

THE OFFICIAL THEORETICAL JOURNAL
OF THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT



PROLETARIAN F E M I N I S T Revolutionary Nationalism

When imperialism launches a war of aggression against a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a national war against imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction, while all the other contradictions among the various classes of the country ... are temporarily relegated to a secondary or subordinate position.

—Mao

on the communist road

MIM Theory

1995

Number 1 Vol. 3

Maoist Internationalist Movement

Editors: MC5, MC44

Production: MC12

Contributing Editors: MCB52, MC31

MIM Theory is the official theoretical journal of the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM). Subscriptions are \$18 per year/four issues. Overseas air-mail subscriptions are \$36.

MIM also publishes MIM Notes, the party's official voice on current news. Subscriptions are \$12 per year/12 issues or \$1 each.

Back issues of MIM Theory and MIM Notes are available as well.

MIM is an underground party that does not publish the names of its comrades in order to avoid state surveillance and repression that has been historically directed at communist parties and anti-imperialist movements.

In the text, "MC" means a MIM Comrade, "MA" means a MIM Associate.

MIM Theory is not copyrighted. Please credit MIM when copying or distributing.

To send money for any purpose, send cash, check, or money order payable to "MIM Distributors."

MIM
PO Box 3576
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576

West Coast info:
MIM Notes
PO Box 29670
Los Angeles, CA 90029-0670

Internet: mim@nyxfer.blythe.org

What is MIM?



The Maoist Internationalist Movement is a revolutionary communist party that upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.



MIM is an internationalist organization that works from the vantage point of the Third World proletariat; its members are not Americans, but world citizens.

MIM struggles to end the oppression of all groups over groups: classes, genders, nations. MIM knows this is only possible by building public opinion to seize power through armed struggle.

Revolution is a reality for the United States as the military becomes over-extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony.

MIM differs from other communist groups on three main questions: (1) MIM holds that after the proletariat seizes power in socialist revolution, the potential exists for capitalist restoration under the leadership of a new bourgeoisie within the party itself. In the case of the USSR, the bourgeoisie seized power after the death of Stalin in 1953; in China, it was after Mao's death and the overthrow of the "Gang of Four" in 1976. (2) MIM upholds the Chinese Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976, as the farthest advance of communism in human history. (3) MIM believes the North American white working class is primarily a non-revolutionary worker-elite at this time; thus, it is not the principal vehicle to advance Maoism in this country.

MIM accepts people as members who agree on these basic principals and accept democratic centralism, the system of majority rule, on other questions of party line.

The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution.

—Mao Zedong, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 208.

MIM Theory

Number 7 • 1995

PROLETARIAN FEMINIST
**Revolutionary
Nationalism**
on the communist road

Contents

Introduction To This Issue.....	3
Letters to MIM Theory.....	5
A Communist Agenda for National Liberation	15
In Support of Self-Determination & New Democracy	15
Separate Vanguard Parties	22
Seize the Revolutionary Imperative	25
Dominant Nation Gender Alliance.....	27
The National Bourgeoisie's Role	29
Supreme Court Creates Allies of the International Proletariat	32
Defining Comprador and National Bourgeoisie.....	33
Lenin's Method & The Labor Aristocracy	34
Integration: Idealism vs. Materialism.....	36
The Black Nation	39
The Imperative of Liberation	39
Historical Overview	39
Labor Aristocracy: History of Reaction.....	42
Economic Life: 1980s Point to National Differences	44
The Meaning of National Territory	48
Community of Language	49
Panthers: Revolutionaries or Welfare Workers?.....	50
Going Too Far with Mao	52
Review: <i>Revolutionary Suicide</i>	52

Review: <i>Lonely Rage</i>	55
Former Panthers Restart Newspaper.....	56
Notes From a Panel Discussion.....	57
Donahue: The Issue Is Race.....	59
Kenyatta: A Death As Heavy As Mount Tai.....	61
Review: Black Lesbian & Gay Newsmagazine.....	63
Review: Black Unity & Freedom Party.....	64
Review: NAPO, By Any Means Necessary.....	65
Review: Hakim.....	65
Review: Bebe Moore Campbell, <i>Your Blues</i>	66
Review: Bebe Moore Campbell, <i>Brothers & Sisters</i>	68
Review: Mothership.....	69
First Nations	71
Factors Falling Into Place.....	71
500 Years of White Unity.....	72
Yavapai Bet on Blockade.....	73
Yavapai People Fight Back.....	74
Casinos Raise Allegiance Questions.....	75
New York Ponders Imperialist Role.....	77
Chief Re-Elected on Referendum Platform.....	78
Seneca Nation Asserts Sovereignty.....	80
Cop Gets Off for Killing Wampanoag Man.....	81
Latino Nations	85
Anti-Immigrant Tide Fuels Fires of Liberation.....	85
Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization: Maoist Vanguard Paved the Way.....	85
Imperialism Hides Behind Plebiscite in Puerto Rico.....	88
Band Wants to End Occupation.....	89
Messengers: Agitation for Liberation.....	90
Farmworkers & Chinese Peasants.....	92
Poverty & Pesticides Ravage Labor Camps.....	93
INS Repression Fuels Fascism.....	95
Outside the United States	97
Grasping the Labor Aristocracy on the International Scene.....	97
Philippines: CPP Rectification Makes History.....	97
MIM's Letter to the CPP.....	105
Irish Struggle Faces Challenge of the New World Order.....	107
Theory in Review	117
<i>Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat</i>	117
<i>Night Vision</i>	118
Race Traitor: "Treason to Whiteness".....	122
The RCP and the National Question.....	124
NAFTA Stand Clarifies RCP Differences with MIM.....	126

Introduction to this Issue

Maoism holds that the principal contradiction in the world today is between imperialism and the oppressed nations. In this issue of MIM Theory, MIM applies our general line on the national question — developed from the universal theories of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao — to the specific conditions of the oppressed internal nations in North America.

Socialist revolution begins with a national liberation struggle led by a communist vanguard party. A vanguard is a force with a demonstrated experience of supporting the Cultural Revolution in China and opposing post-Stalin Soviet revisionism and post-Mao Chinese revisionism. Although we look forward to and work toward the emergence of independent vanguard parties among the oppressed nations within North America and around the world, at present MIM is the only such party in North America.

Here MIM assesses the current state of nation-building and organization through news reports and theoretical treatments of national struggles; including MIM's role in some of those struggles; and reviews of contemporary organizations such as the New African People's Organization and the Black Unity and Freedom Party. We also review the now defunct vanguards of a generation before us: principally the Black Panther Party and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization. We look at struggles outside North America, in the Philippines and Ireland, to emphasize the reactionary role of imperialist-nation labor aristocracies and the importance of this line to the national question itself.

Because of the nature of the topic, MIM could have reprinted much more material on the national question than what you'll find here. We selected articles for the theoretical contributions they make; thus the collection is not comprehensive. For example, MIM's work about Asians in North America is still in progress and not included in this issue.

Through struggle, practice and the application of the mass line, MIM's line on revolutionary nationalism has evolved over time. Where we once referred incorrectly to "Afrikan Amerikans," we now say Black — to denote a cohesive nation separate from the Amerikan nation. Similarly, our once used term "Native Amerikan" misrepresents the peoples who we now call the First Nations, or indigenous people of North America. For the purposes of putting forth a coherent and current organizing tool, older or reprinted articles in this issue have been adapted to reflect our language and line now. Many of the original articles are still available from MIM.

More than any other strategy — from attempted integration into the dominant nation to the false unity of oppressed nation proletarians with dominant nation labor aristocrats — national liberation has proven itself to be the best force against oppression this century.

China, Vietnam, Albania and other communist-led national liberation successes provide the inspiration to apply a materialist analysis to conditions for such successes in North America. Maoist-led national revolutions in the Philippines and Peru remain the beacons for socialist revolution in the post-Soviet revisionism era.

— MC44
January 1995

Reparations for the Oppressed Nations!

The history of Amerika is one of theft and genocide. Amerika owes the people of the oppressed nations for labor stolen over the last 500 years.

The existing Amerikan state defends the interests of the imperialists, so it cannot consistently carry out reparations. It reneged on its treaties with the First Nations and its promise to the Black nation of "40 Acres and a Mule."

**There are no rights,
only power struggles!**

Find out more. Read MIM Theory 7, "Proletarian Feminist Revolutionary Nationalism on the Communist Road." Send \$5 to:

**MIM Distributors
PO Box 3576
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576**

Liberation for the Internal Colonies!

National liberation struggles with communist leadership have done more to help the most oppressed people on Earth than any other form of organization.

In Amerika today, national oppression of the Black, Latino and First Nations is the foremost issue for revolutionaries.

**There is no time for
failed strategies.**

*Struggle with, work with,
and join MIM, the
Maoist Internationalist
Movement.*

Find out more. Read MIM Theory 7, "Proletarian Feminist Revolutionary Nationalism on the Communist Road." Send \$5 to:

**MIM Distributors
PO Box 3576
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576**

LETTERS TO MIM THEORY

Unity, Yes Sectarianism, No

Dear MIM:

Thank you for sending MIM Notes 84, which I read with great interest, and will pass on to others (who will likely use the blank parts to score dominoes). I congratulate you in keeping on with the struggle, even after the collapse of the USSR (many others have not). Also from your drawing [the feminist lesbian symbol — MC5], I take it that you do not consider homophobia an integral part of Marxism-Leninism, or of Maoism, and if that is the case, my congratulations!

If you decide to continue sending MIM Notes, I will read it and pass it on, but I cannot force anyone off the TV screen to read anything.

Of course I do not agree with *all* of what you say, but that should not be a deterrent to consider each other comrades. I am a Marxist-Leninist too, whether I agree with MIM 100% or not. I think these depressing times — with the disappearance of "socialism as it was" from Europe, and all the power the final debacle gave to imperialists worldwide, after all, the Persian Gulf War would have been impossible under "revisionist" Brezhnev — truly call for [less] hair-splitting analyses, by which communist groups dissect each other, and more for a little more tolerance of each other's views and less in-house fighting.

The "Open Polemic" now taking place in Britain should be an example. What we need is a new International, a new *strong* International, and that can't be accomplished if the vanguards keep on fighting and vilifying each other, rather than fighting the bourgeoisie.

I admire Mao, for his tremendous accomplishments and his ideas, but not for his errors: Deng Xiaoping, after all, was Mao's creature (i.e. he wasn't the Guomindang's creature). Mao's greatest error, from a practical standpoint, was to split the world's communist movement in half: even if Khrushchev

had been all Mao said he was, the solidarity among socialist nations should not have been done away with.

I admire Stalin for his accomplishments: the incredible Five Year Plans, the defeat of Nazism, etc. But not for the Moscow Trials, which resulted in the the dissolution of the Bolshevik Party, to be replaced by all sorts of opportunists: among which may have been Khrushchev.

It's not true that the USSR fought Nazism "without a substantial fifth column — pro-Nazi infiltrators." If you re-read history, entire Soviet divisions surrendered to the Nazis, without firing a shot, then fought on the Nazi side: Vlasov was one of the most famous generals of those divisions. So perhaps 1 million or so "pro-Nazi infiltrators" were present in Stalin's USSR in 1940.

I do not agree with some of Trotsky's utopian ideas, but I recognize that Trotsky, to the end of his life, remained on the proletarian side.

So let's stop senseless labels — Maoist, Trotskyite, Stalinist, etc. — and get to the business at hand: to rebuild the communist movement from its present ashes.

I can't see why there must be thousands of communist parties, where there should only be one: to which each comrade can express his/her ideas freely, and have those ideas discussed rationally, in light of dialectics, rather than on sectarianism and hair-splitting. So a founding convention is what's in order. Not more division.

Your idea of study groups is good, and I'm glad to see [them] in other prisons. It hasn't worked where I was or am. We had an "inter-unit" group at one time, sort of a study group, but it fell to pieces after the events of 1989 in China and later on in Europe. I am one of four survivors, out of a group of some 20 comrades in 1989.

—A woman prisoner
January, 1994

MC5 responds: We thank our writer for being on her toes regarding Vlasov, as we ourselves didn't fully appreciate this aspect of Soviet history.

The fifth column in the Soviet Union is important for two reasons. First, in the effort to take advantage of historical amnesia concerning Nazism, the anti-Stalin critics increasingly

**'So let's stop
senseless labels
and get to the
business at hand.'**

write about the fifth column as an invention of Stalin's to justify his own personal power struggle, which for some reason or the other curiously climaxes in the late 1930s. The actual existence of the fifth column in the Soviet Union (in addition to what happened in the rest of Europe) is just further proof that Stalin was right.

Second, the existence of Vlasov and his troops is proof that Mao's theory of continuous revolution is correct. It is simply not possible to purge all enemies from the state and party. The enemy has a thousand masks. Mao understood this and pointed out that Stalin's comrade Khrushchev restored capitalism. We have seen this time and again where in the tradition of Marx, Lenin and Stalin as in Albania recently, the method of purging individuals from the party and government fails to uncover all the enemies.

We have seen time and again that the method of purging individuals from the party and government fails to uncover all the enemies.

For example, Enver Hoxha's successor restored open Western-style capitalism in Albania. It was not restored by foreign imperialists or old landlords, but someone right inside the top ranks of the party. Hence, Mao used two methods in the fight. On the one hand, he continued the tradition of targeting individual "deviationist" members of the party. On the other hand, he was the first to focus on the conditions that created a new bourgeoisie right in the party. He proposed the theory for how to gradually eliminate the basis for that bourgeoisie through structural change. It was only Mao amongst leaders of communist governments that recognized that the enemy is not just leftovers from the old society that could be simply purged and killed. Mao saw how new members of the enemy class arose.

To Stalin's credit, and contrary to our letter-writer, however, the Moscow Trials did inspire some thoughts more fully expressed by Mao later. The public trials were an effort to mobilize public opinion and they were successful in doing that. That is an approach in contrast to the one of secret purges and executions. Precisely because Stalin did go to the masses to prepare them for the Nazis, by all accounts we have reviewed in MIM Theory 6 on Stalin, Vlasov did not get very far in contrast with the situation of Vlasov's counterparts in other European countries.

It is perhaps more important to note that in the first year of the war, entire divisions surrendered and many others ran. Stalin had to institute stern measures by which Soviet troops had to be forced into battle by officers posted behind them pre-

pared to shoot if the troops ran. Squeezed between Soviet officers and German troops, many Soviet troops tasted their first victory over German troops, indeed, the first victories in the world against the Nazis, who conquered at that point as much by reputation as by actual firepower. Such victories were examples of Stalin's faith in the people, because such a strategy of forcing soldiers into battle could not have succeeded if the Soviet masses were not indeed stronger than they were being led to believe by Nazi propaganda and fifth columnists in the Soviet Union.

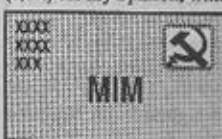
By the way, one of the most important fifth columnists is the same Trotsky who our writer sees on the proletarian side. From abroad he predicted repeatedly that the Germans would defeat the Soviet people and Stalin would fall, thus causing the process of self-doubt just described above. Among other places, the predictions of Soviet military defeat against Germany can be found in his 1937 book *The Revolution Betrayed*, which should have been titled *Betraying the Revolution*. As they went to the front Soviet troops had the burden of knowing along with the world as a whole that Trotsky said the Soviet Union would lose if Stalin were still the leader of the party.

As for agreeing with "all of what you say," members of MIM do not necessarily agree with *all* of what MIM says either. There are only four points of Maoism where we require unanimity — unanimity on belief in the Cultural Revolution, opposition to Soviet and Chinese state-capitalism and belief that the white working class is not objectively revolutionary. In addition to those three beliefs to be held by every individual, we require a unanimous practice of democratic-centralism, by which we put into practice the beliefs of the party majority on all the other questions where unanimity is not required.

'Amerika' Is Not A Nation

Peace,

One of my brothers in Atlanta sent me MIM Notes 84 (1/94) for my opinion, which is being forwarded to you.



On page 2 was a letter under the title "MIM biased" that touched on your spelling of America with a "K." The response of MC12 was that the spelling had the intention of "trying to de-legitimize Amerika, which is not a legitimate nation, but a settler colony built on stolen land by stolen labor."

The statement is full of ideological confusion. "Amerika" or "America" is a misnomer for "nation" or country. America comprises two continents and 20-odd countries. Referring to the United States as "America" to the exclusion of three-fifths

of the two continents is playing into the hands of psychological confusion.

In southern Africa, the European settler group call themselves "Afrikaner" (Dutch for "Africans") while referring to the indigenous Africans as "blacks." In Australia the European settler group call themselves "Australians," and the indigenous Australians they call "aborigines." Here in the United States the African nation was for the longest time referred to as "Negroes," and now "blacks."

So-called "America" is not a "nation." Nations are de jure (recognized by law or treaty) or de facto. They are never legitimate or illegitimate. The standard definition for nation in political science, international law, or Marxism-Leninism (see J. Stalin, *The National Question*) is a group of people who share a common language, culture, identity, and historical origin. For instance, the Native Americans (so-called "Indians") are recognized de jure as nations in their treaties with the U.S. government, while Africans here, a de facto nation, are not formally recognized (which does not negate the fact of nationhood.)

The ruling class (national bourgeoisie) of the United States is, in the main, a nation derived from a conglomeration of European nations. They maintain their rule through their co-optation of the state. The terms "state" and "government" can be used interchangeably. The state can be defined as the organized apparatus (courts, police, prisons, army) through which one class oppresses others (see V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*).

So, it is incorrect to refer to the United States as "Amerika," or to "Amerika" as a "nation." Your intentions, while misdirected, are praiseworthy. By all means, de-legitimize the United States, which is an outlaw state in violation of international law which, while formerly a colony, is now the seat of an empire.

ANONYMITY

I found your "names will not be printed" editorial policy a novelty at first glance; on second thought examined your stated rationale. Dilettantes have always felt welcome to start revolutionary underground organizations; they have learned from practice that infantile ploys alienate the masses while inviting police agents (whom, it appears, are more experienced in these matters). It will be the latter who get to know you better than the former. Learn from the past masters like Lenin, et al. The Bolshevik Party was infiltrated to the highest levels. Agents were top editors in propaganda-organs. That didn't prevent seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. You cannot prevent infiltration; you work around it.

A professional revolutionary faces prison, exile, and death; they're occupational hazards. An organization lacking figureheads for the masses to identify with is reduced to issu-

ing proclamations as amorphous entities. I remember a reference made about Socialist Workers Party's branch offices refusing to open their door: "... and they're the ones going to lead us to the barricades?"

The African National Congress (ANC) advocated armed insurrection and was an "illegal" organization for decades, functioning in the face of imprisonment and death, many of its central committee in exile. Nelson Mandela's arrest and imprisonment didn't stop the movement, but his anonymity wouldn't have helped either. MIM, on the other hand, isn't committing any crime, but can be "taken out" anonymously, and no one outside your group would know it. To build a revolutionary mass-based movement a fundamental requirement is the creation and promotion of revolutionary leadership. The names Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky were pen names and aliases used both for security reasons and party building. Mao and Castro were recognizable personalities; national prominence is a requisite for revolutionary leadership. It's no secret that it's a stated policy of the counter-intelligence agencies to deny publicity to

targeted "subversive groups" unless it is unfavorable to the group's recruitment potential.

We need principled revolutionary leadership to fill the void now filled by false nationalists, false internationalists, and a neo-colonialist, pseudo-revolutionary leadership. You can help by instituting the use of pen names and the optional use by choice of the letter writers' names and addresses. My enemies (the police) know who I am; my friends should too. Sign me:

—Prince A. Cuba
Clinton Prison
Dannemora, NY 12912-2001

MC44 responds: While it is true that "America" is a geographical area comprising two continents and many countries, MIM refers to settlers of the United States of America — "Amerikans" — as a de facto, oppressor nation within that region. We use the "k" instead of a "c" to distinguish between the settler nation of outlaws to which we refer, and the widely recognized (and hence "legitimate" or de jure) group, "Americans," which is indeed a misnamed entity supposedly including all citizens of the United States. The "k" says that "America" is a lie, that the United States is an outlaw state "built on stolen land with stolen labor."

Recognizing distinct oppressed and oppressor nations within the borders of the United States, and championing the liberation struggles of oppressed nations, is of cardinal importance to communists. Recognizing that the principal contradiction in this era is between imperialism and oppressed nations allows us to scientifically distinguish between friends and ene-

**'Your intentions,
while misdirected,
are praiseworthy.
By all means,
de-legitimize the
United States...'**

mies. Armed with the correct line on the national question, MIM will not follow the road of revisionism forged by our *Amerikan* communist predecessors by pinning the future of socialism on the bought off labor aristocracy that are *Amerikan* workers. (See MIM Theory 1 and 6.)

MIM is currently a multi-national party of internationalists, hence; its members are not *Amerikans*, but world citizens. From the thrust of your letter, MIM believes that we have fundamental unity on this question.

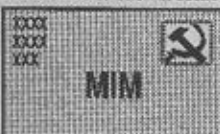
On the question of pen names and infiltration, MIM upholds its current policy of MC numbers in lieu of names at this stage. MIM has learned from past revolutionaries in the United States, including the Black Panther Party, that operating as they did, above ground with open offices and names, made them extremely vulnerable to state infiltration and repression. The FBI's COINTELPRO counter-intelligence program forged hostile letters between known Panthers and potential allies in the communities where they worked, sowing the seeds of antagonism which too often led to bloodshed among the people. (See Ward Churchill and Jim VanderWall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement.*)

As a vanguard party, MIM firmly believes in developing revolutionary leadership. But we disagree that that leadership needs an individual name or names. Because we operate under the principle of democratic centralism — internal debate and external unity — the individual leaders in MIM truly represent the organization. The reason we include our individual MC numbers, however, is for the purposes of party history and accountability.

MA71: Labor Aristocracy In The Classics

Dear MIM:

Concerning the controversy on the labor aristocracy, I would like to submit some quotes for reference.



1. "A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations. The liberation of Germany cannot therefore take place without the libera-

tion of Poland from German oppression."

—F. Engels, "On Poland," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels.*

2. "After occupying myself with the Irish question for many years, I have come to the conclusion that the deci-

sive blow against the English ruling classes (and it will be decisive for the workers' movement all over the world) cannot be delivered in England but only in Ireland."

—Marx to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, April, 9, 1870

3. "A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its 'own' nation cannot be a socialist proletariat."

—V.I. Lenin, "Socialism and War"

Those are the views of the founders of scientific socialism

If people wish to defend the view that the U.S. labor aristocracy is or can become progressive or "revolutionary," i

'Scientific socialism stands for the liberation of the proletariat. The definition of the proletariat excludes the labor aristocracy.'

only the corrupt labor leaders are "struggled with" or whatever, then these people must explain specifically what is the attitude on the one hand and the policy on the other of the labor aristocracy, particularly the white workers and trade unions.

The fact of the matter is that the U.S. trade unions are intimately connected with and support imperialism "in general" and in particular the U.S. trade unions financially support the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). The AIFLD supports and trains corrupt labor "leaders" in the Third World not only to support u.s. policy but also to fight against anything resembling a left or popular movement of workers.(1)

Scientific socialism stands for the liberation of the proletariat. The definition of the proletariat excludes the labor aristocracy. As a matter of fact we can see that the labor aristocracy is moving rapidly toward the right, which means what?

Some points on the use of the term racism. Racism is the "most reactionary of all imperialist theories."(2)

Technically speaking it is the same as national chauvinism. However, the national chauvinism directed at the Irish by the British is qualitatively different from that directed at non-white people by white people. Black people are attacked because of their skin color.

Some points on the terminology — the use of the terms "Afro-American," "Black," "Indian," "Native American," "Indigenous nations," "Chicano," "Mexicano," "Latino," etc. must also be decided by what the people from the oppressed nations themselves prefer to be called. The term "Hispanic" denotes coming from Spain, which Latin Americans resent. If the Black masses on TV call themselves Afro-American, are you going to insist on "Black"?

"We must not regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class, to the masses."(3)

Also from the same book [V.I. Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*] Chapter 6, should revolu-

tionaries work in reactionary trade unions? "We can and must begin to build socialism, not with abstract human material, or with human material specially prepared by us, but with the human material bequeathed to us by capitalism. True, that is no easy matter, but no other approach to this task is serious enough to warrant discussion."(3)

On the definition of revisionism: "... Revisionism is the product of imperialist policy. Old-line revisionism arose as a result of the imperialist policy of buying over and fostering a labour aristocracy. Sparing no cost, imperialism has now extended the scope of its operations and is buying over leading groups in socialist countries and pursues through them its desired policy of 'peaceful evolution.' U.S. imperialism regards Yugoslavia as the 'bellwether,' because it has set an example in this respect."(4)

— MA71

- Notes:
1. *Dollars and Dictators*, New York: The Resource Center, Grove Press, 1983.
 2. "Apologists of Neo-Colonialism ..." in "Against the 'theory of racism,'" *Peking Review*, 10/22/63.
 3. V. I. Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*.
 4. "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?" *Peking Review*, 9/26/63.

MC5 responds: MA71 raises a quote from Lenin here that I have been looking for for a long time — namely that we must make use of material "bequeathed" to us by capitalism. It is a point that Christian ultraleftists, nihilists, anarchists and Trotskyists fail to understand. It is essential to understanding the whole philosophy of *materialism*, as applied by communists.

For the most part, MIM agrees with MA71 here, but a few points deserve attention. The term "racism" has a life of its own that communists did not create, as does the term "Afro-American." Our analysis holds that it is predominantly the Black petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie that seeks to focus our attention on "racism" and integration as opposed to national liberation. The solution for the Black bourgeoisie might be psychological attitude seminars for whites afflicted with Black-skin-phobia. The solution for the oppressed Black nationality as a whole is the liberation of territory — whether it be a few contiguous blocks or large chunks of counties or states.

It is true that the masses will continue to use the terms "racism" and "Afro-American," but MIM does not ignore this fact; it only exerts leadership with as precise a terminology as possible.

As for operating in Parliaments, Lenin's party was able to win numerous elections. MIM has also won some small local elections running as communists and has on occasion supported progressive forces in election contexts where MIM could maintain its independent role and win expected tactical victories.

Most forces calling themselves Maoist in the United States have committed the "liquidationist" error since the

1970s, which means they took to electoral work and terminated the independent role of proletarian leadership. In contrast, MIM only enters elections or other bourgeois games when it can do so from a position of independent power and when it can expect victory. For this reason, MIM has ruled out state and federal elections as well as many city elections.

MIM is willing to organize in all contexts. It's just that we are not willing to organize for all demands. We organize white workers but not as a class. We do not organize them for the demands of their class.

The concrete conditions of workers in Lenin's Russia differ from those of workers in the United States. White nation workers as a group have no democratic revolution against authoritarian rule to win. Euro-American nation workers, unlike workers in Lenin's day, also are not exploited.

The Principal Contradiction

Uhuru!

... For all my considerable vocabulary skills i am truly not much of a letter writer. Mostly because, i think, i have very lit-



tle patience for de aped reflections of good breeding or good manners which is looked upon as an indispensable stage in our correspondence today. It tends to make our relationships seem copied, & de courtesies expressed not altogether genuine.

i have attempted in qualified circles to generate some discussion around these so-called "good manners." Like who are they good to & what are they good for? But de raps never spiraled to de height where de view would allow one to see "good manners" constituting nothing more than de outer trappings (like human clothing) which camouflage our kkkolonial kkklass enemy (de parasite).

"A thin veil to cover up manners which disgrace a nation of savages."

— Frederick Douglas.

That's what good manners are to de kkkolonialist kkklass. So you see, it is not in opposition to authentic good manners that i speak but against de kkkolonialist kkklass' hypocrisy (read: version) — of good-for-nothing-but-deception-manners.

Loag ago, when i cannot remember, it dawned on me that this millennium will be de one in which ever greater suffering & misery will be visited upon Humanity by de kkkolonialist kkklass. This millennium, of course, begins with de turning of Afrika into warren (read: a breeding ground) for de commercial hunting of black skins by Spain in 1501, nine years after kkkristopher kkkolumbus had leeched them onto de New

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

World.

Thus marked de beginning of de kkkolonialization of de New World, & a new millennium. A millennium in which imperialism reaches its highest stage of development. De stage where entire nations become classes. When class oppression manifests itself on de international level of fundamental contradiction is characterized by NOT as a struggle between "proletariat & bourgeoisie," but as a struggle between de oppressor nation & de oppressed nation.

Because de Historical development of de antagonisms imminent inside of, as opposed to outside of a given form of production is de only way in which that form of production can be dissolved, & a new form established, class oppression manifesting itself at de imperialist level, where whole nations are forced to sell (or give) their labor power, cannot be dissolved, except by revolutionary nationalist liberation struggles.

Our struggle suffers externally & internally from our on-again, off-again position on whether or not we constitute a nation. In vulgar terms it's presented to us as de "National Question." As if it were a question! There are no shortage of definitions, criterias, beliefs and theories being generated on this subject. To some extent this excess may explain why we tend to waver on de fundamental contradiction from one generation to de next.

We must declare, from all de heights of oppression, for all de generations to hear, that it is Our history which defines de particular form of Our Struggle, that is a Revolutionary National Liberation Struggle: a New Afrikan National Struggle. NOT some specious arguments which are pleasing to de ear, but Historically deceptive in their accounts of de origin & nature of de class contradiction which determines de form and level We must struggle on. An oppressor & oppressed nation level. We, Afrikans, were systematically and continuously attacked by imperialist European governments. Violently uprooted from our home of family and friends, & transferred across de Atlantic Ocean against our will, & then installed as an enslaved (read: "free") labor power-source in imperialist settlements (a kkkolony, esp., in its early stages.) For Afrikans, unless earlier information is found, 1501 constitutes de beginning of a qualitatively different era of kkkolonialization. By that i mean it constituted, for Afrikans in particular, de beginning of class oppression on de imperialist level.

De relationship of kkkolonialism, as a new level of class oppression, to kkkapitalism, in terms of which came first & acts as de foundation for de second, is a further point of confusion which needs to be cleared up for de oppressed class as a whole.

Kkkolonialism serves as de Historical Materialist basis for kkkapitalism's existence, which means that kkkolonialism came first, & that, therefore, kkkapitalism was born imperialistic. Before 1492 when kkkolumbus sailed to de Amerikas & de Eastern Islands, while a vessel of Spanish imperialism, kkkapitalism did not exist as a Historical mode of production.

Class oppression first had to be raised to, & consolidated on, de imperialist level before de Historical mode of production known as kkkapitalism could even be supposed as possible. All of which is to say that de petrification of class oppression on de imperialist level (just another way of saying de kkkolonial-primitive-accumulation-process-made-continuous) is what gave rise to a need for a higher stage of oppressive production.

This is why i say that this millennium shall be characterized by National Liberation Struggles/or civil wars of kkkapitalist imperialist governments vs./de development of socialist formations or nations. And why, from one generation to de next, We must pass on a Historical Materialist account of de origin of Our struggle to become an independent Nation, and to participate in the development of the transition from this Historically oppressive economic mode, to one which does not require de exploitation of women by men for its existence.

How kkkolonialism breeds dysfunctionality in our family (read: de oppressed class) is what i originally wanted to discuss. To examine how certain institutions perpetuate dysfunctionality in our families, such as kkkolonial prisons; kkkolonial unemployment, underemployment; kkkolonial education; kkkolonial medical and health care, which is based on infant mortality, and carries on through to de proper treatment for all de infirmities of age; etc., etc.

And to point out that these kkkolonial institutions which are de cause of dysfunctionality are merely instruments for its perpetuation. Because i wanted to focus us on these kkkolonial prisons as de central instrument for dysfunctionality around which all de others revolve.

To emphasize de historical connection and continuity of how our family was broken up into this jive-ass-nuclear-nonsense, per de greed of de kkkolonial plantation system, and now per de greed of this kkkolonial prison system.

Not just to say that this is de reason we find ourselves experiencing this kkkolonial dysfunctionality with de sons and daughters of Our Nation today, but to pass on to them de knowledge that this is kkkolonial dysfunctionality which they are experiencing, and that its going to manifest itself in de lives of de families that they will start after us. So raising de family to obey all de kkkolonial laws is not going to solve kkkolonial dysfunctionality. Only National Liberation can solve Kkkolonial dysfunctionality.

Really that's what i am talking about throughout this whole letter. Only i'm doing it, talking about it, on a level we must all be able to relate on. De National Liberation level. Here let me paraphrase something Shakespeare said:

you take Our Life
When you do take
de means
Whereby we live:—
L A N D !
— SA SA !
July 1994

UNITY For The Oppressed

Comrades:

"The dynamics of a revolutionary struggle ..."

I have received my first copy of MIM's newspaper, and

I'm inclined to believe that progression is inevitable to a movement with y'all train of thought.

I'm a 19-year-old prisoner (confined since the age of 14) that's currently confined in solitary



confinement. I've been in the "box" for 12 months. However, I've been keeping myself abreast of the events that occur in politics and revolutionary struggles. Although I concur with the direction in which MIM is striving towards, there is one prominent factor that MIM and other national and international organizations tend to overlook and not cater to consistently.

We have in the midst of Amerikkka a variety of diverse nationalities, i.e. Cubans, Trinidadians, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Asians, Jamaicans, Africans, etc. Most of whom classify themselves according to the land they originated from. They may have descended from different parts of the world and as a result they consider themselves different descendants occupying the same land, Amerikkka. My point is, we may indeed have migrated from diverse parts of this world and we may be linked to different kins, however, we are all a part of a kin in Amerikkka, that's being deprived of our life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We are an oppressed and repressed people struggling for freedom, justice and equality. We can't unite on the basis of diversity, we have to unite on what we have in common. Despite our religious preference of superficial difference, we have to unite for one common cause. What we have foremost in common is a common oppressor, a common fascist pig, a common exploiter, discriminator and corrupt capitalist system that can and will yield to a united Black and oppressed struggle. Us as oppressed people have enough power laying dormant within the capacity of our brains, that we can eliminate all injustice or wickedness overnight. In order to succeed against the odds we must overcome our differences and not be overcome by them. For obstacles are a challenge to a person determined to win by any means necessary ...

There is an organization that I have incorporated that needs your help to get off the ground (so to speak). It's called UNITY: The Unification of Nationalities In Transcending YIELD! Its primary objective is for unification, growth and development of oppressed people. For injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere and it must cease ...

[For more information on UNITY write to MIM and we

will forward letters —cd.]

Peace and blessings to all comrades in the struggle to delete oppression and bring this corrupt capitalist Amerikkkan country to its knees and demise! Study things from far away, for sure it might appear at your own doorstep. Power to the peoples who don't fear freedom.

—East Coast Prisoner

MC12 responds: We have much to agree on here, comrade. All the various oppressed nations and nationalities within Amerika indeed have a common oppressor and in that sense share the common goal of overthrowing that oppressive white nation and imperialist system. And in the long run, we share with all of the oppressed the goals of national liberation, socialism and communism. There is a fundamental unity that cannot be undone by temporary national divisions.

At the same time, however, the struggle for national liberation of these various peoples is in other ways distinct, whether we like it or not. Different peoples are at different stages of struggle, and have different organizational levels at any one time. They occupy different territories and face different strategic enemies. Also, oppressed nations may correctly want to be firmly united themselves before they can trust their particular interests to a broad alliance of nations.

Thus, MIM argues that while it is crucial for oppressed nations and their organizations to work together to overthrow American imperialism, there is also a place for separate organizations, struggles and territories when conditions demand them. At present, therefore, MIM welcomes members of all nations within Amerika, and we consider ourselves a vanguard to the national liberation struggles and communist revolution of all nations here — while at the same time we are prepared to recognize separate nation vanguards when they arise. This is a development we expect, and we are preparing to welcome and work within that reality.

Separate nation organizations — working in their own territories, perhaps — does not mean that the various oppressed nations within Amerika will not work together. It does not have to undermine the united struggle. In fact, the united struggle may be stronger if the various nations are each firmly united internally and acting in concert. There is a heavy history of false internationalism within these borders, and wishing it away will not make it disappear. We can only make it go away through struggle, not by simply wishing it away.

At present, however, it appears that you and MIM have like agendas: we both want to encourage as much unity as possible at the present time. But we ask you: Will you accept separate nation vanguard parties when they arise? Will you be willing to see that "division" as a productive stage in the struggle to disembowel Amerika — if it includes explicit cooperation between national movements — as we will? We know you are considering this question seriously, and we urge you to continue to struggle with MIM and your other comrades over these issues.

Empiricist MIM Line Reminiscent Of Weatherman

Dear Sirs [sic],

I've received your note of August 7 with literature sent. Am enjoying it. Quite frankly, the line on the white, better off



workers sounds to me much like Weatherman's line in the 1960s — which completely wrote off the U.S. proletariat as a potentially revolutionary force. I notice in the article, "Focoist Revolution,"

(from the pamphlet, "What is MIM?") their line is equated with that of J. Sakai's in *Settlers* and with George Jackson.

As the article indicated, these ultra-leftists place U.S. masses in the camp of the enemy, which they are NOT. Part of MIM Theory 5 confirms my point: "... MIM has been moving toward an acceptance of RYM I/Weatherman class analysis of the United States." (MT5, p. 67.)

This line represents narrow empiricism: "because many aren't revolutionary now means they'll never be." Dialectical materialist analysis recognizes how objective conditions can change drastically; imperialism may soon enter another of its crises (on a world scale). Millions who enjoy comforts, own their own homes, etc., may lose them — be unemployed, homeless, etc., and naturally more receptive to revolution — in a more revolutionary mood.

Bob Avakian, RCP chair, has said there's been too much a tendency to ignore/neglect the proletariat in the developed, advanced capitalist countries. Che's famous "2, 3, many Vietnams" — U.S. imperialism overextending itself — is an example of this neglect. Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War" holds the same basic line. As for now, of course, the most revolutionary forces include blacks in ghettos, homeless, and many Latin immigrants. These are my views — coinciding much with RCP's line; but am certainly open to others. ...

In struggle,
LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL
PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES!

— a West Coast reader

P.S. RCP did a good pamphlet on the question of the significance of white, better off workers: "Charting the Uncharted Course."

MIM responds: Thanks for writing. Did you get the

items you requested (MIM's RCP Study Pack, *Settlers* and MIM Theory 1)? Hopefully these will give you a better understanding of our line on the non-revolutionary nature of the North American white working-class, and help to convince you that we are correct.

MIM's line on the white working-class indeed resembles the Weather Underground's line on this question. As noted in MIM Theory 5, MIM agrees with the Weather Underground's political-economic line and disagrees with their political-military line. Like the Weather Underground, J. Sakai's *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* can trace its thinking back to the RYM I faction of SDS. We consider *Settlers* to be the best articulation of RYM I's political-economic line. While MIM says that there is no white proletariat, you are wrong to say that we write off the U.S. proletariat. We do believe that there is revolutionary potential in the true U.S. proletariat, which is to be found in the oppressed Black, Latino and First Nations.

In your letter, you say that MIM "line represents narrow empiricism 'because many aren't revolutionary now means they'll never be.' Dialectical materialist analysis recognizes how objective conditions can change drastically; imperialism may soon enter another of its crises (on a world scale); millions who enjoy comforts, own their own homes, etc. may lose them — be unemployed, homeless, etc. & naturally more receptive to revolution — in a more revolutionary mood."

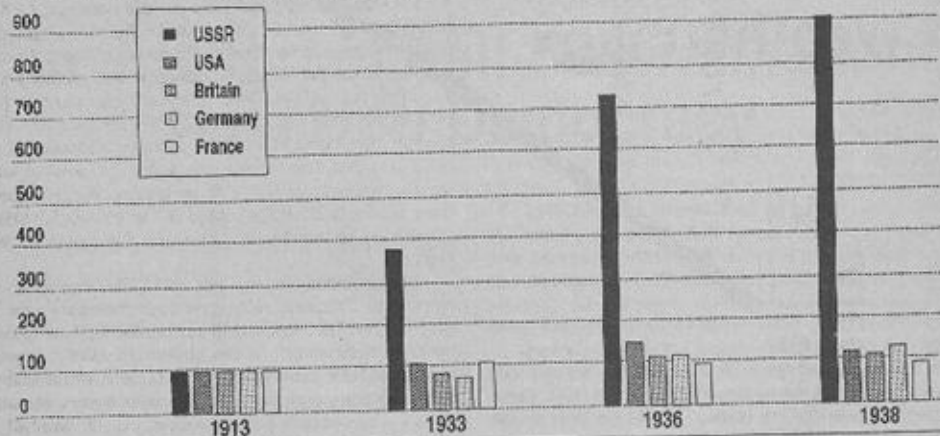
In MIM Theory 4, we wrote that "[MIM] would like to point out the chauvinist use dialectics is put to these days. The RCP and most of our First World comrades think our analysis of the white working class is 'static,' because we don't think the white nation working class is a vehicle for change right now and organizing it for its class demands can only mean cross-class national unity of the oppressor.

"As H.W. Edwards points out in his book, [*Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy*, available from MIM for \$10] right opportunist communists and social-democrats have been saying for 70 years that the labor aristocracy is going to take a fall and it never does. It's like crying wolf.

"Of course, it is dialectically absolutely true that the labor aristocracy must fall. However, it is also dialectically true that the human species must come to an end. On this point, Hegel and Marx had no disagreement; everything passes.

"That is why we must be dialectical materialists. When we examine the conditions of the white working class there is no way to conclude that it is exploited. Hence at this time we must base our actions on the interests of the international proletariat, not the white working class. Whereas the Azanian workers' movement is quite right to focus principally on its own demands as a contribution to world revolution, we in the belly of the beast can not pretend that there is a basis for revolutionary change within the white nation or we will perform invaluable services for the international apartheid system known as imperialism. Our working class in the First World must first be made to understand why it owes a debt to the

Depression Era USSR Defied Stagnation



INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION: Index variable, with each country's production set at 100 in 1913, showing relative growth rates. Socialism industrialized the Soviet Union while the West stagnated, making it possible for the Red Army to defeat Hitler and save the world from Nazism.

Source: J. V. Stalin, "Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) on the Work of the Central Committee," March 10, 1939. Bruce Franklin, ed. *The Essential Stalin* (Garden City, NY: 1972), p. 350. Get the real story: \$4.95 to MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106 for MIM Theory 6, "The Stalin Issue." Also send \$4.95 for MIM Theory 4, "The Spiral Trajectory" — on the ebb and flow of international communism and the collapse of supposed communism.

Third World working class or we will not be able to make the first step into socialism."(1)

You criticize Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War" for "a tendency to ignore/neglect proletariat in the developed, advanced capitalist countries." MIM distributes this Lin Piao essay, and upholds its Maoist analogy regarding surrounding the cities (First World) from the countryside (Third World). The history of the past century has clearly shown that the revolutionary center of gravity is in the Third World, contrary to the dogmatic, idealist, wishful thinking of Trotskyists and crypto-Trotskyists. Finally, you recommended the RCP pamphlet "Charting the Uncharted Course." MIM's critique of that pamphlet is available for \$1.

Notes:

1. MIM Theory 4, pp. 13-14.

Correction:

After an internal struggle in which MIM concluded with a commitment to include our revolutionary feminism symbol prominently on our literature, MIM Theory 6 mistakenly went to press without it. This symbol appears on this and future issues of MIM Theory.



The dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing

**Revolutionary
Practice**

*Redirect rational
knowledge to
social practice*

*Practice produces
objective and
subjective results*

**Rational
Knowledge**

**Perceptual
Knowledge**

Judgments and inferences

From Mao Zedong,
"On Practice."

A Communist Agenda for National Liberation

In Support of Self-Determination and New Democracy

by MCS

It is perhaps most appropriate to start this issue with a quotation from Eldridge Cleaver, when he was still a politically sane leader of the Black Panther Party: "Another proposal of the Black Panthers which is winning more and more support in the black colony is the call for a U.N. supervised plebiscite in black communities across the nation. The purpose of the plebiscite is to answer the question, once and for all: just what the masses of black people want. Do the masses of black people consider themselves a nation?"(1)

Later in his book, *Post-Prison Writings and Speeches*, Cleaver said:

"There have been too many people and too many organizations in the past who claimed to speak for the ultimate destiny of black people. Some call for a new state; some have insisted that black people should go back to Africa. We Black Panthers, on the other hand, don't feel we should speak for all black people. We say that black people deserve an opportunity to record their own national will."(2)

Some have advised MIM to go no further than this quotation. They believe that agitation for the right to self-determination is the complete Marxist-Leninist-Maoist platform on the national question.

But the position put forward by the Panthers and other national liberation organizations around the world is the point of departure and point of return. Like the early Black Panthers and other national liberation groups, MIM agitates for the right to self-determination, and like the Black Panthers and other national liberation groups, it also has an opinion about what the oppressed people should do within North America — liberate their own national territories.

This recognizes that no socialist government will oppress any nation or encroach on the territory any anti-imperialist nation inhabits or has seized from America.

The question is how best to get to the point where oppressed peoples can really have the choice of living in their own liberated territories. If the revolutionary forces accumulate the power to make that a real possibility, then it is appropriate to ask the question, "integration or liberation?" Then there should be a plebiscite or series of plebiscites to decide the question. Asking the question before the oppressed nationality has the power to control territory only proves what the people will say when the imperialists are twisting their arms behind their backs. The people must have a genuine choice, not a choice dictated by the imperialists. Then we can trust an oppressed nation plebiscite — the outcome of the ballot box among the people.

MIM does not support the concept of plebiscites that would allow integration with imperialism as expressive of true self-determination.

The need for the power to hold a fair plebiscite where the oppressor does not force the oppressed nation into choosing between two lesser evils is the reason why the slogans "Black Power," "Red Power," "Yellow Power" and "Brown Power" make sense. Perhaps they should be "Black Power," "First Nation Power," "Aztlan Power" etc. These slogans do not force decisions down the people's throats. They build for the day when the oppressed peoples can make their own decisions and have them implemented.

At this time, we are "creating public opinion to build the independent power of the oppressed." That means we are using legal methods to put forward our view and build independent institutions.

As the people find themselves more organized they often end up in armed struggle with the imperialists who want to keep the people dependent on imperialist institutions. When a Canadian mayor seized some land from the Mohawk nation, there was armed conflict at Oka. Not surprisingly, within the Mohawk territories, the Mohawks are already running their own schools, border police, hospital and fire department.

Hence, after a certain level of success in creating public opinion and building evermore independent institutions, the

imperialists crack down and the masses must defend their gains in armed struggle. All around the world, the people find themselves repressed by U.S. imperialism and take up armed struggle to defend their independence and also their right to eat and have shelter and clothing.

NEW DEMOCRACY

After armed struggle, the war between the oppressed nations and oppressor nations reaches a certain stage; then finally we can speak of a new democratic period in North America. In this stage, the Maoist-led forces will have defeated the imperialists and seized state power. The Euro-American people's government will be put into a receivership of the oppressed nations to prevent the restoration of imperialism.

Meanwhile, the oppressed nations will get on their feet in this stage. This will mean the people exercise dictatorship over their white nation oppressors. In this stage, the national bourgeoisies of the oppressed nations will play some role in organizing their peoples economically and politically.

Under New Democracy the oppressed people will learn what it means to live without imperialist police terror and they will learn to speak their mind without fear of the consequences from the oppressor. Also during this period, the oppressed nations will learn what it means concretely to choose a piece of land and nationhood.

The new democratic period will complete itself in plebiscites on nationhood. The peoples will decide for themselves if they want their own separate nations or some other arrangement.

The completion of the plebiscites will mark the transition to socialism and the end of the new democratic period. The peoples will have found their way of building cooperative economic relations among nations. In the course of organizing plebiscites for national self-determination and/or regional autonomy, the Maoist forces must work to develop the first stage of the new democratic revolution so that it may quickly transform into the second stage — socialism.

In the whole new democratic and socialist periods, the danger of counterrevolution exists. Hence, we cannot predict that the Maoist-led forces will win at every step. We only outline our strategic plans and goals. To recapitulate, the major strategic stages as seen in history so far and crystallized in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (principally Maoism), take the following form in North America:

1. Now: Create public opinion and independent institutions of the people to prepare to seize power.
2. After an accumulation of power in the first stage, the second stage is a qualitative leap characterized by armed struggle for state power.
3. New democracy is an abbreviated stage relative to that in Third World countries. This stage includes dictatorship of the oppressed nations over the oppressor nation.
4. Individual dictatorships of the proletariat within the oppressed nations; joint dictatorship of the international

proletariat over the Euro-American nation.

Trotskyist groups, including crypto-Trotskyist groups like the RCP and Progressive Labor, deny that oppressed nations in North America require a new democratic stage, because they are not preparing the actual conditions necessary for the self-determination of the oppressed nations.

Since there are not many vestiges of feudalism in North America, the new democratic period will have fewer tasks in North America than similar periods in the Third World. At the same time, the political superstructure is not far removed from the days in which superexploitation of oppressed nationally peasants did take place. There remains some question of "civil rights" that would be respected in a radical bourgeois democracy.

Historically, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie has lost its civil rights. Select other counterrevolutionaries have also lost those rights. This is a universal truth of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But in self-determination of nations, the issue is one of entire peoples. Since MIM is sincere about creating the conditions for national plebiscites of the oppressed nations no matter how small, MIM sees that New Democracy is essential. After all, in these plebiscites, the entirety of the oppressed nation, including its labor aristocracy, petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie should be allowed to have a say as to whether or not there will be a separate nation. Hence, we cannot refer to these plebiscites as part of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The one thing that must guide the whole new democratic stage is the dictatorship of the oppressed nations led by their

The new democratic period will complete itself in plebiscites on nationhood. The peoples will decide for themselves if they want their own separate nations or some other arrangement.

proletarian parties over the Euro-American nation, the agents of U.S. imperialism. It is inevitable that this joint dictatorship of the oppressed nations will not be perfect and will not reflect the participation of all oppressed nations instantly. However, the proletarian parties must act toward this goal in order to absolutely assure that there is no restoration of imperialism.

If the proletarian parties do not take a firm hand in the situation, and if the national bourgeoisie comes to dominate in too many oppressed countries, there will be a reversion to neo-colonialism with a new lineup of imperialist powers. The organizations most responsible for organizing the overthrow of

U.S. imperialism have the international responsibility of ruling in the interests of the international proletariat and its allied classes and thus insuring the forward motion of history. Only if the revolutions are led with the ideology of the international proletariat will it be possible to make progress.

The joint dictatorship of the oppressed nations over Euro-America and U.S. imperialism will not be able to instantly cleanse the Euro-American nation of influence from its parasitism. That is why we advocate that the oppressed nations go forward and build their own nations and institutions while the dictatorship of the oppressed nations over Euro-America and U.S. imperialism prepares the basis for the civilized entry of the Euro-American people into the community of the human race.

On the other hand, it is possible that the oppressed nations have such great faith in their powers to exercise joint dictatorship over Euro-America and U.S. imperialism that they may feel it is unnecessary to liberate their own national territories. That choice is up to the oppressed nation people in the plebiscites of the new democratic period.

