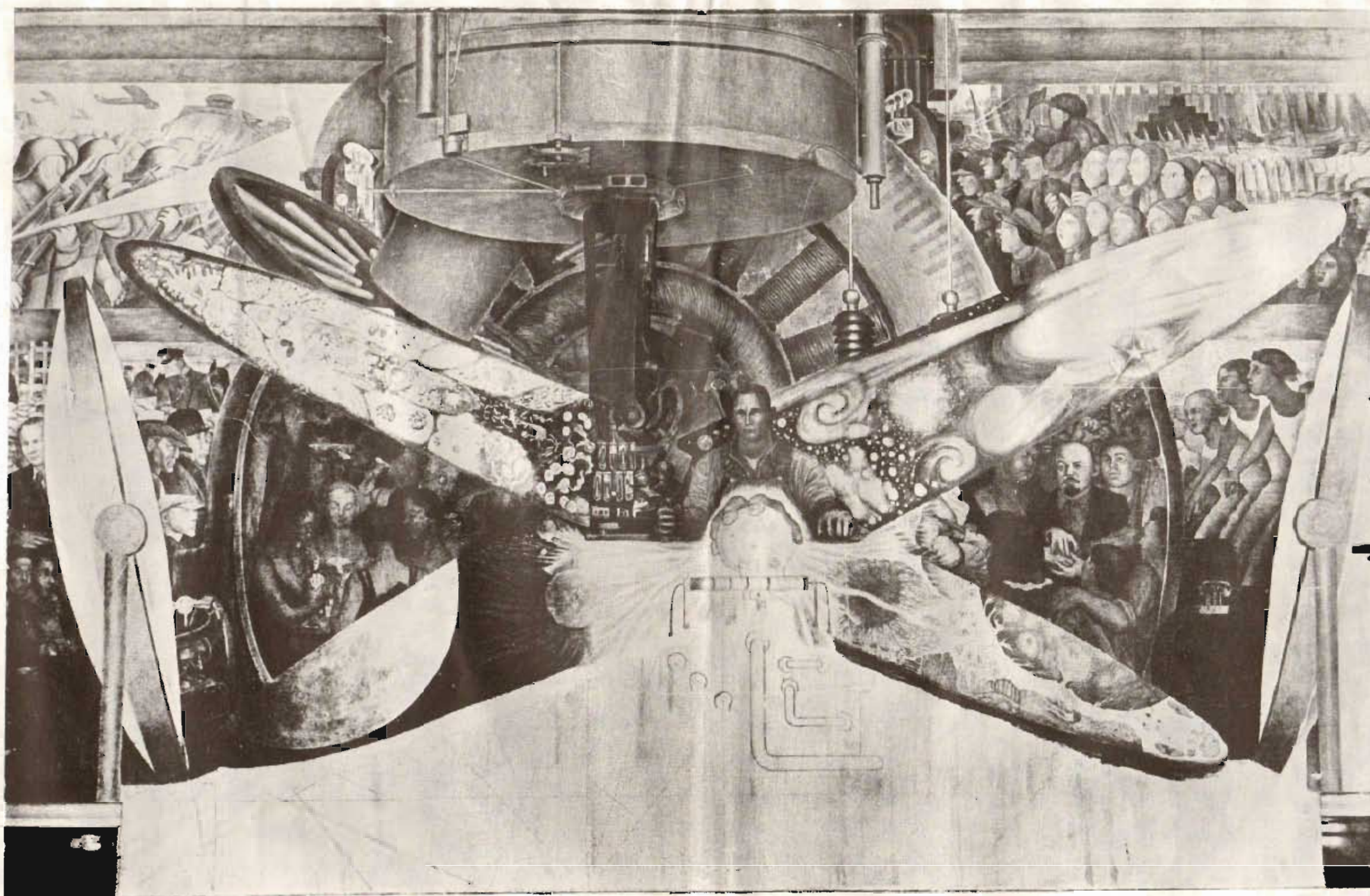
This will mean changing the routines that we have established as a result of living in a totally corrupting society. It means changing how you relate to your wife, your husband, your parents, and your co-workers. If we are going to liberate ourselves as a people, it must be recognized that black women have very specific problems that have to be spoken to. We must be liberated along with the rest of the population. We cannot wait to start working on those problems until that great day in the future when the revolution, somehow, miraculously, is accomplished.

Old people, young people, men and women must take part in the struggle. To relegate women to purely supportive roles or purely cultural considerations is dangerous doctrine to project. Unless black men who are preparing themselves for armed struggle understand that the society which we are trying to create is one in which the oppression of all members of that society is eliminated, then the revolution will have failed in its avowed purpose.

All the resources that the black community can muster up must be channeled into the struggle. Black women must take an active part in bringing about the kind of society where our children, our loved ones, and each citizen can grow up and live as decent human beings, free from the pressures of racism and capitalist exploitation



## CULTURAL REVOLUTION



In 1932 Nelson Rockefeller received his first major assignment from his family. He was put in charge of managing and building Rockefeller Center. He contracted famed Mexican revolutionary muralist Diego Rivera. Rivera had a long history of revolutionary practice and would fight in the Spanish Civil War in a few years on the side of patriots. He was asked to do a mural around the theme of "New Frontiers". Rivera did a sketch and sent a

detailed letter to Nelson explaining his concept. Rivera's finished mural was magnificent! Among the many themes it dealt with were slavery and resistance, the rise of capitalism, world wide Fascism (including the KKK), disunity in the left and the decadence of capitalist society. The face of Lenin staring out of the mural was the last straw for the young Rockefeller. He demanded that Rivera remove Lenin from the mural. Rivera refused. Rockefeller or-

dered the police to close the mural site to the public. Due to demonstrations (which the New York police attacked with typical brutality), Rockefeller promised not to destroy the mural. Six months later he ordered the mural sand blasted. We bring you photos from that mural in order to share one of the greatest examples of revolutionary art and to remind all of us of the nature of "ATTICA Rockefeller" and the rest of the U.S. Bourgeoisie.



# VICTORY IN MOZAMBIQUE

10 YEARS  
OF  
PEOPLES  
WAR