MIM advocates that the oppressed nations liberate their own national territories, but it will respect the decisions of plebiscites. National territory is defined as the land which a nationality inhabits, or seizes.

MIM believes that with the development of the Maoist movement, the correct analysis and strategy leads to national liberation. The only way that people are going to get a real choice between integration and national liberation is by the organization of a national liberation movement. Hence, MIM has pushed into the details of national liberation. All the while it reminds people that the final choice is the peoples'.

ON MULTINATIONAL ORGANIZING

Although MIM believes that the next stage of struggle will see the development of Maoist vanguard parties in the separate oppressed nations of North America, MIM is currently an organization with no membership restrictions. No person of any class, gender or national background is excluded if s/he fulfills membership requirements.

To understand how this came about, it is necessary to understand the history of Maoist revolutionary struggle within the borders of the United States. In the late 1960s and even to an extent in the early 1970s, there were Maoist vanguard parties for many of the oppressed nations within North America. The largest was the Black Panther Party.

In those days, there were several strong Maoist parties with high newspaper circulations and other forms of independent power. Today, MIM takes a multinational form and it still does not have the independent power anywhere approaching that of the Black Panther Party by itself.

Many comrades becoming communists in the 1980s and 1990s knew nothing of the revolutionary nationalism of the 1960s within the United States. Thus, MIM has become perhaps the largest distributor of crucial revolutionary works from

the 1960s. Nonetheless, at this time, MIM can only work toward the day when there are Maoist vanguard parties in the oppressed nations and a joint organization of the Maoist parties that lead the dictatorship over the Euro-American nation.

In this MIM must record its differences with Lenin, who did not live to see the world's anti-colonial struggles:

"The socialists of the oppressed nations must, in particular, defend and implement the full and unconditional unity, including organizational unity, of the workers of the oppressed nation and those of the oppressor nation. Without this it is impossible to defend the independent policy of the proletariat and their class solidarity with the proletariat of other countries in the face of all manner of intrigues, treachery and trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie."⁽³⁾

It has proved possible in actual fact to advance Marxism-

The only way that people are going to get a real choice between integration and national liberation is by the organization of a national liberation movement.

Leninism in the traditions of Stalin and Mao quite dramatically without forming a multinational organization. It is not something that we can record as a proud moment in the human race, that single-nationality organizing was necessary in the Black nation of North America and also in Azania. Yet, we must now recognize as indubitable historical fact that these single-nationality parties advanced the revolution more than their multinational cousins of the same time and place. We are referring to the advances of the BPP compared with those of the Progressive Labor Party of 1966-1970 and also the advances of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its circles compared with those of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Communist Party of South Africa.

Some have criticized MIM for not supporting existing nationalist organizations in the 1990s as the vanguards of their oppressed nations in North America. In the 1960s, MIM would have recognized the Black Panthers, the Young Lords and other organizations as the vanguards of their nations. Today, MIM is playing the vanguard roles in all the nations in North America. A vanguard is a force with a demonstrated experience of supporting the Cultural Revolution in China and opposing post-Stalin Soviet revisionism and post-Mao Chinese state capitalism.

In fact, there is no other genuine Maoist party in North America, only revisionist ones and some progressive bourgeois nationalist organizations. MIM has on occasion had talks with revolutionary-minded nationalist groups that are friendly to

Maoism, but thus far, there has been no success in finding or establishing unity between MIM and these organizations on the cardinal questions — the experience of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and China, the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the nature of the Euro-American working class. Such single-nationality organizations existed in the 1960s and 1970s, but because of state repression, only non-Maoist imitations of them exist today.

There have been many times in history where communist movements took advantage of their multinational side as a launch pad into revolutionary nationalist struggle. In the Chinese revolution, the general staff of the Communist Party first met in France of the 1920s. That includes top leaders like Zhu De (Chu Teh), Zhou Enlai and even Deng Xiaoping, when he was still a revolutionary.(4)

Vietnamese and other "Indochinese" comrades cut their teeth in the French Communist Party itself before going to Vietnam and launching a successful national liberation struggle.

Lenin had an important refuge with comrades in Finland. Finland served as a meeting place and a source of funding and arms.(5) And of course it is well known how Marx and Engels had to move from country to country because of state repression.

In all these cases, what is important is using whatever advantages in struggle that are available. Huey Newton also put this very well. He did not regard a single-nationality vanguard party as sacrosanct, just a means to an end, the interna-

'We are the spearhead most of the time, and we try not to be too far ahead of the masses of the people, too far ahead of their thinking.'

— Huey Newton

nationalist future. By the time of the following quotation, Newton was already backing off the position that he formerly had (and that MIM still holds) on nationalism and internationalism.

Interviewer: "You are talking about this ideology of intercommunalism as part of the program of the Black Panther Party and telling us that the idea is to strive for unity of identity. Yet a few minutes ago you mentioned that the Party only accepts blacks as members. That sounds like a contradiction to me.

"NEWTON: Well, I guess it is. But to explain it I would have to go back to what I said earlier. We are the spearhead most of the time, and we try not to be too far ahead of the masses of the people, too far ahead of their thinking. We have to understand that most of the people

are not ready for many of the things that we talk about.

"Now many of our relationships with other groups, such as the white radicals with whom we have formed coalitions, have been criticized by the very people we are trying to help. For example, our offer of troops to the Vietnamese received negative reaction from the people. And I mean from truly oppressed people. Welfare recipients wrote letters saying, 'I thought the Party was for us; why do you want to give those dirty Vietnamese our life blood?' I would agree with you and call it a contradiction.

"So I would say we are being pragmatic in order to do the job that has to be done, and then, when that job is done, the Black Panther Party will no longer be the Black Panther Party."(6)

History has shown that Huey Newton was correct within U.S. borders and also South Africa. In both places, the struggle against imperialism and colonialism took its most advanced form in single-nationality parties. This is one reason that MIM believes that the struggle will continue to take single-nationality forms in the future. The reason is not hard to find: great nation chauvinism of European-descended peoples has created a distrust of multinational organizations on the part of the oppressed masses.

MULTICULTURALISM

There exists today a neocolonial trend of thought called "multiculturalism" that places more emphasis on who is speaking than what is said. There are those who say that oppressed nationality people are always correct and oppressor nation individuals are always incorrect. This line of thinking leads to paralysis once people learn that oppressed nationalities and oppressor nationalities are not monolithic. There is Mao Zedong and there is Chiang Kai-shek. There is Malcolm X and there is Clarence Thomas. Everyone has their own opinions and ideologies. To get anywhere, we cannot support the opinions of all members of oppressed groups equally. We have to take a side, something the "multicultural" advocates don't understand.

In organizing a very large campaign to cut U.S. ties to apartheid South Africa in the early 1980s, MIM predecessors often fanned out to organize numerous meetings and debates. In this organizing work, it was not always possible to have the masses of Azania there to help us, though they and their leaders strongly requested that we do this work to stop the U.S. imperialists from propping up the apartheid regime.

Sometimes, an Uncle Tom would show up at a small meeting here or there to deny that he had "any use" for the movement to cut U.S. ties to South Africa and sometimes there would be no other Black people at the meeting. No oppressed nationality is monolithic in its opinions; and the other people there at the meeting had an obligation to criticize the line of the Uncle Tom, and support the masses of Azania: No person, no matter what nationality, can keep his or her political bear-

age without keeping the general interests of the international proletariat at heart. There is no other way to avoid confusion and paralysis.

MIM disagrees with Stalin on this question. Stalin confused the realm of political necessity in leading the masses with the realm of scientific struggle that must occur within vanguard parties. In so doing, he tended to contradict his own formulations on the general problems facing revolutionaries on the national question. MIM supports Stalin when he spoke generally and not just "as a Georgian."

"If the struggle against Russian chauvinism were undertaken not by the Russian but by the Turkestanian or Georgian communists, it would be interpreted as anti-Russian chauvinism. That would confuse the whole issue and strengthen Great Russian chauvinism. Only the Russian communists can undertake the fight against Great Russian chauvinism and carry it through to the end."(7)

"The intention is to point to the duty of the local communists, the duty of the non-Russian communists to combat their own chauvinists. Only the Tatar, Georgian and other communists can fight Tatar, Georgian and other chauvinism."(8)

In contrast, MIM would say that it is precisely among the communists where the scientific method must be protected at great cost if need be. Chauvinism is chauvinism and must be discovered and recognized as such by all communists.

Those who attempt to cut down multinational organizing undercut revolutionary science. The correct line is correct regardless of who speaks and organizes for it. This is part of what MIM understands Mao to mean by "ideological and political line is decisive." We should notice that he didn't say that "subjective factors" or "intentions" "are decisive." No, he said "line" to stress the decisiveness of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Those who take a simple position on this question by opposing all multinational organizing fall into narrow nationalism, sometimes with an ultraleft veneer.

Some reasons for opposing multinational organizing include the following (correct) suppositions: white people, men and upper class people are certainly less likely to organize on the proletarian side than oppressed nationality people, women and proletarians; and the oppressed need not make any compromises with the oppressor groups in order to liberate themselves. The oppressed will liberate themselves.

But none of this means that multinational organizing is incorrect. Those who cut down multinational organizing cut down the Chinese, Vietnamese, Eritrean, Tigrayan, Peruvian and Russian revolutions of this century. In other revolutions there was a single-nationality composed of various "races," as in the case of Cuba. Hence, to oppose multinational organizing in all circumstances is to oppose communism. To oppose communism is to oppose all the genuine nationalism of the oppressed nations, as we shall see.

MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST PARTY OF AMERIKA

As the Maoist movement expands, there will be more and more single-nationality parties. The one exception should be the Amerikan Maoist party. It must always recognize the weak basis for its existence as a genuine Maoist party.

Unless some dramatic turns and protracted historical struggle occurs relatively soon, it is possible that Euro-Amerikans will require multinational organizing all the way until we reach communism. The Maoist Internationalist Party of Amerika should always accept other nationalities, because the material basis of Euro-American internationalism is weak and will require outside assistance.

Whether it is the Peruvian or Filipino comrades, the oppressed nationalities have an interest in organizing the Euro-American comrades to the greatest extent possible. As we mentioned, it is possible at some point the oppressed nations will put together a multinational Maoist Internationalist organization to direct the Euro-American comrades. That in effect would also be a multinational party including the Euro-American comrades on an equal scientific basis, though again, for material reasons, the Euro-American people are not as likely to join internationalist struggle as oppressed nation peoples. For that matter, the people of the "New Third World" of North America are less likely than the oppressed peoples of the Third World to take up proletarian revolution.

NARROW NATIONALISM ISN'T NATIONALISM

Great nation chauvinism is the opposite pole of narrow nationalism. Great nation chauvinists dismiss the revolution in Albania, for example, because Albania is so small and not very powerful in world affairs. Many of those people call themselves communists, but in reality they are great nation chauvinists in leftist clothing.

When it comes to the national question, great nation chauvinism is the principal danger. That is especially true within the imperialist countries and North America as a whole.

Even in the so-called Marxist circles of the imperialist countries and the Maoist circles themselves, the main problem of national chauvinism comes in not recognizing the alliance of the imperialist country working classes with the imperialists. Likewise, the typical assumption of "multiracial" organizing is that integration is the best immediate goal. Under this assumption, the supposedly exploited white working class is presumed to be a good ally of the oppressed nations.

Even within the oppressed nations of North America, great nation chauvinism, and not narrow nationalism, is the main problem on the national question. Many oppressed nationality people identify with their oppressors and adopt the ways of their oppressors in conscious and unconscious ways.

In contrast with great nation chauvinism, narrow nationalism is an ideology which glorifies a very small bit of oppressed nation existence — typically some aspect of its culture. Narrow nationalists (as well as Anglo-identified "minorities") may oppose all multinational organization and will

actively oppose the struggles of other nations against imperialism by pitting their struggle against that of other nations. The compradors, national bourgeoisie and oppressed nation labor aristocracies will be the ones most likely to fight for their own nationality's supposed interests at the expense of other nationalities also fighting imperialism. The reason is that these classes are sometimes fighting to enter an alliance with the imperialists to share in the oppression of other nations.

Ordinarily, narrow nationalism stems from the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation — either its comprador or independent elements that we call national bourgeoisie. The aspiring and existing bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations has a very mixed point of view. On the one hand it is tempted by the substantial benefits from the imperialists (compradors); on the other hand it resents the competition from foreign capitalists (national bourgeoisie) and, sometimes, as Mao points out, sections of the independent bourgeoisie (national bourgeois allies of the revolution) will realize that they can't get anywhere without mobilizing the masses to bring down colonial-

nationalism can be a bargaining position for joining the empire.

Throughout the world, but especially in North America where the masses are closer to imperialist benefits, bourgeois nationalism is false nationalism. By itself in its pure form, bourgeois nationalism can never succeed in establishing national independence. True national independence requires the power to resist foreign imperialists and to set up cooperative and peaceful trade relations.

By itself, the bourgeoisie of an oppressed country can at most bargain for a neocolonial relationship to the imperialists, where it serves as the local puppet. The reason for this is very simple. The advanced economic strength of the imperialist countries makes it possible to bribe and pay the salaries of government officials in the neo-colonial government. In those cases where the puppet has the gumption to turn down the bribes, the imperialist military or CIA steps in to have him or her eliminated.(10)

The table shows that the long-plundered oppressed coun-

Third World Gross Domestic Product: 1990*

Brazil	\$388 billion
Malaysia (1991)	\$48 billion
Zaire	\$7 billion

*Total goods and services produced by a country in a year, not counting foreign trade.

Sales of Multinational Companies: 1992

1. General Motors	\$132.8 billion
10. Texaco	\$37.1 billion
20. Dow Chemical	\$19.2 billion

Source: 1994 World Almanac & Book of Facts. Funk & Wagnalls: New Jersey, 1993.

ism and imperialism first. They will never get to exploit anybody on the level of the imperialists unless they knock out their competitors first.

In North America, the situation of narrow nationalism is doubly complicated. There are substantial benefits for joining the empire and aiding with the exploitation and superexploitation of peoples from Latin America, Africa and Asia — the Third World. Great nation chauvinism is well suited for this purpose, but in North America, so is narrow nationalism.

The key to unmasking this narrow nationalism is a comparison of conditions and demands of the narrow nationalists of the "New Third World" in North America with conditions and demands of the oppressed in the Third World. By focussing on the oppression of one oppressed people within North America, narrow nationalists can wink at the imperialists' exploitation and superexploitation of the Third World. In this they are no different than ordinary integrationists who want a piece of the rock.

In North America, narrow nationalism is often the close-quartered twin of integrationism and social-reformism. Such

tries do not have the resources to pay their government officials to maintain an independent course. A single multinational corporation has greater revenue in a year than a whole oppressed country does, never mind its government. Hence, the heads of multinational companies can organize bribery of government, military and business officials. They can hire troops and spies and pay for weapons, and if they aren't strong enough by themselves or they want taxpayers to foot the bill, they can just ask the U.S. government to help put the Third World countries in line.

Only a tiny handful of Third World countries have economies larger than GM's annual sales. That is comparing everything that is sold in those countries in one year with what is sold by GM in one year. Brazil's economy is bigger than GM, but Malaysia's is not. That is why even a single multinational company has a lot of clout relative to the independence-minded government and business leaders of the Third World.

The multinational corporations headed by the imperialists have many levers at their disposal. They can gang up with other multinational companies to obtain favorable policies

from Third World governments; they can hire employees in the Third World that are favorable to their interests and they can otherwise pay the salary or bribes of government, business and military officials.

It is unrealistic to expect that puppets in Third World countries will turn down the bribery of the imperialists and risk their lives to oppose them.⁽¹¹⁾ It's obvious that the rich and powerful countries can pay the price and get what they want. The puppets will serve the imperialists and not the interests of the oppressed nation. This is one of the most important reasons that only communism can assure national independence and international relations of peace and equality. The workers and peasants must rule, not the minority of compradors and their imperialist masters.

The only way to prevent such a neocolonial outcome and preserve genuine national independence is organizing the workers and peasants (if any) of the oppressed nations in armed struggle. They must fight the imperialists and the corrupted local puppets. The bourgeois nationalists can't do it by themselves, should they get the notion to try. They aren't powerful enough and they need an army of people opposed to imperialism. Only a people's army can defeat the bribery and other forms of economic and military power of the imperialists. (Saddam Hussein most recently proved that it is not possible to fight a bourgeois war to bring victory and liberation for the people from imperialism.) Fighting in any other arena guarantees the imperialists the upper-hand because they have the money to compete in elections, buy officials, etc.

What of the oppressed nation bourgeoisie that has any shred of independence? The imperialists will tolerate puppets, and puppets who enjoy their perks may be quite comfortable. Yet, even these puppets must take some cues from the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie. To be useful to the imperialists, the puppets called compradors must espouse some nationalist rhetoric every now and then to fool the masses into supporting the imperialist-comprador rule. Hence, narrow nationalism that isn't real nationalism is created all the time by lackeys of neocolonialism.

As for what we call the national bourgeoisie, that class of capitalists that has made its business on its own, it is also influenced by neocolonialism. On the other hand, it would like to toy with mobilizing the masses just long to oust the imperialists and put themselves in power as the ultimate exploiters of their own people.

Mao Zedong taught us to distinguish between "compradors" and "national bourgeoisie," and use the differences in their interests for our advantage. Mao taught us to entice the national bourgeoisie, or at least a vacillating part of it, to ally

with the proletariat of the oppressed nation to oust the imperialists. This kind of alliance with a section of the oppressed nation bourgeoisie is one of the only ways we can distinguish between national struggle and class struggle — each specifically construed for the purposes of discussing principal contradictions and strategy. Those "Marxists" who deny this aspect of national struggle in the name of one united proletariat are class reductionists, fundamentalists, Trotskyists or crypto-Trotskyists.

Indeed, it is only by mobilizing the workers, the petit-bourgeois, the peasants (if any) and the national bourgeoisie that there is a chance of genuine national independence. These classes will not be mobilized by a predatory landlord or bourgeois class that spends as much

time fighting the people as it does fighting the imperialists. Nor will more than half of the people — women — fight very hard if they are fighting for a reinforced patriarchy.

Since real independence of oppressed countries requires the support of the people, we say that only communist-led revolution

ary struggle is genuine nationalism. No other political weapon besides communism is capable of confronting imperialism, exposing imperialist bribery, uniting the people and organizing armed struggle. Other approaches inevitably end in neocolonialism. Genuine nationalism of the oppressed nations is also the only genuine internationalism, because only by such a mobilization of the oppressed peoples can imperialism be defeated. When each nation has its own independence free of imperialist superexploitation and exploitation, we can then have a genuine equality of nations.

One way we can tell phony nationalism apart from revolutionary nationalism and genuine internationalism is that phony nationalism ignores certain issues of oppression, because the bourgeois nationalists don't really want to mobilize everyone all out to defeat imperialism. If the people get too strongly organized, the bourgeoisie fears it will never get a chance to exploit the people. Better for the bourgeois nationalists that the people fight amongst themselves.

A very common marker of phony nationalism is a total silence on feminism — the confrontation of male supremacy. The narrow nationalists don't want women to get too psyched for change, because again the bourgeois nationalists are afraid of the people, much as they need to use them. Hence, you won't see the bourgeois nationalists steering between phony feminism, the pseudo-feminism of the imperialists, and genuine feminism, which gives women an equal role in society and hence mobilizes them to their best ability to fight imperialism. The bourgeois nationalists just want to eliminate the imperialists and then quickly fill their shoes.

Another tell-tale sign of phony nationalism is silence

Saddam Hussein most recently proved that it is not possible to fight a bourgeois war to bring liberation for the people from imperialism.

toward the struggle of other oppressed nationalities. Now if someone really wants the independence of a country, independence from the CIA, the U.S. military, the banks and the companies, why would they not see the other countries oppressed by U.S. imperialism as their friends? A genuine nationalist will celebrate every blow suffered by U.S. imperialism and every other kind of imperialism aiming to replace it. If a supposed nationalist isn't celebrating and facilitating the blows against imperialism, look out, because someone is looking to cut a deal with the imperialists.

These are examples of why Mao said the national bourgeoisie vacillates, because even when it decides to attack imperialism, it is very tenuous. It appears to stop half-way, because in reality it is stopping half-way. The national bourgeoisie does not want every ounce of energy dedicated toward national independence and world peace. It just wants its own pie, either consciously or unconsciously. Witnessing the national bourgeoisie in action, one would think the masses could afford to wait for centuries to get rid of imperialism.

The proletariat must lead genuine independence struggles. Only this class of people not bribed in one way or another — the class of people too big to bribe — will fight with all-out determination. They aren't looking out for their tax-collections, their salaries or their profits; hence they are best qualified to determine and achieve the national interest of oppressed countries.

Notes:

1. Eldridge Cleaver, *Post-Prison Writings and Speeches*. Random House: New York, 1969, p. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

3. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 414-5. We credit the organizations that put forward "In Defense of the Right to Political Secession for the Afro-American Nation," for discussing this, even if incorrectly.

4. See Robert Scalapino's work on the early history of the Chinese communists, including in France.

5. E. Tani and K. Sera, *False Nationalism False Internationalism Seeds Beneath the Snow*. Chicago, 1985, pp. 16-21.

6. Kai T. Erikson, intro., *In Search of Common Ground: Conversations with Erik H. Erikson and Huey P. Newton*. Norton: New York, 1973, pp. 42-3.

7. J.V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 272-3. Again, we credit the organizations that put forward "In Defense of the Right to Political Secession for the Afro-American Nation," for discussing this, even if incorrectly.

8. Gillis, Perkins, Roemer, Snodgrass, *Economics of Development*, 3rd ed. Norton: New York, 1992, p. 379.

9. See the video "Inside the CIA: On Company Business: Subversion" in which ex-CIA officials tell how they overthrew various Third World government officials they didn't like.

10. See MIM Theory 5 for a few examples of democratically elected officials in the Third World being overthrown and even killed by the imperialists.

The National Question and Separate Vanguard Parties

June 1992

revised January 1994

by MC5

In the 1970s there were some groups that thought they were Maoist parties or pre-parties of the oppressed nations. They all dissolved or went in for revisionism. There was even a group of oppressed nationality Maoist parties and scattered whites called the Revolutionary Wing. This dissolution of student and oppressed nationality revolutionary organizations is a tragedy that people serious about revolution today must learn from.

People took a lot of lumps after the Black Panther Party demise and many felt they had no clear-cut place to go, no "shining path." The Maoist struggle in the United States has never been the same since the state smashed the Panthers. A key lesson to learn is the extent to which the state managed to split Maoist groups over non-fundamental questions. The combination of state repression and theoretical disunity proved deadly.

Today, Maoists need only look to the issue of Maria Elena Moyano's assassination by the Peruvian communists to see that the imperialists and their lackeys attempt to sow dissension within revolutionary ranks on questions of theory — in this case feminism.

In the mid-1970s, most oppressed nationalities left the Revolutionary Communist Party, but some Blacks and other national minorities stayed with the RCP and October League. So the issue became "who is vanguard?" The Maoist forces' failure to unite theoretically at the time caused a lot of individuals to degenerate politically.

The Revolutionary Wing, with its Black, Asian and Latino vanguards seemed to have the most momentum for a while and then it splintered, from ultraleftist bickering, liquidationism and bourgeois nationalist opportunism.

MIM'S POSITION FOR PRACTICE IN THE CURRENT PERIOD

1. Currently MIM is a multinational party. However, MIM recognizes that there are times when vanguard forces from the oppressed nationalities believe they must have separate, single nationality vanguard parties. MIM recognizes the right of self-determination of such vanguard forces and hence would defer to such a party on the question of organizing the oppressed

nationality in question and believes that the validity of single-nationality organizing has been proved in communist history.

MIM defines as vanguard those forces with a demonstrated experience of supporting the Cultural Revolution in China and opposing (post-Stalin) Soviet and (post-Mao) Chinese state capitalism. In 1994, these issues are more clear-cut than ever. Anyone who doesn't recognize the ex-Soviet Union or China as capitalist cannot be leading the masses toward classless society.

In North America, MIM has the added stipulation that an organization applying the science of Maoism must be able to recognize that the Euro-American working class is not a proletariat, but instead a labor aristocracy, which means that the masses of Euro-American people are not objectively allied with proletarian revolution. The answers of any organization in North America to the three scientific questions just posed above are what separates those genuinely practicing the science of Maoism and those just claiming the Maoist science and mouthing the slogans.

Currently, and on the basis of these cardinal criteria, MIM is aware of no genuine Maoist single nationality party in the United States except those incipient in MIM circles; although, in the 1960s and 1970s there were many, so there is some basis to expect them to arise again.

MIM does not discount the possibility that single-nationality Maoist parties in North America will form outside MIM circles. On the other hand, the oppressed nationality comrades of MIM may find themselves in a position to form the single-nationality vanguard party of their nation. Currently, however, MIM is the vanguard organization of all the nations in North America.

Should a genuine Maoist single-nationality party form outside of MIM circles, MIM will determine whether or not that party is the vanguard of the oppressed nation in question. Yet, even should MIM recognize that new party as the vanguard, we will still recognize as Maoists those oppressed nationality members of MIM who refuse to join the new Maoist single-nationality party. Such may sound like a contradiction, but it is a contradiction in the struggle for self-determination that cannot be resolved until the completion of the new democratic stage, when self-determination is actual and not just ideological.

National liberation organizations that do not meet the conditions for being vanguards are nonetheless our allies.

Right now MIM is clearly the most advanced party for all nationalities within U.S. borders. This is no doubt in large part because of its firm anti-imperialist history of struggle on behalf of Third World oppressed nations.

We encourage all oppressed peoples to join MIM, because joining is necessary to maintaining a vanguard orientation in this period when we are recovering from the state's destruction of our most class-conscious organizations. It is a period of regroupment and education of the youth for the creation of new Maoist forces.

2. MIM is aware from history that oppressed nationalities may themselves sharply divide on the question of multinational parties. Applying the spirit of this resolution will require arduous struggle. In the event of the formation of a Maoist single-nationality party, MIM will struggle to inform its members of the views of the single nationality party, remain on good terms with all genuine Maoist groups and leave party membership to the decisions of individual oppressed nationality comrades. Those oppressed nationality comrades who do not opt for a single-nationality party will always have a place in the organizations preparing for the day of the joint dictatorship of the oppressed nations over Euro-Amerika.

MIM also advocates that any vanguard organization for Euro-Americans always accept members from other genuine Maoist vanguards, since there is no Euro-American proletariat, and the material basis for a revolutionary Euro-American party is weak. It is very possible that the best possible leaders for the eventual Maoist Internationalist Party of America may be non-American immigrants.

There may be enough John Browns to run a newspaper and other communications networks, which is crucial at this stage in the struggle, but MIM does not believe there are enough to run a whole government — a true dictatorship of the proletariat. Currently we base our strategic plans on that existing shortage of white proletarian revolutionaries. (There is a general shortage of revolutionaries, but history has shown that the proportion of revolutionaries in the oppressed nations can

There may be enough John Browns to run a newspaper, but MIM doesn't believe there are enough to run a government.

rise very quickly.)

3. The form of organization is not a cardinal question. Whether oppressed nationality comrades favor multinational organizing or single-nationality organizing, it is not a dividing line question in the Maoist camp. This is something that anti-revisionist forces have failed to grasp in the past and it is a line that represents MIM's unique application of the universal science of Maoism to conditions in North America. The goal of self-determination of nations is universal and the analysis of Maoist single-nationality organizing within U.S. borders is MIM's particular summation of conditions in North America.

Similarly, the liberation of national territory by oppressed nations of North America is not a cardinal question. As Black Panther Party Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver said, the point is not to force one thing or another down a people's throat. The point is to organize the people for the actual power to choose between alternatives. The oppressed nations will choose in a plebiscite whether or not they want a liberated ter-

ritory. On the way to those plebiscites, successful completion of many lower stages of struggle will have to lead the way.

In the same way, we must favor self-determination of Maoist comrades. They must have a choice between multinational and single-nationality organizing or a combination of both. In the short run, MIM advocates multinational organizing.

For the long run, MIM advocates single-nationality organizing as the principal mainstay with an important complementary role for multinational organization in building the joint dictatorship of the oppressed nations over Euro-American imperialism. Yet MIM does not make the chauvinist or provincialist error of elevating this opinion to a dividing line question.

4. Given MIM's analysis of the current period, and the need for single-nationality parties, most glaringly in the First Nations where armed struggle is already fairly developed, it becomes necessary to identify a good point for MIM comrades to develop single-nationality parties. This will become apparent as the strength of MIM develops in practice, particularly as the MIM institutions and the independent power of the oppressed grow.

One good gauge of the readiness of a group of comrades to form a party that would not degenerate or die right away (as so many organizations have in North America) is its ability to put out a regular newspaper and put forward the necessary Maoist line. MIM Notes only comes out monthly for the benefit of all nationalities. MIM comrades looking to form single-nationality parties desperately need more comrades and funds.

MIM is not saying that vanguard parties require newspapers to be vanguard parties. If there were no MIM at all, then any group of two or more Maoist comrades in any nation would constitute the vanguard.

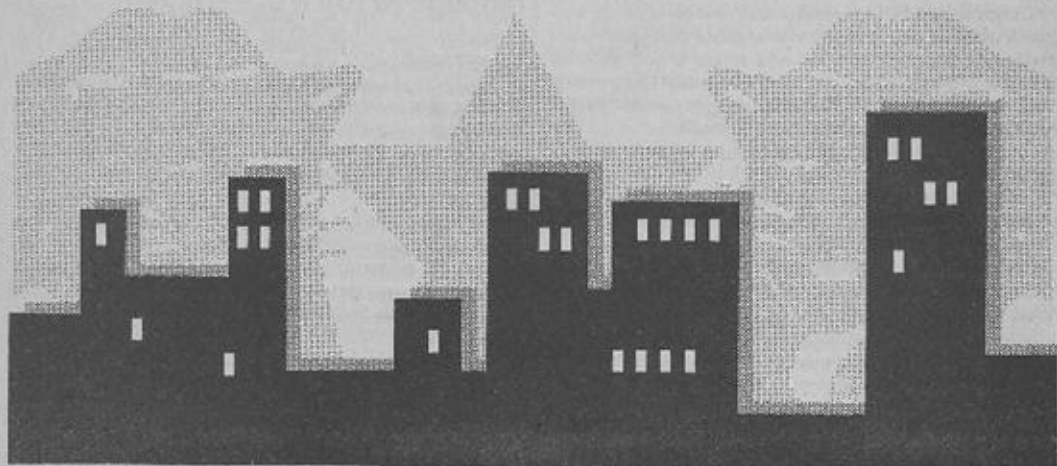
Now there is a MIM though, a MIM that is growing in order to facilitate the normal development of revolutionaries in North America. At some stage, that development will entail the formation of single-nationality parties. When the struggle will take that form is principally a practical question, a question of when the struggle would be best served by its taking the single-nationality form. Once again, MIM must stress that while it voices these opinions on these questions, the line on these questions is not a dividing line among Maoists.

5. In the rest of the world, multinational parties have carried off successful Maoist revolutions. In South Africa and the United States, the world's most parasitic imperialist powers, the most advanced Maoist forces from the 1960s believed that national liberation required separate organizations for the different nations.

In the mid-1970s, the Revolutionary Wing and other groups were saying the parties should be separate. The Black Panther Party had said they should be separate. Others were saying that only a multinational vanguard can achieve the overthrow of imperialism and guarantee the right to self-determination.

A lot of groups supported self-determination in word, but divided on non-fundamental questions in deed — constituting a blow for self-determination.

All Maoist organizations that recognize that the history of the international communist movement must be summed up in favor of Mao's analysis of the Cultural Revolution and the Soviet Union should work together. All organizations in North America that see in addition that the genuine application of Maoist science requires the analysis that the Euro-American working class is a labor aristocracy, either in its majority or its entirety, are regarded by MIM as fraternal affiliates.



The Duality of Nations:

Seize The Revolutionary Imperative

by MC12

November 1993

Since MIM developed its analysis of the white working class as a non-revolutionary worker-elite — a labor aristocracy — thanks to the work of J. Sakai in *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, it has moved to put into practice the analysis of the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations as principal for revolutionaries on a world scale under conditions of imperialism. This advanced with the publication of MIM Theory 1: "A White Proletariat?" With MIM's subsequent development of a parallel analysis of gender oppression in MIM Theory 2/3, the development of this practice has reached a conclusive point for now.

These theoretical attempts have circled around revolutionary nationalism itself, by developing an analysis of its opposite: the reactionary nationalist alliance of the labor aristocracy with the imperialist bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the gender alliance of First World pseudo-feminism with the imperialist patriarchy on the other. MIM exposed both of these alliances as both objective and subjective: as political alliances based in the material reality of life in Amerika. The underlying conclusion of both of these is the need in the United States for a communist/revolutionary-nationalist alliance led by a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard party. MIM has not thoroughly addressed the formations of the oppressed internal nations themselves, while it has constructed the skeleton of that analysis in relief.

As MIM's social base expands, reflecting the dual purposes of uniting oppressed nations behind Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and dividing susceptible elements from the American nation, the need for filling in that revolutionary center grows. That project will follow from expanded practice among the oppressed nations as well as a comprehensive review of previous and existing revolutionary nationalist movements, and the concrete theoretical analysis of both.

"When imperialism launches a war of aggression against a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a national war against imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction, while all the other contradictions among the various classes of the country ... are temporarily relegated to a secondary or subordinate position."⁽¹⁾

The nation, as a social and historical formation, exists in

both objective and subjective reality. It is neither permanent nor unchanging; both its overall existence in human society and its specific manifestations are subject to the laws of material development. The nation rises and falls, is born and dies, as determined by the motion of forces both internal and external to itself. Nations are not created solely by the drawing of state borders, any more than nation-states are the products of their official nations alone. Not all nations have developed nation-states, and not all states have been built around specific nations.

Nations are a phenomenon of class society. Class and gender contradictions pre-existed nations. Class and gender contradictions determine national contradictions in the same way that they underlay and determine the contradiction of capitalism. National liberation changes the conditions under which class and gender struggles take place; but national liberation cannot itself resolve the class and gender contradictions.

Dominant-nation theoreticians and their political followers have largely dismissed Marxist theories of nations (the objective structures) and nationalism (the political projects), and have instead settled upon a generalized conclusion that Marxism has simply failed to treat the issue successfully. Such an argument — as prevalent as it is in the dominant discourse — can never be credibly advanced with regard to the Third World. There

Marxism has produced the only form of treatment of the issue possible within the consistent pedagogy of dialectical and historical materialism: the fusion of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

The dominant-school pundits may be correct to point out that Marx himself failed to "resolve" the national question. But Marxism, the political and philosophical theory and practice, has developed and tested many approaches to the national question, producing in the process the most significant revolutionary movements in the twentieth century: the most significant revolutions, in fact, since the birth of Marxism. And yet First World intellectuals will apparently pour scorn on the legacy of Stalin and Mao on the national question as long as there are dominant nations left in the world to produce intellectuals.

Nations and national ideologies have a dual character, within which opposing characteristics exist in contradiction. As there are subordinate and dominant nations, so too are there progressive and reactionary forces within nationalism. Within

National liberation changes the conditions under which class and gender struggles take place; but national liberation cannot itself resolve those contradictions.

the subordinate nations the revolutionary (emancipatory) character of nationalism is dominant; within the dominant nations the reactionary (exclusionary) character holds sway. Failure to recognize or acknowledge this dual character of nations leads to an inability to understand the changing place of nationalism in history and the political imperatives resulting from that motion.

Each nation has a beginning and an end, as does the existence of the phenomenon itself. This is not a new proposition; rather it is an application and a development of the Marxist theory of nations begun by J.V. Stalin, who with the Bolsheviks advanced the first revolutionary theory and practice on the national question in the era of imperialism. That the outcome of that effort was history's first socialist revolution is testimony to the value of the theory and practice; that it is with historical hindsight less-than-perfect is testimony to the dialect-

Through national liberation struggles, class and gender interests are united in opposition to imperialism and national oppression.

tical relationship between theory and practice — and the truth of an old saying repeated by Mao Zedong: “a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit.” Or, more elaborately:

“The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice.”(2)

In the era of imperialism, the dual character of nations is thus: the principal contradiction on a world scale is between imperialism and the oppressed nations. This contradiction contains within it many other contradictions; principally the contradictions of class and gender. Thus, the contradictions of class and gender determine the contradictions of imperialism. Through national liberation struggles, class and gender interests are united in opposition to imperialism and national oppression, thus creating the conditions for the eventual destruction of class and gender oppression as well.

In “The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination,” Lenin argued that the right of self-determination belonged “wholly and exclusively” to the sphere of political democracy.(3) But by 1920 he distinguished between “bourgeois democratic” and “national-revolutionary” forms of national struggle. This change was the result of political struggles between reformist and revolutionary forms of Social-Democracy. The result was the “cardinal idea” underlying the

new thesis: “the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations.”(4) And it was an idea made possible in the Bolshevik Party's eyes by the imminence of socialist revolution in Russia — without a developed capitalist stage — and the anticipated future alliance between national-revolutionary struggles and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. Lenin further argued:

“In the same way as mankind can arrive at the abolition of classes only through a transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, it can arrive at the inevitable integration of nations only through a transition period of the complete emancipation of all oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to secede.”(5)

Recognizing the conditions under which the national contradiction is principal is the result of a political practice and historical analysis which reveals that the classes and genders within the oppressed and oppressor nations have constructed strategic national alliances for their class and gender interests. National liberation struggles have been propelled by these forces. In the oppressed nations these alliances have led to the revolutionary struggles that have been the main threats to the existence of the imperialist system itself. This is the objective course of human history in the era of imperialism; it is not merely the political choice of nationalists eager to advance “their cause” over class and gender struggle.

Nationalism is the political theory and practice of the nation, and its dual character mirrors the motion of the contradictions between imperialism and oppressed nations on a world scale. In the dominant imperialist nations, the reactionary character of nationalism determines the overall shape of the movement; in the subordinate nations the revolutionary character is principal, propelling the revolutionary national liberation struggle. Historian Juan Gómez-Quiñones says Lenin saw two directions in the movement of imperialism. Immediately, imperialism's oppression of nations was a force for their galvanization into national resistance movements; but at the same time the world-wide dominance of capital also forced the integration of nations.

“As a result of both aspects, there is an increase in nationalism, both for the oppressed and the oppressors. Thus, there is a dialectic between the bourgeois nationalism of the oppressor and the mass nationalism of the oppressed. Consequently, imperialism is characterized as an era of rising mass national consciousness.”(6)

The people of the dominant nations construct class and gender alliances which use nationalism to advance their class and gender interests within dominant nations at the expense of the people of the subordinate nations. These strategic alliances are mainly two-fold: the alliance of the labor aristocracy and the imperialist bourgeoisie, and the gender alliance between dominant-nation women and dominant-nation men. The people of the subordinate nations, on the other hand, construct class and gender alliances which serve to advance the interests of their nations and attack the foundations of imperialism. Their

struggle is the revolutionary nationalist struggle, comprising an alliance of the working masses with the left-wing of the national bourgeoisie and sections of the petit-bourgeoisie, and an alliance between women and left-wing men of each class level in the subordinate nation. In the dominant nations, the bourgeoisie generally leads the national class alliance, and the patriarchy leads the national gender alliance. In the oppressed nations, the level of leadership gained by the proletariat (or its ideology) in the national class alliance, and the level of leadership gained by feminism within the national gender alliance, determines the revolutionary potential of the national liberation struggle. Class and gender struggles thus propel national liberation struggles: the class and gender contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations are prioritized over the internal contradictions (and the internal contradictions provide fuel for the fire of the overall movement).

Rather than merely a self-interested grasp at opportunity, then, the Chinese communists' participation in the national war against Japan was specifically internationalist in perspective, as articulated by Mao:

"[O]nly by fighting in defence of the motherland can we defeat the aggressors and achieve national liberation. And only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and other working people to achieve their own emancipation. The victory of China and the defeat of the invading imperialists will help the people of other countries. Thus in wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism."⁽⁷⁾

Engels said of the workers in Ireland and Poland in 1882 that they had "not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic ... they are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic." Ten years earlier, Engels had argued that Irish workers should have their own national organization, because to ask them to join the British Federal Council would have been an insult.⁽⁸⁾

And Gómez-Quifiones:

"Historically, when the working class has been led by Marxists and the class struggle linked with the national liberation struggle, there has been a progressive revolutionary development. When the two have been separated or driven apart, national aspirations are captured by the bourgeoisie and right-wing petty bourgeoisie, who use them for power and advantage."⁽⁹⁾

Each of these alliances within nations — both dominant and subordinate — is by necessity also contradictory and highly imperfect, but their overall character is one of subordinated contradiction and strategic alliance. At various times their internal contradictions become antagonistic, which motion yields opportunities for opposing nations to make divisive inroads. The division of the oppressor nations is a revolutionary development, while the division of the oppressed nations represents a setback and loss for the people's struggle against imperialism.

Thus MIM has developed a dual purpose, which includes

on the one hand seeking to divide the dominant American nation by drawing off members of such potentially revolutionary elements as students and young people, and on the other hand developing united Maoist revolutionary leadership for the oppressed nations which stand in opposition to American imperialism.

Notes:

1. Mao Zedong, "On Contradiction," *Collected Works* Vol. 1 Foreign Languages Press: Peking, 1975, p. 331.
2. Mao Zedong, "On Practice," in *Selected Readings*, Foreign Languages Press: Peking, 1971, p. 67.
3. V.I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," January-February 1916. *From Selected Works*, One Volume Edition. International Publishers: New York, 1971.
4. From the 2nd Congress of the Communist International (1920). In *Ibid.*, pp. 602-605. Emphasis added.
5. Lenin, *op cit.*, p. 160.
6. Juan Gómez-Quifiones, "Critique on the National Question, Self-Determination and Nationalism," *Latin American Perspectives*, Spring 1982, Issue 33, Vol. IX, No. 2, p. 70.
7. Mao, *Selected Readings*, *op cit.*, p. 140.
8. Ian Cummins, *Marx, Engels and National Movements*. St. Martin's: New York, 1980, p. 104.
9. Gómez-Quifiones, *op cit.*, p. 77.

Dominant-Nation Gender Alliance

October 1991
revised May 1993

by MC12

In 1906 a Kentucky suffragist wrote that the National American Women's Suffrage Association had,

"always recognized the usefulness of woman suffrage as a counterbalance to the foreign vote, and as a means of legally preserving White supremacy in the South. In the campaign in South Carolina, we ... never hesitated to show that the White women's vote would give supremacy to the white race."⁽¹⁾

More than a half-century later, historian Paula Giddings wrote, "As far as many Blacks were concerned, the emergence of the [1960s] women's movement couldn't have been more untimely or irrelevant."⁽²⁾ But beyond that, white women's movements have gone directly against the interest of Black women and men alike. The oppressor nation has constructed a gender alliance which parallels the class alliance between the labor aristocracy and bourgeoisie. The alliance is contradictory, to be sure, but its principal character is unity, with strategic suppression of struggle. And it is ultimately led by the patriarchy; since the oppressor-nation women have not opposed "America" itself and joined forces with the oppressed, they

have been forced to settle for their advances at the convenience of their more powerful allies. The oppressor-nation's women's movement has sought equality and unity within the nation, in the process strengthening the nation and its dominance over its subordinates.

Ida Lewis wrote of the rising white women's movement in the 1960s:

"The Women's Liberation Movement is basically a family quarrel between White women and White men. And on general principle, it's not good to get involved in family disputes. Outsiders always get shafted when the dust settles. ... Suppose the Lib movement succeeds. It will follow since white power is the order of the day, that white women will be the first hired, which will still leave black men and women outside."⁽³⁾

And she added, "If we speak of a liberation movement, as a Black woman I view my role from a Black perspective — the role of Black women is to continue the struggle in concert with Black men for the liberation and determination of

Blacks."⁽⁴⁾ Kathleen Cleaver, who recognized the ultimate need for all women to fight patriarchy together, nevertheless insisted that, "Because the problems of Black women and the problems of White women are so completely diverse, they can not possibly be solved in the same type of organization nor met by the same type of activity."

The National Organization for Women (NOW) burst on the scene immediately following the explosion of the Black Power movement. In fact, it was specifically spurred in part by the debates over the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In an attempt to kill the bill, one Congressman had moved to include the word "sex" to the provisions against employment discrimination. The bill passed anyway, and some of NOW's first actions were to gain enforcement of the new sex discrimination clause.⁽⁵⁾ The White women's movement boomed as it fought for better access to jobs for its middle class supporters — many of the same jobs which were the subject of years of Black reformist struggles.

In the summer of 1970, when the media shifted to giving more positive attention to white feminists, with Black revolution the only apparent alternative, a Black women's contingent at an anniversary march for the Nineteenth Amendment was told by a NOW official that their "Hands Off Angela Davis" signs had "nothing to do with women's liberation." At the time Davis was on the FBI's most wanted list.⁽⁶⁾ The spotlight was on NOW — its budgets had increased into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, and it wasn't about to be handicapped by the struggles of the oppressed internal nations. Third World Women's Alliance leader Frances Beal asked:

"When white women demand from men an equal part of the pie, we say, 'Equal to what? What makes us think that white women, given the positions of white men in the system, wouldn't turn around and use their white skin for the same white privileges? This is an economy which favors whites.'"⁽⁷⁾

Notes:

1. Quoted in Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*. Bantam: New York, 1984, pp. 125-26. The most common way for the white suffrage movement to guarantee white supremacy was by backing literacy and other restrictions on new voters. A similar pattern is seen in the fight for universal suffrage for white men years earlier. Those states which in the early 1800s had technically allowed free Blacks to vote simultaneously passed laws granting white men suffrage and barring further voting by Blacks. "Referenda repeatedly proved such regulations hugely popular among whites." David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Verso: London, 1991, p. 57.
2. Giddings, op cit., p. 299. In 1963 Betty Friedan declared: "I never knew a woman, when I was growing up, who used her mind, played her own part in the world, and also loved, and had children." *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

Get the background behind MIM Theory. Order these essential texts from MIM.

- Mavrikis, Kostas. *On Trotskyism*. \$10. Historical exposure of Trotsky, theoretical treatment of Mao and Trotsky, the best polemic against Trotsky.
- Franklin, Bruce, ed. *The Essential Stalin*. \$7. Major theoretical writings 1905-1952.
- V.I. Lenin. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. \$3. The classic analysis of imperialism as the inevitable development of capitalism. "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination." \$2.
- Edwards, H.W. *Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy*. \$10. Hard-hitting and scientific explanation for the lack of proletarian revolution in the West, especially the U.S. Finds labor aristocracy to be majority population of the U.S. and allied with the bourgeoisie to plunder the Third World.
- Shanghai People's Press. *The Fundamentals of Political Economy*. \$15. A basic introduction to Marxist political economy and the economic laws of socialism and communism. Required text for all MIM members.

Send cash, check or m.o. made out to "MIM Distributors" to:

PO Box 3576,
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

The National Bourgeoisie's Role

August 1993

by MCS

After the question of the labor aristocracy, the most important question in the intersection of nation and class in North America is the question of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations. When we back the demands of the oppressed nation proletariat, all supposed "Marxists" will appear to agree. But some want to consider only "class" all the time in a one-dimensional way. In analyzing the role of the oppressed nation bourgeoisie all the way through the new democratic stage, Maoists see that this is impossible.

"We are exponents of the theory of the transition of the revolution, and not the Trotskyite theory of 'permanent revolution.' We are for the attainment of socialism by going through all the necessary stages of the democratic republic. We are opposed to tailism, but we are also opposed to adventurism and impetuosity. To reject the participation of the bourgeoisie in the revolution on the ground that it can only be temporary and to describe the alliance with anti-Japanese sections of the bourgeoisie (in a semi-colonial country) as capitulation is a Trotskyite approach, with which we cannot agree. Today such an alliance is in fact a necessary bridge on the way to socialism."⁽¹⁾

In North America, where there is little feudalism, the progressive economic role of the national bourgeoisie in the Black nation in particular is not worth mentioning — unless of course that economic role is to be the bearers of new social relations which do not reflect national oppression. But we cannot simply reduce the national question away the way the Trotskyists do:

"When imperialism launches a war of aggression against such a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a national war against imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction, while all the contradictions among the various classes within the country (including what was the principal contradiction, between the feudal system and the great masses of people) are temporarily relegated to a secondary and subordinate position."⁽²⁾

Mao goes on to speak of conditions in pre-colonized and post-1949 China:

"But in another situation, the contradictions change position. When imperialism carries on its oppression not by war, but by milder means — political, economic and cultural — the ruling classes in semi-colonial countries capitulate to imperialism, and the two form an alliance for the joint oppression of the masses of the people. At such a

time, the masses often resort to civil war against the alliance of imperialism and the feudal classes, while imperialism often employs indirect methods rather than direct action in helping the reactionaries in the semi-colonial countries to oppress the people."⁽³⁾

The oppressed nations of North America were invaded and are still occupied by imperialism. They are not "indirectly" ruled, except perhaps in the case of cities where there are mayors from the oppressed nationality. Even in those cities where there are Black mayors, the cops are often white, as is the general administrative power structure. In such cases, the city area should still be treated as an occupied territory, albeit with some especially famous "traitors" ruling.

While the oppressed nation is under occupation, the national question is principal. Trotskyists only decide which classes are progressive economically and ally with those classes. And for them it is only the working class that is progressive. For Mao and Maoists, invasion changes the class forces: "Japanese invasion has altered class relations in China, and it is now possible not only for the petty bourgeoisie but even for the national bourgeoisie to join the anti-Japanese struggle."⁽⁴⁾

In fact, during invasion the national contradiction express-

We cannot simply reduce the national question away the way the Trotskyists do.

es the class contradiction: "To sustain a long war by long-term co-operation or, in other words, to subordinate the class struggle to the present national struggle against Japan — such is the fundamental principle of the united front."⁽⁵⁾

The national bourgeoisie transforms in invasion because it is threatened with bankruptcy and it prefers to set up a nation that it leads like the most advanced of the industrialized nations. The national bourgeoisie agrees with Mao that after the occupation is defeated, "as to the future of the democratic republic, though it may move in a capitalist direction, the possibility also exists that it will turn towards socialism, and the party of the Chinese proletariat should struggle hard for the latter prospect."⁽⁶⁾

According to Mao, when the national question is principal, communists must ally with classes representing backward modes of production if they are of any help to the battle against national oppression:

"In order to end the internal armed conflict, the Communist Party is willing to discontinue the policy of forcible confiscation of the land of the landlords and is prepared to solve the land problem by legislative and

other appropriate means in the course of building the new democratic republic. The first question to be settled is whether China's land will be owned by the Japanese or by the Chinese. Since the solution of the land problem of the peasants is predicated on the defence of China, it is absolutely necessary for us to turn from the method of forcible confiscation to appropriate new methods."(7)

In China, the communists allowed the peasants to continue paying rent to landlords during World War II and did not conduct complete land reform until after 1949.

You won't hear RCP Chairperson Bob Avakian or the Trotskyists address this quotation. They hate it because they hate stages and realistic strategy. If your job is to seize state

'One of the chief political and economic characteristics of a semi-colonial country is the weakness of its national bourgeoisie. That is exactly why the imperialists dare to bully them...'

power and the Japanese have it, then you have to concentrate on that first. The parallel for us in the United States is not landlords but the equally backward (relatively speaking) national bourgeoisie. We do not want a sharp class struggle against the national bourgeoisie. We want the national bourgeoisie to aid with ending the imperialist occupation of North America and the world.

Beyond temporary alliances with landlords during the battle against Japanese imperialists, Mao was willing to have temporary alliances with non-Japanese imperialists as well. Imperialists, by definition, never have a progressive economic character. They represent the decadent phase of capitalism. Nevertheless:

"Confronted with Japanese imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang are temporarily forced to seek an ally in the proletariat, just as we are seeking an ally in the bourgeoisie. We should take this as our point of departure in considering the question. Internationally, for a similar reason, the French government has changed from hostility towards the Soviet Union to alliance with it."(8)

Finally, Mao's party captured Guomindang leader and mass murderer Chiang Kai-shek during the Japanese occupation. Mao and Zhou Enlai ordered the release of this landlord and comprador, embarrassing Chiang's forces into a united front against the Japanese. Chiang Kai-shek promised and delivered a united front against the Japanese, albeit one with impurities.

According to Mao, in world war, life even gets complicat-

ed for compradors. During World War II, being a puppet of the Allied imperialists meant having to fight the puppets of the Axis imperialists. That means some compradors came around to friendly relations with the Chinese Communist Party.

"The comprador big bourgeoisie is a class which directly serves the capitalists of the imperialist countries and is nurtured by them; countless ties link it closely with the feudal forces in the countryside. Therefore, it is a target of the Chinese revolution and never in the history of the revolution has it been a motive force.

"However, different sections of the comprador big bourgeoisie owe allegiance to different imperialist powers. ... It becomes possible for the sections of the comprador class which serve other imperialist groupings to join the current anti-imperialist front to a certain extent and for a certain period. But they will turn against the Chinese revolution the moment their masters do."(9)

This is an important factor that distinguishes the comprador from the national bourgeoisie. As inter-imperialist contradictions develop, compradors may contend or they may collude with other compradors backed by other imperialists. In contrast, the national bourgeoisie never saw any direct benefits from imperialist collusion, because the national bourgeoisie is not a creation of the imperialists: "it is oppressed by imperialism."(10)

"The national bourgeoisie in China, which is mainly the middle bourgeoisie, has never really held political power but has been restricted by the reactionary policies of the big landlord class and big bourgeoisie which are in power."(11)

When there is a socialist bloc or Third World to rob, the imperialists and their compradors may decide to collude, but the national bourgeoisie will not respond to quick changes in imperialist directions the way the comprador class will.

"Is it correct to object to our view on the ground that China's national bourgeoisie is politically and economically flabby, and to argue that it cannot possibly change its attitude in spite of the new circumstances? I think not. If weakness is the reason for its inability to change its attitude, why did the national bourgeoisie behave differently in 1924-7 when it did not merely vacillate towards the revolution but actually joined it? Can one say that the weakness of the national bourgeoisie is a new disease, and not one that accompanies it from the very womb? Can one say that the national bourgeoisie is weak today, but was not weak in 1924-7? One of the chief political and economic characteristics of a semi-colonial country is the weakness of its national bourgeoisie. That is exactly why the imperialists dare to bully them, and it follows that one of their characteristics is dislike of imperialism. Of course, so far from denying it, we fully recognize that it is the very weakness of the national bourgeoisie that may make it easy for the imperialists, landlords and compradors to entice them with the bait of some temporary advantage:

hence their lack of revolutionary thoroughness. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that in the present circumstances there is no difference between the national bourgeoisie and the landlord and comprador classes."(12)

In North America, the Black nation and even the First Nations are not semi-feudal, but they are semi-colonies; hence what Mao says about fighting the occupation and seizing state power applies to their national bourgeoisie(s). A difference in conditions is that the U.S. imperialists occupied the semi-colonies first and then sought to buy off large fractions of them through integration. Nonetheless, long before the settler labor aristocracy ever experiences a crisis sufficient to upend its sympathies, the occupation will heat up.

In the 1960s, the plurality of Blacks regarded the BPP as their leaders. In such circumstances, the national bourgeoisie has no choice but to play within that framework. The national bourgeoisie has no special power to avoid the political climate. To get with the people to exploit them, the national bourgeoisie has to play along with proletarian leaders at times. We must expose their maneuvers to keep from getting confused, but we must also ally with them.

Mao also faced the problem of integrationism — the possibility for co-optation of some Chinese by the imperialists. Some anarchists became pro-Japanese government puppet administrators in China. In addition, the Japanese were able to buy off some members of the bourgeoisie. Such economic activity was also a material basis of ultraleftism according to Mao:

"Certain malicious propagandists, deliberately confusing these two distinct revolutionary stages, advocate the so-called theory of a single revolution. ... Their real purpose is to root out all revolution, to oppose a thoroughgoing bourgeois-democratic revolution and thoroughgoing resistance to Japan and to prepare public opinion for their capitulation to the Japanese aggressors. This is deliberately being fostered by the Japanese imperialists. Since their occupation of Wuhan, they have come to realize that military force alone cannot subjugate China and have therefore resorted to political offensives and economic blandishments. Their political offensives consist in tempting wavering elements in the anti-Japanese camp, splitting the united front and undermining Kuomintang-Communist co-operation. ... In central and southern China the Japanese aggressors are allowing Chinese capitalists to invest 51 per cent of the capital in such enterprises, with Japanese capital making up the other 49 per cent; in northern China they are allowing Chinese capitalists to invest 49 per cent of the capital, with Japanese capital making up the other 51 per cent. ... Some conscienceless capitalists forget all moral principles and itch to have a go. One section, represented by Wang Ching-wei, has already capitulated. Another section lurking in the anti-Japanese camp would also like to cross over. But, with the cowardice of thieves, they fear that the Communists will block their exit and,

what is more, that the common people will brand them as traitors. So they have put their heads together and decided to prepare the ground in cultural circles and through the press. Having determined on their policy, they have lost no time in hiring some 'metaphysics-mongers' plus a few Trotskyites, who brandishing their pens like lances, are tilting in all direction and creating bedlam. Hence the whole bag of tricks for deceiving those who do not know what is going on in the world around them — the 'theory of a single revolution', the tales that communism does not suit the national conditions of China, that there is no need for a Communist Party in China ..."(13)

The Chinese who wanted to make money collaborating with the Japanese needed the Trotskyists, because the Trotskyists delegitimized the Communist Party. They said that China was too backward for socialist revolution and that the bourgeoisie could accomplish the same goals as Mao's party. By spreading such nonsense, the Trotskyists were undermining the organization most responsible for resistance to the Japanese.

In the 1960s, the plurality of Blacks regarded the BPP as their leaders. In such a case, the national bourgeoisie has no choice but to play within that framework.

But on the other hand,

"... there are other people, apparently with no evil intentions, who are misled ... they do not understand that our revolution is divided into stages. ... Their approach is likewise very harmful because it confuses the steps to be taken in the revolution and weakens the effort directed towards the current task. It is correct and in accord with the Marxist theory of revolutionary development to say of the two revolutionary stages that the first provides the conditions for the second and that the two must be consecutive, without allowing any intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship."(14)

The ultraleft in North America misses that there is an anti-imperialist/anti-militarist stage of revolution. There are occupations to be ended and neocolonial puppets to be dealt with before we know which class owns what within oppressed countries.

Finally,

"The national bourgeoisie is less feudal than the landlord class and not so comprador as the comprador class. The section having more ties with foreign capital and the Chinese landed interests form the right-wing of the national bourgeoisie; and we shall not, for the moment, consider

whether it can change or not. The problem lies with those sections which have few or no such ties. ... On the one hand they dislike imperialism, and on the other they fear thorough revolution, and they vacillate between the two."(15)

Mao carefully defined the national bourgeoisie as a potential vehicle of change. Even if it only vacillates, it helps us to smash the state in this stage of struggle.

Notes:

1. Mao Zedong, "Win the Masses in Their Millions ..." *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Press: Peking, 1975, pp. 290-1.
2. "On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 331.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 331-2.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
5. Mao, "The Question of Independence and Initiative within the

United Front: The Identity between the National and the Class Struggle," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 215.

6. Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, op cit, 275.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
9. Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 320.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
13. Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 358-9.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 360.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

Supreme Court Creates Allies of The International Proletariat

December 1991

by MCS

The march of the white nation toward fascism with the likes of David Duke (old-fashioned Nazi fascist), Patrick Buchanan ("nativist" fascist) and Pat Robertson (new-fangled theocratic fascist) is like a cloud with a silver lining. Every attack that the Amerikan nation unleashes as it tilts ever further rightward creates a new set of friends for the international proletariat.

MIM calls Blacks, Latinos, Asians and indigenous people who become capitalists dependent on the white power structure comprador bourgeoisie (capitalists). Compradors help the white nation's capitalists exploit and superexploit the Third World by giving a Third World face to imperialist power. More than any other group of Third World people, compradors sell out their people to the imperialists, because their well-to-do existence depends on the Amerikan imperialists or some other group of imperialists.

A single reactionary Supreme Court ruling in January, 1989 [*Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.*, 488 U.S. 469] has produced thousands of new allies for the international proletariat. This ruling destroyed thousands of comprador capitalists.

The 1989 Supreme Court ruling invalidated quotas for the hiring of minority-owned contractors to do government work. Under these quotas, when city governments bought goods and services from privately-owned businesses, a certain percentage of purchases had to be from

minority-owned businesses. As a result of the ruling, more than two dozen cities stopped giving a portion of their business to minority-owned businesses. Hundreds of city, county and other governments are also reviewing their practices. In the meantime, thousands of minority-owned businesses have gone out of business.

Until 1989, the city government of Richmond, Virginia guaranteed that 30% of its contracts went to minority-owned businesses. The reasoning was if such a percentage of the population in Richmond is Black, then how can it be just an accident that the government gives whites 80%, 90% or 95% of its business? Quota-supporters reasoned that those percentages amounted to discrimination.

MIM supports this reasoning and all other quota reasoning. The only way quota reasoning can be false is with the national chauvinist assumption that Third World capitalists are inferior to white capitalists as a group in providing goods and services.

The iron-clad reasoning behind quotas escapes the middle-class, individualist American who is incapable of thinking in terms of groups. The individualist looks at any two individual capitalists and asks which is better qualified to receive the government contract. If it just so happens that when all those individual choices are made, oppressed nationals get a disproportionately low share of contracts, college admissions or jobs, the Amerikan individualist does not suspect discrimination. In contrast, MIM says it is scientifically impossible that there is no discrimi-

**The individualist
looks at any two
individual capitalists
and asks which is
better qualified to
receive the
government
contract.**

nation in America, unless one assumes that oppressed nations are inferior, which MIM does not.

The standards that the Amerikan individualist uses to evaluate any pair of oppressed nations and whites are usually pro-white biased standards. That is why the individualists support discriminatory decisions often without realizing it.

MIM supports quotas also because it is the first step toward thinking about nations as groups, instead of always thinking in terms of individuals. From looking at statistics of entire nations, it is possible to see that entire nations of people are oppressed. The same reasoning is true of class and gender and sometimes the reasoning concerning all three oppressions must be combined.

Although MIM supports quotas, that is not to say MIM believes integration works. The Supreme Court ruling proves that it does not, sometimes not even for "minority" capitalists. Minority contractors getting government contracts are the perfect case of compradors. These contractors would not be capitalists at all if it were not for the imperialist government.

Carole E. Robinson is a case in point. She was doing sales of \$450,000 a year until the courts struck down quotas in her city on April 5, 1990. Now she is doing \$45,000 a year in business, hardly enough to make any profit to live on.

In contrast is the national bourgeoisie, which has its own base of power and can operate independently from white capitalists as much as any white capitalist can. The national bourgeoisie is sometimes a friend of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed.

The comprador bourgeoisie supports integration, because the compradors have gained their own success from integration. They support reforming the system to let Third World people become just like Euro-Americans on Euro-American terms.

The imperialist courts gave the Amerikan capitalists a large share of the business of the compradors in order to appease the Euro-American capitalists who are having a hard time. In times of trouble, the imperialists often shore up the home base of the white nation.

By wiping out comprador capitalists by the thousands with the stroke of a pen, the imperialists have guaranteed an upsurge in revolutionary nationalist and proletarian movements of the Third World peoples within the United States. The imperialists may have realized that they went too far, so they might try to restore some minority-owned businesses, but the damage to comprador-imperialist relations is done. MIM welcomes its thousands of new class allies.

Notes: New York Times, 12/23/91, p. 1.

Defining Comprador & National Bourgeoisie

"This class aspires to attain the position of the big bourgeoisie, but it suffers from the blows of foreign capital and the oppression of the warlords and cannot develop. This class has a contradictory attitude toward the national revolution. When it suffers from the blows of foreign capital and the oppression of the warlords, it feels the need of a revolution and favours the revolutionary movement against imperialism and the warlords ... This class is what is called the national bourgeoisie."

"Its right wing must be considered our enemy, even if it is not already, it will soon become so. Its left wing may become our friend, but it is not a true friend and we must be constantly on guard against it. We must not allow it to create confusion in our ranks." (1)

During the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings, some argued that Anita Hill was a potential ally as a member of the national bourgeoisie. But when did Hill ever support national revolution? When did she oppose imperialism? What blows from foreign capital did she suffer? In fact, Hill is not part of the national bourgeoisie, as her whole existence is predicated on foreign capital.

[Jan. 1994 postscript Anita Hill is part of what we refer to as bureaucratic capital, i.e., a government lackey for Thomas or perhaps in a more lenient interpretation she is only petit-bourgeoisie. See MT 2/3 for a whole chapter on Hill-Thomas.]

Even in China, where the crumbs to buy off compradors were scarce, Mao treads very carefully concerning the national bourgeoisie. Here inside America, where the comprador class is much bigger percentage-wise than in China, we should be even more careful.

The national bourgeoisie in this country would look like the well-to-do Islamic revolutionaries who take a consistent line against white administration of justice on Blacks, conscription of Blacks, imperialist intervention abroad, etc. Louis Farrakhan, if he has control of the means of production, is a good candidate. These people want Black capitalism. They are national bourgeoisie.

—MCS

Notes:

1. Stuart Schram, ed., *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, Praeger: New York, 1969, pp. 213-214.

Lenin's Method: Looking at The Labor Aristocracy

December 1993

by MC5

One of the distinguishing features of Trotskyism is its singular lack of concern for concrete analysis. When it comes to the labor aristocracy in the imperialist countries, Trotskyists will recite bits and pieces of Lenin that they remember reading, but they will never undertake any concrete analysis of the actual role of the labor aristocracy relative to the proletariat.

Here we examine Lenin's approach to this question in his day. We learn that he had a keen eye for staying abreast of developments and that he believed that the split in the working class internationally had become more profound in the few years between 1895, when Engels died, and 1916, when the Bolsheviks made speeches on the topic.

Unfortunately, we must undertake this exercise, because an incorrect attitude toward even examining the question has taken over the communist movement in the imperialist countries. At a recent conference of Maoist delegates mostly from the imperialist countries, MIM received a very sharp rebuke, heckling and loud jeering for explaining that the entire American working class had been bourgeoisified.

Outside the philistine stream in the workers' movement, it should not be possible to find jeering for this position. The position of Engels makes it clear that MIM's position is correct. He wrote to Marx on October 7, 1858:

"The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie. For a nation that exploits the whole world, this is of course to a certain extent justifiable."(1)

Why is it that Engels could say that in 1858 and MIM's position seems out of hand to our supposedly Maoist comrades?

Further, many comrades calling themselves "Maoists" have not yet properly demarcated from the Second International. Here is what Zinoviev had to say while representing Lenin's party and undertaking fierce struggle against the social-chauvinists who backed World War I in 1916:

"These 'little bourgeois' — the labor aristocracy — served the big bourgeoisie as the best means of introducing the bourgeois ideas into the laboring mass. ... The 'little bourgeois' became the most reliable advance guards of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the camp of the working

class."(2)

Lenin himself also spoke of "an alliance ... between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists against the other countries."(3) Why did our comrades heckle us when we said that there was an alliance between the imperialist country working classes and the imperialists?

ZINOVIEV ON GERMANY

Many Trotskyists should also note the careful distinction drawn between the 4,000 or more labor "bureaucrats" in Germany, who are union leaders, and the "labor aristocracy," which Lenin and Zinoviev said was also growing and much larger than the labor "bureaucracy." The Trotskyists, and other would-be perpetrators of international apartheid unity of imperialists and their working classes, are always begging for one more chance to use oppressed nationality workers for their benefit. They keep saying that the Euro-American workers have "false consciousness" because of their "bureaucrat" leaders, but if you just give the Euro-American workers one more chance, they will come around to revolution.

Why is it that Engels could say that in 1858 and MIM's position seems out of hand to our supposedly Maoist comrades?

But Zinoviev and Lenin disagreed with today's Trotskyists, neo-Trotskyists and crypto-Trotskyists. Zinoviev in 1916 said, "We do not at all wish to contend that the entire crisis can be explained by the treachery of the leaders. The treachery of the leaders in itself can only be explained by more profound causes inherent in this period."(4) There is nothing like a world war to clarify who the fakers in the socialist movement are. Too bad many comrades today still haven't learned their lesson on the Second International.

As for the obsession with size of parties instead of quality of political line that is also common today, Zinoviev again took the appropriate view: "Better twenty deputies who are really Socialists than a hundred deputies of whom half are still deeply immersed in the petty bourgeoisie."(5) When it came time for World War I, the communists learned a priceless lesson: the vast majority of those claiming to be socialist sided with their governments in the war. It was startling to find just how good a communist you had to be to oppose the war. It was a simple choice: sizeism or opposition to imperialism's mass carnage. To have large membership numbers at the beginning of World War I, it was necessary to support the war for colonies. Lenin and Zinoviev drew the proper conclusions about membership size.

Even in Germany, where colonialism was not yet deeply developed in 1916 relative to its state in England or the United

States or later Germany, Zinoviev and Lenin had some remarkable things to say. According to Zinoviev, "*The predominant mass of the membership of the Social Democratic organization consists of the better-paid strata of labor — of those strata from which the greatest section of the labor aristocracy arises.*" According to Zinoviev, the socialists of the Second International, the Social-Democrats, were not more than 15% proletarian in Germany. A huge portion of the population was hence labor aristocracy, judging merely from the number of Social-Democrat voters on which Zinoviev got figures.

What is more shocking is the extent of the petit-bourgeoisie in Germany: "Even in Germany's biggest cities, in the chief fortresses of the Social Democracy, more than a third of its voters do not belong to the working class but to the bourgeoisie. To the petty-bourgeoisie, for the greatest part ... but in any case, to the bourgeoisie."(6)

According to Zinoviev, the German Social-Democrats were a majority workers, but only a small minority was proletarian. Later at the Fourth Congress of the COMINTERN Zinoviev succeeded in obtaining unanimous approval for a thesis distinguishing workers' governments from proletarian dictatorships. At root was this distinction between labor aristocracy workers and proletarians.

LENIN & MIM ON THE EXPANDING LABOR ARISTOCRACY

Unlike dogmatists today who wink at the labor aristocracy and ignore an analysis of today's conditions, Lenin kept himself up to date on the relevant facts and figures. In one edition of his pamphlet "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism," he cited a figure of 5 to 8 billion francs a year in superprofits in the imperialist countries — the United States, England, France and Germany. In later editions he just said 8 billion francs. According to Lenin, a "Great Power" typically spent a billion francs a year bribing its workers.(7) Today when communications and economic statistics are more thorough and advanced, the apologists for the labor aristocracy have much less excuse for knowing less than Lenin did about such matters.

Unlike lazy dogmatists stuck in a certain section of Capital, vol. I, which refers to only one case of class relations that Marx sought to describe, Lenin very carefully made an historical analysis:

"Between 1848 and 1868, and to a certain extent later, only England enjoyed a monopoly; that is why opportunism could prevail there for decades. No other countries possessed either very rich colonies or an industrial monopoly.

"The last third of the nineteenth century saw the transition to the new imperialist era. Finance capital not of one, but of several, though very few, Great Powers enjoys a monopoly. ... This difference explains why England's monopoly position could remain unchallenged for decades. The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has

begun. ... [now] every imperialist 'Great' Power can and does bribe smaller strata (than in England 1848-1868) of the 'labour aristocracy.'"(8)

Zinoviev likewise spoke for the party when he said,

"Until very recently the question of the labor aristocracy and its conservative role in the labor movement has been treated as a problem almost unique to the British labor movement. The epoch of modern imperialism and the events in the labor movement of the entire world in connection with the World War have posed this question on a much wider scale. It has become one of the most basic questions of the labor movement as a whole."(9)

If that's what Lenin's party was saying in 1916, why isn't it one of the most basic questions today? Has there been any less monopolization by the imperialist powers? Of course not. There has in fact been increasing penetration of imperialism throughout the world.

The most important thing that we can get from this last Zinoviev quotation is a sense of the attitude toward method from the Bolsheviks at the time. According to Zinoviev things had changed "very recently." Zinoviev and Lenin did not fear

We must undertake an analysis of the size of the labor aristocracy and petit-bourgeoisie relative to the proletariat.

to change what Engels said. They pointed out the spread of the labor aristocracy throughout the imperialist world. This should prove to our comrades everywhere that they must undertake a current analysis of the size of the labor aristocracy and petit-bourgeoisie relative to the proletariat. We ask our fraternal parties to adopt the principles in this document from Lenin and Zinoviev as their own, and at the very least join MIM in declaring the necessity of studying the labor aristocracy question. We do not think it will take long for our comrades to see that there is no proletarian class within the imperialist nations, only a bourgeoisified labor aristocracy.

Notes:

1. V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," John Riddell ed., *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, Monad Press: New York, 1984, p. 498.
2. Gregory Zinoviev, "The Social Roots of Opportunism," in John Riddell ed., *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, Monad Press: New York, 1984, p. 488.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 499-500.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 486.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 480.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 477-8.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 497, 500.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 500-1.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 486-7.

Nationalism: Idealism vs. Materialism

February 1991

by MCS

J.V. Stalin and Mao Zedong put forward the definitive line on nationalism in general. This article is not intended to substitute for a concrete analysis of the situation in the United States, especially not of programs of various nationalist groups. We treat specific nations concretely throughout this issue of MIM Theory.

What stands out in regard to much of the struggle between Maoism and other supposedly communist trends in the United States is the issue of integration — working for equal rights within white society and in white terms. The integration strategy is very attractive because large sections of the oppressed communities have derived some benefit from it. The U.S. imperialists try to dangle that carrot of co-optation to oppressed nationalities, while throwing carrots wholesale to the white working class.

The integration strategy is so strong that many people do not recognize it when they see it. Some people unconsciously take it for granted. Call the integration strategy "Trotskyism" and suddenly people think they are fighting for communism.

It reminds one of the struggle with the better feminist lines. Glorifying women's deprivation of power in society takes many forms. Sometimes well-meaning feminists give up and just accept that women have some inherent biological difference that makes them incapable of being dictators like the bourgeois men.

Another form of feminism that eroticizes the oppression of women is anarchist feminism. In the politics of anarchist feminism, the goal is simply to wipe out power instantly by denying its existence in a fantasy of the anarchists' construction.(1)

The strategy of Trotskyism in the United States and elsewhere for oppressed nationalities is like that of anarchist feminism in one sense: It's a different name for an old and failing strategy. Trotskyism is another name for the integration strategy.

It is the Trotskyists everywhere, whether it be the Spartacist League or Spark that tell oppressed nationalities: "unite with the white working class to overthrow capitalism. That is the solution to racial oppression."

It was Lenin, Stalin and Mao who developed the line and strategy that credited revolutionary nationalism, not the important anti-racist movement, as the most important ally of the

international communist movement

Here MIM defines its terms:

1. **Line** — The general political orientation and ideology of the communist movement. In this case the line is to uphold internationalism — the goal of nationless society.

(Reactionaries also have a "line," but that is not relevant here.)

2. **Strategy** — What to do to achieve the single most important practical goal on the way to communism. At this time, seizing state power is the most important goal. Note that a strategy is not always the same thing as line.

The gain of national liberation from occupying imperialists is important in itself. However, it is also important in the strategy of the international communist movement. Imperialism could not survive if all nations ran their own affairs. The defeats handed to imperialism by Maoist and revolutionary nationalist struggles make it possible for the Maoists to seize state power within imperialist countries, the ultimate and likely final blow to the system of capitalism.

3. **Tactics** — What communists do at any given moment on their way to achieving the larger strategic goal which itself is only a stage in the advance toward a real society of internationalism. Tactics are not strategy. Tactics are constructed to help toward the achievement and implementation of strategy.

The integration strategy is very attractive because large sections of the oppressed communities have derived some benefit from it.

Of course, MIM does not oppose the integration strategy when it can succeed in limited circumstances — for example, gaining more "minority" students entrance in traditionally white colleges. On the other hand, MIM has the duty to point out that overall, and historically, revolutionary nationalism (the nationalism of the oppressed nations) has a better record than integrationism in moving to the goal of a world of equality between nations and races and a world without borders.

What the Trotskyists must erase from people's memory is the fact that the major blows to imperialism in this century have combined class struggle with national liberation, as in the cases of China, Albania, North Korea and Vietnam.

These revolutions did not achieve ultimate success, and they had their own problems; however, the question is always relative. Trotskyists like to kid people into thinking that the struggles of the white working classes for "30 for 40" or some wage hike or just another VCR is somehow more significant than the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism.

Even more strictly nationalist struggles have done more to shake imperialism than the white working class efforts to buy

more televisions. Trotskyist efforts to rewrite the history of national liberation in the 20th century and the struggles of oppressed nationalities in the United States as failures compared with Trotskyism are nothing but conscious and unconscious racism and white supremacy. (See MT6 for more on Trotskyism and Stalin.)

So when comrades say that revolutionary nationalism is a failure, as one ex-comrade recently did, they must ask themselves, compared with what? Compared with Martin Luther King? Compared with non-existent Trotskyist revolutions in the world? The ideas or poetry of the Trotskyists and reformist integrationists may sound momentarily pleasing but what did they produce compared with the ideas of revolutionary nationalism?

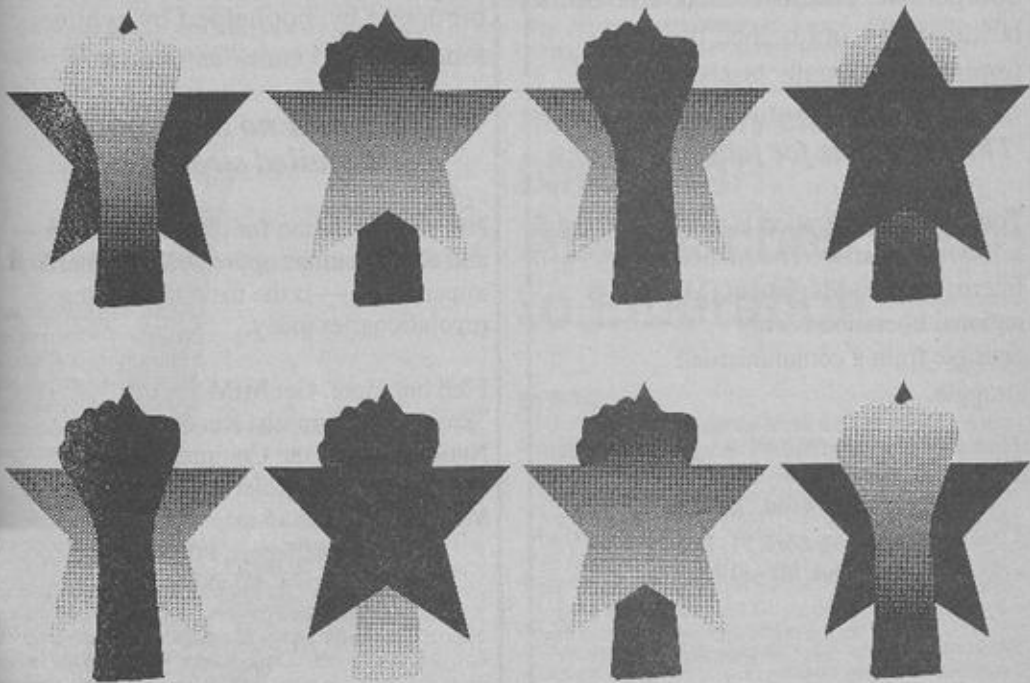
To all those interested in state power for communists, Trotskyism reveals itself to be one of the best allies of imperialism. Trotskyism and its strategy of integrationism have

brought no defeats to U.S. imperialism or other imperialisms. They have not brought the final classless and nationless society one step closer.

Let no one mistake: MIM's line is internationalism — the real kind of internationalism, effective internationalism. Maoism does not make the Trotskyist mistake, however, of deeming all struggles short of worldwide communism "failures." Numerous defeats of U.S. and other imperialisms will be necessary on the way. No rewriting of history can change the fact that it has been the national liberation struggle which has handed imperialism so many military defeats.

Notes:

1. MIM Notes 50 and MIM Theory 23.



Amerika owes 40 Acres & A Mule ... Plus

*U.S. imperialism owes
the Black nation for a lot
of back wages—and land.*

Integration has brought benefit to a minority of Blacks. Imperialism still hampers the development of Black proletarians and the would-be Black bourgeoisie. Black women have been burdened by, not helped by, white feminism and state “assistance.”

This is no time for failed strategies.

True national liberation is needed for true self-determination. The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) says national liberation is only possible from a communist-led struggle.

Find out more. Read MIM Theory 7, “Proletarian Feminist Revolutionary Nationalism on the Communist Road.” Send \$5 to:

**MIM Distributors, PO Box 3576,
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.**

Self-Determination, Reparations, National Liberation

*It's time for the Black nation
to collect on its debts.*

Integration has brought benefit to a minority of Blacks. Imperialism still hampers the development of Black proletarians and the would-be Black bourgeoisie. Black women have been burdened by, not helped by, white feminism and state “assistance.”

*There is no more time
for failed strategies.*

National liberation for the Black nation — and all the nations oppressed by American imperialism — is the main task facing revolutionaries today.

Find out more. Get MIM Theory 7, “Proletarian Feminist Revolutionary Nationalism on the Communist Road,” from MIM, the Maoist Internationalist Movement. Send \$5 to:

**MIM Distributors, PO Box 3576,
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.**

The Black Nation

History & Economy Show The Imperative of Liberation

by MC44 & MC5

In this section MIM explores the material basis for a Black nation, applying Stalin's theories of nation-building to the United States and reviewing the economics, politics and culture of the Black people. Political history shows the continuity of a Black nation in North America. Black struggles have taken the form of national liberation to varying degrees since before the United States was even formally a nation. Political economy reveals the material basis for this political expression.

We begin with theoretical and historical articles and move to concrete analysis of the 1960s vanguard Black Panther Party and into more contemporary organizations.

Civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and more recently Jesse Jackson have worked under the assumption that it is possible to appeal to the conscience of white people and hence integrate Blacks into the United States. Similarly, Trotskyists (and neo-Trotskyists and crypto-Trotskyists) all believe the white nation working class has a revolutionary interest of its own that can be tapped for the benefit of all oppressed people.

MIM challenges this integrationist perspective by exposing the non-revolutionary character of the white nation working class, and promoting true self-determination by promoting communist-led national liberation struggle.



Historical Overview: National Approaches to Liberation

May 1993

by MC12

"The fact of the matter is that the Afroamerican wants and has been seeking brotherhood with the white masses since his enslavement in the New World. A people as brutally oppressed as American Negroes cannot wait forever for the support of mythological and theoretical allies. Most white workers in the USA today have a vested interest in the status quo. The present system grants them special privileges in a jungle society. The cow of production may be lean and diseased but the Negro is the only herdsman limited to the cutlets of feet and tail."(1)

— Robert F. Williams

"1. We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our own destiny."(2)

— Black Panther Party

In one important sense, the history of autonomous Black

political organizing — movements which in practice recognize implicitly if not explicitly the existence of an essential Black commonality (i.e. "nation") — encompasses that which J.V. Stalin referred to as "psychological makeup." These struggles, as part of the shared history and experience of Black people, are an inseparable component of a collective identity; they are also part of the basis for a Black culture, which is itself the most obviously visible aspect of Black commonality.

Black people within U.S. borders are as much "American" as communists are pro-capitalist — that is, the two are fundamentally opposite constructions but based on the reality of each other, existing in a relationship of temporary dialectical unity — because "America" is the white nation, the nation MIM refers to as "Amerika," its extensive population of excluded "minorities" notwithstanding. That understanding follows from the recognition of "America" itself as a nationalist project of Euro-American settlers,⁽³⁾ with a nationalism that predated the nationalist movements which would oppose it. Political economist Norman Girvan said of this relationship:

"White nationalism generated, as a dialectical response, non-white nationalism. The one was essentially pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist; the other structurally anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. The one was politically reactionary, the other politically revolutionary."⁽⁴⁾

Historian Vincent Harding argued, of the demand advanced by emigrationist James T. Holly at the North American Convention of Colored Men in Toronto in 1851, "In essence, it was a call for a black peoplehood, along with a black assembly to represent a people who were steadily being driven to declare their independence from a racist, persecuting American government."⁽⁵⁾ Holly's call succeeded David Walker's Appeal (1829), as well as Martin Delaney's 1836 call for a national Black assembly to govern over the affairs of Black people.⁽⁶⁾ Early proponents of Black nationalism made clear that their struggle for self-determination existed only in opposition to the American social order. H. Ford Douglas declared in 1854:

"There is as much force in a black man's standing up and exclaiming after the manner of the 'old Roman' — 'I am an American citizen,' as there was in the Irish-man who swore he was a loaf of bread, because he happened to be born in a bake oven. ... I can hate this Government without being disloyal, because it has stricken down my manhood and treated me as a saleable commodity. I can join a foreign enemy and fight against it, without being a traitor, because it treats me as an ALIEN and a STRANGER, and I am free to avow that should such a contingency arise I should not hesitate to take any advantage in order to procure indemnity for the future. I can feel no pride in the glory, growth, greatness or grandeur of this nation."⁽⁷⁾

Black liberation struggles have represented the motion of a social whole, comprising conflicts of class and gender. At its most progressive, the struggle has been proletarian- and femi-

nist-led, and its worst, bourgeois and patriarchal; usually it has been a combination of them all. The mix is never satisfying to the idealist, who will not understand the necessity of strategic class alliance within national liberation struggle, or the basis for feminism as practiced by revolutionaries countering more than "just" gender oppression.

Historian Elsa Barkley Brown has noted that the feminist struggles of Black women have been overlooked or distorted to fit into the definitions of white (self-identified) feminists. These interpretations "fail to consider ... that women's issues may be race issues, and race issues may be women's issues ... Such a framework assumes a fragmentation of black women's existence that defies reality." She notes for example that the (all white) American delegation at the 1985 U.N. Decade for Women conference sought to exclude national political issues (such as apartheid), because that would in their minds make them political pawns of men's politics, and therefore of men.⁽⁸⁾ [MIM holds that right now the principal way to advance the position of women is the struggle for national independence against imperialism. See the proof in MT2/3—MCS]

Barkley Brown offers the history of early-twentieth-century activist Maggie Lena Walker, who led the Independent Order of Saint Luke, a mutual-aid organization, originally including only women, which grew to claim 100,000 members in 28 states and found the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, of which Walker was president.⁽⁹⁾

"Walker was determined to expand opportunities for black women," Barkley Brown writes. "In fulfilling this aim she challenged not only the larger society's notions of the proper place of blacks but also those in her community who held a limited notion of women's proper role."⁽¹⁰⁾ In such a role, Walker made history, but a history which has not been included in "feminist history" because of the national character of her efforts.

For example, when in 1906 women in Richmond, Virginia were attempting to start a Black department store in the city, Walker called a meeting exclusively for the town's Black men. "Hasn't it yet come to you," she implored them, "that we are being oppressed by the passage of laws which not only have for their object the degradation of Negro manhood and womanhood, but also the destruction of all kinds of Negro enterprises?"⁽¹¹⁾ And she added, "I am asking each man in this audience to go forth from this building, determined to do valiant deeds for the Negro Women of Richmond," which included supporting their right to choose a vocation, as well as other economic, political and social opportunities.⁽¹²⁾ Finally, Walker acknowledged that "the expansion of opportunities for white women did not mean a corresponding expansion for black women; instead, this trend might actually lead to an ever greater limitation on the economic possibilities for black women."⁽¹³⁾

If Walker's nationalist feminism was partly bourgeois in character, there have also certainly been revolutionary nation-

alists (and of course bourgeois nationalists) whose efforts were patriarchal in character. This is the motion of contradictions within a national movement. But critics of the patriarchal approach of some revolutionary nationalists often make the same error as the blinded historians criticized by Barkley Brown. Angela Davis, for example, noted that "the unfortunate hallmark of some nationalist groups [in the Black power movement] was their determination to push women into the background."⁽¹⁴⁾ But while feminism has had to struggle to exert leadership within the liberation movement, to say that the "groups" hampered the progress of women is to deny the history and contribution of the revolutionary nationalist feminists within those groups themselves; it is essentially to call those women — often the majority of the organizations and their followers — the pawns of men's politics.

The history of Kathleen Cleaver's leadership within the Black Panther Party is an excellent example of the struggle for feminist leadership of the movement. Cleaver has noted critically that within the Party, "The fact that the suggestion came from a woman gave it some lesser value." But to generalize from the sexism of men in the Party to the patriarchal nature of the movement itself is to deny the rest of the story, as told by Cleaver herself (in the sentence immediately following the above quotation):

"I know that the first demonstration that we had at the courthouse for Huey Newton which I was very instrumental in organizing, the first time we met out on soundtrucks, I was on the soundtrucks, the first leaflet we put out, I wrote, the first demonstration, I made up the pamphlets. And the members of that demonstration for the most part were women. I've noticed that throughout my dealings in the Black movement in the United States, that the most anxious, the most quick to understand and quick to move are women."⁽¹⁵⁾

Ultimately, the question of what is better for the interests of "women," the privileged and exclusionary "feminism" of the white nation, or revolutionary nationalism with male-dominated leadership, depends upon which women are under consideration. In either case, revolutionary nationalist feminism has to fight for leadership, but it is only from the latter that a movement against both imperialism and patriarchy can be wrought, in the interests of the oppressed everywhere.⁽¹⁶⁾

Huey Newton's description of the struggle over setting the direction of national movement referred to both the existence of oppressor- and oppressed-nation nationalists as well as conflicts within oppressed-nation movements themselves:

"There are two kinds of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and your goal is the oppression of the people."⁽¹⁷⁾

One defining characteristic of revolutionary nationalism among the internal colonies of North America was the mutual dependence of various oppressed nations and in their liberation struggles. Girvan notes the historical alliance of African slaves and former slaves with the people of the indigenous nations in the Americas, forged out of the similarities of their oppression — which lasted beyond the end of slavery and the Indian Wars. "In other words," he writes, "in spite of the abolition of race-slavery, Indian and Black nationalism would remain not only 'emotionally satisfying' but also *objectively relevant* ideologically in the struggle against exploitation."⁽¹⁸⁾

And when Garveyism spread in the United States, therefore, we should not be surprised to learn that it also took hold in the "Latin" republics of Central America and the Caribbean, and the Anglophone colonies of the Caribbean and some of the non-British colonies as well.⁽¹⁹⁾

The alliance between revolutionary nationalism within the United States and movements in the Third World continued to predominate through the Black Power period. A statement by the national office of the Black Panther Party in 1970 stressed that "Our program is not much different from any liberation front's program in the third world. Because we are victims of U.S. imperialism (community imperialism) just as the people of the third world are, we see our struggle as one and the same."⁽²⁰⁾

Notes:

1. Robert F. Williams, 1964, in August Meier, Elliot Rudwick, Francis L. Broderick, eds., *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*, Second Edition, Macmillan: New York, 1971, p. 367. Williams, a former NAACP official, was expelled and denounced by the organization for his militancy.
2. From the "Program of the Black Panther Party." Ibid., p. 492.
3. The most comprehensive and incisive treatment of this history is by J. Sakai (*Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, Momingstar Press: Chicago, 1983) who also writes, "[I]n the U.S. Empire the Revolution is the liberation struggle of the Third-World oppressed nations and national-minorities." p. 3.
4. Norman Girvan, "Aspects of the Political Economy of Race in the Caribbean and in the Americas: A Preliminary Interpretation." Institute of Social and Economic Research: University of the West Indies, 1981, p. 24.
5. Vincent Harding, *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America*, Vintage: New York, 1983, pp. 168-69. Emphasis added.
6. Walker's "Appeal ... to the colored citizens of the World But in Particular and very Expressly to those of the United States of America" "was the first clear, widely publicized call for pan-African solidarity," but it was also a call for self-determination on a piece of land in the USA. Harding, op cit., p. 87. On Delany's proposal see pp. 129-31.
7. Douglas's analogy was re-used by Malcolm X: "Because a cat has kittens in an oven, it don't make them biscuits." Ibid., pp. 188-89.
8. Elsa Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol 4, no. 3, 1989, pp. 611-12.
9. See also Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Fall 1991, p. 13. In 1838 there

- were 119 Black mutual-aid organizations with 7,372 members in Philadelphia alone. Black women were the main catalysts of these organizations, which numbered in the thousands across the country. p. 12.
10. *Bankley Brown*, op cit., p. 621.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 626.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 629.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 622.
 14. Quoted in Giddings, op cit., p. 317.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. The Panthers also struggled heavily over feminism. Huey P. Newton, for example, criticized Eldridge Cleaver for hindering the leadership of his wife Kathleen Cleaver, and setting back the movement as a result. See for example *Revolutionary Suicide*, Ballantine: New York, 1973. p. 332.
 17. "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement" (Students for a Democratic Society: Chicago, 1968), in Meier et al, op cit., p. 495.
 18. Girvan, op cit., p. 21.
 19. *Ibid.* The actual membership in Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association is disputed. Garvey claimed six million

- members in 1923, and "even his harshest critics admitted that there were perhaps half a million members of the UNIA." But it is also reasonable to suppose the many followers were not official members of the organization. John Hope Franklin, Alfred A. Moss, Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, Sixth Edition, McGraw-Hill: New York, 1988. p. 321, and Meier, et al, op cit., p. 101.
20. From *The Guardian*, Feb. 1970, in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak*, Lippincott: Philadelphia, 1970. p. 220. This aspect of Black liberation was also a key source of radicalism for young white revolutionaries at the time, whose rebellion at best included a rejection of the American nation itself. Newton believed that "They [white radicals] see the people who are really standing for justice and equality and peace throughout the world. They are the people of Vietnam, the people of Latin America, the people of Africa, and the black people in the black colony here in America." Meier, et al, op cit., p. 498.

Labor aristocracy: A History of Reaction

May 1993

by MC12

"We cannot — nor can anybody else — calculate exactly what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will only be revealed through struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution."(1)
—V. I. Lenin

As practice historically leads theory, so does experience out-distance prediction. Lenin's formulation means: time will tell which way the labor aristocracy will go during the inevitable downfall of imperialism, and what their numbers will be. Whereas Lenin asked a hypothetical question, we can now answer it: there is no case of socialist revolution breaking out in advanced capitalist countries with a mass industrial base. First World workers have never made revolution.

In the United States, Malcolm X summed up the relationship between working classes across oppressor-oppressed nation lines:

"The history of America is that working class whites have been just as much against not only working class Negroes, but all Negroes, period, because all Negroes are working class within the caste system. The richest Negro is treated like a working class Negro. There never has been any good relationship between the working class Negro and the

working class whites. I just don't go along with — there can be no worker solidarity until there's first some black solidarity. There can be no white-black solidarity until there's first some black solidarity. We've got to get our own problems solved first and then if there's anything left to work on the white man's problems, good, but I think one of the mistakes Negroes make is this worker solidarity thing."(2)

Radical settler historian David Roediger, in *The Wages of Whiteness*, wrote that white workers themselves contributed to the construction of racist ideology in the process of their own consolidation into a "working class." To that extent, his approach is a useful antidote to those who say subordinate whites were simply dupes of racist ruling-class ideology. But his argument collapses when he takes for granted that white workers themselves suffered as a result of their racism.

Citing W. E. B. Du Bois's reference to the "public and psychological" wages of whiteness, Roediger adds: "But there were costs as well, not only in terms of race relations but also

the wedding of labor to a debased republicanism." As if bad "race relations" was itself a "cost" to white workers, or "a debased republicanism" was not exactly what they were clamoring for!

Roediger further speaks of "the payoffs of whiteness and the tendency of those payoffs to prove spurious — spurious, that is, if we regard an attack on life-long wage labor to have been a legitimate goal of labor republicanism."(3) The key words there are "if" and "we." The U.S.

'There never has been any good relationship between the working class Negro and the working class whites.'

— *Malcolm X*

white working class went on to become the richest working class in the world. History shows the choice they made: there is no evidence yet that they have regretted their decision to side with imperialism and feed off the spoils it yields.

But Roediger offers some useful stories:

"That Blacks were largely noncitizens will surprise few, but it is important to emphasize the extent to which they were seen as anticitizens, as 'enemies rather than the members of the social compact.' As such they were driven from Independence Day parades as 'defilers' of the body politic and driven from their homes by Sons of Liberty and Minute Men."(4)

After the Columbia, Pennsylvania "race" riot of 1834, Roediger notes that:

"defenders of the white rioters modeled their appeal directly on the Declaration of Independence, charging a plot by employers and abolitionists to open new trades to Blacks, and 'to break down the distinctive barrier between the colors that the poor whites may gradually sink into the degraded condition of the Negroes — that, like them, they may be slaves and tools.'"(5)

After the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, historian Robert J. Norrell writes:

"Working class whites were integral in the so-called 'massive resistance' to desegregation that followed these events. Wherever they could, white workers used their union organizations to help their cause ..."

That movement would translate into support for George Wallace's electoral campaigns, "To most white unionists," Norrell adds, "Wallace was a good labor man defending the position of the white working class from incursions by blacks who intended to take away whites' superior status position." And he concludes:

"But working class whites were hardly ignorant of the class realities of their circumstances. Their support of Wallace was based on his empathy for their class interest in maintaining a racially discriminatory society."(6)

Lenin and Engels specifically raised the issue of a privileged strata of workers, but their warnings are often passed off with easy references to "labor leaders," as if these materialists would have argued that entire social movements were made or broken by single or scattered individuals. As seen above, Lenin carefully stressed that the extent of opportunism (not fundamentally based on any misunderstanding — i.e., "racism" — but based on the concrete "bribes" raised through the reaping of superprofits) within the working class would only be fully realized in the process of political struggle.

And Engels went out of his way to describe the phenomenon in sweeping terms. "The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois," he wrote in 1858, "so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this of course is to a certain

extent justifiable."(7) Engels followed, in a letter to Karl Kautsky in 1882, "the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."(8)

As the conditions described briefly by Engels and Lenin have grown progressively more extreme, their warnings have been continuously papered over by news of the latest First World crisis, colored by the wishful thinking of theorists who want to see the revolution directly in front of them — and so simply make it up.(9) The reality they have missed is summed up by J. Sakai in *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, who writes that, within the oppressor nation:

"The masses share a way of life that apes the bourgeoisie, dominated by a decadent preoccupation with private consumption. Consuming things and owning things, no matter how shoddy or trivial, is the mass religion. The real world of desperate toil, the world of proletarians who own nothing but their labor power, is looked down upon with contempt and fear by Euro-Americans. ... The most exploited Euro-American workers live whole levels above the standard of the world proletariat, since they may be on the bottom but they are on the bottom of a privileged nation of oppressors. Nation is the dominant factor, modifying class relations."(10)

Lenin introduced the concept of "superprofits," which led to the corollary concept — superexploitation of oppressed

In the oppressed nations, the system of superexploitation means that workers are paid less than the value of their labor power.

laborers by oppressor nations. In the simple capitalist model, workers were exploited: they were paid the value of their labor power, or the cost of keeping them as employees — the cost of their reproduction as a class of workers. They were paid less than the value of their labor: that is, the value of what they produced as measured by socially-necessary labor time. The gap between the value of their labor power and the value of their labor was surplus value, or profit, for the capitalists.(11)

In the oppressed nations, the system of superexploitation means that workers are paid less than the value of their labor power. That is, their wages alone are not enough to allow them to reproduce themselves as a class. Their survival is insured only by their ability to supplement their incomes with outside work, principally farming or "domestic" pursuits — or they die. The labor forces in the oppressed nations are also largely "unemployed," and when they do sell their labor they therefore are not "required" to do so for their whole adult lives. They are expendable, from the imperialists' perspective: their subsistence need not be covered by their wages; their imperialist-subservient governments may provide social welfare, medical

care, education, etc. to keep them in the workforce, if this is deemed necessary. These national economies are characteristically *disarticulated*: the economy is not geared toward internal consumption; the workers are not paid to be consumers.

The workers of the oppressor nations, on the other hand, are paid, based on the superprofits reaped from superexploitation, more than the value of their labor power and their labor. Not only are wages many times greater for the workers of the oppressor nations, but they are also subsidized by other inputs: their level of health care, education, welfare support and social security, unemployment insurance, and the vastly underpriced imported consumption commodities made available to them by the system of superexploitation. This is the economic underpinning of the political alliance which makes the oppressor nation strong, and pays white workers in the United States to be "racist."

Notes:

1. At the 2nd Congress of the Communist International. Quoted in J. Sakai, *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, Morningstar Press: Chicago, 1983, p. 154.

2. Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary*, Pathfinder: New York, 1970, pp. 12-13.

3. David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, Verso: London, 1991, p. 55.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 58. This should not come as a surprise to people who see present-day white supremacists resurrecting Constitution-era slogans.

6. Robert J. Norrell, "Labor Trouble: George Wallace and Union Politics in Alabama" in Robert H. Zieger, ed., *Organized Labor in the Twentieth Century South*, University of Tennessee Press: Knoxville, 1991, p. 250, 263, 269. This supports the findings of Aldon D. Morris, who was told by white supporters of civil rights that they "attempted to reach the white working class, but the Klan and the White Citizens' Councils had far more access with that group ..." See *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, Free Press: New York, 1984, p. 172.

7. Quoted by Lenin in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," in *Selected Works*, International Publishers: New York, 1971, p. 247.

8. But he still thought socialist revolutions would come first in advanced countries, even while (rightfully) admitting ignorance in that regard: "But as to what social and political phases these ['semi-civilised'] countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organisation, I think we today can advance only rather idle hypotheses." Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in One Volume*, International Publishers: New York, 1968, p. 688. Such colonial conquests as coffee, sugar and cotton were staples in the English working class profit-taking.

9. Edwards writes that looking at economic crises and recession as strictly national phenomena means missing "the fact that systematic crises are absorbed internationally through constantly deteriorating conditions in the 'hinterlands.'" H. W. Edwards, *Labor Aristocracy, Mass Base of Social Democracy*, Arnon: Stockholm, 1978, p. 103. "Hinterlands" should also include U.S. ghettos and other occupied lands.

10. Sakai, *op cit.*, pp. 147-9.

11. The economics of the labor aristocracy is explored in greater detail in MIM Theory 1.

"Community of economic life": 1980s Point To National Differences

May 1993

by MC12

Political history shows the continuity of a Black nation in North America. Black struggles have taken the form of national liberation to varying degrees since before the United States was even formally a nation. To Maoists, that is good evidence that a Black nation exists in North America. But we also look for the material basis for that nation, to better understand it and the political imperatives we face in seeking its liberation.

To show that the economic divisions within U.S. borders are national in character requires the demonstration of qualitative differences. Black people do not constitute a nation simply because they are in general more poor and more unemployed; they are on average more poor because they are an historically constituted oppressed nation.

Crucial to this is location within the economy in a more substructural way — in terms of ownership, industrial location and job type (and subsequent unemployment and job status). That economic reality is both cause and effect of superstructural oppression and resistance in the political and social arenas. To show this phenomenon as substructural means it is not the mere product of racist attitudes of contemporary people, but the outcome of a dual historical process of national creation. This article will examine employment, unemployment, and job displacement specifically in relation to economic crises and in the overall economy (and in New York City as a specific example) and Black-owned businesses.

STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY

A survey of unemployment data by year shows the overall pattern. In the post-WWII period, after each recession, during the "recovery," the gap between Black and white unemployment increased.(1)(See Figure 1)

Figure 1 provides one way to examine the structural relationship of Blacks to (Euro)Americans on the one hand, and the relationship of that structure to the U.S. economy as a whole on the other. Without exception, every recession since World War II has reflected this movement: each period of decline is followed by an increase in the unemployment gap between "minority" and white workers.(2) *The process of economic "recovery," then, is structurally linked to an increase in the relative subordination of Black workers in the labor market.* The relevance of this is heightened because the figures are

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

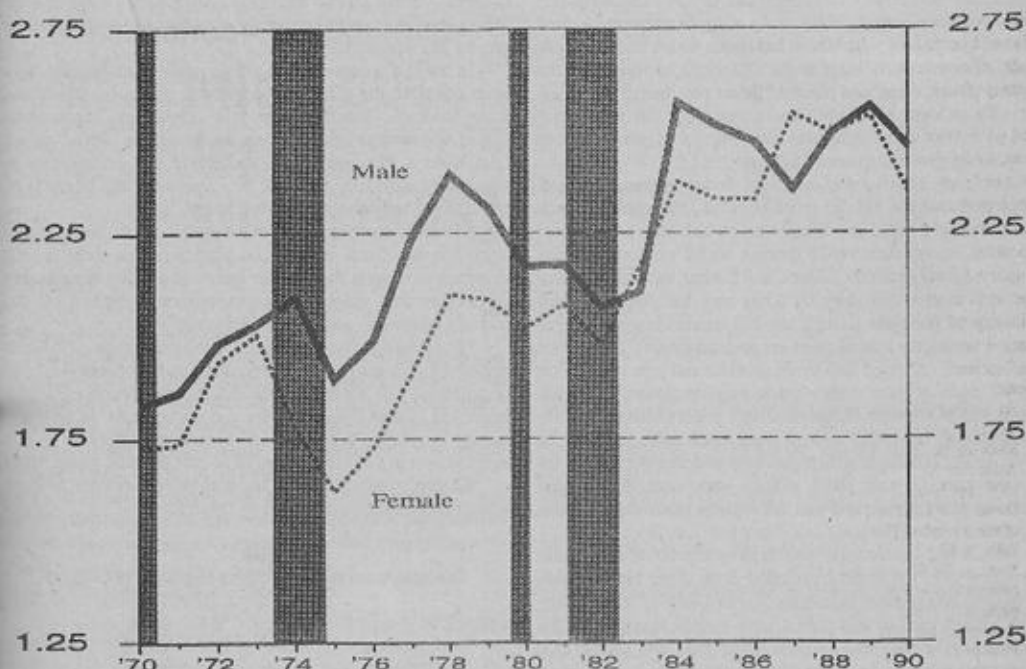


Figure 1: Ratio of Black to white unemployment rates, by sex. (When the ratio is 2, Black unemployment rate is twice the rate for whites.) Gray bars show recessions. After each recession, during the "recovery," the gap between Black and white unemployment increased. (Note: Year markers indicate middle of each year; unemployment figures are year's averages.)

for Black and white workers overall, across the country and in all industrial and job classifications. In essence, this overarching structural link reflects a condensed image of a unity of micro-processes tied together by what is often called "race," but here reflects a much deeper reality than that shallow term implies.

This overall structural relationship is reflected clearly in New York City, and described in a study conducted by Walter W. Stafford, who considered job placement and displacement in the 1970s and early 1980s, paying careful attention to changes during and after economic recessions. Stafford summarized:

"Historically, lower-paying or lower-prestige jobs held by blacks and other minorities have been appropriated by whites during periods of economic downturn. ... The salient point is that, during periods of major industrial restructuring, dominant groups have utilized whatever means were necessary to expand their opportunities."⁽³⁾

And with particular reference to economic crises, "The

growing gap between white and black unemployment rates in New York City is particularly relevant since it occurred during the period of job growth between 1977 and 1981." By 1980, then, Black people made up 55% of all unemployed workers in New York City, and three years later Black college graduates had higher levels of unemployment than white people with only high school educations.⁽⁴⁾

But how was this achieved?

Stafford found that "During the period of job growth, racial and ethnic groups tended to expand their representation in those industries where they already had established a firm employment base." Job growth after the 1974-75 recession largely benefitted white workers, as white unemployment dropped but Black and Latino unemployment actually increased.⁽⁵⁾ In response to the crisis, some white workers were forced to move into nonsupervisory positions, increasing their dominance in these areas, which nevertheless remained core jobs for Black and Latino workers, Black and Latino workers were more concentrated in job categories, especially

government and service industries; and within these industries which were integrated, Black and Latino workers were clustered in low-paying jobs. Those industries which had high concentrations of white employees (70-90%) experienced the highest growth rates, and offered "Better pay, benefits, and job security as well as established procedures for mobility." Almost half of these industries saw increasing concentrations of white employees between 1978 and 1982.(6)

Job concentration was a pivotal factor in these changes. After determining the 20 most popular job types for each group, Stafford found that Black women had three professional job types among their top 20 (nurses, social workers, and elementary school teachers.) Black and Latino men had no professional jobs in their top 20. White men had four well-paid professional positions in their top 20 (salaried lawyers, physicians, elementary school teachers and designers). And white women were clustered into seven professional jobs out of their top 20, most of them traditional women-dominated positions. White and Black women both had high concentrations in clerical positions, but white women were much more likely to be employed in industries which provided better opportunities for advancement. Overall, Black women were more concentrated than any other group, and had the highest percentage of non-supervisory jobs.(7)

Black and Latino men were heavily represented in manufacturing jobs, but largely excluded from those high-growth, advancement potential industries Stafford termed "core industries." Black men in this period were largely absent from the highest paying craft and manufacturing jobs, and Latino men were most likely to be in peripheral nondurable goods industries, with few chances for advancement. In 1980 Latinos filled 53% of all nondurable good manufacturing jobs in the city.(8)

White men's total share of private sector jobs decreased, but they became more concentrated in the areas they dominated, especially key craft jobs in high-paying industries. At the same time, white women notched the largest total increase in private sector employment. After the 1970s recessions, unionized core-industry workers and employers generally struck a deal: employers agreed to increased job security, and guarantees of jobs during hard times, in return for the right to transfer workers to different positions within the industry more easily.(9)

The changes in New York City are broadly reflected for the U.S. economy as a whole. From 1983 to 1989 the white share of all jobs declined slightly, from 85.4% to 82.5%, but white people became more concentrated in managerial or professional specialty jobs.(10) During this time Black people increased their share of the managerial and professional specialty categories to 6.1% from 5.6%, increasing the total number of Black people in these categories by a striking 40%. Still, the percentage of all working Black civilians in these categories increased to only 15.5% from 14.1%, while the percentage of working white civilians in these jobs increased to 28.3% from 25.2% between 1983 and 1989. (Note that these are

extremely broad categories, containing job descriptions from school teacher to astrophysicist; the further breakdown reveals greater discrepancies.)(11)

In the U.S. economy as a whole, wide discrepancies have been noted in the effects of economic crises on Black and white workers. "Black workers bore a relatively heavier burden of widespread job displacement during the 1980s," writes Lori Kletzer, "because of the industries and occupations in which they were concentrated; they also were less likely to be reemployed and were out of work longer."(12)

Kletzer's study goes a long way to dispel predominant myths on the effects of crises on white workers: there is little evidence to support the popular image of a white manufacturing worker with years of union experience being laid off and taking a minimum-wage job at McDonald's:

"Following displacement, the proportion of blacks employed in manufacturing industries and production-related occupations fell by more than did the proportion of whites employed in the same industries and occupations. In addition, among employed men, whites were more likely to regain employment in a similar industrial or occupational group."(13)

Reemployment figures for displaced workers favored white people overall, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
 Reemployment rate for workers displaced 1979-83(14)

	White	Black
Men	77.9%	63.1%
Women	62.9%	53.8%

Table 2 shows that while reemployment figures were worse for everyone within unskilled and semi-skilled positions (operators, fabricators and laborers), the gap between Black and white remained.

Table 2
 Reemployment rate for workers displaced from jobs as operators, fabricators and laborers, 1979-83(15)

	White	Black
Men	72.5%	61.6%
Women	59.9%	51.0%

These discrepancies are further seen in evidence of where displaced workers who were not reemployed ended up. The Kletzer study divided 1979-86 into two periods, the decline years of 1979-83 and the growth years of 1984-86. Between the two periods, Black men and white men showed movement in opposite directions. Unemployed workers made up 46.8% of the Black men who were not reemployed in the first period, compared to just 26.3% among white men. In the "better" years of 1984-86, the percentage of unemployed Black men in this group rose by 10 points. Equally striking was the great

percentage of white men who retired if they were not reemployed after job displacement. In both periods more than half of all white men in this group simply retired, significantly higher than the rate for Black men.(16)

Similarly, between the "good" period and the "bad" period the average number of weeks without work for those displaced white men who were reemployed decreased by 22.8%, while Black men in the same category spent an average of 17.3% more weeks without work after displacement in the "good" period. The percentage of those reporting almost no time off work between displacement and reemployment was more than twice as high for white workers; meanwhile the percentage of workers who spent more than 26 weeks before finding work was twice as high for Black men as for white men, and one-third higher for Black women as for white women.(17)

Finally, the gap in (official) unemployment among young people must be acknowledged, as it reflects a host of social and economic conditions including not only racism and educational issues, but also economic conditions in the ghetto versus the suburbs, and the social location of urban youth with regard to the state and "crime" in particular.

In October 1991, unemployment for those aged 16-19 was 43.4% for Black women and 35% for Black men, compared to only 15.6% and 16.6% for white women and men respectively.(18)

BLACK-OWNED BUSINESS

The nature of the development of Black-owned businesses provides further insight into the economic composition of the Black nation. Considered an important barometer for measuring the mythological improvements of Black people in the United States, Black-owned businesses are a highly-touted route for integration into Euro-America.(19) Black-owned business are not only on average much smaller than white-owned businesses, they also are likely to employ mostly Black workers and serve mostly Black clientele.

Table 3
 Growth for businesses, by "race," 1982-1987

	# of Businesses	Total sales
Total	14.2%	108.2%
Blacks	37.6%	105.5%
Hispanics	80.5%	110.3%
Asians	89.3%	161.6%

Table 3 shows the relative growth of Black-owned and other businesses. While the number of Black-owned businesses grew at more than twice the rate of all businesses, their sales grew more slowly than the total, indicating the dominance of smaller businesses. In fact, the average Black-owned business in New York City takes in only \$44,000 in revenue; even among the top 25 Black-owned businesses (discounting

Beatrice International, a multinational corporation with sales of \$1.5 billion in 1990), the average sales for 1990 were only \$72 million.

The U.S. Census also found that, in 1982, 45% of Black-owned firms had a customer base which was "at least 75% minority," about 20% higher than other national minorities and four times higher than white-owned business. Significantly, 60% of Black-owned businesses had a work force which was "at least 75% minority," again, well ahead of other non-white businesses. The Wall Street Journal also found that those areas which had relatively high concentrations of Black-owned firms had governments which were taking an active approach to encouraging their development, principally through guaranteed loans, on terms the state seeks to encourage. Noted Timothy Bates, chairman of the urban policy analysis program for the New School for Social Research, on how Maryland had

Where are all the white workers with years of union experience being laid off and taking minimum- wage jobs at McDonald's?

achieved the greatest concentration of Black-owned enterprises: "States lose money by making piddling loans in the inner city. It's very popular politically, but it's one thing that Maryland does none of."

Black entrepreneurs who will leave unprofitable ghettos and enter their businesses to the American market — who leave the Black nation and strike out for class status within the metropole — may be rewarded by government-backed financial aid; a policy which also has desirable political implications for the state.(20)

Notes:

1. Unemployment data are from Dollars and Sense Collective, "Real World Macro," 8th edition, 1991, pp. 91, 94. Business cycle data are from 1991 Statistical Abstract of the United States, p. 545.
2. Data from World War II to 1970 are not included in the figure because available data were for "minorities" instead of for Blacks in particular; but the pattern was the same when all "minorities" were included.
3. Walter W. Stafford, "Closed Labor Markets: Underrepresentation of Blacks, Hispanics and Women in New York City's Core Industries and Jobs," Community Service Society of New York: New York, 1985, p. 21.
4. Ibid., p. 1, 7.
5. Ibid., vii-xvi.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 122; pp. vii-xvi.
8. Ibid., p. 202.
9. Ibid., p. 18.
10. Employment data, 1991 Statistical Abstract of the United States, pp. 395-7. These data are only relevant for comparison, since "white" was not included in the government table. "White" here merely represents the total minus Black and "Hispanic," the only

group breakdown listed.

11. For example, the *New York Times* reported on 4/21/92, p. A1 that Black people received less than 2% of all PhDs conferred in the United States in 1991.
12. Lori G. Kletzer, "Job displacement, 1979-86: how blacks fared relative to whites," U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1991, p. 17. Emphasis added.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-3. When considering the overall effects of displacement, it is also interesting to note that only 32.4% of Black women who were displaced were married, compared with 60.6% of displaced white women, p. 18. In 1987, 79% of Black children below the official poverty line lived in female-headed households, compared to less than half of white children. Sara E. Rix, ed., *The American Woman 1990-91: A Status Report*, Norton: New York, 1990. Shifts in economic location during recessions reflect the process of collapse and adjustment, a motion which is visible in both oppressor and oppressed nations. During the 1990 recession, certain movements (although at this writing preliminary) are instructive. For example, the percentage of employed white people who work in managerial and professional specialty jobs increased during the recession (Oct. 1990-Oct. 1991) to 27.7% from 27.1%. During the same period the percentage of Black people working in these areas decreased slightly, to 16.5% from 16.8%. Conversely, the percentage of white people working in those jobs classified as technical, sales and administrative support decreased (31.3% to 31.0%), while increasing for Black workers (27.7% to 28.6%). "Employment and Earnings, U.S. Department of Labor," Bureau of Labor Statistics, November 1991, p. 11. [During the "recovery" time of October 1993 to October 1994, the ratio of Black to white official unemployment rates rose from 2.0 to 2.3. For youth aged 16-19, the ratio rose from 2.2 to 2.7 during the same time. (Bureau of Labor Statistics November 1994 report.) -MC12]
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. Note also that unemployment for white women is lower than for white men, in contrast to the wide disparity in the reverse for Black people.
19. The special section of the *Wall Street Journal* from which these figures came was promoted for months, and featured dramatic full-page ads by some of the USA's most influential corporations, promising commitments to Black entrepreneurship. In an attempt to make the best of a grim situation, and avoid disappointing advertisers, the lead article was titled, "Short-term despair, long-term promise." See "Black Entrepreneurship," *Wall Street Journal*, 4/3/92, section R. There is a dialectical tension between Black-led efforts for integration as a progressive demand, and the role of integration in weakening national cohesion and political power. This is certainly also seen in relation to the function of Black-owned businesses, desired by both bourgeois nationalists and Euro-American integrationists, for different reasons; the struggle then is over the form of these enterprises and their role in the overall economies versus Black economies.
20. Maryland created a state development bank for minority business lending, and guaranteed a certain percentage of government contracts to business which met stringent and highly selective criteria for qualification. The resemblance to an International Monetary Fund program here is inescapable.

The Meaning of National Territory

May 1993

by MC12

"I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. No, I am not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."(1)

— Malcolm X

Regarding "territory," there is no contiguous Black nation within the United States, but whereas territory has not been contiguous, there has always been strong spatial cohesion, i.e. segregation. This arrangement has continued through the periods of great migration, and the settling of urban ghettos. It also crosses class lines to an extent, although, as in the case of language, a "place" in the dominant nation may be bought at a high economic and cultural price. But economic and cultural identities cross geographic distances through the media of mass communications and mass culture; social stimuli are filtered through the lenses of shared history and lived experience, producing a level of commonness in responses which is more dependent upon actual and perceived similarity of experience than it is upon direct territorial contiguity. Hence there may be such a "territory" as "the ghetto," which has common elements identified by the people, despite variations of actual conditions and separations of geographic space.

The sociologist Aldon Morris noted that urban segregation in the South:

"facilitated the development of black institutions and the building of close-knit communities when blacks, irrespective of education and income, were forced to live in close proximity and frequent the same social institutions. ... In the typical Southern city, the black professional stratum constituted only about 3 percent of the black community, and its services had no market outside the black community. Skin color alone, not class background or gender, locked blacks inside their segregated communities. ... Cooperation between the various black strata was an important collective resource for survival."(2)

[The greatest levels of segregation are now in Northern

urban areas. The top 10 segregated cities are all former industrial centers. In Gary, Ind., the most segregated city, 91% of Blacks would have to move for Blacks and others to be evenly mixed. Overall, levels of segregation have declined slightly since the 1960s, largely as a result of greater mobility by middle class Blacks.(4) These urban centers provide the basis for Black territories or separate Black nations. —MC12]

Here Stalin's rationale for the component "territory" is instructive:

"A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of the fact that people live together from generation to generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory."(3)

This is in a sense both a positive and a negative definition. Most obviously, a strong argument can be made that Blacks in the United States, while obviously not completely homogeneous, have lived "together" and conducted a systematic intercourse amongst themselves from generation to generation. This is the positive definition. But are we also to believe that because Blacks and Euro-Americans have also had a "systematic discourse" with each other, that neither could be considered a nation on its own? This latter insistence is only relevant if we are taking "territory" to be the factor which itself determines the development of a nation. Given the weight of other factors, the commonality of experience within the Black nation predominates.

Notes:

1. Quoted in J. Sakai, *Settlers: Mythology of the White Proletariat*, Morningstar Press: Chicago, 1983, p. 177.
2. Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. Free Press: New York, 1984, p. 3.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
4. Reynolds Farley & William Froy, "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 2/94, pp. 23-45.

Notes on Black English: Community of Language

May 1993

by MC12

At the beginning of American slavery, Euro-America and its African laborers spoke different languages altogether, and African slaves spoke different languages amongst themselves. The colonists developed a new language partially distinct from the English motherland. The slaves would eventually learn to speak "English." In the process, however, they maintained

aspects of the languages of their motherlands, and ultimately developed an "English" which was substantially different from that of their oppressors, with its own rules and structure.

Neither form of English — Black or "white" — was or is a completely unified whole. Within Euro-America the variations of regional dialects are relatively minor, and certainly speakers from various parts of the country understand each other. Yet the hegemony of Northeastern dialects has persisted, a product of the continued political and economic hegemony of that region over the country as a whole. "Good" English, in that context, is English with "no" accent, i.e. Northeastern dialect (without the lower classes adaptations in urban centers like Boston or New York). White Southerners may no more use "y'all" in their academic papers than a strongly accented Georgian is permitted to anchor the CBS Evening News.

Within Black English, Southern and Northern differences have evolved, as have urban and rural differences. There is a class division in which those Black people entering the petit-bourgeoisie or intelligentsia adopt an English which is closer to white English — which is, simply, "more correct."

The hegemonic language is the tool for advancement and power, the competing dialects are defined as objectively worse — less accurate, less expressive, less articulate, and (crucially) oral as opposed to written. Thus, in order to advance within American society, Black people must abandon the spoken language of their ancestors, if not of that of their immediate families. This is an obvious handicap, one faced by national minorities within dominant nations throughout the world — Kurds in Turkey, Palestinians in Israel, speakers of Quechua in Peru.(1) Such a use of hegemonic language is rooted in colonialism itself, the origin of modern national oppression, in which at first a minority of subjects were taught the language of the metropole in preparation for their service to their oppressors.(2) The rapid integration of European immigrants has included to a great extent linguistic integration and acceptance — a product of access to integrated education, employment and cultural structures which were largely made unavailable to Blacks.(3)

Any question of language with regard to the Black nation within U.S. borders must not be hampered by constraints on thinking overly determined by geopolitical borders. A Black Southerner and a white person from Vermont speak languages more different than a Swede and a Norwegian, yet rarely does anyone seriously question the distinction of Sweden and Norway as two nations.

Notes:

1. Peruvian Jose Carlos Mariátegui, who wrote theories of internal colonialism in the 1920s and 1930s, wrote:
"The term *gamonalismo* designates more than just a social and economic category: that of the latifundistas or large landowners. It signifies a whole phenomenon. *Gamonalismo* is represented not only by gamonales but by a long hierarchy of officials, intermediaries, agents, parasites, etcetera. The literate Indian who enters the service of *gamonalismo* turns into an exploiter of his own race." (Emphasis added.) The key word there is "literate," signifying

those Indians who abandoned Quechua and learned Spanish. See Cristobal Kay, *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*, Routledge: London, 1989, pp. 58-87.

2. In some cases, colonial authorities attempted to seize control of existing languages among the colonized. In Indochina, the French adopted and taught a romanized phonetic script to help enforce a cultural and political break with China. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Verso: London, 1991, p. 126. But Anderson makes the colonial languages the basis for new anti-imperialist nations, without recognizing that the languages only represented superstructural reflections of colonial reality (as opposed to "imagination"....).
3. Between 1980 and 1988 ten U.S. states adopted some form of

"English only" laws, four of them by popular vote over the objections of legislators, for a total of twelve states with such laws in effect. (In California, despite the objection of almost all mainstream politicians and all the major newspapers, 73% voted for official English, winning a majority in every county. 84% voted for an English language amendment in Florida.) The proponents of these laws, threatened by increased Asian and Latino immigration, demand: commit the ultimate act of assimilation or face exclusion from public life and therefore power. See Jack Citrin, Beth Reingold, Evelyn Walters and Donald P. Green, "The 'Official English' Movement and the Symbolic Politics of Language in the United States," *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 3, Sept. 1990.

Black Panthers:

Revolutionaries or Welfare Workers?

reprinted from "Maoism and the Black Panther Party"
April 1992
revised November 1994

by MC5

The legacy of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is becoming more and more obscure thanks to those who have an interest in rewriting Panther history. Some make the BPP out to be a group tailored to be an historical antecedent for currently harmless political groups — a group with a purely nationalist bent that merely sponsored free breakfast and other survival programs.

For example, former Black Panther Chairperson and number two leader Bobby Seale is interviewed in the documentary

Berkeley in the 60s saying that he did not understand anything about Mao while he was selling Mao's books in the 1960s. Another example is an Oakland newspaper dedicated to commemorating the Panthers which focuses on social work programs and government workers.

**As time goes on,
it becomes more
important to
understand just
how revolutionary
they were.**

As time goes on, with the efforts of the bourgeois and sometimes the old born-again Christian Eldridge Cleaver (the ex-third-ranked Panther leader) or cookbook writing ex-Panther leader Seale, it becomes more important to understand the historical period in which the Panthers arose in order to understand just how revolutionary they were.

Here it is important to address the historical connection of the Panthers to Mao Zedong, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, who was still alive when the Panthers

formed and died. Whatever people may say now about the Panthers from the vantage point of the 1990s, the Black Panther Party of the young Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver was the Maoist party of the United States in the late 1960s.

MIM members cherish the Black Panther Party of the 1960s and defend it against its own sell-out leaders and the bourgeoisie.

MAO AND THE BPP

People who go back and read what the Panthers printed will find in their words: "The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist party."(1)

Here are the Panthers' "points of attention":

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.(2)

Here are the "Eight Points for Attention" of Mao's People's Liberation Army:

1. Speak politely to the people.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Replace all doors and return all straw on which you sleep.
6. Dig latrines away from houses and fill them with earth when you leave.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. Do not ill-treat captives.(3)

The Panthers also adopted "3 Main Rules of Discipline" wholesale from Mao's People's Liberation Army:

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.(4)

The very title of Huey Newton's book, *To Die for the People*, is literally from a Mao saying. Newton's statement dedicating the book says "To die for the ... racists ... is lighter than a feather. But to die for the people ... is heavier than any mountain and deeper than any sea."

Here Newton was paraphrasing a saying of Mao that was widely circulated in China: "In significance, to die for the interests of the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work hard and die for the fascists, for those who exploit and oppress the people, is lighter than a swan's down."(5)

Note here as well Mao's often used slogan "Serve the People." "Serving the People" is a chapter in Mao's "Little Red Book," circulated in the hundreds of millions throughout the world.

The introduction to Newton's book points out how Huey Newton wanted to be in tune with this chapter of Mao's "Little Red Book:"

"The lesson of the Chinese Revolution shows that it was the Communist Party which evolved a revolutionary vision for all mankind. ... The Black Panther Party being led by Huey P. Newton is now developing along similar lines with vision, practice, and struggle. Representative of this development is the change in Newton's title; he is no longer the Minister of Defense, but the Servant of the People."(6)

It's not that Newton was a plagiarist. He pointed out his admiration for Mao Zedong as often as he could. It's just that some people chose not to listen to him.

"Huey made it a point that the revolutionary principles so concisely cited in the Red Book should be applied whenever they could. ... Where the book said, 'Chinese people of the Communist Party,' Huey would say, 'Change that to the Black Panther Party. Change the Chinese people to black people.'"(7)

Citing Mao Zedong was quite courageous on Newton's part. Many people supported Huey Newton as a Black leader. They liked his standing up to cops, racism and national oppression. But many people did not like to think of Newton's ideas as coherently linked together in an ideology of communism, as they were in reality. Even Bobby Seale, the number two leader in the Black Panther Party was publicly and outspokenly opposed to communism for quite some time, even after meeting Huey Newton.(8)

However, while Seale seemed to follow Newton's theoretical lead, other Panther leaders at their height had admiration for Mao as well. A white Students for Democratic Society (SDS) leader explains the lesson he learned from Eldridge

Cleaver, the Panther's third ranked leader:

"I was working with the Black Panther Party — this was 1967 — and I was for revolution and I respected the Black Panther Party. ... It took me two weeks to work up the nerve to finally ask Eldridge Cleaver why he had that poster in his house. ... he said, 'We've got that picture of Mao Tse-tung up on the wall because Mao Tse-tung is the baddest motherfucker on the planet Earth!'"

"I respected the Black Panther Party. ... I thought they were pretty heavy, and if Eldridge Cleaver was saying this was the baddest motherfucker on the planet Earth, I better go look into it!"(9)

When SDS was at its peak and just about to split in 1969, the Black Panthers advocated resolving their conflicts this way: "'pick up the telephone and call Chairman Mao Tse-tung' if they doubted that the Panthers were the vanguard organization in the U.S."(10)

Seale had this to say about Huey and other people in his party:

"Huey was ten motherfuckers. He would say, 'Bobby, you and I know the principles in this Red Book are valid, but the brothers and the black folks don't. ... so what we have to do is to get the white radicals who are intellectually interested in the book, sell the book, make the money, buy the guns. ... and protect the community from the racist cops. And in turn we get brothers in the organization and they will in turn relate to the Red Book.'"(11)

The anti-communist turned communist Bobby Seale further pointed out

"You couldn't get around Huey. He knew the Red Book sideways, backwards and forwards. There are brothers in the Party that got to know the Red Book catty-corner. ... 'The Red Book and what else? The gun! The Red Book and what else? The gun! That's what Huey would say.'"(12)

To be true to the spirit of the Black Panther Party of 1966-1969, one should read Mao Zedong's work. The same could be said of the Philippines's New People's Army, Vietnam's revolutionary movement, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and to a lesser extent the FMLN in El Salvador and countless other groups. In the twentieth century there is simply no greater influence in Third World liberation struggles than Mao Zedong, who set the example by liberating China from imperialism in 1949.

Notes:

1. Huey Newton, *To Die for the People*, Random House: New York, 1972, p. 25.
2. Philip S. Foner, ed. *The Black Panthers Speak*, J. B. Lippincott: New York, 1970, p. 6.
3. Roger Howard, *Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese People*, Monthly Review: New York, 1977, p. 78. These points of attention were added to other rules already existing in 1928.
4. Foner, op cit., p. 6.
5. Mao Zedong, "Serve the People," *Selected Works*, vol. IV Lawrence and Wishart: London, 1956, p. 219.

6. Newton, op cit., p. xviii.
7. Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time*, Random House: New York, 1970, p. 82.
8. Bobby Seale, *A Lonely Rage: The Autobiography of Bobby Seale*, Times Books: New York, 1978, p. 126.
9. Bob Avakian, "Summing Up the Black Panther Party," RCP Publications: Chicago, 1980, p. 3.
10. Jim O'Brien, "American Leninism in the 1970s," *Radical America*, p. 9.
11. Seale, op cit., p. 83.
12. Seale, op cit., p. 84.

Going Too Far With Mao

by MC5

Sometimes Black Panther Huey P. Newton went too far in taking the inspiration of Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party. Newton paraphrased Mao on guerrilla warfare to be applied in the United States.(1)

He went on to adopt the above-ground strategy that Mao adopted in China:

"If the Chinese Revolution is investigated it will be seen that the Communist Party operated quite openly in order to muster support from the masses."(2) Newton left out Mao's observation that conditions were fundamentally different in imperialist and oppressed countries. In countries such as China of the 1920s and 1930s, where there was a very weak government, communists could operate in many places with impunity. Not so in the imperialist countries.

Newton seems to have missed this not-often-seen quotation from Mao:

"Internally, capitalist countries practise bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist nor at war ... and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military) ... the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries if such wars occur ... the one war they want to fight is the civil war ... but this ... should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless."(3)

The Black Panthers and focists after them also missed the following, also from Mao:

"The question of China's cities and countryside today is qualitatively different from that of the cities and the countryside in capitalist countries abroad ... It is impossible to conceive of a protracted guerrilla war carried on by the peasants in the countryside against the cities in a country such as England, America, France ..." (4)

THE PANTHERS' LATER PERIOD

Even as late as April 1971, Newton was still quoting Mao

on how to look at picking up the gun for struggle.(5)

In January 1970, Newton put it this way in response to the question "what has been the most important inspiration for the Black Panthers?"

"I think that not only Fidel and Che, Ho Chi Minh and Mao and Kim Il Sung, but also all the guerrilla bands that have been operating in Mozambique and Angola, and the Palestinian guerrillas who are fighting for a socialist world."

In 1970, when the Panthers were already past their peak, it was not such a great contradiction to say what Newton did. The differences of Mao with the Soviet Union had only been public since 1962. The differences with other countries and leaders in the socialist world were much murkier and did not become apparent right away. Mao agreed with Newton at the time in the generally rosy outlook supporting armed struggles of oppressed nationalities throughout the world.

When Nixon announced his plans to visit China, the Black Panthers called on China to negotiate for the oppressed of the world, including the 1971 Attica prison rebellion. While denouncing Nixon, Newton said about the Attica uprising, "this is why we approached Chairman Mao Tse-tung, because we know of his peace-and-freedom loving nature."(6)

Notes:

1. Huey P. Newton, *To Die for the People*, Random House: New York, 1972, p. 15.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
3. MIM Notes 47, p. 6.
4. Stuart R. Schram, ed. *The Political Thought of Mao Tse Tung*, Praeger: New York, 1969, p. 288. For more on focism, order MIM Theory 5, available for \$5 post-paid.
5. Newton, op cit., p. 49.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

Review:

Huey Newton, Revolutionary Suicide

October 1993

by MC5

Revolutionary Suicide came out in 1973, well past Huey Newton's political peak and the peak of the Black Panther Party. However, it is mostly about years earlier in Newton's life and ends pretty much in 1971-2. Quite fittingly, the book ends with a discussion of Newton's trip to China, where Newton expresses his astonishment at the liberation of the people there and how great the Maoist society was. Newton concludes the whole book with a story from Mao. So much for

those opportunists of various sorts who say Newton was not a Maoist!

The best of Huey Newton's work is found elsewhere, in the *Black Panthers Speak*, the Black Panther newspaper and other books by Huey Newton. On the other hand, this book is worthy of distribution despite its slightly late timing. It may serve the purpose of helping comrades understand the concrete context of the Black Panthers and Huey Newton in particular. This may be helpful to those who don't have the background to dive right into the political theory and ideology of the Black Panther Party.

Huey Newton has an image of being a strong leader, someone who stood up to harassing cops, gun in hand, (and sometimes no gun in hand). Newton himself comments that this was unfortunate in some ways because he believed people like BPP Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver were attracted to his leadership as a psychological completion of their manhood, not for the politics he was trying to get across.⁽¹⁾ Others have noted that Newton also tapped the image of the Wild West in American history, where the good guys stand up to the bad guys, shot-gun in hand.

Newton tries to cut down some of the mistaken impressions that exist about him. He does not go as far as the pseudo-feminists such as Alice Walker in criticizing the sexual issues connected to the Black Panthers. He also doesn't revise the history of the Panthers to be that of simple "survival" programs, such as free breakfast programs. This book is hence much better than the trash being said about the Panthers now that Huey Newton is dead.

One of the things we learn in this book is that Huey Newton was strong on the issue of unity with the oppressed community. He goes so far as to try to understand the Black juror who helped convict him of manslaughter charges, a juror he thought was naive, but understandable.⁽²⁾ Perhaps more fundamentally for the Black Panther image, he concludes that the gun divided the party from the people by the 1970s. MIM would agree with Newton that while it was legal in California to carry guns in public, what the Black Panthers did was brilliant and revolutionary. A kind of legalized armed struggle tapping into deep American traditions did much to advance the revolutionary struggle in North America in the 1960s. When the situation changed and armed struggle of this sort was made illegal, the strategic situation changed and Newton was correct to steer a new course.

When it comes to unity, Newton also has some approaches in speaking that MIM does not entirely agree with, but which are certainly understandable. He pushes the unity position as far as not to get angry at other people or even argue with them, except when they act as individuals and violate party discipline. He believed that even people such as Eldridge Cleaver originally made mistakes from a simple lack of understanding, and hence the Panthers should work incessantly raising consciousness. He wrote:

"I try to be cordial, because that way you win people

over. You cannot win them over by drawing the line of demarcation, saying you are on this side and I am on the other; that shows a lack of consciousness. After the Black Panther Party was formed, I nearly fell into this error. I could not understand why people were blind to what I saw so clearly. Then I realized that their understanding had to be developed."⁽³⁾

Many others have theorized that in political education work, it is best to act as if "we are all together." Furthermore, it is true as Newton says that we cannot expect people to have gained a revolutionary consciousness in this society out of thin air, so we must presume that what the revolutionary says is generally misunderstood or never previously experienced. However, MIM believes what Newton says is an unnatural approach to building a revolutionary unity. Certainly it is possible to unite with the people by acting as though "we are all

'I could not understand why people were blind to what I saw so clearly. Then I realized their understanding had to be developed.'

together." On the other hand, if the goal is to unite the people behind the revolutionary banner and march against imperialism, then there are lines of demarcation that need to be cleared up. Otherwise people who think they are with you and that you think are with you will turn out not to be with you in the midst of struggle against the enemy.

At the same time, when people are in unity with the revolutionary pole, they should be told that clearly also. The revolutionary can often make the mistake of ignoring the unity that does exist and thereby muddy the political waters. People who want an abolition of classes, patriarchy and imperialism need to be told that they are communists and that we agree with them. Many are unaware of their differences with Maoism, but a large number are also unaware of their unity with Maoism. Both kinds of confusion set back the struggle.

Finally, there is a sense in which MIM does finally agree with Newton that "we are all in this together." When people agree with us on the three main points, then it is important to stress our unity relative to our differences. If we lose sight of that, we are watering down the importance of our own three main points.

On another question related to work-style, throughout the book Newton held contempt for the students who constantly asked him to make fiery rhetorical speeches instead of calm reasoned analysis.

Connected to this, Newton says he never recruited anyone who didn't show interest. That is he did not push a struggle when the other party seemed uninterested.

Hence, we see Newton's cool analytical approach. This

was particularly clear in his notion of uniting with the people. It was also true of his approach to struggle. He didn't have much faith in the large crowds of people who did not calmly think through what the Black Panthers were saying. Newton struggled to bring science to the revolutionary movement.

Part of what needs to be examined is who Huey Newton was talking to. Newton apparently believed he was talking mostly to straightforward people with no interest in convoluted excuses for why they stand with an oppressive system. (Even this point is difficult because at different times, the Panthers said completely different things about the revolutionary inclinations of the Black people.)

While there are some such places in North America where people are straightforward in having no interest in imperialism, MIM also finds, as the Panthers often did, that there are large portions even in the Black nation that do have an interest in the status quo of imperialism. Hence, it is a difficult job to keep ourselves from buying into imperialism when we go amongst the people. MIM believes it must use an appropriate tone and

MIM is very much in line with the Panthers, but for the same reasons they couldn't claim Malcolm X's program, MIM can't either.

teach people when to be angry in political struggle.

In line with this idea, MIM will now highlight some of the more controversial points in the book. We see that at one large convention of activists and radicals, Newton sought to explain that the U.S. Constitution always worked well for the white majority he referred to as "settlers," just as MIM does today:

"We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that even while the early settlers were proclaiming their freedom, they were deliberately and systematically depriving Africans of their freedom ... Generation after generation of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty, and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in America have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty, and happiness of the children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own descendants wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation. ... The descendants of that small company of original settlers of this land are not among the common people of today, they have become a small ruling class in control of a worldwide economic system."⁽⁴⁾

While giving this speech, in very typical fashion, Newton says he appreciated the energy and enthusiasm, including the fact that his every sentence was applauded. However, he "was

also disturbed by the lack of serious analytical thought."⁽⁵⁾ Like MIM today, Huey Newton was not a cheerleader kind of political activist. He believed that serious political struggle was a science that required serious political thought.

THE CONTESTED LEGACY OF MALCOLM X

With regard to the influence of Malcolm X on the Black Panthers, Huey Newton minced no words:

"Often it is difficult to say exactly how an action or a program has been determined or influenced in a spiritual way. Such intangibles are hard to describe, although they can be more significant than any precise influence. Therefore, the words on this page cannot convey the effect that Malcolm has had on the Black Panther Party, although, as far as I am concerned, the Party is a living testament to his life work. I do not claim that the Party has done what Malcolm would have done. Many others say that their programs are Malcolm's programs. We do not say this, but Malcolm's spirit is in us."⁽⁶⁾

Here we see Newton's concern both with unity and struggle. On the one hand, to deny much of what Malcolm X stood for would be wrong. On the other hand, to act as if the Black Panthers could claim Malcolm X's programs would be wrong and opportunistic. Many have jumped on the Malcolm X bandwagon who do not belong there, including many who have less legitimate claim than the Black Panthers. Huey Newton carefully cut away at this kind of opportunism in the same way we today have to cut away at the opportunism connected to those claiming the Black Panther legacy who should not. MIM is very much in line with the Black Panthers, but for the same reasons that the Panthers could not directly claim Malcolm X's program, MIM cannot either.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

By late 1970, unfortunately, Huey Newton also had to carefully separate the Black Panthers from Eldridge Cleaver, not by denying everything Cleaver ever did, but by pointing out differences where they existed. One of the tell-tale signs that Cleaver did not ever have quite the right worked out political line is given in an example by Huey Newton. It is something MIM has also seen time and time again. To understand this particular quotation, we have to understand that Eldridge Cleaver had published his own book *Soul on Ice* before he ever joined the party and in Huey Newton's eyes, Cleaver had writing talents that few in his party had. Hence, Newton believed that Cleaver should have carried through more on the party newspaper work:

"I soon noticed, however, that Eldridge was not around when the deadlines came ... because he was a writer, I found his reluctance difficult to understand. He seemed to work with enthusiasm only after something sensational had taken place. After Bobby Hutton was killed, in April, 1968, and Eldridge was sentenced to Vacaville, the paper appeared regularly every week; but once out of prison, he fell back into his old uncooperative

ways."(?)

MIM is not surprised that the Eldridge Cleaver faction of the party came to endorse the focoist Weather Underground. Perhaps properly referred to as the "action-faction" of the movement, this faction of the revolutionary movement at the time disdained nitry-gritty tasks. It gloried in drugs, free love and armed struggle. Like Huey Newton said, they sort of fade in and out of political commitment depending on the excitement of the moment.

The failure to carry out repetitive tasks necessary for the revolution is an example of liberalism. This kind of liberal likes to fight in big, glorious battles, often losing ones, but disdains small tactical battles that can be won close to 100% of the time if the effort is applied.

PRISON

Newton was also a prison organizer, being someone who spent quite a bit of time in prison. It is quite notable that most of what he says about prisons is still true today, perhaps even more true since prisons have expanded in numbers since then. We notice that throughout the book, Newton explains all the times he was labeled "crazy." Ordinary white people, cops and prison administrators all called him crazy simply for stating truths that they didn't want to hear because of their own attachment to the oppressor's system.

Later Newton was labeled crazy, and at least one time in prison the authorities made him visit a psychiatrist.

"From the minute I entered his office I made my position clear. I told him that I had no faith or confidence in psychiatric tests because they were not designed to relate to the culture of poor and oppressed people. I was willing to talk with him, I said, but I would not submit to any testing. As we talked, he started running games on me. For instance, in the midst of our conversation he would try to sneak in psychological questions such as 'Do you feel people are persecuting you?' Each time he did this I told him I would not submit to any sort of testing, and if he persisted I was going to leave the room. The psychiatrist insisted that I had a bias against psychological testing. He was correct. In response to this I showed him flaws in the psychological systems of Freud, Jung, Skinner, and others that made these systems inapplicable to Black people ... I told him I accepted the theories of Frantz Fanon."(8)

Notes:

1. Huey P. Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide*, Ballantine: New York, 1973, p. 133.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 295-6.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 113; also see p. 129.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 262, also see p. 249; Fanon was a psychiatrist, but a psychiatrist turned revolutionary. The prison psychiatrist hadn't read any Fanon.

Review:

Lonely Rage: The Autobiography of Bobby Seale

by MC17

Fully the first half of *Lonely Rage* (Times Books: New York, 1978) is a psychological exploration of Seale's youth. This is disappointing for its lack of political analysis, coming as it does from the ex-Chairperson of the vanguard of the Black nation in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Midway through the book, Seale meets Huey P. Newton. From then on *Lonely Rage* gives a brief outline of some of the Black Panther activities as Seale was involved in them. We do get a picture of how Seale was fed up with all the revolutionaries he associated with (Revolutionary Action Movement) before he and Newton founded the Black Panther Party. Those other organizations didn't want to do anything but sit around and talk and he thought they didn't understand the need for immediate and direct action.

For the most part, the picture Seale paints of the Black Panther Party just touches on the facts that anyone who has studied them already knows. Most of the descriptions in the book are geared towards the exciting times in Seale's life, such as police confrontations. Although it is a small part of the book, there is some use to learning how Seale went from being anti-communist but thinking the ideas of Black liberation were correct, to understanding that communists are the ones truly for liberation of all people.

Probably the best story he tells is about how he was going to leave town after getting arrested on the steps of the capital for demonstrating against gun control laws. He didn't want to go to jail. His wife asked what would happen to the rest of those who were arrested if he didn't show at the hearing, and he realized that he would be leaving them all to face jail sentences that they would get out of if he showed up and took the rap. So he decided not to leave.

There are some interesting parts about gender and the BPP in this book. He wrote:

"The principle that backed up love relationships among Party members was simply that those who did not have an established one-to-one relationship with someone had the right, male or female, to make love with whomever they desired."

(It should be noted that Seale was considered among those uncommitted people even though he had a legal wife — he said he left her because she was not supportive enough of his political work.) He says they established this principle:

"to ward off petty jealousies and unnecessary quarrels that might in the future ruin the real overall goal and purpose behind the struggle for freedom. I had also witnessed before this principle was established that brothers were freer than sisters to make love with whom they choose."

Seale points out that many of the men in the party would force women into their typical women's roles of serving the meals and doing the secretarial work. Some women were even kicked out of the Party for refusing to sleep with someone. The Party established a number of rules to keep the men from continuing these practices.

While their policies were certainly less than perfect, the BPP did make some good advances on the gender front by recognizing that women should have free choices in relationships just like men. Unfortunately, they made the mistake that many anarchists make in believing that free love can be achieved within the context of capitalism and the patriarchy. It should have been a good clue to Seale that this was not really free and equal love that many women wanted to sleep with him just because he was Chairperson and that excited them. In the end, it was the women, like Seale's wife, who were hurt by this free love, while the men were able to use their positions of political power to get women to sleep with them.

Former Panthers Restart Newspaper

The Black Panther
The Black Panther Newspaper Committee
P.O. Box 519
Berkeley, CA
94701-519

reprinted from MIM Notes 54, July 1991
revised November 1994

by MC17

The Black Panther is a newspaper put out by former members of the Black Panther Party. This paper does not signify the revival of the party; its purpose is "to help keep our community informed and thinking about the issues which impact us and strategies and tactics for liberation."

While the paper does a good job of exposing many of the injustices inflicted on the Black community by the American government, it does not have a consistent and effective analysis of how to change this situation.

The strategies and tactics for liberation of the Black Panther Party in the 1960s were those of revolution. Unlike the current newspaper staff, they did not see boycotts of Colgate-

Palmolive and letter writing campaigns to the Mayor as a means of liberation. They did not suggest that "homelessness is the end result of many things gone wrong — there is no one thing that causes it and there will be no one thing that corrects it." Instead they saw homelessness, drugs, and all the other means used to keep Blacks down, as symptoms of capitalism — a system that is supported by the oppression and colonization of Blacks, Latinos, First Nations, and all oppressed nationalities in this country and around the world.

The paper is filled with articles that attack the symptoms of oppression without discussing the cause. There is no recognition that revolution is the only way that Black people and all oppressed nationalities will ever be liberated.

The Black Panther reprints the rules and program of the Black Panther Party but does nothing to explain their position on these ideas now, or why they no longer think it necessary to organize as a revolutionary political party. They seem to support the actions of the Panthers in the past, but offer little discussion of the causes of their downfall or the need for future revolutionary organizing.

The paper does a good job of exposing the racist nature of the prison system and the large number of political prisoners held in the United States. But it offers no means to challenge this government repression, beyond the suggestion to write to the Governor or the defense committee of each individual prisoner.

Further, their inadequate analysis of history is revealed in the arena of world politics by their support for the Cuban regime today. In their solidarity statement they say that the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are just now "retreat[ing] from socialism." MIM believes that the Soviet Union has been implementing capitalism since the death of Stalin and Eastern Europe has no socialism to retreat from.

The statement goes on to complain about the loss of support from these regimes for Third World revolutions. But it is just this "support" that led the Cuban revolution into economic dependence on the Soviet Union, a dependence that forced Cuba to adopt a bureaucratic and authoritarian political and economic structure, ultimately adopting the USSR's form of "socialism," otherwise known as state capitalism.

Supporting Cuba without an analysis of their revolution and resultant retreat from revolutionary principles is an ahistorical view of liberation that ignores the plight of the Cuban people today.

MIM does not want people to forget the history of the Black Panther Party, a revolutionary Maoist party that was destroyed by the government CONTELPRO repression in the 1960s and 1970s. From this history there is much to be learned about effective revolutionary work. One lesson MIM takes from the destruction of the BPP is the need to organize underground, safer from government infiltration and repression.

Notes From A Panel Discussion

Participants:

- Ahmad Abdur-Rahman; ex-Panther, released from MI prison in November.
- Gloria House; ex-SNCC member, teaches at Wayne State U. in Detroit
- Assata Shakur; ex-Panther, in exile in Cuba
- Dhoruba bin-Wahad; ex-Panther, released from prison 1989

January 1993

by a Comrade

The panel spoke under a banner which said "Free all u.s. political prisoners, prisoners of war and conscience!" MIM has some criticism of this slogan and with the type of political organizing that goes along with it. Political prisoner solidarity work explicitly excludes the majority of political prisoners in the United States — people who are in prison based on their position in the American political system — e.g. for being poor and knocking over a gas station for some cash or being for Black and being within a mile of a robbery or rape, for example.

So while we agree with the political prisoners' advocates who say that it is irresponsible for activists to forget their comrades who are set-up and/or imprisoned solely for their political work, mutual responsibility for mutual security is hardly an argument for this type of single-issue organizing. Many of the recognized political prisoners in the United States today went to prison fighting for nationalist or socialist revolution against the American state. And now the "Free ..." campaigns are saying simply to "free" these individuals, often in the process of renouncing socialism or revolutionary nationalism. Why should the fact that these individuals are in prison overshadow the importance of those initial goals?

As with all other forms of political work — producing literature, conducting education and propaganda, feeding people, building base areas, overthrowing the government — MIM says that individuals are most effective working within an organization that is clear and direct in its ideology and program. MIM also says that activists are most effective when they are honest with the people they are organizing. So if you know these prisoners are in there because the fascists use every means at their disposal to destroy political threats to themselves, and that the only way to put an end to the political imprisonment of people's warriors is to fight imperialism and national oppression, why aren't you organizing on that basis?

AHMAD ABDUR-RAHMAN

Rahman began by saying that the critical difference between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and what he sees of Black organizing today is that the Panthers had a clear worked-out strategy and a guiding ideology which was Marxism-Leninism. And they related to Mao Zedong. He also referred to Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* as a key influence in the Panthers' understanding of revolutionary consciousness and struggle in the Black Nation.

He outlined the analysis in *Wretched of the Earth* in terms of the experiences of the BPP and then went on to explain how he had become a member of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and what he thinks is the most correct path Black revolutionaries can follow today to put together a liberation movement.

- Spontaneity has three principal characteristics:
 1. Momentary great display of the masses' strength
 2. Undisciplined action
 3. Doesn't sustain lasting damage to the oppressor

Rahman talked about how the FBI's counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) capitalized on spontaneous tendencies in the Black liberation movement. Acting to misdirect, disrupt and neutralize the struggle, the FBI directed the masses' anger at false or less-than-principal enemies, disrupted clear plans for action and killed or put away a lot of Panthers.

- National culture is revolutionary first as it cultivates a national consciousness and forms a base for political work; but it only stays revolutionary in as much as it changes and grows according to the needs of the political struggle. He gave the examples of Algerian women using their long dresses and skirts to smuggle guns past checkpoints, where men would have been searched. He also gave the negative example of Black people dressing in Kente cloth while ignoring whatever political movements are going on around them.

- Concerning Violence: it wasn't the BPP alone that Hoover labeled the #1 threat to security in the United States; it was the potential power of the Panthers' example to Black people and all oppressed people. Similarly, it is never the violence of individual revolutionaries that the oppressors fear, it is the movement they represent. He also talked about the oppressed dealing with the possibility of carrying out violence against the oppressor. He said that initially the oppressor looms so large that it is difficult to face the challenge of confronting him or her. And that often the rage against the oppressor turns into rage against one's own people because they are easier, closer targets. But people have to overcome this impulse and recognize that only systemic attacks on the oppressor will pay off in eliminating imperialism and racism.

Ahmad still says the word "revolution" a fair bit but his description of his movement to Islam sounds a lot more like working on the revolution from within, which contradicts his own analysis of culture. Yes, inner consciousness is necessary to outer revolutionary activity. But inner consciousness is not nearly enough. People need to combine that with, or use it to build, a revolutionary political program. He said that in the

early 1970s (when he began his natural-life sentence) the Panther program was shown to be unrealistic (presumably by the fact that the organization was largely gutted by the number of leaders who were in prison, dead or in exile). According to Rahman, Islam was clearly a better/more appropriate means of achieving self-mastery and spiritual development and independence.

Rahman closed by telling young people to study some political theory. He said that theory receives little attention and that's why so many organizations shatter or just disintegrate when faced with ideological struggle. He said revolutionary nationalists should study the theory and practice of the past to build a solid practice for today. Ahmad's lessons in words are right on. MIM wonders how he resolves the issue of leading by example.

GLORIA HOUSE

Gloria House has a book of poetry out called *Blood River*. She opened with one poem from it, and judging from that one, her poetry is a good example of oppressed nationalist consciousness — people should check it out.

Demonstrating the difference between the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the BPP, House said that one of the principal lessons SNCC learned in the 1960s was the need for independent strategies for empowerment. She contrasted this to SNCC's practice at the 1964 Democratic national convention of trying to seat the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). The MFDP was a group of alternative delegates organized by SNCC to replace the Klan-run regular Mississippi delegation. The MFDP was destroyed several ways by leading liberals in the Democratic party — the vice presidential candidacy was

As with all other forms of political work, individuals are most effective working within an organization that is clear and direct in its ideology and program.

rewarded in exchange for booting the freedom delegates — and learned the very hard way that trying to wring justice out of the American political system doesn't work.

House made the excellent and infrequently-stated point that student activists need to be aware of surveillance, and the need to be ready to protect each other in the event of government attack. She said one of the most important tasks student activists have is to avoid prison, assassination and exile. How else will you get your work done? MIM appreciates this point, as we are constantly arguing over the realities of government repression of radical political groups and individuals with people who believe Amerika gives freedom of speech to its ene-

emies. The experience of oppressed national struggles in the 1960s and 70s is one of the examples we often point to of what the state will do to people who threaten its existence, and how not to advertise one's location, habits, friends, etc. to the state.

Students caught on to the security issue, and during the question and answer period some asked what were good books to read on the subject. The panelists suggested ex-Panther Assata Shakur's autobiography *Assata*, and *Agents of Repression* by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall. One student asked how it was possible to recognize agents in progressive organizations. House responded by rattling off a list of agent behaviors: placing oneself in charge of security at an event and having had experience with weapons; being in a leadership position and confounding decision-making processes when it comes time to take action. While MIM recognizes these actions as techniques the FBI could use and has used, we know that no organization is going to protect itself from infiltration simply by keeping careful watch on all its members' behaviors.

As Ahmad said, the best way to safeguard against infiltrators is to do have a clear strategy and ideology. Know your goals and you will be able to define the best route to get there. You will also be able to objectively judge who is blocking your progress intentionally and who is just confused politically. And most importantly, you can have these discussions on a political level, rather than in the fashion of a witch hunt.

ASSATA SHAKUR

Assata Shakur sent a tape recording of her speech from Havana where she is in exile. She spoke about the conditions of political prisoners in the United States. She detailed the means through which they are cut off not only from politics but from any means of personal support that could help them stay strong (both personally and politically) while they are locked up. Her talk was a moving statement on what lengths guards and wardens go to to harass the politics out of the prisoner: denying mail, frequent moves, isolation, torture.

DHORUBA BIN-WAHAD

Dhoruba bin-Wahad said that in the struggle between the people and the oppressor, either the people will win, or the oppressor will win. He said that the Panthers worked with this understanding and reminded everyone that Mao's often-quoted-out-of-context statement "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" was simply an observation and analysis of the nature of the modern state. The other part of this analysis was that there is a moral aspect of violence only the oppressed can be in touch with, and that the oppressed use this understanding to turn to the whole of humanity to participate in the struggle to overthrow the oppressor.

This was the most revolutionary analysis MIM has yet heard from the Nation of Islam on all sorts of issues: gender, culture, political responsibility. Towards the end of his talk Wahad spoke specifically to the Muslims in the audience asking how can Muslims possibly absent themselves from politi-

cal struggle. Asking how you can ignore the teaching in the Koran which says to fight your enemy and defend those who cannot defend themselves? And how can you "bump your head five times a day without bumping some cracker upside the head five times a day?"

He also seemed to downplay the "free political prisoners" aspect of the other speakers' presentations. His focus was global: "with the collapse of the Soviet Union what we have in the world today is a contradiction between the north and the south." He directed himself to various issues from the perspective of the revolutionary nationalists and their allies who have an obligation to the people.

Wahad addressed the issue of culture in revolutionary consciousness — repeating Fanon's statement that culture is related to the word "cultivate," and stating that culture is only revolutionary so long as it cultivates revolutionary consciousness. He upholds the Panthers' analysis of 1966 that consciousness of Black culture in Amerika was initially progres-

"Why is it that we can use the terms *bitch* and *ho* in our rap music and can't use the term *revolutionary overthrow of the government* in that same music?"

sive as it helped to identify a basis for organizing. But that culturalism is reactionary when it distracts people from political struggle.

Wahad seems to agree with MIM that gender played a big part in holding back/weakening the Panthers. "Why is it that we can use the term 'bitch' and 'ho' in our rap music and can't use the term 'revolutionary overthrow of the government' in that same music?"

He said that nationalists have got to deal with all aspects of oppression, and all contradictions in the world so that they can be as advanced as possible theoretically and so that they can grow and also respond effectively to threats: "if you are not in the forefront, what happened to the Black Panther Party will happen to you."

He closed by saying "I hope that you will leave here tonight with a profound understanding of how insignificant you are." MIM takes this as a call to struggle through the impulse of individualism Amerika tries to instill in all people who live here and move on to an internationalist focus in organizing. We hope for the same thing for all people we come into contact with, and will continue the struggle to spread that understanding through our work and propaganda.

Phil Donahue: *The Issue Is Race*

October 2, 1992

by a Comrade

This talk show episode with 11 speakers contained a heated discussion on progress in the conditions of Black people in the United States. Compared with most talk shows it had a much better representation of varying opinions. Despite the title of the panel, it focussed just on Black and white people in the United States, not the "races" in general. Three speakers were white and eight were Black.

For the most part, the panel was characterized by an argument between radical Blacks and those Blacks working within existing institutions for change, but President John Silber of Boston University spoke up a few times for the reactionary view.

According to Silber, there has been great progress since the 1960s in the conditions of Black people in the United States. He mentioned that in the early 1960s, Black people could not use public bathrooms reserved for whites. Furthermore, he argued against Sister Souljah for her anti-white "racism," when she said that white people have no "moral conscience" and hence should not be "appealed" to for help.

Sister Souljah countered Silber also by saying there is no such thing as Black racism. MIM agrees that Silber was not correct in his characterization of Sister Souljah. However, MIM does not agree with Sister Souljah exactly, because we believe it is possible for Black compradors like Clarence Thomas to bolster white supremacy and hence perpetrate national oppression and its symptom of racism.

In contrast with Sister Souljah, Silber said that Martin Luther King was effective because he referred to Plato, Thoreau and other elements of Western culture. According to Silber, King "shamed a majority of Americans" with their own traditions.

Black Professor Cornell West of Princeton University also believed there was such a thing as a "multi-racial moral ground." That common ground and the necessity of Black "self-love" are the two most important points to move forward, said Dr. West.

Sister Souljah attacked West's position by saying you can't make a "moral appeal to people with no moral conscience." She pointed out that white people demonstrate by the millions in regard to abortion, but not in regard to the killing of Black youth.

MIM agrees with Sister Souljah that the issue of abortion is indicative of white moral priorities. We refer to any femi-

nism that is not anti-imperialist as "pseudo-feminism."

MIM also agrees with panelist and former Black Panther Dhoruba bin-Wahad that the United States only adopted civil rights laws in the 1960s because it was "expedient" to do so under international pressure when the United States was claiming to be a leader in "freedom" and "democracy." We would add that the mounting pressure of Black people themselves was also a factor. That is to say there was a power struggle that made some limited gains for Blacks.

White scholar Jonathan Kozol, the Black Republican Senate candidate from Maryland, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly of Washington, D.C. and Tony Brown all focussed on the Black middle class. They pointed to the growth of the Black middle class as proof of change and talked about how they expected the Black middle class to aid the overall condition of Blacks. The Black speakers in this group also bristled with middle-class Black nationalism — resentment that whites and many Blacks seemed to ignore their existence and characterize all Blacks as poor, unemployed or in prison. MIM often refers to middle-class Black nationalists as "integrationists," because in the end they believe in the strategy of integration with white people — just by proving that Black people can be cogs in the imperialist machine just as good as whites.

In response to bin-Wahad, Mayor Kelly let it all hang out: she said she would not "walk away" from Amerika and give up on integration, just when Black people were going to get their "piece of the rock."

In this regard Sister Souljah and Dhoruba bin-Wahad had more in common than the other Black people on the panel. Neither explicitly advocated revolution, but both see a radical political solution to political repression of the Black people as necessary.

Even though Dhoruba bin-Wahad attacked capitalism and patriarchy, none of the speakers really addressed the illusions created by imperialism. The radicals said that the conditions for Black youth were repressive, but they did not have a convincing answer to why the solution was not to let the Black middle class keep growing.

MIM believes that capitalism is a system that is by nature cut-throat. Where one group of people succeeds, it is necessarily at the expense of others. Again and again we have seen capitalist economic competition lead to war this century. Within this system, there is only so much room for success, while capitalist after capitalist seeks to drive the other capitalists out of business to survive. Even if a group of people does rise up into the ranks of the rich and powerful, it is only by exploiting other groups. Black people should see to it that they rise up and that no group is ever treated like Black people today. That would require socialism.

The three-quarters of the world's population who are oppressed by imperialism can see clearly capitalism's cut-throat nature. The conditions of the international proletariat create a "moral common ground" — the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

In addition to this "moral common ground" created by actual living conditions, there is a science of revolution for the international proletariat. It is this science that makes communication possible within the ranks of the international proletariat. The same science recognizes that each oppressed nation is unique.

Jonathan Kozol did a good job silencing the whiny liberals on at least one point. He said that it doesn't matter if Black people like white people as individuals or as groups. What matters is "if Black people have the same shot" as white people in society. Although MIM would say the question is how to create a harmonious world free of national oppression, Kozol's general approach is well-taken. After a round of criticism from the speakers, Phil Donahue promised never again to ask anyone on the panel whether Black people and white people like each other or himself. This was a small victory. Too often

Mayor Kelly said she would not 'walk away' from Amerika and give up on integration, just when Black people were going to get their "piece of the rock."

white liberals seek to personalize social problems instead of looking at what happens on a group level.

This small victory against whiny liberalism and individualism was somewhat undercut when Dhoruba bin-Wahad charged Donahue with "always going to the white people" to ask them about oppression. In point of fact, the panel was quite clearly dominated by Black people, so the former Panther's point seemed weak and insecure. More importantly he contradicted himself and some other good points made by Sister Souljah when he said that it was impossible for men to understand what it was like being women and white people to understand what it is like for Blacks. Nonetheless, the former Panther made a necessary and correct point about sexism, so why did he say he could not speak on the subject? The shortfalls of identity politics is a point many people working against oppression don't have clear in their own minds.

One reason that people don't have it clear is that many speakers, especially those on lecture-circuits, have a self-interest in saying only Black people can speak against national oppression and only women can know how to fight sexism. People like Phil Donahue then have to host such speakers. Another reason that people take this tokenist approach is that it is easier than doing an analysis or winning one's arguments. MIM does the analysis and wins arguments. What the correct analysis is to end oppression and who takes up that analysis are two entirely separate questions. MIM calls on all people to take up the science of revolution to end oppression, but we know that disproportionately it will be the oppressed national-

ties which make up the international proletariat that do take up revolution.

BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS POLITICS AND TOKENISM

The position that the Black middle-class should see to its own people first to make all Blacks middle-class, and the use of opportunist tactics like tokenism, are not ideas constructed out of thin air. They have a material basis.

Tony Brown did the best on the panel to point out that in some ways the Black people are already an economic success story. Counted as a country, the Black people have a GNP of \$300 billion, which is the 14th richest in the world. According to Brown the big problem is that Blacks only spend 6.6% of their money in the Black community. The rest goes to purchasing goods and services from whites and others. That is why Black people do not have middle and upper classes comparable to the white ones. Brown said it was important for the Black middle class to hire and buy things from the Black poor.

Sister Souljah countered Brown by saying there were political obstacles to the business success of most Black people, which is why only a small middle-class can arise. Many of the panel seemed to agree that those obstacles started right in grade school when children receive inferior opportunities.

Tony Brown said he agreed that political power was one weapon the Black people needed. He also made a point of saying he did not consider himself a capitalist, just someone apolitical trying to "pay the bills." He raised the question of the

definition of "capitalist," but he did not answer it.

In the end, it was ironic, but the Black Republican running for Senate who spoke at the Republican National Convention, summed it up that all the Black speakers were saying that the grassroots must establish a power base. He was right.

Sister Souljah concluded that Black youth must free their minds, rely on themselves, start with the assumption that whites have no conscience and ignore the majority of Black leaders, because they are "insincere." Dhoruba bin-Wahad said they needed a Black political party.

A certain vagueness in the solutions offered by Souljah and the former political prisoner allowed their opponents to say that they did not have any solutions. It is true that Souljah and Dhoruba bin-Wahad did not point to anything concrete either here within U.S. borders or abroad that they supported as solutions. Hence, Cornell West said, "rage cannot have the last word." As if he were supporting the radicals, Kozol said despair was warranted: "nothing has changed" in the last 25 years. Others simply said that the radicals were preaching useless "despair." MIM believes this was incorrect. What the radicals said was often correct, but there was no reason to leave out the history of African anti-colonial struggle, the recent revolution in Eritrea and Ethiopia or the struggle in Peru or the Chinese socialist revolution as concrete examples of what can be done.

Obituary:

A Death As Heavy As Mount Tai

reprinted from MIM Notes 62
March 1992

by a Comrade

On Jan. 3, revolutionary activist Muhammad Kenyatta died from diabetes complications at age 47. MIM believes the most appropriate way to remember Muhammad Kenyatta is to review the specifics of his life of thought and struggle. He was a Black priest, an organizer for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), law student leader, law professor and independent revolutionary.

One of the first civil rights organizers in the South during the 1960s upsurge, Kenyatta had to leave because of threats to his life from white supremacists. But he stayed with the civil rights struggle throughout his life.

At Harvard University, Kenyatta led the Black Law Students Association, among other groups, and he saw to the distribution

of RADACADS literature — including "Harvard and South Africa" and "South Africa and the United States." Along with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), RADACADS was one of MIM's predecessors.

Although Harvard Law School is one of the handful of places where the bourgeoisie trains its future rulers, it was once a hotbed of radicalism. Re-igniting the struggle against U.S. ties to apartheid in 1982 and 1983, RADACADS work

**Kenyatta's
actions and
impact will
live on in our
revolutionary
work.**

impacted even more at the law school than among the undergraduates. Kenyatta, along with African student leaders and some radical whites, made Harvard Law School a big headache for the bourgeoisie. These law students exposed the bourgeoisie on hiring discrimination, apartheid, militarism and the invasion of Grenada. When Muhammad Kenyatta spoke at events on these subjects, he pointed to capitalism as the source of the problem.

Kenyatta organized demonstra- ➔

→ tions, talks and literature distribution. When he was working at a table handing out literature one day, he explained to the RADACADS that he always thought the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a good thing and that he was an admirer of Mao Zedong.

Kenyatta regarded MIM's predecessors as "an inspiration for [his] life." He also pointed out that the young people in RADACADS/RIM "were out of line in these goose-stepping times" of the early Reagan years. Kenyatta thus gave testimony to the ongoing strength of Maoism and the struggles of the oppressed. The struggle may have its highs and lows, but experienced activists know that the imperialists will never live to see the struggle and its history wiped out.

In practice, Kenyatta's biggest difference with MIM was that he did not make the vanguard party the center of his life. This did not stop him from working with communists, while he kept himself firmly planted in various struggles of Black people and struggling for internationalist goals as well. In another disagreement with RADACADS, Kenyatta said that as a younger man he was angry with Martin Luther King, Jr. but that as he got older he learned to appreciate what King did. A sophisticated unity of progressive forces was always Kenyatta's goal.

In the early 1980s, MIM's predecessors absorbed the negative lessons of Progressive Labor Party's (PLP) role in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The RADACADS ended their direct organizational leadership of the South Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC) and provided increasingly broader political leadership instead. By this time, RADACADS, and then RIM, had brought the struggle to the point where hundreds of people in all Harvard schools and in the greater Boston area were involved. It would have held back the development of newly awakening forces to lead the movement as single-issue leaders.

This decision by RADACADS was not without costs. White opportunist elements in the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) took over SASC and watered down the organization's principles. The DSA-controlled SASC published an article in the student paper, *The Harvard Crimson*, calling for negotiated and peaceful change in South Africa — dropping the group's previously explicit support for the armed struggles of the Azanian masses.

The old SASC leaders were disgusted by this backsliding and they wrote a letter to the student paper. Kenyatta was one of the co-signers. For weeks after publication of this letter, DSA opportunists organized meetings and essay-writing just on this subject to rationalize why Black people should not

pick up the gun.

Later, when the RIM had changed its name to MIM, Kenyatta gave one more critical push to the struggle — critical to MIM's development. MIM's core membership had learned its so-called feminism from white feminists who placed the gender contradiction above class, nation and "race," seeing only unity between white women and women of color.

Kenyatta sent MIM some articles he published about the family. He clearly pointed out that Black women have different interests that are not just *different* but directly *opposite* those of wealthier white women.

He clearly pointed out that Black women have interests that are not just different from but opposite to those of white women.

MIM realized that Kenyatta was correct on this very important issue. Wasn't it clear that in Azania, the oppressor directly attacked the Black family? Didn't the white supremacists separate the Black male workers from the women who stayed in the "bantustans" while men worked in the mines and other industries? In Azania, the white supremacists destroyed the Black family so that wages would pay for just the subsistence of its Black male workers (and not even pay for that) while it forced Black women to scavenge for themselves and their children in the "bantustans."

So the simple "abolition" or "destruction" of the family — which is what radical so-called feminists since the 1960s have wanted — was not in the interests of oppressed women. The oppressor has seen to the "destruction" of the family many times in history with no gains for the oppressed.

Within the United States, the Euro-American state-enforced destruction of the Black family also happened, but with less severe consequences than in Azania — where Black people are among the most oppressed in the world. While it may be in the interests of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois white women to "destroy" the family and gain "freedom," this is not the case where the oppressor has been destroying the family of the oppressed for a long time. After people have lived under socialism for a long period, the time may come when abolition of the family will take on the meaning supported by Marx and Engels. But right now, abolition of the family under capitalism is part of the decadence of imperialism.

Kenyatta was a primary influence on MIM's gender analysis until Catharine MacKinnon's *Feminism Unmodified* (Harvard U. Press; Cambridge, 1987) — which pushed MIM's analysis even further. The actions and impact of Kenyatta and the revolutionary activists who worked with him will live on in our revolutionary work of today.

BLK:

Black Lesbian & Gay Newsmagazine

March 1991
Box 83912
Los Angeles, CA 90083-0912

by MC5

This is a good issue of BLK because it features the now dead Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther Party on the question of sexual orientation. It reprints a letter by Huey Newton and also a program for Third World Gay Revolution printed in the Berkeley Tribe, 1970.

It picks a little at the Newton letter for focussing on men's heterosexism.⁽¹⁾ Probably though, Newton was right to focus on this issue considering the problem in his party and revolutionary forces generally. Men are the vanguard of heterosexism and Huey Newton was a powerful symbol of maleness in his own right. When he said, "maybe a homosexual could be the most revolutionary,"⁽²⁾ Newton was undertaking a correct and necessary struggle, that many supposedly Maoist (e.g. the RCP) and nationalist groups have yet to pick up on. In contrast, MIM picks it up and carries it further.

Then the article goes through some of the history of the period in which some of the frustrations of the radical and revolutionary forces of the time come to light. Some groups embraced Huey Newton's letter. Others condemned the Panthers as sexist and heterosexist, some citing Eldridge Cleaver in particular. (Cleaver always did have a heterosexist line, which may be why he joined the Mormons and worked with the Moonies so readily upon return to the United States in the 1980s.)

The article also makes the excellent point that the FBI succeeded in dividing the gay community from the Black Panthers, partly by forging a letter supposedly from a Black Panther: "I have seen by last weeks paper that now Panthers are supposed to relate to cocksuckers. Huey is wrong. Something must have happened to him in prison."⁽³⁾ It just goes to show that people should think twice before questioning the unity of the oppressed, because the FBI might be the ones arranging the divisions. Activists working against oppression should ask themselves before they attack each other: "where did I get this information? Can I check on it? Am I being played off against someone else?"

MIM itself has been subjected to a rumor dividing itself from the gay community. Several people have believed that a certain member of MIM never had sex because he is gay and believes in reforming out of that sexual orientation. This rumor serves to scare gays and lesbians away from the party, which is made to look hypocritical.

This rumor is not one bit true. No one in MIM believes in reforming gays and lesbians to become heterosexual. In this case, MIM Notes makes clear MIM's position, so the only way to attack was to make up a story about an individual within MIM, just as the FBI tried to play off one fictional Panther against Newton.

With all the problems to work out, even at the Panther's height Huey Newton was not able to unite all who could be united for communism. The split between Maoism and revolutionary nationalism on the one hand, and feminism and gay and lesbian liberation on the other hand has only deepened since that time. It is upon this scene that MIM emerged in the 1980s, confused itself why things aren't already more together, but proceeding fearlessly to forge a real communist movement opposing all oppressions with the best of what is available at hand.

The most significant mistake of the BLK article is the mistake of radical feminism of the 1960s — the premature attack on the nuclear family that actually sets back the day the patriarchal family and heterosexism will be finally destroyed. Thrilling in its radicalism and support of communist goals opposing religion and monogamy for instance, the feminist movement of the 1960s was much better than what we have now for a feminist movement. However, the call of some gay and lesbian Third World people for "the abolition of the nuclear bourgeois family"⁽⁴⁾ dovetailed neatly with imperialism's attack on the families of oppressed nationalities within the borders of the United States. Gays and lesbians were correct to ask for their own space to have their own families, but the call for the abolition of the nuclear family before the destruction of capitalism and national oppression is an expression of imperialist decadence.

The abolition of the nuclear family is tempting — for Americans, who tend to be more individualist than any other people — to undertake under capitalist imperialism because individual families are more easily dismantled than the whole system of imperialism. That is to say social change appears to some gay and lesbian activists (and today's New Age followers) as a matter of choosing the right lifestyle, not building independent power of the oppressed to overthrow the system. MIM opposes the mistaken choose-a-lifestyle strategy, while supporting the long-range goal of abolishing the family, monogamy and heterosexism which will occur under communism.

Notes:

1. BLK, p. 11.
2. BLK, p. 14.
3. BLK, p. 5.
4. BLK, p. 12.

Black Voice:

Black Unity & Freedom Party

'The slogan *Black and white unite and fight* might be a nice ideal — but in the real world we have to develop our own effective strategies and tactics, and identify how class interacts with race.'

Vol. 22:1 1991
Box 1, 122 Vassall Rd.
London SW9 6JB BRITAIN

This paper is right on. MIM cannot tell what its differences with the BUFP are for sure; although, the paper does not name itself Marxist-Leninist or Maoist.

The paper correctly stands against both the U.S. imperialists in their war in Iraq and the repressive bourgeois regime in Iraq for oppressing the people. It also exposes the Labour Party for supporting the U.S.-led war in some cases and supporting sanctions on humanitarian aid items in the rest of the cases.(1) (MIM would have supported people to people sanctions if they were organized by the Kuwaiti people.)

Rather than kiss up to Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell, the BUFP calls him "Black face for imperialism."(2) [MIM does not believe there are any Black imperialists because the Black bourgeoisie doesn't have its own independent monopoly finance capital and state to back the realization of surplus-value. There are only compradors who are "faces" for imperialism, and may be considered "honorary" imperialists by the imperialists themselves.]

The subject matter of the paper is also wide-ranging and internationalist the way a communist paper should be. It includes stories on domestic violence, the Inkatha sell-outs in South Africa, two stories on Pan Africanist leaders, the switch from Thatcher to Major in England, the Palestinian Intifada and several sharp stories on the police oppression of national minorities in Britain.

The one thing that MIM can point to is that apparently the BUFP does not believe in a vanguard party. But what that means is not clear because BUFP advocates principled unity and the formation of a party to build independent power for socialism.

Most stunning of all is MIM's agreement with BUFP about Trotskyism. BUFP explains that Trotsky "produced little on the nature of Black struggle."(3)

The end of the article could have come right out of MIM Notes, which is very significant because none of the three Maoist groups [two of which are since defunct and the other unwilling to acknowledge the Cultural Revolution — MC5,

Jan. 1994] in England have a line like MIM's on the labor aristocracy:

"The slogan 'Black and white unite and fight', so favoured by the SWP [might as well be the SWP, USA — MC5], might be a nice ideal — but in the real world we have to develop our own effective strategies and tactics, and identify how class interacts with race.

"No Trotskyist group has tried to do this. They either subordinate the Black struggle to class, or use the fight against racism only as part of a struggle to protect 'democratic rights' as a whole, as with the RCP. This is the petit-bourgeois politics of opportunism and will take on a hysterical edge as crisis-ridden capitalism erodes the privileges of a corrupt labour movement.

"Britain's 'labour aristocracy' faces hard times, and economic crisis will spur on a fight against the state that needs to be conducted through principled unity. But the White Left is in the grips of such political opportunism and disarray that it remains to be seen which side of the barricades some groups will fall on. Rather than wait for them to come to our rescue, Black workers must get involved in revolutionary self-organisation now."(3)

It should be added though that the Black Voice apparently opposes having separate vanguards.

BUFP also correctly labels racism a product of imperialism. While the issues are a little murky based on this one issue, one thing is clear: at least one party in England holds a line on the labor aristocracy and Black nationalism similar to MIM's.

MIM wrote to BUFP and has received no response.

Notes: 1. BUFP, p. 1; 2. BUFP, p. 2; 3. BUFP, p. 5.

Get MIM Theory 6 The Stalin Issue

Reviewing the post-Gorbachev biographies — and summing up the good, the bad, and the ugly-but-necessary.

Send \$4.95, cash, stamps or check to:

"MIM Distributors," PO Box 3576
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576

NAPO: By Any Means Necessary

Fall/Winter 1991
New Afrikan People's Organization
PO Box 31762
Jackson, MS 39286

by MCS

This is an excellent 24 page color paper by a revolutionary Black nationalist organization. MIM Notes would print just about every article in the paper itself if it had the articles and the money.

NAPO's main thing is to liberate Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina — the Blackbelt South — as a new nation called New Afrika. This used to be the program of the Communist Party-USA for Blacks in the 1930s.

New Afrika in the Black Belt South

Stories cover the expulsion and re-admittance of Black students at Grambling State University; the "rehire Ina Best" movement; the strikers at Delta Pride food company; the legal efforts of 63 year-old Black woman to show that Black people actually legally own 3 million acres of land in the South; the atrocities committed by a KKK-headed Fire Department in Georgia; the Malcolm X movement that the NAPO has going; elections within NAPO; the Angola, LA oppression of prisoners; the Zionist/Black conflict in New York; remembering the Republic of New Afrika 11; the Dahmer case as police brutality; how Clarence Thomas is a sell-out; the sexism in rap; the idea of privatizing prisons; articles on the law concerning the treatment of Prisoners of War (POWs) in the United States; the Mohawk struggle; racism in Southern California; the Mexican struggle for self-determination; the phony Columbus Day outlook of whites; the struggle of Chicanos for self-determination; the commercial usage of Malcolm X lately; South Africa as a colony; rain forest defender Chico Mendes; the Pan Africanist Congress; the New Orleans police murder of a Black youth; the death penalty in Lagos for children; Farrakhan's new Islamic center in Ghana; the Nigerian student movement and the principles of NAPO.

The most questionable article in MIM's eyes is the one about a Black lawyer from Detroit who went to South Africa to help the ANC write a proposed new constitution.(1) In this article, the line between national liberation and following the U.S. model of so-called integration is blurred. It concludes calling for a jury trial system in South Africa modeled on the United States's system.

MIM's disagreements with NAPO are not readily apparent in this issue of the newspaper. However, MIM does not support the notion of promoting armed struggle at this time. That is one major difference. At the same time, MIM is very

interested in prisoners as is NAPO. Some of the freedom fighters are working hard to establish legal precedents for POWs fighting for the creation of the New Afrikan republic. MIM supports this legal struggle for existing POWs and finds it encouraging that NAPO reports that the Zimbabwe government has requested that Dr. Mutula Shakur be granted political asylum in Zimbabwe.

Another difference between MIM and NAPO concerns the Soviet Union and China. NAPO claims to be socialist, but it does not mention the experiences of the socialist countries in its statement of principles or articles. MIM does not believe any oppressed people wants to undertake the serious effort of revolution without learning as much as possible from other revolution's experiences, because people roused to revolution want to do it right and not have disunity when the time comes to decide what socialism really is.

Notes:

1. By Any Means Necessary, p. 19.

Review: Hakim

Studio E 20 Nonhead Green
London SE15 3QF

by MCS

This is a righteous revolutionary nationalist publication. It starts right off with the question of women and laying down a line on sex, education and independent media power for Black women:

"Stop selling yourselves cheap sista's. Sleeping with the first fool that comes along trying to get his pitiful respect, you never will, believe me, so get a strong man. ... Nowadays, we gotta be more careful with the partner we sleep with, an' it's better if he's one for life and not just for the night. ... An' instead of educatin' our youngsters properly we would rather spend money on silly fashions, in useless clubs, on stinking booze, harmful drugs or stupid cars etc. ... So come on pull out the extensions on your head and extend what's in it. Black women form a movement, an' learn to be violent if necessary. ... Newsletters and group meetings can be the first steps then we can branch out onto female run radio & T.V. stations, newspapers etc."(1)

The group's statement of purpose called "Whatwesay!" has some food for thought for MIM:

"hakim is arabic word meanin' wise, and the name of our innovative concept the 'raggazine' for the new breed

we won't
sell ya out

of intellectual who has rejected the crass consumerist an' pompous attitudes held by existin' so-called 'black magazines/publications.' our surveys show that you know them to have no dynamism or style an' to be completely out of touch wid real life on the street. the brothers black are gonna straighten dis out by producin' a powerful bi-monthly blasted at the individual who doesn't except everythin' he/she reads or hears, 'cos they challenge the system an' break it down by presentin' it with their own facts. we therefore pledge our allegiance to the hardcore elements in the community an' will work non-stop in pre-

sentin' you the truth. we won't sell ya out. there is now no alternative, its us or nothin'. this 1st issue is for you, the reader 'cos you've taken that first step for revolution. ... the mind."(2)

Other good stories include one on the point of view of Islamic revolutionaries, the experience of a Black in the white British military, ragamuffin lifestyle and rap music.

Notes:

1. Hakim, p. 9.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Your Blues Ain't Like Mine

Bebe Moore Campbell

Bebe Moore Campbell I: Real Blues Ain't Like These...

G.P. Putnam's Sons
1992

reprinted from MIM Notes 82
November 1993

by MC12

Here is a novel that gains its power from the assumed authenticity of its portrayal, its attention to details of daily life, and its supposed basis in historical events. Despite writing that is at times powerful and provocative, the book is ultimately a fraud, as much for its phony depiction of Black helplessness and white helpfulness — as for its mistelling of history.

The novel is based on the killing of Emmett Till by white supremacists in Mississippi in 1955. The killing is at the beginning of the novel, and the rest of the story makes up the lives of those involved from 1955 to the present.

THE REAL LYNCHING

The Supreme Court had just released the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that supposedly ended school segregation, and the white yahoos of Mississippi were pissed. They lynched Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Black man from Chicago who was visiting relatives in Mississippi. On a dare from friends, he had called a white woman in rural Mississippi "babe" after bragging about a white girlfriend up North. A few days later, he was abducted from his family's home, driven around and threatened for hours, beaten and finally shot. His body was found several days later in a nearby river, a cotton gin fan tied around his neck with barbed wire, his testicles cut off, his head crushed, and one eye gouged out.(1)

A white man's jury — who in real life (though not in the novel) drank beer in the jury box — returned a verdict of

not guilty against the known perpetrators after an hour's deliberation.

Campbell moderates the lynching markedly. Her Till ("Armstrong Todd") is beaten and then shot right in the yard of his relatives. His body is not sexually mutilated or dumped in the river; he is not taunted and terrorized for hours.

Campbell is intent on humanizing all the players in the story, on making them real and likeable. She even paints the murderer himself as an emasculated poor white man who really only gets dragged into the crime by his goading older brother — a brother who has always held his father's attention more, who always seemed to do everything right.

While Campbell's murderer is dirt poor and only gets poorer after the crime, the real criminal was paid \$4,000 by a white journalist to tell the true story after the trial, an event that doesn't fit into Campbell's scheme of things.

The killer's helpless wife, a crucial martyr in the story, is also a kindly and likeable woman, who really wants to be friends with Black people. Everything she says and does toward them is friendly except that she says "nigger" a lot. She is abused by her husband (not unlikely) and eventually moves in with her daughter, who by the 1980s is an integrationist labor activist.

The book is ultimately a fraud, as much for its phony depiction of Black helplessness and white helpfulness as for its mistelling of history.

In this depiction, the only benefit gained by white women from lynching and white supremacy is a fleeting sense of importance that is quickly dwarfed by guilt and humiliation. In words right out of a women's studies textbook, the white women in this story wake up and realize that white men don't lynch for them, but for themselves. This is to make clear that white women are really in the same boat as Blacks, and just need to get over some cultural barriers before getting down to some serious integration.

In real life, however, white women gain a whole system of privilege by virtue of their position on the elevated end of white-supremacist chivalry — even as they remain subordinate to the white men who wield the whips.

Perhaps worse, however, is Campbell's transformation of Blacks into emotion-dominated victims incapable of rational collective action. Local Blacks and national organizations, and even family members, militantly fought the Till lynching and others like it. Till's cousin's grandmother put her body between the lynch mob and the young man, before she was knocked out by a shotgun butt — an incident that also doesn't make it into the book. Because rather than take advantage of that militant history to turn the novel into an inspiring tribute to their heroic efforts, Campbell writes it out of the story to create needy and self-absorbed Blacks.

Till's mother, Mamie Till, fought to have an open-casket funeral for her son, so his mutilated body would be a signal to the world. In the novel, she sneaks his body out of town under cover of night.

Mamie Till spent several years touring and speaking on her son's death. In the book she becomes a recluse who devotes herself more than anything else to replacing her son. The most public thing she does is show up at memorials for her son and cry.

BLACK EFFORT BETRAYED

In 1955, Medgar Evers of the NAACP and other anti-lynching activists dressed as sharecroppers to talk to local Blacks and collect evidence to be used at a trial, at great personal risk. They also worked to drum up support from the Black press to get the case publicized.

But in the novel a single white journalist, who happens to be the son of a rich plantation owner, takes it on himself to call the New York press and convince them to send reporters, which sparks nationwide press attention.

The kind-hearted liberal goes on to spend thousands of dollars helping local Blacks over the rest of his life, and even runs a small school out of his office. The white journalist who in real life paid the murderers \$4,000 for their story somehow doesn't make it into the novel.

In the end, Campbell's Blacks emerge as weak and disorganized, incapable of escaping personal angst and their own rage in the face of overwhelming oppression.

Campbell is too concerned about bringing the Blacks and whites in the story back together to pay attention to the historical imperatives of the period and the events she treats. Historical fiction can be a great tool for changing reality. But in this case readers who want to learn from history would be better advised to read factual accounts and devote their imaginations — and their efforts — to making a better future more reality than fiction.

Notes:

1. This account of the killing is from Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, eds., *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s*. Bantam: New York,

1990. pp. 1-15. And from Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. Free Press: New York, 1984, p. 29.

Several months after this review was first printed in MIM Notes, a critic wrote to us to complain that we characterized Till as a "man" rather than a child or a boy. MIM responded then, and we maintain:

"Most 14-year-old males are old enough to procreate, thus by one definition they are men. More importantly, whether male or female, they are fully capable of participating in such 'adult' activities as war, revolution, wage labor, etc. In Palestine, Eritrea and Peru ... they are old enough to fight and die for their people."

The critic also wrote that "Much more important however is the fact that Emmett Till was a CHILD which made his lynching an even more egregious crime against humanity."

If Emmett Till was a grown man when he was lynched for being Black and male in Amerika, it would have been no less egregious. Thousands of Black men (Till included) were lynched for the charge of rapes of which they were innocent. Unlike this critic, MIM does not need to regard them as "boys" in order to believe they were not guilty of their alleged crimes.

All the News that Doesn't Fit

Get MIM Notes and late-breaking MIM theory by joining New York Transfer — an independent source of news, analysis and technical expertise on the Internet; a network clearinghouse for anti-imperialist, environmental, peace and justice groups.

NY Transfer follows no party line. All progressive groups are welcome on NY Transfer; they distribute material from dozens of diverse organizations. Subscribe to get a comprehensive regular mailing of political news and opinion.

NY Transfer offers a full range of Internet services, with no frills account rates that beat the big ones.

Send e-mail to accounts@blythe.org for more information. They also offer direct logon accounts. Connect 24 hours a day by calling 212-675-9690 or 212-675-9663. Set your modem to dial at no parity, 8 data bits, 1 stop bit.

NY Transfer is a movement resource.

Bebe Moore Campbell II: Literature of the National Bourgeoisie

Brothers and Sisters
Bebe Moore Campbell
G.P. Putnam's Sons
1994

by MC44

Set in post-rebellion Los Angeles, Bebe Moore Campbell's latest novel, *Brothers and Sisters*, chronicles the struggles of the petit-bourgeois-aspiring-to-be Black national bourgeoisie in the banking industry. Echoing recent media coverage of Black middle class anger, Campbell paints highly paid executive characters who are followed around designer clothing stores like thieves, overlooked for their white companions by waitstaff in fancy restaurants when it's time to pay the check, and insulted by disgruntled bank customers who ask to speak with "the real manager."

But *Brothers and Sisters* offers a deeper and more insightful look into this anger, directed downward to Black proletarian nationals as well as upward to the white banking establishment. Their anger at the aforementioned and anecdotal racism is compounded by the very structural fetters to their becoming independent capitalists. And their contempt for "lazy" Black proletarians is tempered by their stronger opposition to the bank's discriminatory policies which sap money out of the ghetto and funnel it into the white suburbs in the form of loans and investments.

In the era of imperialism, in which the principal contradiction is between imperialism and oppressed nations, the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations plays a dual role in the revolutionary struggle. Campbell, by telling the story from the perspective of this social group, conveys both the reactionary and the potentially revolutionary character of the Black national bourgeoisie. Reactionary is their position as capitalists — they may prefer a Black-owned bank, but they want to own it, run it, and profit from it — at the expense of the proletariat here and in the Third World. Potentially revolutionary are their sometime tactical alliances with proletarians and feminists against the ultimate power-holders — the imperialist bourgeoisie.

As the bank comes under fire from critics charging discrimination in lending, and the city experiences the tension of the second impending Rodney King pig trial, the bank president launches a "Diversity Program." Central to the program's success is the installation of a Black man as regional manager. While he is promised the presidency of the bank down the road, he is well aware that his position rests tenuously on the goodwill of his white benefactor.

One of the principal relationships in *Brothers and Sisters*

is the difficult friendship between a naive white woman named Mallory, who slept her way up the bank's corporate ladder with a B.A., and a lesser paid Black woman named Esther who gets by on the strength of her M.B.A. credentials. Each questions how the other can be so angry (Esther) or so stupid (Mallory). In one scene:

"Mallory's voice rose. '... I never knew you were so bitter. I thought we were friends.'

"Any black person in America who isn't bitter is either dead or psychotic. You're my friend if I smile at waitresses who ignore me and act like I don't see salesclerks following me around. Get this through your air-head: I'm not having as good a time as you are in this god-damned country."

When Mallory's corporate sugar daddy takes her for granted one too many times, she uses her new Black boss

Their contempt for "lazy" Black proletarians is tempered by their stronger opposition to the bank's discriminatory policies, which sap money out of the ghetto and funnel it into the white suburbs.

(Humphrey) as a weapon to make him jealous, taking him to a public party, and inviting him back to her house afterward. Gender and national loyalties are called sharply into question when Humphrey persists with Mallory after she dumps him and the scam is over. Mallory pays the price for wanting to retain her executive position and not offend Humphrey, by inevitably sending mixed messages to him when she turns down his repeated offers for dates.

Campbell expertly conveys the ugliness of romance power games, the ambiguity of a woman's "no" in the patriarchal matrix of eroticized dominance and subordination, and the deadly history behind a white woman's accusation that a Black man is harassing her sexually. Mallory learns a hard lesson in principal contradictions when Esther won't take her side against Humphrey. As she too has experienced the oppression of rape, and of sexual harassment in the workplace, it is not without some angst that Esther explains,

"So few of us make it to the top. I can't knock him

down.'

"Do you know how it feels to be grabbed, to have your clothes torn? To have someone treat you like a piece of meat? We're both women, Esther.'

"I'm a black woman," Esther said slowly. "There is a difference."

That lesson of principal contradictions is repaid 100 fold when Esther suspects her Black teller of stealing money, when in fact it is her white male colleague that's responsible for the embezzlement. In contrast to Esther's \$65,000 a year career, the teller's position is the young woman's first precarious attempt to sever her reliance on the state and welfare. When the theft comes to light, the white man in charge looks at them both and sees simply, "Black women." And he fires them both.

The white supremacist corporate coup is completed when Humphrey too goes down in flames, the outcome of Mallory's appeal to a bigger patriarch (the bank's vice-president) to stop his behavior. As can easily happen when women attempt to stop individually perpetrated patriarchy by appealing to the state or other higher forms of male authority, the vice-president turns Mallory's charge of sexual harassment into an accusation of attempted rape. Mallory is shocked and furious for having been used as a pawn in bank politics, but anyone with a historical perspective on the gender privilege of white women in America merely shrugs and asks, "What did you expect?"

Brothers and Sisters is an advance over the typical "political correctness" which portrays white men as the only power-holders, and everyone else as equally subordinate to them. Campbell shows, in spite of herself, that nation is the principal contradiction, understands First World women's gender privilege, and clearly promotes the interests of the oppressed nation bourgeois against imperialism.

Review:

Mothership

Issue #1
Ibo Productions
c/o Karia Press
BCM Karia
London, WC1N 3XX

by MCS

This publication seeks to pick up where revolutionary nationalism left off in the 1960s. Although the publication comes out in London, the front cover boasts the Black Panther logo, KRS and the continent of Africa.

The first page of text is a quotation from Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton's *Black Power*. The next page is a poem about the oppression of the Black nation.

The rest of the publication reviews rap music including Paris. Throughout, the publication leaps from music to politics and at the end of the Paris article is the brief history of the Black Panthers and their 10 point program.

If the *Mothership* and *Hakim* are any indication, Black movements in the United States have a lot of influence on the other side of the Atlantic. Marcus Garvey, the Black Panthers, Malcolm X and now Farrakhan are the staples of the magazine. Farrakhan books are available for free from the magazine.

There are also ads from all kinds of Black organizations. MIM does not agree with a lot of things in the *Mothership*, but within the *Mothership* the writers have different lines too. This is a place to go to find discussions of politics, music and Black history.

Subscribe to

MIM Notes

Monthly Newspaper of Maoist News and Analysis

MIM Theory comes out four times a year. MIM Notes is monthly.

So why wait for your revolutionary tool to arrive?

Get MIM Notes and stay current.

Individual

1 year, domestic, \$12

2 years, domestic, \$20

1 year, overseas, \$36

Institution

1 year, domestic, \$46

2 years, domestic, \$90

1 year, overseas, \$60

MIM Notes, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Cash, check or money order payable to "MIM Distributors."

Name: _____
Address: _____
City, State, Zip: _____
Country: _____

National Liberation for First Nations — The Maoist Way

In recent years, some First Nations (indigenous people in North America) have won victories from the imperialists. The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) supports these gains, even when they take the form of gambling, which produces nothing useful.

After 500-plus years of genocidal oppression, the First Nations have a right to take what they can get on their own land.

But true national liberation is not yet won.

In some First Nations there is already disgruntlement that the struggle of the people to free themselves has created indigenous millionaires, who proceed to integrate themselves into Amerika and leave their nations behind — or stay and oppress their own people.

In the Maoist way, the proletariat leads, and the interests of the vast majority of people are protected and the greatest unity of the people is achieved. In the end, the cause of national independence depends on a correct class and gender stand.

Find out more. Read MIM Theory 7, "Proletarian Feminist Revolutionary Nationalism on the Communist Road." Send \$5 to:

MIM Distributors, PO Box 3576,
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

Amerikan Oppression = National Oppression

The first test of any revolutionary movement within Amerika is the same today as it was the day Columbus first raped an Arawak woman:

Does the movement fundamentally oppose Amerika and all that it stands for?

Or does it merely pose left in its quest — deliberate or accidental — for a unified oppressor nation?

Since the first poor whites demanded total subjugation of First Nation (indigenous) peoples, and the working class in Europe clamored for cheap consumer commodities produced by slaves, the oppressor nation has, *as a whole*, feasted on the spoils of genocidal Amerika.

Find out more. Read MIM Theory 7, "Proletarian Feminist Revolutionary Nationalism on the Communist Road." Send \$5 to:

MIM Distributors, PO Box 3576,
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

First Nations

Factors Falling Into Place for Successful Revolutions

January 1994

by MC5

The First Nations (indigenous peoples) of North America are setting the pace for national liberation in the 1990s. In none of these struggles is Maoism exerting a dominant role. In most cases, the people themselves are launching spontaneous struggle, including armed struggle.

In North America, the First Nations and urban youth gangs of Blacks and Latinos are the closest to putting armed struggle into an organized framework for revolution. MIM generally opposes armed struggle at this time in North America, but in the case of many First Nations, MIM supports the armed struggle where it breaks out because the following material and subjective conditions are in place:

- Strong political support from at least a substantial fraction of the people favoring nationhood.
- Strong support for the necessity of confronting white supremacy with regard to specific jurisdiction over land and government functions.
- Opposition to American taxes and American restrictions on First Nation economic activity.

The more organized an oppressed people is for self-reliance, the more it finds itself in revolutionary conflict with the imperialists.

The international situation is another important political factor. Despite centuries of genocide, the white supremacists never succeeded in entirely rewriting history. International public opinion recognizes that the indigenous peoples existed before Euro-Americans did; hence, the international political situation brings some pressure to bear on the imperialists attempting to eradicate the First Nations through assimilation. International public opinion on other oppressed nations within North America, such as the Black or Latino nations, is not yet as favorable.

The most crucial condition for leading a successful and completed armed struggle still does not exist in any First Nation in North America — the dominant leadership of a Maoist party. Despite the presence of MIM in the First Nations communities, the struggles of the people are spontaneous or consciously led by the national bourgeoisie. Yet there is a great affinity between the First Nations' struggles and Maoism. With the example of indigenous Maoist parties in South America, it is only a matter of time before the First Nation masses of North America take up Maoism also.

Where the struggle is relatively advanced, the propositions

of Maoism have been accepted already to a greater degree than in those places where the struggle does not go forward. The First Nation struggle in North America often accepts the following ideas:

- The division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations.
- The necessity of armed struggle to defend national borders and achieve independence.
- A conscious plan to maximize the role of women.
- Struggle against the compradors — the puppets of the imperialists. These compradors in the First Nations include bureaucratic capitalists who are high-ranking functionaries of the U.S. government.
- Concern for the people's welfare — the elderly, children, unemployed, alcoholics, etc.

The First Nations are very open to communism compared to other people in North America, but they do not attempt to organize a communist party for national independence. Hence, although in most regards the subjective factor opposing imperialism in the First Nations is much more advanced than in the rest of North America, even in the case of the First Nations not all the subjective factors for successful revolution are in place.

The First Nations are making the transition from one stage of struggle to another. The first stage is creating public opinion to build independent power of the oppressed. The second stage is armed struggle to seize even more power for the oppressed. The First Nations are in transition from the first stage to the second with some back and forth movement between the stages.

LESSONS FOR OTHER OPPRESSED NATIONS

The current struggles of the First Nations in North America hold many lessons for other oppressed nationalities. One of the first steps to revolutionary armed struggle is the secession of the village, town or city from the U.S. or Canadian governments, including the Euro-Americans' village, town and city governments.

Many First Nations have never had to take that secessionist step because of continuous historical traditions. But it is in that step that emerging nations can take their first legal steps toward maintaining their own police, fire and school systems and collecting their own taxes.

The next step is to throw off state-level authority. This step takes considerable political clout internationally and locally and not all First Nations and other oppressed nations are ready for this. Leaders of the struggle must pay attention to fighting winnable battles until they have accumulated the

power necessary to take this step.

The break from state authority within U.S. borders or province authority within Canadian borders is crucial. At that point, the people are throwing out the state's police forces. The Mohawks have done this at certain points in their history; although, in Akwesasne the people recently suffered a setback on this score since New York state troopers consider Mohawk territory part of their jurisdiction again (upon invitation of the Mohawks themselves). The FBI also intervenes in tax and business matters.

Having achieved real self-reliance at the town and state level, the nation is ready to take on federal authorities. The imperialist government must then decide if it will send the army to assert its sovereignty. In the case of the First Nations, international public opinion and the masses' own military might has made this a costly but not impossible option for the imperialists.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Probably the most difficult issue facing the indigenous

nations in North America is their own success. What to do when the struggle does succeed? What is success? In North America, the possibilities for economic success are much greater than in South America, because of the wealth of the imperialist United States and Canada that is sucked out of the entire Third World.

In some First Nations there is already disgruntlement that the struggle of the people to free themselves from Euro-American taxes and economic restrictions has created indigenous millionaires. These millionaires then proceed to integrate themselves into Amerika and leave their nations entirely. Others stay and seek to oppress their own people.

A key difference between the Maoist way and the approach seen now in the First Nations is that the proletariat leads in the Maoist way. If the proletariat does not lead, the interests of the vast majority of people cannot be protected and the greatest unity of the people cannot be achieved. In the end, the cause of national independence depends on a correct class and gender analysis and stand.

500 Years of White Unity

reprinted from MIM Notes 69
October 1992
revised November 1994

by MC12

Many people have chosen the 500 year anniversary of the landing of Cristobal Colón as an opportunity to denounce the colonial conquest of the peoples and lands of these continents. The occasion must also be noted for what it is today: a milestone in the *unbroken chain* of American oppression which stretches through half a millennium.

MIM has always emphasized that American oppression is national oppression — the exploitation of nations by a whole nation. Since the first poor whites demanded total subjugation of indigenous peoples, and their working class compatriots in Europe clamored for cheaper consumer commodities produced by slaves, the oppressor nation has, as a whole, feasted on the spoils of genocidal Amerika.

That is why, from the perspective of the oppressed nations, the "left" and "right" of American politics are so hard to tell apart. In the 1600s, white farmers led a revolt (Bacon's rebellion) to demand more land-grabbing war on native people, and, in Bacon's words, the "utter Ruine and destruction" of all indigenous people. The event is considered a milestone of "democratic resis-

tance" for the American left.(1)

In the 1700s, the incipient white working class rallied around the American revolution in order to gain more control over the state's tools of repression and exploitation, and to develop independent capitalism. Sixty-five thousand slaves joined the war on the side of the British, more than 10 times the number who fought for settler Amerika — and many more used the crisis as a chance to fight for freedom on their own. Most of the American left maintains that revolution as the birth of democracy in Amerika, starting a tradition which must now be remade. The oppressed know that the innovation of that era was the reuniting of American nationals against their subjects — the indigenous, Black and other oppressed nations.(2)

In the 1800s, modern capitalism gave birth to the American labor movement. Its leaders fought for the elevation of white workers, the extension of slavery, and the exclusion of oppressed peoples from all spheres of power. When Chinese workers struck for better conditions in the West, white workers forced their unions to organize boycotts of goods which were not "Made with White Labor Only." In 1879, 99% of California white voters voted to ban Chinese immigration, after Chinese workers had built the railroads out West and made huge tracts of California lands suitable for growing crops.(3)

After the bourgeoisie finally con-

**The first test of any
revolutionary movement
within Amerika remains
the same today as it
was the day Columbus
first raped an
Arawak woman.**

vinced white workers that slavery was an infeasible economic system, white workers and their allies took their battles to the streets of Northern cities, fighting to keep Black workers (who were often driven off what little land they had by white settlers) in the lowest industries, jobs and neighborhoods.(4)

White "feminism" further extended the suffering of oppressed nationals, as suffragists argued that if white men didn't give white women the vote, white power would be fatally threatened. A Kentucky suffragist leader wrote that the National American Women's Suffrage Association "never hesitated to show that the White women's vote would give supremacy to the white race."(5) These white supremacists decided the suffragist movement would wear white. It was a convenient decision: the only thing missing from their daytime wardrobe was the white things they needed for nighttime cross-burnings and lynchings.

The Amerikan women of the pseudo-feminist movement today pay proud homage to their early white supremacist sisters, as they wear white in National Organization for Women marches. And the white labor movement leads a massive fight to keep their jobs at hundreds of times the wages of Third World workers, and keep immigrant competition away. They clamor for war and conquest abroad, and for the repression of revolutionary movements among the oppressed in the ghettos, barrios and fields within Amerika.

The only revolutionary movement within Amerika since 1492 has been the movement of oppressed nations against the dominant Amerikan nation. There is no revolutionary class or gender struggle separate from this overarching reality. Within the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations, proletarian and feminist struggles propel the movement forward. There can be no revolutionary "working class" movement, and no revolutionary "feminist" movement, which does not adopt the perspective of the oppressed nations, and fight for their emancipation.

The first test of any revolutionary movement within Amerika remains the same today as it was the day Columbus first raped an Aniwak woman: does the movement fundamentally oppose Amerika and all that it stands for? Or does it merely pose left in its quest — deliberate or accidental — for a unified oppressor nation?

Notes:

1. J. Sakai, *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, Morningstar Press: Chicago, 1983, pp. 12-16.
2. Sakai, p. 19.
3. Sakai, pp. 33-37. George MacNeil, ed., *The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-day*, New York: 1892, pp. 446-7.
4. See William Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*, Atheneum: New York, 1980.
5. Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*, Bantam: New York, 1984, pp. 125-26.

Yavapai 1: Bet on Blockade

reprinted from MIM Notes 66
July 1992

by MC99

One hundred members of the Yavapai McDowell Reservation outside Phoenix, Arizona blocked eight FBI-driven tractor trailers containing electronic gambling machines from leaving their reservation game center on May 12. The FBI presence was part of a state-wide effort to enforce a federal law that bans gambling on indigenous people's land.(1) Four other indigenous-run gambling centers in Arizona were also raided that day, and the feds confiscated a total of 750 machines which were said to be in violation of federal law.(2)

Warned by reservation members commuting to Phoenix for work that federal vehicles were approaching the reservation, the Yavapai barricaded the casino using pick-up trucks, earth movers and cars. The barricade stopped the feds from making off with equipment that generates 70% of the reservation's income, tribal Chairperson Clinton Pattea said in an interview with MIM Notes. The Yavapai non-violently held 50 to 100 FBI agents in the parking lot of the casino for eight hours until a temporary agreement was reached.(3)

MEETING WITH STATE OFFICIALS

Arizona governor Fife Symington met with Pattea in a library outside the reservation on May 12. Pattea and Symington agreed that the machines would remain inside the trailers for a 10-day "cooling off" period. The FBI left and the reservation took responsibility for the security of the equipment. The Yavapai people maintained a 24-hour-a-day watch on the machines until June 5, when they were taken to a warehouse in Phoenix.(4)

The Yavapai have been trying — unsuccessfully — to negotiate an arrangement with the state of Arizona to legalize gambling since 1988. But in the wake of the blockade, when Pattea suggested to Governor Symington that the Yavapai could and would meet any challenge by the state in defense of their economic sovereignty, Symington agreed to discuss an agreement with the Yavapai McDowell Reservation on June 9.

The state presented a proposal that limited the number of machines to 250, the hours that the casino could stay open per week to 80 and the bet limit to \$5, and further proposed that the operation would be regulated by the state. The Yavapai rejected the proposal and agreed to make their own proposal.

Pattea told MIM Notes he is hopeful for an agreeable outcome for the reservation, if the event gets enough attention that other Arizona tribes will be able to win similar deals with the state. Before the blockade, the Yavapai, along with three other tribes, filed a lawsuit attempting to force negotiations, gain the

security of the use of the electronic game machines and avoid losing a major chunk of their income.

BLOCKADES ARE BETTER THAN LAWSUITS

On May 12, the Yavapai people met imperialist aggression with a force stronger than a lawsuit. The blockade produced negotiations, and while the outcome is yet to be determined the legal course hangs in the dust. The Yavapai know that they have a good argument, which is in fact within Indian Gaming Regulatory Act guidelines, but relying on the "justice" system is not in the favor of anyone outside the white nation.

The fact that the Yavapai are being prevented from obtaining any economic stability is not due to an abused law or an uncooperative administration. The economic wreckage is deliberate. It is a technique that is part of the systematic oppression that keeps the indigenous nations under the thumb of imperialism and severed from any chance at creating prosperity for the Yavapai McDowell reservation or any of the other indigenous nations.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 permits gambling on reservations within states that permit gambling. The state of Arizona frequently does permit not-for-profit organizations to hold "Las Vegas nights," where gambling paraphernalia similar to Fort McDowell's is brought in for a night.

On June 8 all charges against the rebels were dropped. The attempted seizure of the machines was due to government rules that took effect May 11, barring two types of gambling:

Imperialism tries to keep oppressed nations from obtaining any power or independence.

electronic card game machines and an instant lottery game machine. Beyond the electronic card and lottery games the game center hosts bingo, live keno and card games, with the profits accounting for 70-80% of reservation income.

Pattea wants people to understand that the Yavapai nation is a sovereign nation and that the federal government put them in this situation. "They keep telling us that we should decide on our own destination, yet they make decisions that effect our people," he told MIM Notes.

The Yavapai McDowell reservation has 800 members, 500 of whom are residents. The game center has about 1,000 customers per night, patronized by people living in and visiting the Phoenix area.

The government's agenda to curtail the gambling industry within reservations does not surprise MIM. Imperialism tries to keep oppressed nations from obtaining any power or independence. The unemployment rate on the reservation before the game center was established was 30-40%; afterwards the unemployment was brought down to less than 5%. Since the

removal of the equipment 80 people have been laid off. The game center employed 150 people, of whom one-third were tribal members.

Although gambling is an addictive vice that sacks money and stability from people, it has provided the reservation with cash that funds college scholarships, pre-schools, youth programs, clothing for school children, a library and a senior center. The outgrowth of gambling — emotional and psychological desperation — is probably what has sustained it as an imperialist-sanctioned enterprise within indigenous nations.

Notes:

1. National Public Radio 5/13/92.
2. Boston Globe 5/13/92.
3. Atlanta Journal and Constitution 5/13/92.
4. New York Times 5/13/92.

Yavapai 2: People Fight Back

reprinted from MIM Notes 68
September 1992

by MC31

After the May 12 standoff between the Yavapai nation and the FBI over the use of gambling machines on the reservation, the indigenous nation entered into negotiations with the Arizona state governor. The Yavapai people living on the Ft. McDowell reservation northeast of Phoenix continue to stand their ground after the May raid by the FBI, and insist upon national sovereignty. Ron Dorchester, a member of the Yavapai nation, said: "The issue is self-government. Does the tribe have a right to self-government? And, I mean, once they take away those machines, what else are they going to come and take away?"(1)

MIM spoke with Yavapai tribal Chairperson Clinton Pattea about their current negotiations with the Arizona government. The tone of the conflict seems to have dampened since the Yavapai agreed to a cooling-off period and these negotiations.

"We need to get those machines back so we can start putting people back to work," Pattea urged. He also said that right after the raid there was a public opinion poll put out by several television stations that found that anywhere from 60-70% of the people supported the Yavapai position. "We were very encouraged about that. The governor was made aware of that, and that's why we have started our negotiations with him. Before that, he wouldn't talk about it."

MIM asked Pattea if he thought that real self-determination could come from negotiations with the state government, and made clear MIM's position that such negotiations are not going to work for the oppressed nations of this country. MIM

believes that the people must organize and struggle against the American government. Pattea, however, repeatedly drew a distinction between the federal government, which passed the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act allowing gambling on reservations, and the Arizona government which is resisting an agreement with the Yavapai.

"The federal government would allow us to have gaming on the reservation ... All over Arizona there are Las Vegas nights and casino nights, and we just want the tribes to be able to do what [everyone else does]."

When asked if the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations (LISN) were working in support of the efforts to get casinos back open on reservations, Pattea said that AIM members had been very helpful in coming to Arizona to speak on the issue, and he emphasized the importance of this support. Pattea also called for more public support in the Yavapai negotiation efforts with the state. He made clear, however, that the Yavapai nation is a sovereign nation and should be treated as such by America.

FIGHTING THE SAME STRUGGLE IN KANSAS

In addition to the struggle at Fort McDowell in Arizona, there are struggles against the government in Kansas as well —

the Kickapoo nation is fighting to have casinos back on their reservation.

The Kansas Supreme Court has just ruled that indigenous nations must have compacts, or agreements, with the government in order to operate gambling casinos on their reservations. In 1987 the American Supreme Court ruled that since tribes are politically sovereign, they must be allowed to run their own economies, even if that includes gambling. The Kickapoo tribal chairperson Steve Cadac is fighting to make sure that the legislation is upheld by the state government — a lawsuit is pending and the Kickapoo nation is hopeful.(2)

MIM says, do not hold out too much hope on this imperialist American government! While MIM understands that at this time the tribal economies are in deep trouble and many indigenous people are unemployed, and that control of a gambling industry will employ many reservation members, we do not believe that this will bring true self-determination or self-sufficiency. Only a revolutionary communist movement which recognizes national liberation struggles as essential components will bring true power to the oppressed.

Notes:

1. National Public Radio, "Morning Edition" 6/11/92.
2. The Washington Post 6/16/92.

Casinos Raise Allegiance Questions

reprinted from MIM Notes 77
June 1993
revised November 1994

by a Comrade

ONONDAGA NATION, JUNE 16—Since April, some businesses at the Onondaga nation in central New York have been barricaded to prevent them from opening to the public. People at Onondaga characterize the dispute as an "internal matter" between businesses and the tribal leadership.

Chief Oren Lyons wants more taxes from the businesses, which pay no state taxes. The business owners want more accountability from the leadership on how money is spent.

A spokesperson for the Mohawk Nation office in Kahnawake also said he needed to know more about the Onondaga situation, but still some things seemed not right to him. The Mohawk questioned in particular whether or not chief Oren Lyons acts in the interests of the Onondaga.

The dispute raises questions about the relationship of indigenous nations to the imperialist U.S. state, and about the role of business among the indigenous

people themselves. These questions reverberate up and down the East coast.

A Seneca cigarette dealer pointed out that the businesses and tribe should have worked something out before the conflict began, since they rely on each other: "The chiefs probably have a good bitch ... and the state is happy because their own government, the chiefs, shut down the retailers ... The chiefs should be in the frontlines fighting [for the indigenous businesses]. It doesn't look good, when Indians are fighting Indians. The system knows how to get us fighting. You can be conquered."

While the businesses in Onondaga stand empty, the casino of the Mashantucket Pequot in southeastern Connecticut, now likely the leading single indigenous business in North America, is booming.

According to the Mashantucket Pequot museum, in 1983, Congress passed a law returning a small bit of land stolen from the indigenous peoples. Eight hundred acres in Connecticut became a "reservation." A spokesperson for the tribal government said 165 of the tribe's 250 survivors have now settled there. The

Gambling itself provides no service of lasting value. But the money it makes can be thought of as a reparation to the indigenous peoples.

land grant and resettlement are themselves worthy accomplishments of the struggle.

In 1992 the tribal government set up a casino with slot machines and dice games, which has turned into such a huge success that the tribe has guaranteed Connecticut \$113 million for the second year of operation, based on a fraction of revenue guaranteed to the state by the tribe.

With the revenues from gaming and related enterprises, the Mashantucket Pequot have started plans for a new tribal library and museum for indigenous history.

Moreover, archaeological digs at more than 200 sites have continued to turn up new artifacts concerning indigenous history. These digs have generated some information lost in oral history.

Tribal businesses also partially take care of the people's housing needs. According to its public relations official, the tribal government has completed a \$1 million new housing effort and has bought 15 existing houses in the area. More housing appears to be on the way as more tribe members resettle in the area.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CASINOS

The gambling casinos represent some kind of redivision of U.S. imperialism's booty. Certainly gambling itself provides no service of lasting value. But the money it makes can be thought of as a long-overdue reparation to the indigenous peoples.

But to what extent is that reparation distributed among the people, and can the indigenous hold onto their land while they foray into other enterprises?

Despite the benefits of money from gambling, some indigenous people believe the Mashantucket Pequot have made a mistake. Some Mohawks MIM spoke to raised the obvious objection that gambling rots the spirit of the people.

MIM agrees that gambling represents a propagation of degenerate values. But at the same time, white greed brings thousands of customers to the tribe every day.

Furthermore, while some businesses under capitalism are worse than others, the fact remains that the indigenous must survive somehow under capitalism or move to socialism, which is not easy given the balance of forces between the indigenous peoples and U.S. imperialism.

WHO TAXES WHOM?

Two Onondaga Nation citizens running the blockades in front of Onondaga businesses have raised more important objections concerning the casino.

One said, "The state should pay the taxes to the Pequots. The Pequots are really foolish ... I don't know, but at least they should not do anything to trade for land."

The young Onondaga critic believes that Pequot negotiations with Connecticut amount to agreeing to a state tax: "Seus seven generations down the line are going to have to pay for that."

East Coast indigenous peoples are united in seeing taxes

as a way to make the people sell their land in the long run.

The other critic, a fervent nationalist at the blockade, was even more adamant. He had a message for New York Governor Mario Cuomo: "We grant permission for the white people to have casinos in Albany ... We give permission to Donald Trump. Trump can pay taxes to the [Iroquois] Nation."

On the other hand, the tribal government of the Mashantucket Pequot also opposes state taxes, but it has a different strategy. Referring to the New York state tax struggle, the tribal spokesperson offered solidarity: "The tribes should not have to pay taxes. Tribes are in the same status as states. The tribes can negotiate with the states, but they should not have to pay something in lieu of taxes. No other municipalities have to pay taxes, so why should the state tax the tribes?"

The Pequot spokesperson sees the gaming as something allowing the indigenous to diversify and become self-reliant, a goal that Maoists support.

The tribe now has a sand and gravel business, a pharmaceutical network and a small public law contract. Such diversification should allow them to give up gaming as their main enterprise, say pro-casino advocates.

But hand-made signs posted in many Seneca yards on the Cattaraugus reservation southwest of Buffalo say, "No New York state taxes, No New York state troopers, No Casinos." Others in the Seneca nation territories read simply, "Casinos=Genocide."

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

MIM stands with the class of people typified by a young Seneca woman worker who had this to say: "Us younger Indians are stronger than our ancestors ... We're not willing to sell our land."

She opposed casinos for the Senecas because "It couldn't be controlled ... They [tribal government] can't even take control of the enterprises now ... bingos, gas ... We should be one of the richest tribes ... where's it going?"

This cigarette shop attendant answered her own question: "To me, our government is as corrupt as the white man's."

She added that the tribal government promised the Seneca people a distribution of income from tribal businesses, but it never happened: "But everybody's different ... as long as I have a roof over my head, that doesn't matter to me."

Seeing a MIM Notes cover story on Azania, the Seneca woman said, "That's another thing. As far as I'm concerned that over there is the same thing they did to us here. It really makes me mad to hear the white people say things about Blacks. This one guy, I said, 'then why did you bring them [Black people] over here?' You listen to them, they love Michael Jordan [laughs], but then they [say chauvinist things]."

She went on to agree with MIM that the situation in Palestine was similar — white people taking land and oppressing the indigenous population.

In this Seneca woman, we see a clear example of proletar-

ian internationalism. She represents a class of people who don't benefit much from the efforts of an indigenous bourgeoisie. MIM seeks to work in her interests.

Reacting to the idea that the Indian government is as bad as the white man's, one gas- and craft-store owner near Buffalo agreed, and then added that not all government is good and for that matter not all Indian business is good: "Some governments are corrupt and some businesses are corrupt."

MIM cannot condemn all tribal governments or businesses. Some do good things. Indigenous business-owners are often activists in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and help provide vital livelihood for their people. And there is always the risk that the imperialist state will take advantage of internal

divisions.

Mao Zedong suggested that the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nation test the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation. Those that did not support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed were to be considered lackeys of imperialism. That section of the upper class that supported the revolutionary struggles of the people he called "national bourgeoisie." The ultimate test of the business leaders of the Onondaga and the Mashantucket Pequot is their attitude towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed.

But MIM does oppose any faction of an oppressed nation that calls on the imperialists — their courts, their cops or welfare agencies — to resolve indigenous conflicts.

New York Ponders Imperialist Role

reprinted from MIM Notes 77

June 1993

revised November 1994

by a Comrade

A court hearing on April 28 concluded a legal battle between the indigenous nations located within New York state boundaries and the New York state government. As MIM Notes goes to press, we expect the imperialist courts in Albany, New York to decide on whether or not New York state can tax indigenous peoples.

New York state's Commissioner of Taxation has brought the issue to court in an attempt to compel a cigarette distributor to tax the Mohawk, Oneida, Seneca, Onondaga and other tribes. Currently, the indigenous nations within the borders of New York state do not charge customers state taxes for cigarette purchases within indigenous nation territories.

The forthcoming ruling also has obvious implications for other industries as well. Gasoline, crafts and convenience store trade figure prominently into the economies of indigenous nations located within New York state boundaries.

Precisely because of the greater implications of the ruling, it is expected that New York state will lose this round in court, while the imperialists devise a more thorough strategy to tax the indigenous. Some similar previous court skirmishes have validated the indigenous nations' claims regarding taxes based on recent and centuries-old treaties between the white man and the indigenous.(1)

If the wholesale cigarette distributor Attea loses this round it will represent a major offensive against the indigenous nation by the imperialists. If New York state loses, it can then go to the Supreme Court and Congress to devise a more thorough strategy of oppression.

That this struggle occurs at all is an impressive indictment

**The indigenous
people are
anti-tax,
anti-New York,
anti-assimilation.**

of a darling of the "left"-wing of the Democratic Party, New York state Governor Mario Cuomo. Cuomo could stop the Taxation Commission from launching this attack on the indigenous since the Commission answers to him, but he chooses to stay mum while letting the Commission do the dirty work.

New York state's offensive takes advantage of conscious and unconscious white-nation chauvinism. Too many

Americans in New York think it is unimaginable that some people would not want to be counted as New York residents or U.S. citizens. They assume that all so-called minority groups want to assimilate into the aptly named Empire State.

Of course, there are those indigenous people who do wish to assimilate and become so-called Native Americans. They should be allowed to do so and should be granted thorough civil rights protections. MIM does not agree that assimilation is the best strategy for oppressed nation peoples, but we stand firmly behind the right of the indigenous peoples to decide for themselves.

On the so-called reservations, better thought of as nations, the sentiment of the indigenous people is strongly anti-tax, anti-New York state and anti-assimilation. Even indigenous people who disagree on their national status, the means of struggle, and what it means to be indigenous agree that New York has no business imposing taxes and state troopers on them. The reservations should be treated as nations where New York state has no business imposing taxes anymore than it has the right to put a special tax on cigarettes sold in Belgium.

One Mohawk trader described himself as in the minority for not thinking of the Mohawks as a nation: "Ninety nine percent disagree with me." He stressed the indigenous peoples' spiritual side and claimed that the whole idea of nations did

not exist until the white man came. According to this one well-to-do trader and semi-pacifist, it would be better to die out than to give up the spirit and the Great Law.

MIM believes in a more materialist philosophical approach. The white man's genocide of the First Nations must be countered with the material force of national liberation. There is no victory in letting the indigenous nations die, because the truth can only be propagated by the living.

MIM would also disagree with Trotskyists and others for their general support for assimilation and categorical attack on the oppressed nations' bourgeoisie. According to them, all businesspeople are bad and communists should not care about the taxation issue. Who cares if the indigenous cigarette traders go out of business? They are, after all, just capitalists and petit-bourgeoisie. With this attitude, the Trotskyists and other supposed friends of the indigenous serve as the occasional vanguard of white-nation chauvinism: they would rather indigenous be exploited by whites than by other indigenous people. At the same time, they don't believe in socialism in one country, so the indigenous are supposed to starve to death while waiting for the white working class in Europe and North America to rise up. Clearly this combination of ideas is deadly for the oppressed.

Following Mao, MIM notes the dual nature of the bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations. In particular, there is a fraction of the bourgeoisie and a petit-bourgeoisie aspiring to bourgeois status that sees its avenues blocked by national oppression. These groups will fight national oppression for their own reasons.

One of the better-off Seneca nation traders who has very revolutionary ideas and who organized direct actions of the summer of 1992 against the tax said:

"Taxes lead to revolution, don't forget. ... so anywhere you go, people are going to stand. ... Every country has a super ruling class [trying to decide] 'Who are we going to kill off?' They're gonna have to come down on us. ... They can't let them [indigenous] make too much; then we get too powerful."

Notes:

1. See MIM Notes 68 for more on the treaties and direct action taken by indigenous people to stop the tax in the summer of 1992.

For background, order a copy of MIM Notes 43, August 1990. A special 20-page issue with first-hand reporting from behind police lines at Kahnésatake Mohawk territory in Oka, Quebec. Also the first issue of the prison news section, *Under Lock & Key*, debuts. Send \$2 to "MIM Distributors," PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

Chief Re-elected On Referendum Platform

reprinted from MIM Notes 78
July 1993

by a Comrade

AKWESASNE, MOHAWK NATION—On June 5, the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne held elections that largely centered around the relationship of gambling to Mohawk self-determination.

The winning slate of Chief Norman Tarbell, Rudy Hart and Philip Tarbell promised to put up all the issues for a referendum, including: how many casinos to have, tribal ownership versus private ownership, who will run the casinos, and when account information will be made public.

PIGS THREATEN MOHAWK SOVEREIGNTY

Despite large public signs at Akwesasne saying that no state police, FBI, IRS or other authorities from the U.S. empire are allowed on the nation's territory, New York state police officers are a constant encroaching presence. Moreover, the gaming facilities that are open have an ample presence of foreign tax authorities.

In 1990, the Akwesasne chiefs invited New York state police into the nation to help restore order. On May 1, 1990, two Mohawks died at the hands of other Mohawks. The shooting was connected to gambling, but the murders remain unsolved.

Now the Mohawks want to police the gambling within their borders themselves.

Chief Norman Tarbell and some of his friends spoke to MIM Notes the night before his election. Asked about the New York state police presence at Akwesasne, Tarbell said, "No one wants them now."

But in 1990 "everybody did. There was gunfire all the time, people being beat up. Canadian Indian police running people down on the American side." Of the people willing to say anything about the events of 1990, three in Akwesasne told MIM that the events were "complicated."

NEW YORK AND THE MOHAWKS

Dave Jacobs, one of the chiefs in 1990, was the object of some distaste from Tarbell and his friends. "He was the one to sell this reservation down the toilet," said one.

But some of the candidates running against Tarbell in the June elections held him more accountable, saying that Tarbell should have exerted more leadership to oppose the two chiefs who signed away Mohawk sovereignty in a gambling pact

with New York.

One candidate, J. D. Herne, implied that Tarbell is involved in some kind of corruption.(1) Another candidate, Edward Smoke, said that if it were up to him there would be no gambling on the nation's territory, but if there were to be gambling, the regulations should be tighter to guarantee sovereignty.

Tarbell himself said he would not sign the now highly unpopular compact with New York. Indeed, according to some family members, some of the gaming house owners themselves oppose the compact that originally allowed them to open up business.

In contrast, Tony Laughing, who just spent 27 months in U.S. federal prison for operating an "illegal" gaming operation, said that Tarbell should have signed the compact instead of using it for political gain.(2)

GAMBLING AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Gambling is probably the premier controversial issue within the First Nations of North America. "At present, of the 278 reservations within the continental U.S., more than 150 are offering games of chance ranging from bingo games, to table card games, to slot machines. In the U.S., total annual native games revenues are estimated at more than \$1 billion dollars U.S."(3)

Even a pro-business publication recognizes that gambling can compromise sovereignty:

"We manage one Casino in San Diego, the tribe has 32 enrolled members, the Casino has 820 employees and there are five bander members employed by the Casino. ... That is not Indian gaming. It is gaming that happens to take place on a very small reservation."(4)

On the other hand, casinos can be a small agent of self-determination. In the June election at Akwesasne, people spoke of indigenous unemployment and the need to care for the elderly and youth. One young Mohawk woman expressed her hopes for the gambling business this way: "We want to hire our own police; expand our clinic ... fund drug rehabilitation. There's a whole lot of things we need."

In the Seneca nation, the leadership may support gambling, but most residents are concerned that gambling will mean losing self-determination.

"Your different areas have different problems and different needs," said one Seneca trader:

"Over here, the casino is not going to produce the money ... I do not see it. There's too many Senecas to get per capita distribution [of income from casinos] ... I'd rather see small business people doing their own thing ... They're learning trade ... teaching others. Not every one of us can be a Blackjack dealer, manager of a casino. ... You do have to have a degree in management. ... These highly skilled jobs, we're not gonna run it. ... The Indians are going to be sweeping the floors. Casinos do have high-paying jobs [but the Senecas need to ask themselves]

"What is your experience for high-paying jobs?"

EXPERTS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

MIM takes the lessons of China's political struggles for economic development as a guide. As the Seneca trader pointed out, large, glitzy projects are not always best for development of a people, particularly when foreigners from imperialist countries will have to run the operations requiring "experts."

Deng Xiaoping, phony communist leader of China, is famous for saying "It is by the adoption of the most advanced technologies that the industrially backward countries catch up with the industrially advanced countries in the world."(5)

Deng also said that China needed to import advanced technology and build up its core of scientific experts as the "backbone" of modernization. In these two steps he sold his country to the imperialists and a scientific bourgeoisie willing to seize control of production from the workers.

But Mao Zedong taught us that the developing societies must rely on their own efforts and not turn control of development over to foreigners or an upper class. Without self-reliance, Mao pointed out that the masses and even the leaders would not be able to gauge for themselves what was really true of the things they learned from the advanced countries.

Such is the case in casino development. If the indigenous peoples do not run the casinos themselves, they have no way of knowing what is really advanced management accounting and slot-machine technology. They will have sold their lands to foreigners and a small upper class of indigenous.

Notes:

1. The People's Voice 6/293, p. 2. Box 109 Akwesasne, NY 13655.
2. Ibid., p. 1.
3. First Nations Business: The Voice of Self-Reliance, Issue 1, May, 1993, 150-1111 Melville St., Vancouver, B.C. V6E 3V6.
4. Ibid.
5. Deng Xiaoping, "On Accelerating the Development of Industry," in Mark Selden, ed., *The People's Republic of China: A Documentary History of Revolutionary Change*, Monthly Review Press: New York, 1979, p. 668.

Why is MIM underground?

Read *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, by Ward Churchill & Jim Vander Wall.

This history of the birth of the Federal Bureau of investigation and a detailed account of the FBI's work infiltrating and splitting and wrecking revolutionary organizations, including murders and frame-ups, helps answer the question. The book demonstrates the extent of the threat to anti-imperialist movements, and the long-term futility of the FBI's work.

Send \$17 to "MIM Distributors,"
PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

Seneca Nation Asserts Sovereignty

reprinted from MIM Notes 79
August 1993
revised November 1994

by a Comrade

President Barry Snyder declared Friday, July 16 a national holiday. Offices closed to celebrate the anniversary of the Seneca takeover of a New York state highway that protested New York state's effort to tax the indigenous people.(1)

The Senecas and other First Nations within New York state borders had other reason to celebrate as well. Voting 6-0, a New York State court decided in June that the New York state government could not tax the First Nations because that is the prerogative of the U.S. Congress, not the states.

The decision overturned a lower court decision and forced the New York state government, headed by Governor Mario Cuomo, to seek the opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court. False friend of the people Mario Cuomo could have said, "we are going to leave the people alone and treat them like nations," but instead Cuomo has established a task force to study the issue and has allowed his underlings to push this disgraceful issue to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Chances are good that the U.S. Supreme Court will decide to hear the case, but the whole process will probably take at least 18 months. In the meantime, the Senecas and other peoples in the area have gained some respite, so that they may continue to trade in cigarettes, gasoline and so on without paying New York taxes.

The July 16 holiday is now a source of great pride to the Seneca people. The weekend that follows is the Senecas' annual pow-wow. People from all over North America go to the pow-wow to be in solidarity with their Seneca friends.

According to some cigarette shop workers, the takeover "brought back their pride. ... It showed people who they are. ... A lot of people aren't proud of what they are. They wish they were somebody else." Another worker added about the takeover that "everybody had the same feelings; we went out there drug-free" in harmony.

Organizing to relieve the oppression by the white man does more to benefit the Seneca people than the "work" of a million psychiatrists or social workers. Whether it be alcoholism or illegal drug abuse, it is the oppression of the First Nations by Amerika that drives the indigenous to despair, a

feeling of powerlessness and addiction. Psychiatrists and social workers can only teach hypocritical imperialist and chauvinist attitudes to the First Nations in an effort to make them assimilate. The real problem is not the "attitudes" or "personal lifestyles" of the First Nation peoples. The real problem is imperialism, the oppression of nations by other nations driven by advanced capitalists' need to control other economies.

Meanwhile, the struggle does continue. Fourteen people arrested a year ago in connection to the highway protest have yet to be cleared of charges. In speaking with people in the area, MIM has found several people who witnessed the events that challenged the police version of the story. The police have charged the indigenous with "reckless endangerment" among other things.

Yet, the Senecas point out that it was the police who were recklessly endangering people. "We didn't have any guns, no weapons. We went out there with nothing," said one young woman. Meanwhile, the cops swung their clubs at car windows and the people inside while also trying to hit people with their squad cars according to many people that MIM spoke to.

At best, the police action to open the highway was a one-sided assertion of the white man's treaty rights. At worst it was a simple matter of imperialist chauvinism.

Since the highway passes through Seneca lands, the New York state government should have realized that there was a treaty dispute and found federal authorities to negotiate with the Senecas. Instead, when New York courts violated treaties and the Senecas responded by the highway takeover, the state resorted to violence on the highways.

Now New York finds itself being sued in court for back payment for the use of Seneca lands where New York highways pass through. The Seneca Nation's civil suit may take up to 10 years to settle.

In cases where the stakes are not too high, the U.S. courts will recognize the sovereignty of the First Nation peoples in an attempt to fool the oppressed people. However, since the highest law of the land is really the defense of private property however the rich and their lackeys see fit, the Supreme Court may decide that other countries' right to exist is lower than the rights of New York state or others. If the Supreme Court thinks that independent First Nations are getting too powerful and too threatening to imperialism, the Supreme Court will decide that federal and state authorities have jurisdiction over the indigenous people, so that they will be kept under control.

Like other oppressed nations, the Seneca Nation is faced

The police charged the indigenous with "reckless endangerment," among other things.

'We didn't have any guns, no weapons. We went out there with nothing.'

with the task of creating public opinion to support and organize its own independent power. The only real solution to the problem of American internal colonialism is internationalism. That means that all the oppressed nations internally and in the Third World recognize each other as equals and coordinate themselves to take over U.S. imperialism so that it never oppresses other nations again.

WHITE POWER ORGANIZERS THREATEN SENECAS

White supremacists have issued a public threat against First Nation people with a spray-painted slogan on Seneca territory. About four weeks ago as MIM goes to press in mid-July, someone painted a slogan under the bridge at exit 17 on Route 17: "Custer's revenge coming to a res. [reservation] near you!" During the highway takeover last year, other local area slogans had a similar message: "We'll do the Indians like we did Rodney King. I love New York State police." Aside from the violence against the Senecas in the highway dispute, a former New York state police officer named Lee Hunt is now famous for calling for a "shoot to kill" policy. He is organizing ex-troopers to perform security at casinos, according to one person working the Onondaga blockade.

Seneca merchants near the bridge did not know who put up the Custer slogan, but according to white and Seneca youth in Salamanca, skinheads spray-painted the slogan. Meanwhile, some merchants in the Seneca's town named Salamanca have said that they have recently seen skinheads start to hang around in town.

Salamanca's population appears united to face the threat. "They're gonna get it," said one young woman. A young man said if the skinheads "come down here they're gonna get shot."

In the more rural Seneca areas among older people the sentiment was similar. One middle-aged merchant said of the skinheads quite simply: "They're bullshit." He said that people in the area were "good neighbors" without much problem among themselves. When it came to something like that [the white supremacist threat], he said all Senecas united. Speaking of the fights among the Senecas, he said, "we know we can continue those next week!" if some outside threat has to be taken care of first.

Although not all skinheads are conscious white supremacists and some are probably closer to being communists than being fascists, overall the skinhead identity is a white supremacist identity to choose, whether the individual skinhead knows it or not. Cultural identities are always an inexact matter, but the most violent white supremacist and fascist organizations now hide in the skinhead culture. To be sure, they do not have nearly the power of the imperialist government, so Clinton is still the ultimate skinhead. In the end, Clinton and the imperialist-created skinhead culture cannot succeed. Third World people are 75% of the world's population and cannot be defeated by Hitler wannabes.

Notes:

1. See MIM Notes 67 on the New York state highway takeover and MIM Notes 77 on the tax fight.

Cop Gets Off For Killing Wampanoag Man

reprinted from MIM Notes 79
August 1993

by a Comrade

Mashpee, MA—During the first weekend of July, the Mashpee Wampanoag held a successful pow-wow in Cape Cod with a hard political edge. One committee sold t-shirts to raise funds to bring justice for a Mashpee Wampanoag murdered by police officer David H. Mace years ago.

"On May 1, 1988, David H. Mace, a white police sergeant in the Cape Cod town of Mashpee, Massachusetts shot and killed David C. Hendricks, a 27 year old Mashpee Wampanoag, following his pursuit of Hendricks' car for a traffic violation. Sergeant Mace fired eleven shots from his semi-automatic 9-millimeter pistol. Seven struck David Hendricks. ... The last five shots were fired at point-blank range through the driver's side window after the car had stopped. ... The Wampanoag and many of their supporters have suffered from police harassment and surveillance during memorial walks and demonstrations for justice concerning the Hendricks case."⁽¹⁾

"In June 1992, it was confirmed in a civil suit that Sgt. Mace fired two volleys at David's car. Two of the six rounds fired in the first volley wounded David Hendricks in the left arm and left hand. While the car was stationary and David sat unmoving, Sgt. Mace walked over to the car and shot five more rounds through the driver's side win-

This case shows the futility of seeking justice in U.S. courts.

dow. ... The last four shots were fired through the empty window at David Hendricks as he lay helpless and bleeding on the front seat."⁽²⁾

On July 1 of this year, Sgt. Mace received the beginning of payments to leave the police force. Mace had been paid for five years without serving on the police force and now he gets \$75,000 and a job recommendation to leave the Mashpee police force. This agreement between Mace and Mashpee town government came on May 11, 1993 after betrayal by elected selectmen who had pledged to remove Mace through an arbitration procedure that never came about.

MIM spoke to Ramona Peters of the David Hendricks

Committee for Human Rights for an update on the story. Peters explained that her community feels responsible for the well-being of other communities that may be faced with David Mace in the future when he gets a new job. Hence, the committee wants to expose this case to whatever extent possible: "Native people are still at risk. ... We can't afford to pretend that injustice doesn't happen," said Peters.

The Mashpee Wampanoag won a victory in 1992 in civil court when eyewitnesses came forward and rendered evidence that should have been in a murder trial. For himself, Mace said he could not recall what happened and the judge in the case told him to get psychological help.

The son of David Hendricks won \$375,000 from Mace and the police union, but despite crushing testimony from at least seven eyewitnesses who saw the shooting, District Attorney Philip A. Rollins and the Attorney General of Massachusetts refused to open a criminal case against Mace. That means a jury never got the chance to decide if Mace murdered Hendricks.

This case shows the futility of seeking justice in U.S. courts. The relationship between prosecutors and police is too cozy everywhere in the United States. Prosecutors need the help of police in most cases to gain a winning record in court and to gain re-election. Hence, prosecutors tend to let police get away with murder without ever charging them in court. It is also the prosecutor who must notice when police are faking evidence against people they don't like.

However, as four recent convictions for evidence tampering by New York state troopers proved, it is easy for cops to fake evidence in dozens of cases for years at a time without getting caught. In the Hendricks case as in others, the prosecutors simply made a political decision not to prosecute pigs.

The pressure of elections on prosecutors does not help in this country where the majority of the population is the white labor aristocracy. It is only Amerika's anti-crime posture that says that oppressed minorities need to be kept under control by brutal, lying cops. If the white nation working class were not bought off, we would not see its persistent backing for fascist "anti-crime" measures against minorities, measures that justify beatings (Rodney King) and shootings (David Hendricks) for traffic violations.

The same class interests of the middle class in imperialist countries are also a reason that the Wampanoag's appeal to Amnesty International will not work. Across the United States, people working to end internal colonialism have brought case after case to Amnesty International for action. However, these mostly brainwashed lawyers and other middle class people believe that there is universal freedom and democracy in the United States; and they don't concern themselves with the majority of human-rights like the food, shelter, clothing and medicine.

The Hendricks committee is appealing to the Massachusetts state legislature for justice as well. No doubt this will not bring much immediate relief either. However, we

do agree with the Hendricks committee that this case must be exposed widely.

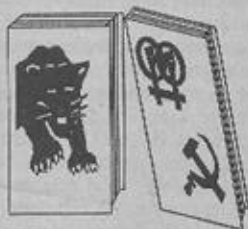
One last point made by this case is the need for self-determination of nations. "When Mace shot David it [the police force] was all white and they didn't even live here [Mashpee]," said Ramona Peters. The police force had been almost all indigenous until the First Nations lost control of the land. After the federal government denied the Mashpee Wampanoag recognition as a tribe and after a court ruled that some indigenous land could be sold, white real estate owners took over the Mashpee municipal government. If not for the power lost by the Wampanoag nation in the last 20 years, it is possible that Hendricks would still be alive.

Notes:

1. League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations (301) 932-0808 in News from Indian Country, Vol. VII, number 10, Late May, 1993, p. 17.
2. Kristy Lindgren, "Where Is Justice?" The Eagle, Vol. 11, #3, Early Summer, 1993, p. 14. (203) 729-0035.

SPECIAL OFFER!

Join MIM's
Book-of-
the-Month
Club

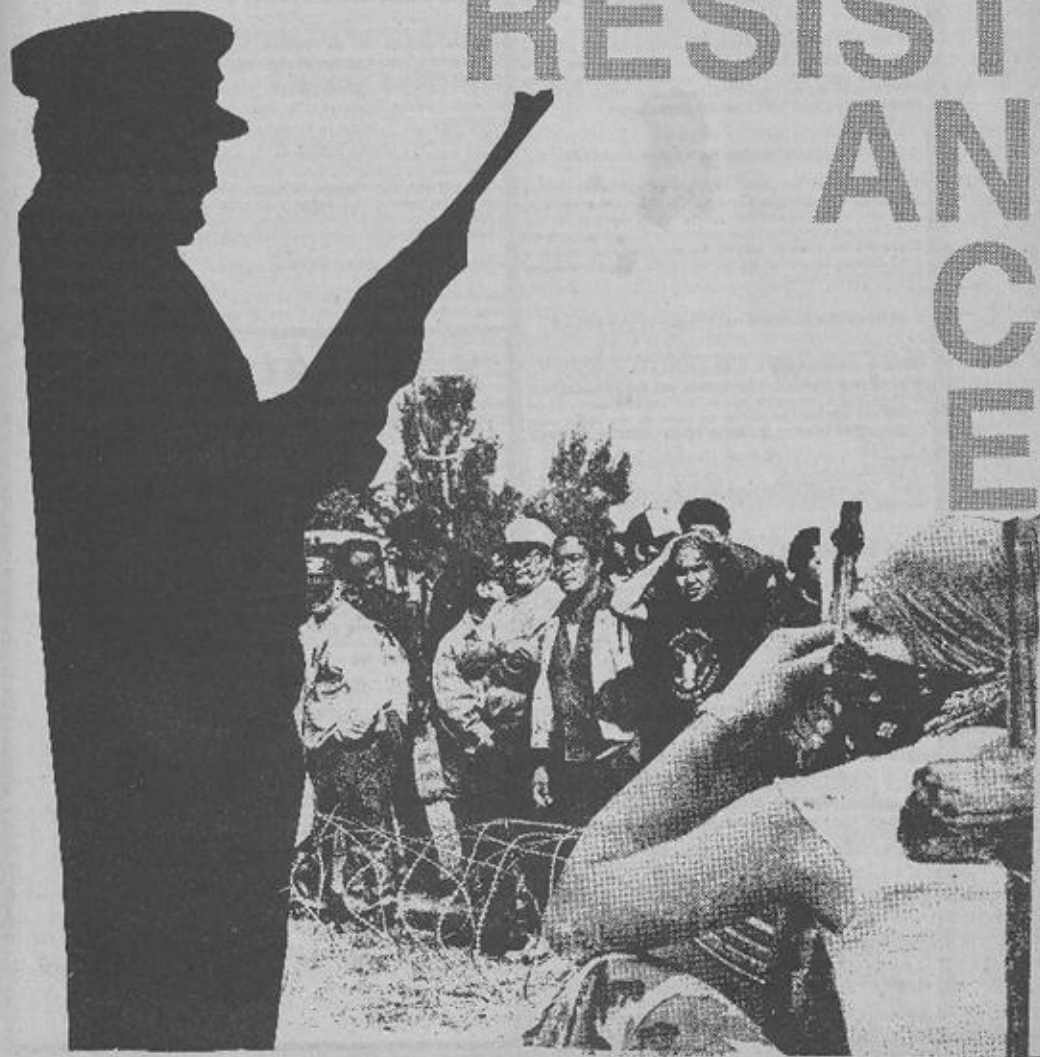


You send a book a month to us, we send a book a month to prisoners. No gimmicks. Or use our *alternative* plan: you send us a million dollars, we send a book to EACH of the million prisoners held in Amerika's imperialist dungeons. Choose from a wide selection of Marxist classics, Chinese history, and revolutionary Black, Latino and First Nation literature.

THEN WRAP IT UP AND MAIL IT TO:

PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576, or
PO Box 29670, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0670.

500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE



YOUNG LORDS PARTY

13 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM



THE YOUNG LORDS PARTY IS A REVOLUTIONARY
POLITICAL PARTY FIGHTING FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL
OPRESSED PEOPLE

1. WE WANT SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PUERTO RICANS, LIBERATION ON THE ISLAND AND INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

For 500 years, first Spain and then the United States have colonized our country. Billions of dollars in profits leave our country for the United States every year. In every way we are slaves of the gringos. We want liberation and the Power in the hands of the People, not Puerto Rican exploiters. **QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!**

2. WE WANT SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL LATINOS.

Our Latin Brothers and Sisters, inside and outside the United States, are oppressed by American business. The Chicano people built the Southwest, and we support their right to control their lives and their land. The people of Santo Domingo continue to fight against gringo domination and its puppet generals. The armed liberation struggles in Latin America are part of the war of Latinos against imperialism. **QUE VIVA LA RAZA!**

3. WE WANT LIBERATION OF ALL THIRD WORLD PEOPLE.

Just as Latins first slaved under Spain and the yanquis, Black people, Indians, and Asians slaved to build the wealth of this country. For 400 years they have fought for freedom and dignity against racist Babylon. Third World people have led the fight for freedom. All the colored and oppressed peoples of the world are one nation under oppression. **NO PUERTO RICAN IS FREE UNTIL ALL PEOPLE ARE FREE!**

4. WE ARE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS AND OPPOSE RACISM

The Latin, Black, Indian and Asian people inside the U.S. are colonized fighting for liberation. We know that Washington, Wall Street, and city hall will try to make our nationalism into racism, but Puerto Ricans are of all colors and we resist racism. Millions of poor white people are rising up to demand freedom and we support them. These are the ones in the U.S. that are stepped on by the rulers and the government. We each organize our people, but our fights are the same against oppression and we will defeat it together. **POWER TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!**

5. WE WANT EQUALITY FOR WOMEN, DOWN WITH MACHISMO AND MALE CHAUVANISM.

Under capitalism, women have been oppressed by both society and our men. The doctrine of machismo has been used by men to take out their frustrations on wives, sisters, mothers, and children. Men must fight along with sisters in the struggle for economic and social equality and must recognize that sisters make up over half of the revolutionary army; sisters and brothers are equals fighting for our people. **FORWARD SISTERS IN THE STRUGGLE!**

6. WE WANT COMMUNITY CONTROL OF OUR INSTITUTIONS AND LAND.

We want control of our communities by our people and programs to guarantee that all institutions serve the needs of our people. People's control of police, health services, churches, schools, housing, transportation and welfare are needed. We want an end to attacks on our land by urban renewal, highway destruction, and university corporations. **LAND BELONGS TO ALL THE PEOPLE!**

7. WE WANT A TRUE EDUCATION OF OUR AFRO-INDIO CULTURE AND SPANISH LANGUAGE.

We must learn our long history of fighting against cultural, as well as economic genocide by the speigards and now the yanquis. Revolutionary culture, culture of our people, is the only true teaching. **JIBARO SI, YANQUI NO!**

8. WE OPPOSE CAPITALISTS AND ALLIANCES WITH TRAITORS.

Puerto Rican rulers, or puppets of the oppressor, do not help our people. They are paid by the system to lead our people down blind alleys, just like the thousands of poverty pimps who keep our communities peaceful for business, or the street workers who keep gangs divided and blowing each other away. We want a society where the people socially control their labor. **VENCEREMOS!**

9. WE OPPOSE THE AMERIKKAN MILITARY.

We demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces and bases from Puerto Rico, Vietnam, and all oppressed communities inside and outside the U.S. No Puerto Rican should serve in the U.S. Army against his Brothers and Sisters, for the only true army of oppressed people is the People's Liberation Army to fight all rulers. **U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM, FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!**

10. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR.

No Puerto Rican should be in jail or prison, first because we see a nation, and Amerikkka has no claims on us; second, because we have not been tried by our own people (people). We also want all freedom fighters out of jail, since they are prisoners of the war for liberation. **FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR!**

11. WE ARE INTERNATIONALISTS.

Our people are brainwashed by television, radio, newspapers, schools and books to oppose people in other countries fighting for their freedom. No longer will we believe these lies, because we have learned who the real enemy is and who our real friends are. We will defend our sisters and brothers around the world who fight for justice and are against the rulers of this country. **QUE VIVA CHE GUEVARA!**

12. WE BELIEVE ARMED SELF-DEFENSE AND ARMED STRUGGLE ARE THE ONLY MEANS TO LIBERATION

We are opposed to violence - the violence of hungry children, illiterate adults, diseased old people, and the violence of poverty and profit. We have asked, petitioned, gone to courts, demonstrated peacefully, and voted for politicians full of empty promises. But we still aren't free. The time has come to defend the lives of our people against repression and for revolutionary war against the businessmen, politicians, and police. When a government oppresses the people, we have the right to abolish it and create a new one. **ARM OURSELVES TO DEFEND OURSELVES!**

13. WE WANT A SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

We want liberation, clothing, free food, education, health care, transportation, full employment and peace. We want a society where the needs of the people come first, and where we give solidarity and aid to the people of the world, not oppression and racism. **HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!**

Latino Nations

Amerikan Anti-Immigrant Tide Fuels Fires of Liberation

by MC12

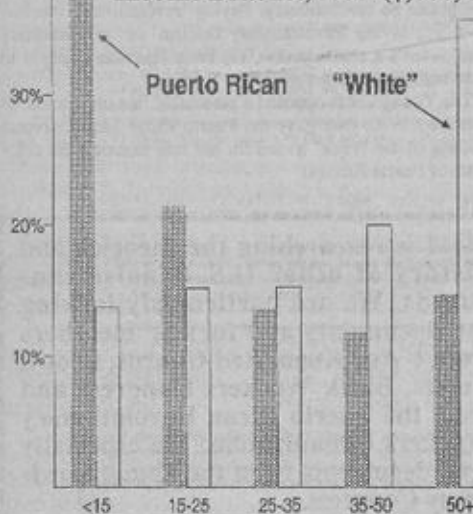
In this section MIM begins to cover Puerto Rican revolutionary organizing — in the case of the Young Lords Party — Chicano cultural and political movements, and the struggles of immigrants and migrant workers. Some of the articles — such as the interviews with Chicano activists — come from MIM's mass work; others are theoretical and historical treatments.

Revolutionary organizing among Latino Nations in Amerika is difficult and complicated. With so many Latinos in Amerika being relatively recent immigrants, there are many open questions about what groups are nations in themselves, what groups are still part of the nations they left behind, and what groups, if any, in Amerika can now unite as new nations. The questions raised by the Young Lords Party in the 1960s and 1970s are still very pertinent today. Strategically, we know that national liberation is the revolutionary process needed to free the Latino peoples from Amerikan imperialism. But the form of that struggle cannot yet be determined at this stage of the movement.

At the same time, with the passage of Proposition 187 in California in November 1994, there is a new urgency in Latino activism and a newfound need for revolutionary leadership. Last year MIM launched its first all-Spanish publication — *Notas Rojas* — which is now a vehicle for that organizing, theoretical and practical.

This section must be understood as part of this whole issue devoted to national liberation. The theory overlaps. With these articles — in that context — and with the publication of *Notas Rojas*, we hope to provide fuel for the fire of this movement.

Percent of Families in Each Income Bracket, 1992 (\$,000).



Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1994, pp. 51, 469.

Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization: Maoist Vanguard Paved the Way

by MC234

The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) was the Maoist vanguard in the Puerto Rican nation in the 1970s. Modeled after the Maoist Black Panther Party, and influenced by the Women's and Gay Liberation Movements, the PRRWO brought Maoism to thousands of Puerto Ricans.

EARLY HISTORY

The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization began in 1965 as a Chicago street gang called the Young Lords. They were politicized in 1967 by then-president Cha Cha Jimenez, and the name was changed to the Young Lords Organization (YLO).

The Black Panther Party wrote about the YLO in the June 7, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* and the article attracted the

attention of some revolutionary Puerto Rican students in New York. These students formed the first New York chapter.

The first major struggle for the Young Lords Organization and that which brought the YLO to the Puerto Rican people was the Garbage Offensive. For successive Sundays, the YLO cleaned the streets of *El Barrio* (Spanish Harlem, NY) and distributed literature to passersby. For the first two weeks the YLO cadre filled garbage bags and trash cans with garbage, but the sanitation crews didn't pick it up, so on the following Sunday they shifted tactics: they piled the garbage (and abandoned cars) in the center of the street, where the City would have to remove it. The masses of *El Barrio* joined in: first behind brooms, and later in throwing bottles at the pigs who came to arrest the Young Lords.

The Young Lords were able to open an office and then "shifted tactics from streetfighting to programs to serve our people. We began Free Breakfast and Lead Poisoning Detection programs, supported the struggle of welfare mothers

The YLP developed an analysis of the intersections of nation, class and gender that the women's liberation movement did not have.

that year, began organizing hospital workers and studied revolutions in other countries.

"In October of 1969, we wrote the Thirteen Point Program and Platform (revised May, 1970) and Thirty Rules of Discipline (revised December, 1970)."(1)

The Young Lords Organization was catapulted to international recognition and recognized as a threat to the State with the People's Church Offensive. A local Methodist Church so refused space for the operation of a free breakfast program, so after attending mass, letter writing, and other methods failed, "on December 28, we took the Church, renamed it People's Church, and for the next eleven days, we ran free clothing drives, breakfast programs, a liberation school, political education classes, a day care center, free health programs, and night-ly entertainment (movies, bands or poetry)."(1)

As the New York YLO grew after the People's Church Offensive, they began to notice problems with the national leadership in Chicago. The newspaper, YLO, was not coming out regularly, so the YLO did not have a political line to follow. The East Coast YLO developed on their own — "the Thirteen Point Program and Platform is an example."(1) Because of this lack of theoretical and practical leadership from their National Leadership, the East Coast and Chicago sections split, with the East Coast becoming the Young Lords Party.

A major Young Lords Party struggle was in defense of hospital patients and workers. "Ninety percent of hospital

workers in New York City are Black or Puerto Rican. To meet their demands for better conditions, and to serve the needs of the patients, the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement (HRUM) was created."

"A city T.B. x-ray truck was liberated" and the Young Lords were able to examine more than five times as many people as the city normally would. In July, 1970, Lincoln Hospital was liberated. "We ran programs, like TB and lead poison detection services, and a day care center. ..." (1)

Programs and campaigns continued to expand. The YLP also worked on prison campaigns, political prisoners, and the defense of their own organization from State repression.

GENDER

Pablo "Yoruba" Guzmán said that the Party was deeply influenced by the Women's and Gay liberation movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The YLP developed an analysis of the intersections of nation, class and gender that the women's liberation movement did not have — specifically the relationship between the oppression of white women and the oppression of the Puerto Rican people.(2)

From the outset, the struggle against sexism took high priority and internal struggle constantly advanced the YLP gender line. One point of the original 13 point program said "We want equality for women. Machismo must be revolutionary ... not oppressive."

This was a step forward, but internal struggle revealed problems with this point. To combat what was termed 'negative machismo' and 'female passivity' male and female caucuses were formed. After a period of meeting, the groups started to meet together. As Denise Oliver said, "machismo was never gonna be revolutionary. Saying 'revolutionary machismo' is like saying 'revolutionary fascism' or 'revolutionary racism' — it's a contradiction."(3) Party line was changed to oppose machismo altogether.

The Young Lords opposed a paternalist line on women. In September, 1970, they gave the Puerto Rican Miss Universe their "Pig of the Week" award for her role masking the colonialism of Puerto Rico.(4)

MIM is researching the theories and history of other U.S. Maoist vanguards. We are particularly looking for documents and former members from I Wor Kuen, Red Guards, Brown Berets, Black Workers Congress and from the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization. We especially seek documents from the Young Lords Party Congress.

POLITICAL LINE

The Young Lords Party recognized and supported the Chinese Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as a revolution against the capitalist roaders inside the Party who were attempting to restore capitalism. The YLP attributed Cuba's problems to the failure to have a cultural revolution.(5)

In another advance over the mistakes of the Black Panther Party, the YLP actively worked to advance their membership and create new leaders. They realized that their Party, in the first few months, relied too much on their charisma of five or six leaders, so they developed their ideology — recognizing that ideology is a more effective organizing tool than personal charm.

MIM should also report that it did not find the same eclecticism in YLP propaganda that it finds in other revolutionary literature from the late 1960s and early 1970s. Revolutionary Puerto Rican nationalists are the most commonly quoted, especially in the earlier material. (In a book review of a bourgeois biography of famous nationalists Don Pedro Albizu Campos, the YLP criticizes Campos for not opposing the capitalist system. They claimed to honor his spirit, but to have learned from his mistakes and failures.)(6)

After the name change to the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization in 1972, mention of Marx, Engels and Mao became more frequent. MIM saw Ché Guevara's name mentioned only once, in the context of remembering Latin American history. A review of the books on their literature list reveals only one book by Ho Chi Minh, and the largest number of books by any one author are by Mao.

The YLP/PRRWO organ Palante positively quoted an I Wor Kuen member (the Chinese vanguard in the United States) as saying "[T]hat only by applying and following the principles of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung Thought can the powerful enemy of North American imperialism be defeated."(6)

Priorities were also clearly displayed by the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao at the Party Congress. Palante published articles in support of the Cultural Revolution.(7) They defended Mao's invitation to Nixon to visit as an example of China's strength. They exposed that imperialism never has a good intent and they connected the various struggles of oppressed people to the common struggle against America. The PRRWO explained that, counter to the bourgeois myths, Nixon went to China from a position of weakness. The PRRWO and Mao realized that Nixon's visit would allow China to further disseminate the reality that the Chinese masses held power.

INTERNATIONALISM

Most issues of Palante in 1972 contained articles in support of the Vietnamese People's War and in support of the Chinese people. They also published statements from the Marxist-Leninist organizations around the world, including the Dominican Republic. The PRRWO also wrote about the strug-

gle of the Communist Party of the Philippines-led New People's Army. In each case where they exposed U.S. imperialism in other countries they drew parallels to the way that Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans are treated in America. Palante also expressed its support for the struggle of the Albanian people.(8) (At the time, Albania was a socialist country that supported the Maoist thesis that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union.)

WHITE WORKING CLASS

MIM was unable to find anything specific to give us an idea of what the YLP would think of our line on the white working class. It should be noted that while the YLP was open to all non-white people, the party did work with some white revolutionary organizations. The YLP had respect for the Weather Underground, although it is unclear what level of theoretical unity the YLP had with the Weather Underground. (The Weather Underground and its remnants agree with our white working class thesis.)

Palante did not cover white working class struggles, but their "against the divided nation thesis" (see below) self-criticism does lump together Puerto Ricans and "all poor and working class people of America."(6) It appears that the PRRWO had grasped the reality of the non-exploited and non-revolutionary nature of the white working class in practice, although they did not recognize it in theory.

REPRESSION

Repression of the PRRWO was increasing as the 1970s began. Comrades were busted on petty charges or hunted down for draft resistance. Paper distribution sites were getting visits from the FBI and other state agents. Several comrades were killed by the police, one — very early in the Party's history — in his prison cell.

DEVELOPMENTS LEADING UP TO THE PARTY CONGRESS

In the summer of 1972, the Young Lords Party held its first and last Party Congress. The Congress formalized internal structures of democracy and centralism, and shifted the focus of the Party.

The Congress's four resolutions were 1) the Constitution; 2) The ideology; 3) The present situation and our tasks 4) Elect a new central committee.

The name was changed to the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) because the name "Young Lords Party" was confusing in Spanish and did not explain what the organization was about.

The Congress shifted the Party's social base from "unemployed youth, students, and lumpen (ex-prisoners or ex-addicts) to workers where the Party will mature in this protracted struggle against the principal oppressor in the world — the yankee octopus."(9)

AGAINST THE DIVIDED NATION THESIS

Prior to the 1972 party congress, Palante started to carry the subhead "Newspaper of the divided nation." This theoretic-

cal position changed at the Party Congress. A self-criticism printed in the Dec. 20, 1972 issue of *Palante* briefly explained the new position of the PRRWO. They argued that Puerto Ricans in the United States do not fit Stalin's definition of a nation in regard to the island of Puerto Rico. The PRRWO argued that Puerto Ricans in the United States are not a nation but a national minority. Formerly, this line meant that the principal task of Puerto Ricans in the United States was to help liberate Puerto Rico. The new line said that the principal task of Puerto Ricans in the United States, as a national minority, was to oppose imperialism.

At this time, MIM does not have a position on whether or not there is one Puerto Rican "divided nation" or if there are multiple Puerto Rican nations. We would have to look at migration rates to and from Puerto Rico, economic and population data, etc. MIM is currently searching for documents from the PRRWO Party Congress in the hopes of examining the basis used by the PRRWO in the development of their line. These documents will hopefully have summations of PRRWO organizing in both Puerto Rico and the United States with the divided nation theory. (Prior to the Party Congress, the YLP had three branches in Puerto Rico which they mentioned often. MIM has not seen all of the issues of *Palante*, but after the Party Congress, there was no mention of the Puerto Rican branches.)

MIM does not follow the logic of this self-criticism that since the divided nation thesis is false, then Puerto Ricans in the United States are a national minority. Puerto Ricans in the United States can be a nation that is separate from the island of Puerto Rico.

The Maoist vanguard organizations of the 1960s and 70s did not have a worked out line on the parasitic nature of the white working class. This shortcoming required compromises in other parts of their line in order to achieve internal coherence. To what degree the PRRWO liquidation of the national question line change was a result of this phenomenon or was a result of practice has yet to be determined.

Regardless, the example of the Young Lords Party and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization serves as an example to revolutionaries today. They applied the principles of politics in command, and unity-struggle-unity and continually advanced the cause of liberation for Puerto Ricans.

Learn from them and finish what they started.

Notes:

1. *Palante: Young Lords Party*, McGraw-Hill: New York, 1971, Introduction.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
4. *Palante* 9/11/70 p. 11.
5. *Young Lords Party*, p. 58.
6. *Palante* 9/1/72 p. 3, 9.
7. *Palante* 9/29/72, p. 2, 8.
8. *Palante* 7/1/72, p. 11.
9. *Palante* 3/3/93, p. 11.

Imperialism Hides Behind Puerto Rican Plebiscite

reprinted from MIM Notes 85
February 1994

On Nov. 14, 1993, a slim majority of Puerto Rican voters approved the plebiscite maintaining the island's commonwealth status.(1) Amerika's military, political and economic domination make such a vote a ridiculous proposal that could never represent the true will of the people.

Only a small number of people voted for independence (4%) because they know that the occupation will continue regardless of the outcome of the vote. A supporter of *Ofensiva '92* told MIM that only 15-20% of the Puerto Rican people support independence, because independence is not yet a viable option. There currently does not exist a revolutionary organization capable of leading Puerto Rico to independence, says the Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement (MLN).

The United Nations is currently under economic pressure from the United States to remove Puerto Rico from its list of colonies.(2) The U.N. is expected to see the vote for commonwealth status as evidence that the people support inclusion in the United States and not national liberation.

An oppressed country's listing as an official colony earns the colonizer international condemnation. Being listed as a colony is a political aid for the Puerto Rican revolution; but it is a serious thorn in Amerika's side.

Puerto Rico was put on the list in 1972, during a brief period when Third World countries, especially China and Cuba, held considerable power in the U.N. At that time, the U.N. decolonization committee voted 12-0 that Puerto Rico had the right to self-determination and independence.(3)

MILITARY OCCUPATION

Thirteen American military bases in Puerto Rico occupy 20% of the land. Seventy-six percent of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques is occupied by the marines. Mislaunched missiles demolish the homes in remaining residential areas and ruin the island's number one source of income — fishing.

In 1975, Nixon withdrew the naval forces from Culebra because of the united front against the America's presence.(4) The successful resistance to the occupation serves as an example that liberation can only be achieved by forcing the American military out, not by asking politely through an imperialist-backed vote.

The economic oppression of the island is another way to coerce the people of Puerto Rico into a colonial relationship.

The 1990 Census report admits that 63.3% of the 3.16 million Puerto Ricans on the island are below the poverty line(5) while in the United States, 14.2% are below the poverty level.(6)

Puerto Rico's per capita income is \$6,200 per year.(1) Inflation increased by 55% between 1980 and 1990, but Puerto Rican per capita income increased by only 17% — two and-a-half times less than in the United States during the same period.(7)

Puerto Rico is not allowed to import food from any other country but the United States. "Almost all our food products are imported despite the fact that we have nearly one million acres of arable land sitting idly," the MLN stated, and "one goal is to break the dependence on the United States which currently treats us like a captive market."(8)

Without paying taxes to Puerto Rico, 400 American corporations operate on the island and bring the profits back to the United States.(2) In the 1980s, U.S. drug manufacturers received \$8.5 billion in tax credits alone, which is more than double the amount that those corporations spent on Puerto Rican payrolls.(9)

Much of the drinking water is polluted as a result of the large amounts of toxic waste dumped in rivers and brooks by waste-producing corporations.(5) Multi-national pharmaceutical companies contribute 72% of all toxic discharge in Puerto Rico.(2)

IMPERIALIST PATRIARCHY

In Puerto Rico, 48.3% of the women are employed by manufacturing as opposed to 25% in the United States. Although the proportion of women in each country by industry is the same, the number of manufacturing sites in Puerto Rico is higher.(10) The restructuring of the world economy has changed the role of Puerto Rico into a major manufacturing site. The industries attracted by American export-oriented incentives, i.e. clothing, electronics and textiles, require cheap, unskilled labor — women workers. The unemployment rate for women is 12.7% and 18.8% for men.(11)

Since the 1960s, the Puerto Rican government has been interested in controlling the relative surplus population — unemployed Puerto Ricans whose discontent serves as a social base for rebellion. They accomplished this in part by aiding the migration of many Puerto Ricans to America, and in part by implementing programs aimed at sterilizing poor Puerto Rican women. In 1965, 34% of women between the ages of 20 and 49 were sterilized.(12) The sterilization rate for lesser educated women was much higher.(13)

REPRESSION OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS

In 1979, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal was arrested with 20 others demonstrating against the naval occupation of Vieques. Following his misdemeanor conviction, he was taken to a Florida prison where they forcibly injected him with Thorazine. He died unexpectedly several hours after he told his lawyer of his plans to continue the independence struggle.(14)

In 1985, hundreds of FBI agents made an island round-up

through more than 50 homes and establishments to arrest 12 independentistas for alleged participation in a clandestine independence movement — Los Macheteros.(5) In defense of his capture, Colon Osorio persisted that colonialism is a crime against humanity and violation of international law. The American judge stated that "international law does not apply here." Osorio was not allowed to submit evidence to the jury that proved Los Macheteros complied with international law.

There are 18 Puerto Rican nationalists serving sentences of up to 98 years in America's gulags for membership and activities related to the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) and Los Macheteros.

Two years ago, the Puerto Rican Supreme Court ruled that the 150,000 files that the Puerto Rican police held on independence supporters were illegal means intended to incite fear. Nearly every family had one member who received a file detailing their activities in the independence struggle.

The incarceration of Puerto Rican nationalists, along with the military and economic domination of the island, are political tactics to disarm the people and deny their right to self-determination. A viable plebiscite on independence will only be a possibility when the Puerto Rican people have the political and military power to make independence a reality.

Notes:

1. New York Times 11/11/93, p. A13.
2. La Patria Radical, 6/93, pp. 3, 5-6.
3. Palante 9/1/72, p. 3.
4. Edwin Melendez ed., *Colonial Dilemma*, Boston: South End Press, 1993, p. 61.
5. La Patria Radical 2/93, pp. 3-4.
6. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
7. El Nueva Dia 2/23/93.
8. La Patria Radical 1/93, pp. 2-3.
9. Chemical Marketing Reporter 8/3/92, pp. 7-8.
10. Edwin Melendez, op. cit. pp. 97-98.
11. Puerto Rican Department of Labor and Human Resources, Bureaus of Labor Statistics.
12. Harriet B. Presser, *Sterilization and Fertility Decline in Puerto Rico*, Greenwood Press: Connecticut, 1976, p. 61.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
14. Human Rights Held Hostage Sept./Oct 1993, pp. 22-23.

Band Wants to End Occupation

reprinted from MIM Notes 69
October 1992

by a Comrade

Culture is a powerful force — under all modes of production — but as powerful as culture is under capitalism, revolutionaries must remember that it is not the cause of oppression. Oppression is caused by the imperialist structure which

depends on economic exploitation for its survival.

On this anniversary of the fifth century of genocide at the hands of a Euro-American elite, many oppressed groups are not only resisting oppression but fighting back — especially in the cultural realm. The radical rap artists of Aztlan Nation are one such force.

'Til the Border Crumbles/It all started out as a fight for the land, they took away Texas and began to expand/The punk rednecks say "Remember the Alamo!" They don't want to know who I am, but I let them know/I'm the M-E-X-I-C-A-N/Take what I got, I'm gonna take it all back/It took an invasion of millions to push the borders back/But my people remain, and the reason I came is to spark a flame, we can't be tamed/Coming live and direct from Aztlan so I lay upon your mind this phenomenal stand for the land, the land stands for me/One day in the future, Aztlan will be free/Until that day we must struggle, and keep on till the border crumbles.

'To fight over one block is ridiculous when the whole nation is occupied.'

Aztlan Nation's agenda is to awaken the Chicano people to the reality of Aztlan, a territory that includes what is temporarily called the southwest region of the United States. In contrast to purely cultural movements, the group does not idealize Aztlan as a romantic memory, but instead assert that Chicanos and other oppressed nations are living under occupation. By making the occupied territory more tangible to the cholos and cholitas on the street, Aztlan Nation puts turf battles into perspective.

MIM interviewed Chapo Zal, Minister of Information, to get a grip on Aztlan Nation's agenda.

MIM: What is the main mission of A.N.?

AN: We want to ingrain the land issue, give a direction to the anger that keeps people divided, this fighting over small turfs comes from the institutions that keep us divided, to fight over one block is ridiculous when the whole nation is occupied.

MIM: Who is your music aimed at?

AN: It's aimed at gangsters and cholos, the so-called, the whaddaya call it, the lumpenproletariat, that's where we are really getting our work done, ... (it) makes them feel strong and proud again, a way of empowering the dispossessed.

MIM: What is your relationship to gangster rap?

AN: We are a part of gangster rap, we don't think there is a problem with gangs, joining a gang is a way of rebelling — it's just misdirected.

MIM: What has been the response from the masses?

AN: The buzz is out, we are constantly selling all of our tapes and t-shirts, we are saying what the youth wants to hear,

expressing and giving direction to the anger that is not addressed by mainstream rap.

MIM: What is your view of the Chicano movement?

AN: On the grassroots level there is a lot of good work going on, but there are problems with ageism, some corruption and infiltration ... the leadership is not spending enough time with the youth, not responding to the anger.

MIM: Your lyrics call attention to the fact that Aztlan belongs to the indigenous people, and calls for taking back the land. Are you aligned with any political party or ideology?

AN: No, we're a rap group, that's doing something. We're throwing out ideas — people can either bite or absorb them and not act ... spoken word is more powerful than armed confrontation, can make more ripples — sometimes. We want no part of sectarianism, we're independent, we might be more down with some groups more than others but will do a benefit based on the cause, regardless of the ideology. If we object to something, like we're doing a Chicano festival next month, but they call it a Hispanic festival, well we'll still do it but in this case we call it an intervention, we will set the record straight on that.

Who is the real illegal alien/Who is the real wet back/They came from Europe man/Who is the real wet back/In two triple O we'll take it back.

The Messengers: Agitation for Liberation

reprinted from MIM Notes 70
November 1992

by a Comrade

In MIM Notes 67, MIM published an interview with CIA (Chicano in Action), a leader of the rap group Subversive Element. CIA is also a leader of the Messengers, a growing revolutionary movement of predominantly young Latinos. In this issue MIM follows up with a greater emphasis on the Messengers themselves. A comrade interviewed Drill Sergeant, and CIA again, in Holyoke, Mass. Excerpts follow.

DRILL SERGEANT

MIM: What is the message of the Messengers?

Drill Sergeant: From my point of view, I think the message of the Messengers is to empower the Latino people in a positive way, to educate them more about Puerto Rican history and their culture, so that they can become more atraned with what's going on in this society, and what actually is happening in their environment that's causing all the problems ...

When I come I speak to them about Pedro Albizu Campos, the Puerto Rican revolutionary leader that made an impact on the island of Puerto Rico. I talk to them about the Taino Arawaks that were extinct due to Spanish conquest in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean region, as well as Central and South America. So that's my job here, so they feel good about themselves as a people.

MIM: How would you describe the political state of the people, in terms of who's ready for a revolutionary movement?

DS: Revolution has to come from within. It can't come from without. If we're not ready as a people to come together, there's no way we're going to do a revolution. Because a lot of people think of revolution in a negative kind of way. I look at a revolution from an intellectual point of view. A revolution has to be brought in when people think the same way, they all share the same common interests and concerns. Not having people come together with different interests and different agendas. People have to be together and think about one thing: Latino empowerment. Because right now the majority of Messengers are Latinos, but we're hoping that other people — Afro-Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, maybe some white people — come and join us so that we could be more united and understand each other's point of view.

We could do a revolution if we understand the concepts of Mao, of Guevara, of Castro, and other people who have made an impact on this society. We don't want, y'know — revolution is not all about violence. Revolution is about making a change, of making people aware of the things that are imposing on us, like people looking on us in a negative type of way, of stereotyping us as gangs. We're not a gang, we're a classroom. We're here to teach people, get them out of the streets.

MIM: MIM has described Amerikka as being a dominant nation with internal nations or colonies inside it, and that's one of the best things for applying Maoism in terms of national liberation struggle. Is national liberation the way you look at this?

DS: Yes, I think liberation, within the Messengers, within the Latino people, from the Pioneer Valley, from around the United States and hopefully around the world, is the way to go. Because we have to liberate ourselves from the environment. This negative — it feels like the type of environment that the majority of Latinos live in, from the lower income class, is that they're trapped, they can't get out of the dependency mode.

We can't live like that anymore. We have to structure our lives and look beyond. Because I believe that if we all educate ourselves — because the majority of Messengers are between

14 to 19, and there's some older ones too, but most of them have dropped out of high school — so we tell them to educate themselves and that's one way, that's a step toward freedom, toward liberation.

MIM: Within the U.S. MIM has talked about the Black Panther Party as being the last revolutionary vanguard movement that was a movement in Amerikka. You talked before about Albizu Campos and the Puerto Rican struggle. What other kind of inspiration or history do you look at for motivation?

DS: I also go into the Chinese Revolution — Mao Zedong — and also the Bolshevik Revolution: little revolutions that happened in the 20th century that have made a change. But we have to focus on our own struggle, the Latino revolution, first.

We look at those as models, to look up to, to get information from, to get knowledge from, but we have to come with our own concept of what we perceive as a revolution.

CHICANO IN ACTION

MIM: How do you see the role of education and ideology in the political development of the people?

CIA: I see that we take what we have, which is a common knowledge, that surpasses what most people have in this community by virtue of the fact that that knowledge is not easily accessible to them. Our purpose here is to be the tool for them to gain that knowledge. I mean, if the city is working against the community, to deny them that information, then

it is our duty, for our community, to inform them.

MIM: So one of the things going on here is miseducation or counter-education in the public schools. That's a lot to go up against. People spend a lot of years in school.

CIA: Oh yeah. Well we witness a lot of ignorant things here. We have students even in the Messengers who want to learn, they realize that the system as far as education goes wasn't built to be attractive to Latin Americans students, and yet we encourage them to learn it anyway, to get through it, because it wasn't meant for them to get through. And yet, even though they have the desire, they have come up against obstacles like being denied the right to sit down in a classroom as a result of not paying a \$20 fine for a book. ... The effort to keep students in is not as much of a concern to them as to keep them out.

MIM: There's cross purposes where the people want education and the state wants social control ...

CIA: I think they're the same thing. I think that in this society the idea of education is social control. How could it not be? I mean, if it doesn't represent this community, the Latin American community, if it doesn't represent them, it repre-

'We have to focus on our own struggle, the Latino revolution, first. We look at those as models, to look up to ... but we have to come with our own concept of what we perceive as a revolution.'

sents something else, then they are thereby controlling what they learn, and controlling how they react in society. If they don't swallow it, then they're going to react in society as something ... they're going to act lost. When you act lost, and when you act like you're dying and you're throat is cut, you're going to run around in a confused state, having mindless actions about you. You're going to do some mindless things. And that's exactly a control there itself. They let you run around mindless, and at the same time they got the control over what you look like in society. So I think it's the same thing.

MIM: I want to talk about this gang thing a little bit, because drug trafficking and a lot of other crimes against the people do go on; at the same time we've taken the position that those are disputes among the people for the people to work out, and that the state coming in and condemning gangs, the mainstream media coming in and condemning gangs, will create more of a negative effect than a positive effect in terms of combating any actual problems. Does that make sense?

CIA: That makes perfect sense. [laughs] Think about it. I know for a fact that in this particular city [Holyoke, Mass.] \$500,000 was asked for by the police department in order to

Why would I want to go and attack a puppet, when I can get the puppeteer?

increase enforcement, an additional \$3,000 to make sure that they had foot officers in the schools, and \$5,000 for a DARE ["anti-drug"] program. Now, that might seem all good and well to help out the efforts of the police force to "police" — and that's a strong word — the community, but the community isn't actually seeing any of that money. The community could use some of that money for reparations to its own buildings, to its streets, to its school system for books.

MIM: The majority of the white public and the white media does not make a distinction between "good" oppressed people organizing, and "bad" oppressed people organizing. Oppressed people organizing for themselves, they have a label for it now, they call it gangs, they assume it's about drugs and terrorism ...

CIA: Exactly.

MIM: We're dealing with that now with the revolution in Peru. The story is that they're really just drug traffickers. But if you go back and look at history, you look at China, the Russian Revolution, whatever, and look at what the American press said — they said they were terrorists every time.

CIA: Exactly. I mean, I'm pretty clear-headed when it comes to things like that. I know the difference between the bandit that Poncho Villa was supposedly and the revolutionary that he actually was [Poncho Villa was a Mexican revolutionary who led an armed uprising from 1913 till he was killed in

1923.] ...

And in terms of what we're doing out here, they don't want us to be united. OK, once we're united as a community — I'm speaking on Latin America, I'm not just speaking for Puerto Ricans alone or Mexicans alone, or Colombians alone, etc. — you talk about pan-Latin Americanism where you're not just dealing with 16.3 million Mexicans in the United States, and then you start dealing with a community of close to 100 million, the government turns around and sees you making a unified and collaborative effort to make changes here, that's when you become a subversive, that's when you become an operation to undermine a government, and that's when you can hear knees shaking in the White House.

When we speak about the white man, we don't speak about the white man in terms of the person that you see every day. I mean, why would I want to go and attack a puppet, when I can get the puppeteer? There's a difference ...

The first issue is to throw the cold water on the face of your people, wake them up, and point them in the right direction. Once you get them going in the right direction, and not to the side — oh, the police force is wrong; oh, education is wrong; oh, health care is wrong, they're all problems within those institutions. But, they're just on the string of the puppeteer. And if you keep going headlong, then you're going to see a battle. Too many people get sidetracked about the results of the efforts of the persons in charge of the system.

MIM: You get caught up fighting symptoms instead of fighting the problem.

CIA: Exactly.

Farmworkers and Chinese Peasants

December 1992

by MA71

The state of California is working for legislation to allow the building of "shelters" for Mexican farmworkers in Riverside County, 150 miles southeast of Los Angeles. The county's housing authority is working out the plans for a "novel" approach to housing farmworkers to start in the city of Mecca, and to be called the Mecca Migrant Farmworkers Campground.

These "shade shelters," 53 in all, will be concrete slabs with metal roofs, communal bathrooms and barbecue pits, and no walls. The farmworkers will be charged \$5-11 per night.

Championed by right-wing conservatives, these shelters will be an obvious "improvement," since currently farmworkers from Mexico usually live out in the open fields, either in no shelter or in makeshift shacks.

The first farmworkers to receive this "benefit" will be

those who pick grapes. These workers have been particularly affected by the use of pesticides. This is how imperialists treat those workers who "feed and clothe the country"(1) — worse than animals in a zoo, who at least live in cages with walls.

Such treatment is a perfect example of the ugly hypocrisy with which the imperialists and their apologists are treating "illegal" aliens. While right wingers scream about closing down the border and preventing the "illegals" from sapping the social welfare system, etc., at the same time these same people make plans to exploit the farmworkers even more. It is quite obvious that the sanctity of the family as defined by the imperialists certainly does not apply to the farmworkers from Mexico.

To defend this atrocity, the director of the Housing Authority said: "Would I rather have [permanent] housing for everyone? In a utopia, yes."(2)

THE CHINESE CONTEXT

Compare the situation of the U.S. farmworkers to that of the peasants in China between 1949 and 1976. Shortly after Liberation in October 1949, a tempestuous land reform movement took place designed to free the masses of peasants from the brutal exploitation of feudalism and imperialism. Beginning step by step, and under state guidance, the peasants organized collective production — first in small mutual aid teams, then into elementary cooperatives, then into more advanced cooperatives. Finally, the Great Leap Forward in 1958 gave a vast impetus to the development of the cooperatives into People's Communes.(3)

The People's Communes were formed by combining cooperatives of between 2,000 and 7,000 households. The land, equipment, and housing were collectively owned. Furthermore, the Commune combined industry, agriculture, trade, education, and military affairs. The Commune became the actual instrument of socialist state power. Furthermore, the People's Communes were run according to democratic centralism, with the tasks of leadership becoming easier.(4)

In the People's Communes, each family was entitled to its own house, rent free, under the condition that it not be rented or sold to anyone else.(5) Medical care was virtually free, with emphasis on "prevention first."

Even critics of China under Mao will begrudgingly admit that the health and standard of living of the peasants gradually improved from 1949-1976.

What can the imperialists show for their efforts?

Notes:

1. See J. Sakai's *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*. Morningstar Press: Chicago, 1983.
2. Los Angeles Times 7/7/92.
3. Chu Li and Tien Chieh-yun, *Inside a Peoples' Commune*. Foreign Languages Press: Peking, 1975.
4. Jean Chesnooux, *China, The People's Republic, 1949-1976*. Pantheon: New York, 1979.
5. George Thompson, *Capitalism and After*. China Policy Study Group: London, 1976.

Amerika's superexploited: Poverty and Pesticides Ravage Labor Camps

reprinted from MIM Notes 65
June 1992

by MC99

The gains won by organized labor have not trickled down to Amerika's exploited workers, especially migrant farm workers, who are specifically excluded from many job regulation laws. These members of the internal U.S. colonies, mostly Latinos, literally put the food on the table of millions of Amerikan parasites, in return for decades of slave-like working conditions and oppressive poverty.

Migrant farm workers' subsistence jobs require them to handle pesticide-saturated crops. Unlike the privileged sectors of the Amerikan public — who only think about pesticides when they go to the supermarket — farm workers and their families never escape the hazardous poisons on which Amerikan agribusiness relies. Workers handle plants that are still wet from the chemicals, much more dangerous and potent than handling dry plants on store shelves. They are in contact with treated crops within hours of spraying, and for their own consumption, they cannot simply "buy organic."

MIGRANT SYSTEM HURTS CHILDREN MOST

Migrant farm workers are predominantly young Latino couples with children.(2) In California 88% of all farm workers are Mexican,(3) and half of the total farm worker population is made up of undocumented aliens.(2) Children in the farm worker community face overwhelming obstacles — for them life in Amerika is as bad or worse than the future they would have had in their native country. These workers receive no benefits from imperialism.

Children have no place to go while their parents toil in the fields; there is no day care and public school is inaccessible because school districts in farm worker areas conspire to keep the non-English-speaking children out. [Newer efforts such as Prop. 187 make this even worse. —MCB52] Public schools refuse to enroll students who do not speak English; they discourage enrollment by creating residency requirements and they demand that only natural parents can enroll a child in school.(4) Many of these requirements are technically illegal, but laws do not apply across nation and class divisions.

Migrant children are usually two or more years behind when they are in school, and the drop-out rate is 45%, compared to 29% for the general population.(2)

One-third of parents interviewed by the National Child Labor Committee (which has no interest in recording actual figures) had children working with them in the fields, and half of these families had incomes below the U.S. poverty level.(2)

Young children work alongside their parents, and often a whole family will receive just one wage, under one social security number. This way, the grower can report the wage as if s/he is following regulations, and get the labor of three or four for the price of one.(5) Laborers, many of whom are undocumented, have no legal recourse.

According to the National Child Labor Committee, in one year there are 1 million child labor violations. In 1990 the average penalty was a whopping fee of \$212 per violation.

A study of migrant children working in western New York found that 40% of the children interviewed had worked while crops were still wet and 40% had been in the field while crops were being sprayed.(2)

AGRIBUSINESS DEHUMANIZES LABORERS

Between 1979 and 1983, about 23,800 children were reported hurt on farms, and 300 died from these injuries.(2)

The cancer rate in and around farm worker communities is above the national average. In Bartimart, California children are afflicted at 12 times the expected rate for their age group.(1) The Environmental Protection Agency estimates that

farm workers suffer 300,000 acute illness and injuries per year from being exposed to pesticides alone.(2)

A familiar scenario: A farm worker in Merced County California stays up all night shaking and quivering; the fluid in his lungs makes it difficult to breathe. He has Parkinsons disease. A doctor attributes the disease to spraying Paraquat and Guthion in an almond orchard. At a worker's compensation trial, seven doctors testify — four supporting his claim and three for the insurance companies that fought his claim. The worker loses the case.(5)

Farm workers are treated as sub-human labor devices.

Farm workers are treated as sub-human labor devices, oppressed in every way possible.

Growers and farm labor contractors keep the crews down-pressed in every way they can. A 71-year-old man tells of how a group of Mexicans were contracted by the government to work in the United States, in a campaign called "The Bracero Program:"

"Back then [1944] a man from the government came and was charging 80 pesos, and he would tell us where to go if we wanted to be contracted for work. ... People would sleep there so they could be there when they were called. Nothing but workers. All of us bald. They shaved our heads, our armpits, everywhere. They thought we had fleas. They disinfected us ... they made us go into a huge shower stall, all of us naked. The steam coming out of the tube was really hot. ... There were 60 of us locked in. ... And right when all of us were drenched in perspiration, they turned ice cold water on us. There was no place to hide. Before we knew what was happening we were on the train the next day for Texas."

The worker concludes: "I'll tell you one thing, thanks to the Mexican people, this country has been able to maintain and expend its wealth and its standard of living. But we haven't. We can't pass a certain point of living."(5)

Physical torture is just the beginning of the farm workers' nightmare. Farm workers are the superexploited of Amerika. Families are treated terribly; the government denies them education; and physical brutality is commonplace. Pesticide exposure is only one important aspect of this fatal employment.

Notes:

1. Toxics Race and Class: The Poisoning of Communities, SouthWest Organizing project, 1991.
2. Government Accounting Office, *Hired Farmworkers*, February 1992.
3. Department of Health Services, *California Occupational Health Program*, Press Release, May 1991.
4. Noliciero, *California Rural Legal Assistance*, Winter 1992.
5. *The Sacramento Bee*, Special Report, *Fields of Pain*, 12/8/91-12/11/91.



INS Repression Fuels Fascism

reprinted from MIM Notes 70
November 1992

by MC99

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service announced in September that it would increase its crackdown on illegal aliens, arguing that immigrants in California are the cause for the rising unemployment rate.

"We are convinced these illegals are taking jobs," said INS regional director David Ilchert. And they are. But immigrants are restricted to the lowest strata of employment in America — farmwork, janitorial work, etc. In response to local immigrants' rights activists, Ilchert said "The emphasis seems to be on the undocumented worker who's got no business being here in the first place ... We're doing everything we can to remove the illegal alien from the work force ... What we should be doing is put a number of other federal agencies out there."(1)

Even according to the imperialist press, other agencies are already in the business of exploiting Mexican people. Perhaps Ilchert should watch 60 Minutes and Night Line, then he would have to admit that the Department of Labor is busy funding "non-profit" organizations in Mexico that specialize in attracting U.S. firms to move their manufacturing operations to Mexico, where they can get cheap labor, and facilitate the destruction of the rural economy.(2)

Moving manufacturing operations to Mexico and other direct foreign investment causes a myriad of problems, all resulting in a greater manipulation of the Third World proletariat.

First, commercial agriculture pushes small scale farmers out of business. People who had a self sufficient way of life are forced to enter or try to enter the wage labor pool. This happens with small-scale manufacturing enterprises as well. Workers have fewer choices and are unwittingly pulled into the world of superexploitation.

Rural peoples go from operating within a low-tech, yet diversified and whole economy (that at least has a chance of meeting a communities' needs) into a wage labor economy that restricts the kinds of production in a region and forces people to be dependent on a foreign life-extracting employer. As village economies disappear, the pool of exploitable wage laborers increases.

One growing tactic in obliterating the village economy is the recruitment of young women into the manufacturing sector. Taking women out of the village and into the industrialized zones increases the labor pool and thus creates greater competition for jobs, lowering wages and breaking up families.

Multinational corporations also tease people with the American dream, capitalism appears to equal prosperity. Amerikanization sets in and "the distance between a job in the offshore plant or office and a comparable one in the industrialized country itself is subjectively reduced."(3) What's missing here is the great disparity between Third World manufacturing wages and First World manufacturing wages.

Most immigrants' jobs — as day laborers, kitchen help and field workers — yield low wages and neither job security nor benefits. Not only are these jobs too low paying and dirty for the spoiled American labor aristocracy, but undocumented workers also offer the multinationals a way to cut costs at home. In the 1980s Apple Computer fired their in-house janitorial employees and subcontracted the work to small companies who use Mexican labor.(3)

American imperialism works both within the U.S. borders to oppress Third World peoples and at the same time creates below subsistence wages (wage economies) in Mexico and other oppressed countries. In 1989 the INS apprehended 50,000 people from Central American countries.

Rounding up immigrants under the pretense of lost American jobs promotes fascism and conceals the exploitative relations of capitalism. Anti-immigrant hype is useful in maintaining imperialism's buffer class, the labor aristocracy. As politicians and other state mouthpieces put out the message that Latino immigrants are stealing the glutinous lifestyle known as the American dream, patriotism, racism and white nation chauvinism will escalate to unprecedented proportions.

Notes:

1. Bay Guardian 9/30/92.
2. 60 Minutes 9/26/92.
3. Report on the Americas, Vol. 26, No. 1, 7/92.

Outside the United States

Grasping the Labor Aristocracy On the International Scene

by MC44

In this section, MIM looks at two national liberation struggles outside the United States — in Ireland and the Philippines. The former is a nationalist armed struggle, the latter a Communist-led revolution. As the Irish Republican Army and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) build international public opinion, both struggles must come to grips with the character of the imperialist country working class, and recognize that support from this class for proletarian revolution is not forthcoming.

MIM wrote in a letter to the CPP as it celebrated its 25th anniversary:

"In the imperialist countries, we believe it is improper to organize for the class demands of the labor aristocracy, since those demands amount to asking for a greater share of superprofits sucked from the superexploited masses of the oppressed nations. At the same time, we have accepted as comrades and allies people from the labor aristocracy and all other classes and we believe from experience that it is impossible to organize people from labor aristocracy background in an internationalist fashion without understanding that imperialist country workers are not exploited."

We urge all of our international Maoist allies to adopt this perspective as their own, so that we can move forward in the march for revolution — which must overcome revisionism if it is to succeed.



CPP Rectification Makes History

The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army: The rectification movement and MIM's view.

November 1993

by MC5

I. CPP HISTORY ON THE CARDINAL QUESTIONS AND ITS CURRENT RECTIFICATION

On December 26, 1968, Amado Guerrero, now known as Jose Maria Sison, re-established the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on Maoist principles. At about the same time, Sison also re-organized some peasant rebels into the New People's Army (NPA). Before its re-establishment, the CPP had degenerated into a pathetic revisionist husk.

Somewhere along the way between 1968 and the present, MIM lost track of what happened to the CPP/NPA. From what it could tell from very limited experience in the mid-1980s, the CPP had degenerated into a narrow nationalist organization tailing after revisionism. MIM Notes referred to the NPA as

"semi-Maoist," "neo-Maoist" or the like. There was also an intentional policy of referring to the Philippines as a situation of "just rebellion" (as opposed to revolution), or ignoring the CPP altogether.

As late as 1990, MIM had an internal discussion about the CPP. At that time, MIM had wind of a struggle within the CPP and surmised the possibility that certain people appearing to be revisionist to the naive eye, might actually be genuine Maoists. Nonetheless, MIM continued a policy of avoiding the issue or at the very least not referring to the CPP as fraternal. Some literature referred to the NPA as "Maoist-inspired," because of the clear-cut nature of its founding principles. Ads for studying Mao Zedong Thought appeared with old excerpts from the CPP's founder Amado Guerrero. Meanwhile, internally, MIM asked itself, "What happened to Amado Guerrero?"

On March 4, 1990, MIM published the following ad encouraging comrades to study Maoism: "Too busy to study Mao? Busier than the NPA in 1970? The universal theory of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have already had incalculable impact on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The revolutionization of the 700 million Chinese people has transformed the People's Republic of China into an iron bastion of socialism. We are very fortunate to be so close to the center of the world proletarian revolution" — Amado Guerrero, Chairperson, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, which had just founded the NPA on March 29, 1969, ending his book *Philippine Society and Revolution*.

On May 18, 1990, MIM published the following statement on the NPA: "Perhaps the largest and most established armed struggle against a U.S. puppet regime in Asia has been going on since 1969 in the Philippines. But the New People's Army (NPA) started as a Maoist group. To this day they are not openly pro-Soviet. Surprise, surprise, there are few solidarity groups for the NPA. (Kudos to the Progressive Student Network for stepping out on this one, however.)

"Overall, in-depth study of the Senderos, Eritreans, the NPA or Mao's historic guerrilla war would leave a lot of questions about the politics and strategy of the FMLN or the Sandinistas." (See MIM Notes 42)

Since that time MIM's record on this is rather impressive. The Eritreans won the first stage of their revolution. The NPA and the Senderos continue forward while the FMLN and Sandinistas have capitulated or given up power. And of course, the Soviet Union dissolved.

As it turns out, the CPP is now going through a rectification in which it identifies what it calls "deviations" from its founding principles. In 1988, struggle to identify such "devia-

tions" started within the CPP.

With each passing year since 1988, the position of the Maoist pole within the CPP has gained strength. The collapse of the Soviet bloc helped to clarify the situation, since angling for Soviet aid was a part of the deviation in the mid-1980s. Even as late as January 1989, we cannot say there wasn't a certain ambiguity with regard to the Soviet Union.(1)

While how this period of the 1980s was a deviation from the CPP's original principles is now clear, we should also understand the underlying social bases for the deviation.

In the process of struggle many of the key leaders ended up in prison under Marcos. The growth of the CPP/NPA continued under Marcos, but the direction altered. At crucial points the CPP fell just short of abandoning its founding principles entirely — both with regard to the analysis of the Soviet Union and the need for protracted warfare and new democratic revolution. Confusion with regard to these points prevailed in the 1980s.

The second social basis of the deviation was in part due to the very success of the CPP. After 15 years of protracted warfare, the CPP had accumulated military and political strength, so that by the early 1980s, certain possibilities of final victory found their way into the thoughts of many comrades wishing unconsciously for a quick end to the struggle. The CPP has since identified this as a period of ultraleft deviation.

The ultraleft deviationists favored the formation of larger military formations (aided with Soviet weapons) for use in regular mobile or conventional warfare against the regime. It was the estimation of the ultraleft that the NPA was close to defeating reactionary armed forces in a frontal onslaught, especially in the context of an urban insurrection reminiscent of the last days of the Sandinista Revolution against Somoza.

These larger military formations favored by the ultraleft in the 1980s required large sacrifices of the people. They also cut into the time left for political education. For these reasons, they were unsustainable, especially with the collapse of any hope of Soviet military aid.

The ultraleft deviation was made worse by the rapid quantitative growth of the CPP/NPA which outpaced its qualitative deepening of comrades' political understanding. The result was serious in that 1,000 comrades died in anti-infiltrator hysteria alone and more lost their lives in misguided battles and above-ground insurrectionary tactics incorrectly premised on what the ultraleft deemed to be the imminent collapse of the regime.

The Nicaraguan Revolution was a bad influence in this regard, because many NPA comrades interpreted that successful battle against the U.S.-backed Somoza regime as principal-

['Maoism] and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have already had incalculable impact on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution ...

ly an urban insurrection that did not require a prolonged buildup of the revolutionary forces. So it was that conditions in a country less than one tenth the size of the Philippines became a subject of misinterpretation: "It is a manifestation of low theoretical understanding, subjectivism and opportunism to rate any Sandinista leader as more significant or more relevant than Mao in terms of seizing political power and making social revolution."(2)

As MIM has also stressed elsewhere, it is no accident that Maoism is the most profound revolutionary military doctrine. The revolutionary struggle in China lasted for decades in the world's third largest territory with a variety of terrains and with tens of millions of participants. The situation in Vietnam and the Philippines is much more similar to that in China than it is to Cuba or Nicaragua. But in China the blood of people spilled for socialism in many different environments — urban, rural, mountainous and coastal. To this day, the largest insurrections in the world's industrial cities have been in Shanghai.

In its rectification movement, the CPP has had to set straight the relative importance of the Chinese and Nicaraguan revolutions to the Filipino people. It is unfortunate that such invidious comparisons must be made, but thousands of lives have hung in the balance on the question of correct or incorrect revolutionary military strategies.

The life and death struggle of the Filipino revolutionaries proves that the deeper issues of revolutionary science are not academic in the least. The CPP finds itself waging a fierce polemic against its ultraleft deviation — having to draw fine distinctions between the Sandinista doctrine and the Maoist doctrine, between the "back" to Marxism-Leninism doctrine and Maoism and between focoism and Maoism. That is not to mention the ever greater clarity that the CPP has had to obtain on the Soviet Union and the Cultural Revolution.

Even MIM found itself surprised to hear NPA comrades say that they believed a Cultural Revolution was necessary at this stage of its own movement, because of the problems targeted by the rectification movement. In general the CPP has a reputation for a strong stress on unity. However, at this point, the recent literature of the CPP has the ideological ferociousness of MIM literature.

MIM had come to the conclusion from the degeneration of numerous genuine forces, such as the Progressive Labor Party in the United States, that such especially difficult ideological struggle is a permanent fixture in the imperialist countries, where the material basis for degeneration is much greater than in the oppressed countries. It appears that this is also the case in the Philippines; at least occasionally, as well. The most important documents of recent times come from the Central Committee's 10th Plenum in July 1992. The "principal docu-

ment of the ongoing rectification movement" starts out as follows: "Because this is a summing up of major errors and shortcomings and also a rectification document, there is a preponderance of criticism rather than a celebration of the achievements of the party."(3) MIM is aware of this experience as well, when more often than not we must sum up negative lessons instead of cheerleading for something that the revisionists wanted us to cheerlead for.

While the pro-Soviet revisionists have been quantitatively and qualitatively insignificant in the Philippines relative to the Maoist forces, the pro-Soviet revisionists of all stripes could be found squelching Maoism in the United States until recently when they abandoned the political field. Throughout the 1980s MIM had to sort itself out from the Soviet revisionists and also the distinctive pro-Chinese revisionist phonies. Events have proven us correct time and time again with regard to all the phony communist movements and states of the 1980s.

In retrospect, standing against these revisionists was easy, thanks to the work led by Mao Zedong. Ferocious ideological struggle is necessary and it requires detailed consciousness in a number of areas in addition to the two main kinds of revisionism. We find that anarchism, pseudo-feminism, Trotskyism, focoism, and ordinary social-democratic reformism and economism occupy much of the space where the progressive forces should be.

Steering away from these many proven dead-ends for the oppressed has been difficult — in the ideological sense more difficult because the conditions of systematic armed struggle are not ripe. Nonetheless, MIM believes we have separated ourselves from a number of these problems with our three fundamental principles. In particular, our third one — that the oppressor nation working class is not exploited — separates us greatly from Trotskyism, economism and even much pseudo-feminism.

With the distribution of MIM Theory 1 and the associated literature, MIM took a giant step away from revisionism and toward a firmer understanding of proletarian internationalism. MT 1 directly attacked the material basis for the repeated degeneration of the communist movement in the imperialist countries.

MIM Theory 2/3 likewise set to work on a major source of corruption in the movements of the oppressed — the gender aristocracy, first named and defined as such in communist theory by MIM. The swamp of pseudo-feminism that the anti-imperialist movement of the 1960s and early 1970s walked into is now seen for what it is and can be avoided. In the place of pseudo-feminism that speaks for the gender aristocracy, MIM has boldly put forward a genuine revolutionary feminism, not based on its own wishes, but based on what has

**... We are very
fortunate to be
so close to the
center of the world
proletarian revolution'
— Amado Guerrero,
CPP Chairperson, 1969**

already proven to work in the liberation of women.

With the publication of these two magazines alone, the revisionists of various stripes have let out a huge collective howl. The labor aristocracy and gender aristocracy are two main pillars of the status quo, two of the biggest front-line defenders of imperialism — all the more effective because they have often successfully deceived the oppressed into thinking that the concerns of the labor and gender aristocracies should lead the proletarian movement.

Consolidating even one party in North America on the basis of the attack on the labor aristocracy and gender aristocracy would be work enough for a strategic period. However, in light of the all-round ideological offensive of the imperialists, MIM has decided not to stop there.

MIM Theory 6 (1994, "The Stalin Issue") treated Bukharin, Trotsky, and Stalin in particular. MIM has a very unpopular stand defending Stalin, but it does not shirk this responsibility because popularity in the imperialist countries comes from synchronism with the imperialists. Finally, MIM Theory 6 treats the united front and its application in World War II and the Three Worlds Theory. This series of questions in North America is reflected in the difference between Trotskyism and Maoism.

Once we have defeated the old revisionisms — chauvinist economism, pseudo-feminism, Hoxhaism,(11) Trotskyism, anarchism, social-democracy and focoism — in detail in our context, the bourgeoisie will start to run out of general ide-

We hope that our comrades abroad understand that the situations in the imperialist countries and the Third World are quite different.

logical tricks that we won't have experienced. Even then, the bourgeoisie may consolidate a new revisionism or "neo-revisionism," which shows every likelihood of developing in Europe first,(4) so we must keep our eyes open. There in the future we may find ourselves locked in battle with those calling themselves defenders of Stalin but not of Mao. This remains to be seen. A fair bellwether in this regard is the Parti du Travail de Belgique (PTB) of Belgium. The PTB used to share MIM's politics, but then began to view China under Deng Xiaoping as socialist, and began relations with the revisionist party in China.(4)

Since it is unlikely that imperialism will be able to come up with too many more entirely new tricks, there will come a time in MIM's development where our principal task will be to unite those who can be united around our very confrontational line. Right now we are emerging principally from struggle

against revisionism, imperialist economism and pseudo-feminism. When we have finished going into detail on our differences with others on the above questions, we will focus on unity as the principal way to advance the overall struggle. We will prepare for a strategic length of time to do battle with imperialist economism, revisionism, pseudo-feminism, Trotskyism, anarchism and so on in a distinctive way. However, even in seeking unity, MIM will find itself in struggle much more often than many parties in communist history. For a variety of reasons, what MIM has said is rare to non-existent in the imperialist countries. So even as the labor aristocracy thesis becomes clear as day to us and "old hat," it will seem fresh to many for some time to come.

At this juncture, MIM has the great fortune to come into contact with both Peruvian and Filipino comrades. While we do not call our movement a "rectification" movement, MIM's formation has had the character of a "rectification" movement because it has had to reclaim legacies from the Black Panther Party, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRROW), the Redstockings and other great organizations on the one hand, and also forge ahead in areas where there are no great principles to be reclaimed.

We hope that our comrades abroad understand that the situations in the imperialist countries and the Third World are quite different. If we had seen a party undertake the kind of deviations the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) of the 1980s took or the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) of the 1960s took, we in the imperialist countries would not expect the situation to turn around. There would be a solid material basis for deviations becoming revisionism or liquidationism. At the same time, our own ultraleft must learn that not everything is resolved with breaking, splitting and wrecking. There is a role for a kind of communist diplomacy, negotiation and persuasion. The cases of Gonzalo in Peru and Sison in the Philippines prove that sometimes there is a basis for patient struggle and unity. Indeed, these two struggles are the most significant armed struggles in the world and both adopted the tactics of fighting on a long-term basis for revolutionary unity.

II. THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE IMPERIALIST-NATION WORKING CLASSES

The connections with our Peruvian and Filipino comrades also provide insight in a very real way of what the collapse of U.S. imperialism is going to look like. The Peruvians and Filipinos are already an impetus to party-formation in the imperialist countries and elsewhere. MIM believes that such activities will eventually go beyond their current level and change in nature qualitatively.

Specifically, the imperialist oppressor nation of the United States has no social basis itself for the successful erection and continuation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The borders will have to be opened and the oppressor nation will have to be placed into a receivership of the oppressed nations. Governed by a board of directors from the oppressed nations (possibly

with rotating seats), the entire American oppressor nation will undergo ideological and cultural remolding. The dictatorship exercised over the oppressor nation will seek to prevent the restoration of imperialism.

Of course there are no models of this kind of development that we can point to. Some of the historical antecedents to this notion are the United Nations, the revolution in Ethiopia and the occupation of Germany after World War II. Such experiences contain both positive and negative lessons for the eventual destruction of U.S. imperialism.

In the United Nations, we have an international organization, however flawed, where a bloc of oppressed nations arises to voice its interests in a manner, however weak. From this it is possible to learn some forms of bureaucratic organization and how it is possible for such a large number of nations to act in its interests without every nation represented individually all the time.

In the recent revolution in Ethiopia, there were oppressed nationalities who rose up and decided that to obtain freedom for themselves they would have to go to the capital of the colonizer and overthrow the government. The Tigrayan People's Liberation Front played a large role as did the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

In another case, post-World War II Germany saw itself divided between imperialists and socialists. The Soviet occupation of East Germany is an interesting lesson for those seeking the downfall of U.S. imperialism. The nations that suffered war at the hands of fascism occupied Germany with the expressed intention of extinguishing fascism. In the case of Stalin's Soviet Union, this was a genuine concern. How best to accomplish this goal was a question for the Soviets and progressive Germans — as it will be for the proletarian army occupying America.

We cannot express much sympathy for those East European governments that had fallen into the hands of those sympathetic, or even neutral, toward Hitler. No doubt the pro-U.S. imperialist governments in Canada and Mexico will also have to fall when it is time for U.S. imperialism to die. Since it is likely the Canadian people will resist in large masses just as the American people will, we can feel no sympathy for their national feelings if the proletarian armies of whatever nationality set up internationalist governments in Canada or Mexico.

While Japan and Germany were occupied by bourgeois occupiers for the most part, even in these cases there was some success in re-integrating these countries into the world imperialist system without their prior political systems. When the U.S. imperialists fall, the success of the socialist dictatorship in remolding the American nation will be much greater than that of the imperialist nations occupying Germany and Japan.

In the short-run, the plans for the dictatorship of the proletariat in North America will not be a high-priority concern of the Filipino and Peruvian comrades. The principal forces of those revolutions will be internal to those countries; even though the final security of those revolutions will be found in

overthrowing imperialism.

It is the long-run where the principled bases of parties formed in the imperialist countries matters. Whatever rot in the international communist movement can be cleared away now will redound to the movement's benefit for decades to come. The collapse of revisionism has helped greatly, but this is also a fortuitous moment to strike against imperialist chauvinism.

When imperialism does fall, will the revolution succeed if imperialist country labor has been organized and stoked up for

The imperialist country working classes must see to their class suicide. They must give up their benefits in order that the working classes internationally can go forward.

its interests for decades prior? Will the oppressed nations themselves be ready for a collision with the imperialist nation working classes? Will the communists of the imperialist countries have worked long and hard to speak favorably of Mexican workers? Will they have done the most to prevent the bashing of Japanese and other Asian workers by Western imperialist workers? Or will the so-called communists play into the hands of Perot, Le Pen or various neo-fascists willing to take advantage of the ruckus raised about imperialist country unemployment? MIM is convinced that the most peaceful transition through imperialism possible will require the imperialist country working classes to understand that they owe a debt to the oppressed nation working classes. Only with that internationalist class consciousness will unity be possible. The imperialist country working classes must see to their class suicide. They must give up their benefits in order that the working classes internationally can go forward.

This understanding cannot be accomplished with Trotskyist sloganeering about "30 for 40!" in the imperialist countries or by demonstrations against unemployment. (If the imperialists agree to a 30-hour week, we will not oppose it, but neither will we promote the working classes' passions for their own interests.) To be precise, we don't want imperialist country workers to fight for "their jobs." We want them to fight for the employment of the international proletariat.

According to Lenin, quoting Clausewitz, "war is simply the continuation of politics by other ... means." Also according to Lenin, politics is concentrated economics. If so, the imperialist country workers need to be prepared now for cooperative socialist economic relations. They need to understand that their interests cannot come first under socialism.

Once their resources are taken away and they have no out-

side help to rely on, the imperialists will be in an especially desperate condition. At that time, the imperialist country working classes will serve as an agent of imperialism of choice. Many rapid and in some cases catastrophic changes will have occurred to imperialist country workers. The imperialists will seek to take advantage of the turmoil, especially if the socialist dictatorship came about in a rapid insurrectionary manner typical of urbanized settings and without the protracted decades of warfare that helps to build revolutionary consciousness. Under socialism, the workers of the former imperialist countries will take advantage of their position as workers to restore imperialism unless we are clear now as to who the world's truly progressive classes are.

(MIM's letter to the CPP's NDF organization explains how MIM approaches those workers who are conventionally thought of as the backbone for communist organizing.)

In speeches in Germany and in published works, Sison of the CPP has said that imperialism is in a "general crisis" from which it cannot escape. Currently, it is financially overextended and not prepared to lead a new round of accumulation in the current geopolitical situation, according to Sison. We also find him echoing the German comrades of the Marxist Leninist Party of Deutschland (MLPD) to the effect that the current crisis is comparable to the Depression of 1929.

While both MIM and the CPP recognize that they share unity in Maoism, the Cultural Revolution and opposition to the restoration of capitalism in China, MIM disagrees with the CPP's assessment of the imperialist countries' economic conditions. (See Letter to the CPP, p. 105.)

On the question of the imperialist nation working classes, we urge the CPP, and all other Maoist parties based in the oppressed countries, to join us in unity with the following statement:

1. The workers and peasants of the oppressed countries will destroy imperialism regardless of the actions or inactions of the imperialist country working classes. The imperialist country working classes constitute a minority.

2. Imperialism has expanded its penetration of the oppressed countries since Lenin's day.

3. Even Lenin, in a country that he called only "semi-imperialist," said that it was not possible to know what portion of the labor aristocracy would return to the proletariat after economic crisis, but under no circumstances would the philistine stream of labor-aristocracy-based opportunism disappear.

The following are points for further study:

1. According to Engels, there was no workers' party in England because the workers shared in the feast of British monopoly. If this was true in Engels' day, then the possibility that there might be no progressive workers' movement in the imperialist countries today must be examined more carefully.

2. Just as the reality of whether or not the Philippines is really fully capitalist or just semi-feudal is currently of life-and-death importance, the reality of whether or not waged workers in the imperialist countries are exploited is a question

of life-and-death consequences.

3. Given the comments of Engels and Lenin and the comments of Mao and Lin Biao concerning the necessity of surrounding the imperialist countries from the international countryside, we must make a concrete analysis of these questions and not assume that imperialist nation wage workers are

The reality of whether or not waged workers in the imperialist countries are exploited is a question of life-and-death consequences.

exploited. As Lenin said, there is definitely a "split in the working class;" hence it is a question of where that split is occurring and to what degree.

4. The principal work of the CPP and other revolutionary parties from the oppressed countries is the analysis of their own countries; hence the CPP will study the position of the MIM, the Black Panthers, the Weather Underground and others before making further references to the economic conditions of workers in the imperialist countries.

III. THE ULTRALEFT DEVIATION IN THE PHILIPPINES AND NORTH AMERICA

With regard to the military and political situation in the Philippines, MIM finds what the CPP says extremely enlightening and of general application for much of the Third World because it embodies the practice of Maoism in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

Indeed, while the circumstances are entirely different, the general ideology behind the ultraleft deviation in the Philippines is something MIM is familiar with. MIM too has had to combat some of the negative influences of the Sandinista example. We have to patiently explain that there is no winning elections in an imperialist-dominated world and that a combination of the United States and its contras forced the Nicaraguan people to say "uncle" in order for imperialist-style "peace" to be partially achieved. We also had to combat the influence of "solidarity" activists who thought Maoist principles were no longer applicable to the world and that the Soviet Union was a friend of the oppressed.

As for the idea that the gun should lead the party and various focist problems that the CPP points to in its deviations, the pages of MIM Notes are full of references to incorrect military strategies. Though we do not know the specifics of the Philippines situation as well as the CPP does, we do know where the impetuous approach leads.

Finally, in general ideological senses, MIM has experience with the ultraleft deviation that somehow believes revolu-

tionary success is nearly here or only worth fighting for if it is. In his autobiography *Revolutionary Suicide*, Huey Newton criticized Eldridge Cleaver for only working hard after gun battles, but for disappearing when more mundane work had to be done.

MIM also had a comrade who referred to him/herself self-critically as the leader of the "action faction." This comrade was excited by demonstrations, speeches and the like but would rarely show independent initiative on the mundane details over which we struggle for the international proletariat.

Throughout the 1960s, the Maoist movement suffered at the hands of large numbers of people who practiced Maoism as a form of excitement, akin to taking psychedelic drugs or enjoying communal sex. They wanted to conduct bombing campaigns, but they left little behind in terms of political organization, not to mention a newspaper or any institutions requiring steady work. In comparison, MIM is much smaller numerically than the organizations of the 1960s that practiced Maoism for excitement, but this is a case of "better fewer but better."

The 1960s kind of ultraleftism is a form of liberalism. These ultraleftists will work as long as there is "excitement" or as long as they think that revolution will happen soon. If they have to work hard at tasks that would be boring if done for any cause other than that of communism, if they have to work maybe 30, 40 or 50 years and maybe then still not see socialism, then the ultraleft loses its stomach for struggle.

IV. THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

While it cannot be expected that MIM and the CPP have unity on the imperialist country working classes, because it is not the CPP's principal duty to study this question and because imperialist economism has squelched the scientific analysis of this question for so long, MIM and the CPP are on equal footing when it comes to the Cultural Revolution. As late as 1989, MIM would say the CPP had some seriously incorrect thinking with regard to the Cultural Revolution in China:

**To accept Korea as socialist,
it is necessary to view the
Cultural Revolution as
particular to China and not
necessary in other countries.**

"The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a matter primarily pertaining to the CPC [Communist Party of China]. It was supposed to be an antirevisionist revolution in a society that is already socialist. Whatever implications it has on the current or future course of the Philippines are of secondary importance to what is the CPP's primary concern of carrying

out the new democratic revolution."⁽⁵⁾

Here comrade Sison denied the universal validity of the Cultural Revolution. To some extent this carries over to this day, though now much higher accord is given to the Cultural Revolution. As an example of what this means concretely, in 1989, Comrade Sison regarded the regime in North Korea to be a legitimate socialist government.⁽⁶⁾ To accept Korea as socialist, it is necessary to view the Cultural Revolution as particular to China and not necessary in other countries.

Recent documents from the CPP are much more hard-line Maoist, but they still refer to other societies as possibly socialist. We can almost read the internal struggle of the CPP in-between the lines. In 1989, the CPP said "whatever implications" of the Cultural Revolution, they were secondary to the practice of the new democratic revolution. Today the same formulation is applied to the question of whether or not there are socialist countries left at all:

"There are still a few remaining countries which are socialist by a certain measure or still consider themselves socialist. Whatever they are..."⁽⁷⁾ In this regard, MIM must point out that north Korea has aided the Peruvian regime in counterinsurgency and MIM feels no discomfort in having disqualified north Korea as "socialist" for its lack of struggle against the new bourgeoisie created under socialism.

Today though, there is a high level of unity between MIM and the CPP on the Cultural Revolution. The following constitute points of unity:

1. The Cultural Revolution and the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat was Mao's greatest contribution.

2. Counterrevolution set in in 1976.

3. There is no "transition to socialism" going on in China.

In general, MIM has extremely high unity with the document "Stand for Socialism against Modern Revisionism,"⁽⁸⁾ Written by the Chairperson of the CPP named Armando Liwanag, the document is a very sharp exposure of revisionism, including from the time of Stalin. It also includes some up-to-date analysis of the Soviet Union.

There is so much that MIM agrees with in this document that MIM chooses to distribute it so the reader can see for him/herself. But here we point to several key missing elements and some incorrect aspects of the document.

The first missing element is that MIM has no statement from the CPP on Hua Guofeng. We are concerned that a change of regime in China could have the CPP calling China socialist again. It is not impossible that a new regime could be socialist, but it is not likely.

Another point by omission is that the the CPP speaks of the new bourgeoisie under socialism, but it apparently adopts an incorrect understanding of its material basis by seeing only a petit-bourgeoisie based in the bureaucracy of the party. MIM recommends the *Fundamentals of Political Economy* published by the "Gang of Four." In particular, we must understand the basis of bourgeois rights and how they are concretely

restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Having said that about what is omitted from the CPP treatment of the Cultural Revolution, MIM would also like to treat those few parts that are incorrect in the CPP literature. In its document on modern revisionism and others, the CPP basically defends the Cultural Revolution correctly. However, on the question of excesses during the Cultural Revolution, the CPP takes up Hoxhaite metaphysics. Hence, the CPP's view of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself is affected.

Here is what Liwanag says,

"Any individual or organization has the right to express anything in any legal way, be this criticism or constructive proposal without fear of reprisal. Due process is guaranteed. A person is presumed innocent, unless proven guilty in a court on the basis of evidence and through a fair trial. Thus, in the popular struggle against counterrevolution, the target is narrowed and the danger of abuse is averted."⁽⁹⁾

At the same time, the CPP is quite aware that the imperialists will not be allowed to overthrow the regime; hence, the CPP is not simply liberal. Elsewhere the CPP says, "Supraclass, universalistic and ahistorical terms erased the

The return of the CPP to Maoist principles is one of the two most important visible developments in world history since the Chinese counterrevolution in 1976.

proletarian class stand in Soviet society."⁽¹⁰⁾

The CPP views the Cultural Revolution excesses as violations of human-rights. This is understandable given the strong anti-fascist character of the Filipino revolution. It is the communists who are the champions of human-rights in the Philippines.

Nonetheless, the guarantee of those rights has nothing to do with the misleading language of rights and law. The due process of law will do nothing to prevent the excesses of the Cultural Revolution.

We must understand that when the bourgeoisie is in contention for control of the state, we cannot simply appeal to law for a resolution of difficulties. In the Cultural Revolution, there were many injustices, but at the height of intense political conflict it is not possible simply to appeal to a neutral legal institution to ensure that there are no excesses in the struggle.

During the Cultural Revolution it was of course illegal to kill, burn or loot. At the same time, the two or more sides in the battle each claimed the other side was guilty of killing, burning and looting, often with extreme exaggeration, and in many cases with outright lies. Who is to decide who is guilty

of murder or other crimes in the midst of Cultural Revolution? Letting the government decide is to negate the whole issue of the Cultural Revolution: is the bourgeoisie in control of the government?

In the name of combatting crime and preventing human-rights abuses, the bourgeoisie cracked down on the masses and asserted its control of the government whenever it could during the Cultural Revolution. This left the masses wondering: Was there really a crime committed or was this just the bourgeoisie claiming it would benefit everyone so that it could rule? Where it suited the bourgeoisie it invented crimes to attribute to the working class. In other cases it committed crimes and let others think the crimes were committed by the proletarian camp.

In the key period from 1966 to 1968, Mao ordered that the army stay out of politics. The party was also often effectively helpless in applying the law, because it was besieged with varying claims from the different factions. This is something we must understand clearly. Mao wanted this to be apparent to the naked eye and ordered that the party not replace the political initiative of the masses.

If the party or the army made all the decisions about difficult questions, when would the masses ever learn to administer their government? Without the masses administering their own affairs and learning from conflict, how could the communists prevent the bourgeoisie from seizing power?

Merely asserting that there will be rule of law does not resolve the question of "whose law?" As the experience of the socialist countries has proved since Stalin, we cannot assume that "rule of law" is the rule of "socialist law." There is no way out but to organize and rely on the oppressed masses, the toiling students, workers, peasants and soldiers of the Third World. If this means doing without the rule of law while the masses retake control of "law," then so be it. Contrary to what the CPP says, "the danger of abuse" cannot be "averted" in revolutionary class struggle. Indeed, not only will the bourgeoisie instigate abuses on purpose to discredit the revolutionaries, the genuine forces will commit excesses in revolutionary struggle by accident.

It is an unfortunate price that we all risk paying to live in a society moving toward communism — when such violent conflicts will no longer occur.

V. CONCLUSION

Having raised these areas of disagreement with the CPP, let us end on a note of unity. The return of the CPP to Maoist principles is one of the two most important visible developments in world history since the Chinese counterrevolution in 1976. The success of the armed struggle by the Communist Party of Peru is the other most important event of post-1976 communism. May other budding armed struggles in other countries including India and Azania also advance.

MIM distributes Rebolyon, Liberation and the works of Comrade Sison

Notes:

1. See Jose Maria Sison, *The Philippines Revolution: The Leader's View* (Cranec Russak: New York, 1989, p. 189, 193-94).
2. "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors: Adopted by the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee," July 1992.
3. *Rebolusyon: Theoretical and Political Journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines*, January 1993, p. 1.
4. See MIM Theory 6, pp. 78-81 for a greater discussion of revisionism and the law of degeneration.
5. Sison, op cit. pp. 50-1.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
7. *Rebolusyon*, July-September 1992, p. 18.
8. *Rebolusyon*, April-June, 1992.
9. *Rebolusyon*, April-June, 1992, p. 41.
10. *Rebolusyon*, July-September, 1992, p. 15.
11. In a rebash of Stalin's incorrect theory of the extinction of classes under socialism, Hoxha in Albania argued that the party could be assumed to be free of a bourgeoisie if one didn't use Mao's "liberal" methods. Then Hoxha's closest comrade-in-arms restored capitalism and parliamentary rule when Hoxha died.

MIM's Letter To The CPP

NDF International Office:
Attn: CPP
Postbus 19195
3501 DD Utrecht

November 22, 1993

Dear NDF International Office:

We thank you for the honor of receiving an invitation to the celebration of the CPP's 25th anniversary of reestablishment. Regrettably, we will not be able to attend.

We have no political objection to attending and are in fact in unity with the statement included with your invitation, but we are a small organization with limited material resources, even though we are in an imperialist country. As we expand, we hope to undertake more and more functions.

Indeed, the NDF appears to be a model of aggressive organizing in every sector of society. It is clear that the NDF never suffers from the question: "What is to be done?" We aspire to going tit-for-tat with the imperialists in as many realms as the NDF does.

We should like to ask you a specific ideological question with regard to organizing the urban petit-bourgeoisie in the Philippines. Of course, the middle classes are also adversely affected by martial law and imperialism. Such issues can unite large portions of the Filipino people no doubt, including a section of the national bourgeoisie.

When it comes to organizing the urban petit-bourgeoisie's economic demands, what is your stance? We are particularly interested in your stance toward the urban petit-bourgeoisie's

class demands. Are there any that you would deny as correct to raise? Are there any economic demands of the urban petit-bourgeoisie that you would say are not consonant with the united front led by the proletariat?

The same question is for the enlightened gentry and national bourgeoisie. Again we are not speaking here of the national demands or anti-feudal demands, but to whatever extent the demands of these classes appear separate from that of the revolution against imperialism and semi-feudalism.

It may be that there are no class demands of the urban petit-bourgeoisie that can be separated from the national democratic revolution and that the united front can agitate for these demands without fear. On the other hand, perhaps you believe there are some demands pertaining to the class nature of the petit-bourgeoisie which are not proper to agitate for.

No doubt you would not believe it possible to recognize the class demands of the enlightened gentry as a class, but instead you welcome the enlightened gentry's willingness to overlook its immediate class interests. Would you not say it is impossible for the enlightened gentry to play a progressive role without understanding this about its own class background?

In the imperialist countries, we believe it is improper to organize for the class demands of the labor aristocracy, since those demands amount to asking for a greater share of superprofits sucked from the superexploited masses of the oppressed nations. At the same time, we have accepted as comrades and allies people from the labor aristocracy and all other classes and we believe from experience that it is impossible to organize people from labor aristocracy background in an internationalist fashion without understanding that imperialist country workers are not exploited.

We believe that the growth of the labor aristocracy and petit-bourgeoisie has eradicated the existence of an oppressor nation proletariat in the imperialist countries. As a consequence, we should not organize for the class demands of those waged oppressor nation workers. Instead, we seek to get these workers to understand the history of their class's alliance with imperialism and imperialist militarism. Advanced workers find this helpful in explaining many phenomena that seem out of line with the general international proletariat principally located in the Third World. Once this point is grasped, they find it easier to act in genuine solidarity with the international proletariat.

We agree with the CPP that it must look forward into its future and recognize the need to fight the new bourgeoisie created in the midst of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Likewise, we must all look to the day when we get a chance to dismantle the principal enemy of the world's people — U.S. imperialism.

At that time, we believe that the United States will break down into its composite national parts. The most important social base for the dictatorship of the proletariat will be obtained by forcing the borders open.

At that time too, it will be necessary to place the United

States — its oppressor nation — into a receivership. A board of directors composed of oppressed nations will have to run the affairs of the oppressor nation for a strategic period of time. Otherwise, there will be not just a restoration of capitalism but a restoration of imperialism.

This problem does not exist in the same way in the oppressed nations. The basic masses of people in the oppressed nations are much more in unity with the communist movement because their interests are basically in unity with communism. In contrast, a relatively more arduous and sharp ideological struggle is necessary within the imperialist countries to keep the vanguard parties on the socialist road. Indeed, it is not possible to practice the mass line in the imperialist countries in fundamentally the same way as it is practiced in the oppressed countries, because the oppressed masses are not a majority in the imperialist countries.

For this reason, we bring the issue of the nature of the imperialist country working classes to your attention. In the international work of the NPA it should become an ever-increasing consideration.

Currently, the U.S. imperialists are engaged in a hot war, a World War III with the oppressed countries. In the talk about the decline of imperialism — its general crisis — we find it inappropriate to conclude that the labor aristocracy will return to the proletariat. Even in Lenin's day, Lenin found this impossible in Russia and that the portions of the working classes that would line up with each side would be unknowable until the very end. Imperialism has expanded its penetration considerably since the days when Lenin spoke of the labor aristocracy in Russia, which was only a semi-imperialist country.

We must understand that the imperialists will intensify

their wars before they allow a 1929 Depression situation to develop again. Organizing anti-militarism is and will be much more important than organizing the unemployed in the imperialist country for jobs. We have already learned once this century, during World War I, that social-chauvinists are willing to support militarism in exchange for jobs and social welfare, as the social-democrats did in England to pass the war budget through Parliament. Nor is it necessary to learn only from distant history. Ross Perot and J. Le Pen take advantage of vague discontent and unemployment agitation in the imperialist working class as well.

We consider ourselves quite lucky in the imperialist countries that the CPP and Communist Party of Peru have such strong foreign affairs branches. These two beacons of the struggle are helping us in the party-building process in the imperialist countries.

As our Peruvian and Filipino comrades help us more and more, it is only appropriate that they see to it directly that the number one enemy of the oppressed nations is dismantled with as much precision as is required in a People's War led by a Maoist party.

Let us take this opportunity to state that we have read all the most recent issues of *Liberation*. With the possible exception of occasional references to conditions in the imperialist countries, we have no objections to the contents of these magazines and will see to directly selling them ourselves through contacts here in the United States.

What do you know about the Philippines?

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is leading a revolution in the Philippines today, in alliance with anti-imperialist and nationalist forces throughout the country.

Find out more about the Philippine revolution. MIM distributes these materials by the CPP and allied organizations:

- *Liberation International*. A publication of the International Office of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDF). Bi-monthly news and analysis of the revolution, including international news. \$3 per issue.
- *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, by Jose Maria Sison. CPP founder's account of the revolution. \$15 post-paid.
- *Rebolusyon*. Theoretical journal of the CPP. \$4 per issue.

Send cash, check or m.o. made out to "MIM Distributors" to PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

Irish Struggle Faces Challenge Of The New World Order

by a MIM Associate

When John Major, speaking in parliament, called for a "return to the peaceful democratic future" in Ireland, he showed an ill-informed and indeed surreal vision of continued British control in the colony. He also stated — without grammatical error — that 40% of MI5's current resources are engaged in the occupied counties of Ireland. He denounced the Irish resistance, and reaffirmed Britain's determination not to deal with those who "impose their will with the bomb and the gun." An interesting stand coming from an imperialist leader heir to centuries of oppression of the Irish people!

As the Irish struggle continues into the 1990s, the international situation has greatly affected the morale and resolve of the Republican movement. At a time when organizations such as the Palestine Liberation Organization and the African National Congress are giving up their national liberation struggle to bite the sugar-coated bullet, the question remains: will the Irish armed struggle continue?

John Major had, since his inauguration, claimed to be continuing Margaret Thatcher's line of "no dialogue with terrorists." But towards the end of November 1993, a leaked document revealed that the British government had been engaging in secret meetings with Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

The Protestant settler death squads totally reject any concessions for peace and claimed they "would stop when the IRA stops." They have enjoyed special privileges from the British government, which buys them off with generous social programs and uses them as pawns to control the Irish people it exploits. (Public expenditure in the six counties is double that of the rest of Britain, making these workers among the most reactionary in the world.)

With the IRA holding to a cease-fire and engaging in dialogue, right-wingers like the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) are isolated. The Irish nationalists want peace, but the Protestant settlers do not.

Sinn Fein has shown willingness to talk to a war-weary British government. But whether these leaders of the Irish

people will hold firm on self-determination remains to be seen.

Understanding the history of colonialism in Ireland provides a basis for analyzing the situation today. Americans will see familiar refrains of a bourgeoisie using a labor aristocracy to keep oppressed nations "in their place"; the leadership of the struggle misidentifying the principal contradiction by failing to recognize the objectively counter-revolutionary nature of the labor aristocracy; and the vanguard engaging in armed struggles that cannot be won.

A HISTORY OF COLONIAL RULE

England invaded Ireland for the first time in 1170. Thus began a long history of aggression, from the Norman Conquest (1250) to Henry VIII's declaration of himself as ruler of all Ireland, and a long history of resistance. In 1598, the O'Neill and O'Donnell clans led a major Gaelic uprising in Ulster against English rule. By 1607 it had been crushed, its leaders fleeing abroad.

The English government realized a change of strategy was needed, and in 1608 planted Protestant Scottish and English settlers in six of Ulster's nine counties. They were following Machiavelli's strategy of populating a colony that has a different language and different customs with mother-country settlers, and extending massive privileges to those settlers.

Settlerism had deep repercussions in the years to come. In 1641, another major Irish uprising began, which lasted eight

years and ended with Cromwell's brutal reconquest of the island in 1652. Cromwell's armies massacred one quarter of the Catholic population in areas such as Drogheda and Wexford. Hundreds of thousands were sold into slavery and shipped to the West Indies. The English Parliament confiscated land, and sold it to absentee English landlords. By the end of the civil war, the Protestant minority owned 75% of the cultivable land.

Towards the end of the 17th century events in Britain brought the Irish peasants a new opportunity to rid themselves of the Protestant hierarchy. The deposed Scottish Catholic King, James II, sought their allegiance against the Protestant King William of Orange. On July 12, 1690, William finally defeated James II at the Battle of Boyne. Loyalists still celebrate this anniversary as the final defeat of Catholicism. (They conveniently forget that the Pope had blessed King William

**At a time when
organizations such
as the PLO and ANC
are biting the sugar-
coated bullet, the
question remains:
will the Irish
armed struggle
continue?**

before the battle and on hearing of the Protestant victory, had hymns of thanksgiving sung in the Vatican.)

In the aftermath, the "Irish" Parliament passed a series of Penal Laws that forbade Catholic Irish to possess firearms, teach, vote, and lease land for more than 31 years. No Catholic man could inherit land unless he converted to Protestantism.

The French Revolution (1789) had a profound effect on the Protestant bourgeoisie, moving some sections over to revolutionary nationalism. In the 1790s, the Society of United Irishmen formed in Belfast. One of its most influential leaders, the Protestant barrister Wolfe Tone, called for Ireland to "break the connection with England" and "substitute the common name of Irishman in place of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter." The British state encouraged sectarian hate as a means to destroy this nationalist revolutionary threat. The Orange Order, a deeply sectarian organization inaugurated to ensure continuance of a bigoted Protestant supremacy, was instrumental in the counterrevolution. In 1798 the uprising was crushed, not just by their British enemies, but by Irish Landlords, the Catholic church and the Dublin middle class.

In 1800 the British state declared an Act of Union, changing Ireland from a colony to part of Great Britain. To the Irish people, the act was but a piece of paper.

In 1845, a potato blight struck Ireland and the Great Famine began. During the next 10 years around three million people died of starvation or fled abroad. However, the famine was the result of maldistribution, not lack of production of food. The Irish land produced large crops of wheat, oats, barley, and other vegetables. Four and a half million acres were given over to grain growing while the blighted potato crop took up two and a half million acres. Grain and cattle continued to be exported to Britain while the Irish people starved.

In 1858 the Irish Republican Brotherhood, better known as the Fenians, was founded simultaneously in New York and Dublin.(1) In later years it became the Irish Republican Army. A Fenian insurrection failed in 1867 and in 1868 the new Prime Minister William Gladstone announced, "My mission is to pacify Ireland." (2) In 1886, the conservatives and Unionists defeated the first of several Home Rule Bills for Ireland, proposed by Gladstone, a Liberal. Lord Randolph Churchill declared that if Home Rule was introduced, "Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right."

UNIONS AND REBELS

In 1905,(3) with "Fenian influences for its father and the Gaelic revival for its mother," Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) was born, and two years later, Protestant and Catholic workers, united under one banner, paralyzed the city of Belfast with a wave of strikes.

The possibility of a united Irish population threatened the British Empire and the occupation. Lord Edward Carson formed the UVF to defend "Ulster" against Home Rule. Its sectarian message and "Catholic conspiracy" scare tactics drew large sections of the Protestant working class, their

wages subsidized by exploitation of Catholics, into an alliance with its bourgeoisie. With the beginning of World War I in Europe in 1914, the UVF, loyal to the last, joined the British Army, and swelled the ranks of the 36th Ulster Division, reputedly shouting "Fuck the Pope" as they went over the top in France. That same year, a Home Rule Bill was finally passed in Westminster, and came into force after the war.

In Dublin, James Connolly, the union leader and founder of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, unfurled a banner: "We serve neither King nor Kaiser but Ireland." Irish resistance was

The British state encouraged sectarian hate as a means to destroy this nationalist revolutionary threat.

coming to a turning point. In a 1913 lockout and subsequent unrest, many workers were brutalized by police, who were allied with Orange magistrates, Catholic church officials, Nationalist bosses and Dublin Castle. Even in the face of all this, under Connolly's leadership, the Irish Citizens Army, effectively a strikers defense force, grew from its inception in November of that year. Although poorly armed, it played a major role in times to come. Two days after the founding of the Citizens Army, the supporters of Home Rule set up the Irish Nationalist Volunteers, an organization created to counter-balance the UVF. This group later splintered, calling itself the Irish Volunteers, popularly known as the Sinn Feiners, under the control of the Irish Republican Brotherhood Military Council.

On Easter Monday 1916, the Irish Citizens Army and the Irish Volunteers, acted together under the new name of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). They launched the Irish Rising which took over many strategic points in Dublin and established their headquarters in the General Post Office. Later that day, Padraig Pearse came out onto the portico steps and declared the creation of a Provisional Government. Overhead flew the green, white and orange tri-color banner bearing an uncrowned harp and the words "Irish Republic."

The British Army, backed by heavy artillery, quickly responded and a fierce five-day struggle raged in Dublin. The IRA held positions until forced to surrender that Friday. If the Rising itself failed to gain popular support throughout Ireland, the subsequent brutal repression and execution of the Rising's leaders provoked strong public sympathy.

Lenin lambasted those "opponents of self-determination" who characterized the Irish Rising as a "putsch":

"The views of the opponents of self-determination

lead to the conclusion that the vitality of small nations oppressed by imperialism has already been sapped, that they cannot play any role against imperialism, that support of their purely national aspirations will lead to nothing, etc. The imperialist war of 1914-16 has provided facts which refute such conclusions.(4) ...

"It is hoped that, in accordance with the adage, 'it's an ill wind that blows nobody any good,' many who fail to realise the morass they are sinking into by repudiating 'self-determination' and by treating the national movements of small nations with disdain, will have their eyes opened by the fact that the opinion of a representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie and that of a Social-Democrat 'accidentally' coincides.(5)

"The centuries old Irish National Movement having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest ... also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc."(5)

In 1919, three years after the defeat of the Easter Rising, the IRA launched its war for an Irish republic. Gerry Adams called this the classic period of Republican struggle. The IRA organized in self-contained military units known as Flying Columns (effectively roving rebels) relying on the care and support of the many civilian sympathizers.(6)

In 1920, the British government unleashed its "Black and Tans" (semi-mercenary force recruited from ex-military servicemen by the British Government) on the Nationalist community. Between 1920 and 1921, more than 800 houses and 900 shops were destroyed — on top of curfews, murder, rape, and arson. Many Republican sympathizers were gunned down in cold blood.

Between 1920 and 1922, a battle-hardened UVF took part in what became known as the "Belfast Pogroms." After an orgy of sectarian anti-Catholic visiting and murder, the UVF as an organization faded away, not to resurface until the Civil Rights Campaigns of the 1960s.

The British Imperialist-sponsored partition of Ireland in 1923 effectively divided the Republican movement. During the 1930s and 1940s, those that understood the true nature of the treaty, which advocated not de-colonization but partition of Ireland, continued the struggle. The new Flying Columns operated in the newly formed 26 counties against the "Free State" government, in one or two of the British occupied six counties and even in England itself. But they were by no means as effective as in the 1920s.

The IRA's numbers had dwindled and it no longer had its strong base among the population. By the 1950s the IRA had begun a border campaign with small Flying Columns based in Fermanagh, Tyrone and South Armagh. Badly led, the campaign did not extend beyond a strategy of assassination and sabotage and ended with groups of five or six activists moving from house to house.

By 1964, military training had practically ceased and there was talk from the leadership of uniting with left-wing organizations to form a National Liberation Front, with the aim of continuing the struggle through socio-political agitation. This is also the year that Catholicism was dropped as the official religion of the IRA. They were neglecting the oppressed Catholic nation to try to win friends among the Protestant working class.

The IRA rank and file became increasingly restless with their inactivity and began pressuring the army council to step up military operations. In 1965, it sanctioned a three-man attack on the British torpedo boat *Brave Borderer* in Waterford Harbor. Those responsible were later arrested, but then broke out of jail with the aid of sympathizers. The 50th Anniversary of the Easter Rising came and went without any commemorative action by the IRA.

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The Civil Rights Movement was set up in 1964 under the name of the Campaign for Social Justice.(7) It was designed to publicize and fight anti-Catholic persecution in the employment, housing and electoral arenas. Encouraged by the Black Civil Rights movement in the United States, its leaders were primarily middle-class, Catholic and politically cautious. The Campaign agenda was fundamentally reformist and reluctant to take an active political role. In its fight against the institutionalized anti-Catholic discrimination it actively forged links with the pro-imperialist and social-democratic British Labor Party.

Non-sectarianism had become a main principle of the IRA, which led to an inability to act in the face of the sectarian attacks. The vast majority of its members were drawn from the Catholic communities, and they pressured the IRA to defend these communities against the loyalist gangs. This situation

Non-sectarianism had become a main principle of the IRA, which led to an inability to act in the face of sectarian attacks.

was made worse by the fact that the majority of the IRA's arms had been sold to Welsh Nationalists some years before to help finance the IRA's more political strategy. In the wake of these attacks, many disgruntled Republicans were to write on walls, "IRA: I Ran Away."

Even innocuous civil rights laws were too big a threat to the reactionary Protestant settlers. On May 21, 1966, the UVF released a statement:

"From this day we declare war on the IRA and its splinter groups. Known IRA men will be executed mercilessly and without hesitation. Less extreme measures will

be taken against anyone sheltering them or helping them, but if they persist in giving them aid then more extreme measures will be adopted ... We are heavily armed Protestants dedicated to the cause."

The newly re-established organization was led by Augustus (Gusty) Spence, a self-confirmed bigot born in the Protestant heartland of the Shankill Road in Belfast. Spence's position on the role of the UVF was clear: "At that time, the attitude was that if you couldn't get an IRA man, you should shoot a Taig (Catholic), he's your last resort." The typical loyalist attitude sees Catholicism as inseparable from Republicanism. Shortly after their declaration, Spence and some of his fellow UVF members were in a car, patrolling Catholic frontier streets, searching for local Republican, Leo Martin. Unable to find Martin, the unit instead found Patrick Scullion, a man with no connection to the IRA, walking home drunk. They shot Scullion several times with revolvers.

Spence and friends were later arrested and sentenced to life for the murder. Spence recalls: "When I was interviewed by Special Branch they were not interested in shootings but rather conspiracies, I was puzzled. They knew what I didn't know. It was then I realized that we should have turned our guns on those who were manipulating us, and not the Catholics." At the time of their arrest, Spence and his friends were not seen as heroes by the loyalist population, but this was to change. His sympathy for Catholics was obviously superficial because his loyalty to the ruling class was evidenced in practice.

During the 1968-69 pogroms, when hatred and fear of the

**'If you opened a window
they'd fire a rubber bullet
at you. They were continually
on the streets, at every corner,
grabbing young lads...'**

Catholics again manifested itself, Spence was called upon to mastermind the growth of the UVF once more from his cell. The organization lay dormant in the rear of loyalist society, awaiting a catalyst. During the summer and autumn of 1969, as pogroms enveloped Belfast, the UVF again emerged. As yet, not at full strength, it occupied itself setting up Protestant Defense Committees.

REPUBLICAN 'TROUBLEMAKERS'

Britain prides itself on having introduced the concept of "habeas corpus" to the world. The Habeas Corpus Act, brought in under King Charles II in 1679, was a legal writ requiring the accused to be brought before a judge or into court to investigate the lawfulness of her/his restraint. But such rights were

never intended to extend to Britain's colonized people. The interment policy in Ireland negated all of these principles, and reveals obvious inequity in the nature of liberal democracy in England.

With the Special Powers Act of 1971, the British Government introduced internment to Ireland.⁽⁸⁾ This policy empowered the Northern Ireland security forces to detain people without trial. It was intended to break the back of the re-emerging Republican movement, but proved a major embarrassment. The period of internment has its root in the Civil Rights movement of 1968. In August of that year, the Royal Ulster Constabulary violently attacked a march organized by the Civil Rights Association. The following year, the British sent troops in and violent repression increased. The British Government used the typical imperialist strategy of rewriting its rules in the colony to combat the renewed growth of the emerging Provisional Irish Republican Army (a.k.a. "Provos"). This heightened political awareness among the Catholic community is pushing it closer to conscious participation in Ireland's ongoing national liberation struggle.

On the night of August 9, 1971, the day internment was first implemented, a Ballymurphy woman named Joan Donnelly, a mother of nine, was shot in the head by British soldiers while out searching for some of her children. She died instantly. Her death and the death of eight others in that area heralded the beginning of a brutal reign of terror implemented mainly by Britain's notorious parachute regiment (which was being deployed in other hotspots of British imperialism, such as Palestine and Malaya as well).

The week that followed the first killings was especially violent. "If you opened a window they'd fire a rubber bullet at you. They were continually on the streets, at every corner, grabbing young lads and pinning them against the wall, kicking their legs out from beneath them."⁽⁹⁾

House raids were also instituted during this time. They were justified by the British Government as a means to "protect lives and property." Of all the house raids, less than 1% turned up guns or explosives. They did, however, inflict high degrees of psychological damage on the Catholic community. Under the Special Powers Act, no search warrant was needed.

The army would often seal off a small area of the city when conducting a raid, dealing with several houses at once. Raids often began when ten soldiers showed up on a doorstep early in the morning. If the occupant slammed the door onto soldiers, they would break it down. A search could last through the day and into the night. The soldiers used axes and pneumatic drills to systematically wreck the chosen home. They would pull up carpets, remove floorboards, destroy ornaments, smash cupboards, etc. Often one group of raiders would be relieved by another. In more extreme cases, walls were knocked down, private letters read and beds urinated on.

The British army's attack on the community led to women being pushed into the front line — many taking an active part in resisting army incursions at the community level. In the

early days, they would alert the community to the military's presence. So called "Hen Patrols" used bin lids and whistles when British "Duck Patrols" attempted to sneak into their areas late at night or in the early hours of the morning.

The Hen Patrols, working on a rotation, would follow army patrols around from dark until dawn, making it impossible for the British army to make surprise attacks and wearing down the occupation's morale.

In what was to become known as Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972, thirteen men were shot dead in the streets of Derry while demonstrating against internment. This demonstrated the true nature of the puppet government at Stormont to many people in the Catholic community. Up until then the army had successfully dominated the minority Catholic community in Belfast. However, in Derry, with its two-thirds Catholic majority, the army claimed that there were more than 500 youths daily disturbing the "peace." This was the government's excuse for enacting a ban on public demonstrations under the Special Powers Act. It wasn't until the aftermath of the ban that the Campaign for Social Justice began to organize a protest march against internment.

The IRA itself was changing fundamentally and split into two wings (Official and Provisional) in 1970. The split was due to the leadership's inability to defend the Catholic community from mob, police and death squad attacks, and, more importantly, over the issue of Sinn Fein political candidates recognizing the Parliaments of Stormont, Westminster and Dublin. Most republican activists were to follow the Militant Provisional IRA's banner of non-recognition and armed struggle. The Provos were to assert that armed struggle could not be restricted by parliamentary and other elections.

Tension quickly grew between the Catholic population and the army after imposition of internment, and soon "no go" zones, liberated from the occupying forces, sprang up in the Republican areas. Here it was that the Provos, and to a lesser extent the Officials, ruled. In 1972, the Protestant State at Stormont fell, leading to direct control of the six counties by Westminster.⁽¹⁰⁾ The British government's direct negotiations with both IRA factions in March of that year helped to deepen the siege mentality of the loyalists. On July 31, the occupation forces launched Operation Motorman, a show of military might mobilized to destroy the liberated zones. Loss of control in the cities led to a move by the Irish resistance to the rural areas, predominantly Armagh. It was also in this year that the Official IRA were to end their opposition to the occupation with an indefinite cease fire.

Stormont put pressure on the commander of the British land forces in the occupied territories, Major General Robert Ford, to take a hard line against the demonstrators. The army prepared an arrest force which would snatch as many "ring leaders" as possible from the crowd. The first battalion of the Parachute Regiment was drafted in for the occasion. A few days before, the same regiment had confronted the Civil Rights Movement's march near the newly opened Magilligan Prison.

They had cracked several demonstrators' heads, and used plastic bullets and toxic gas.

Brigadier Pat McClellan ordered the Parachute Regiment to advance on the non-violent Bloody Sunday demonstration. The army later claimed that it had come under fire from the protesters and "returned" fire killing 13 men, seven whom were under 19 years of age, and wounding 13 others.

The army suffered no casualties at the Bloody Sunday demonstration, so it is extremely unlikely it had come under

Most republican activists were to follow the Militant Provisional I.R.A.'s banner of non-recognition and armed struggle.

fire from the crowd. There was no justification for the soldiers' brutal response to the demonstration. The large death toll cannot be explained as a few bursts of panicked fire, because the Paras' Self-Loading Rifles were all welded to fire single rounds only. Almost the entire membership of the Derry Provisional IRA, including its leader, Martin McGuinness, were on the march. All were unarmed due to the likelihood of them being searched and arrested.

Of all the casualties, dead and injured, none had been wanted by the occupying forces. But the British government, having refused to declare the situation a war, dealt with the IRA volunteers as criminals rather than prisoners of war and would not discuss the massacre in Parliament.

LOYALIST TERRORISM

In 1971-72, the UVF and the UDA worked together recruiting vigilante groups. These paramilitaries, nurtured by reactionary nationalist hate, were a different generation than that of Gusty Spence and his contemporaries. The new order saw themselves not as soldiers but as terrorists, and lived up to the true meaning of the word. Around this time, the loyalists devised a highly repugnant practice, known as "rompering."⁽¹¹⁾ The name was derived from a children's program on Ujster TV in which children were shown talking and playing with a presenter. The loyalists would capture a Catholic from the streets and torture him/her before an audience, usually in a club, lock-up garage or disused house, often for hours at a time. This practice was often used to harden new recruits.

A little known band called the Red Hand Commandos were, to some degree, the pioneers of rompering. Under the leadership of John McKeague, they were responsible for a number of grisly murders. As the bourgeois journalist Martin Dillon discovered:

"I filed a story about a rompering, in which a mentally retarded Catholic boy named Benstead was branded with a hot poker ... the story was treated with suspicion.

On this occasion I had actually seen Benstead's body lying in an alleyway because the police at the scene mistook me for a member of their forensic scenes of crime team. At that time, intimate details of the grisly aspects of some murders were not being released to the media ... On the morning I saw Benstead's body, I filed my story only to learn that the RUC Press Office had stated that the victim had not been tortured ... I had personally viewed the body and had seen the burn marks on the boy's hands and feet and the cross which had been etched into his back with a number beside it ..."

In 1975, when loyalist terror was at its height, Republican and Loyalist prisoners of war in the Long Kesh prison camp met with each other for "The Anti-Sectarian Assassination Conference." Also present were Republicans and Loyalists from the outside who were not wanted for "crimes." The Loyalists suggested that in return for an end to the killing of Catholic non-combatants, the IRA should cease killing off-duty police and soldiers. The proposition was accepted, although Sam Smythe, a leading UDA man from the outside, spoke up saying that as far as he was concerned, a three-year-old child or a 70-year-old woman of the Catholic community were legitimate targets. Three weeks later, Smythe became a legitimate and fatal target of a Provisional IRA Active Service Unit.

However, the British Government occupation had come to realize that its Loyalist attack dogs were not capable of reaching any high military standard as Death Squads. They therefore gave their secret police in MI5 and MI6 the task of organizing political executions directly through such groups as the Special Air Service (SAS) and 14 Company. Famous for their role as political assassins, the participation of the SAS in the so-called "Shoot-to-Kill" policy has caused some controversy within the British establishment.

The British establishment's many bourgeois liberal apologists have consistently claimed that these death-squads, or rather the minority of them that are discovered, are nothing more than "a few bad apples." They choose to ignore that a British Army manual "Counter-Revolutionary Operations" states: "A person, whether soldier or civilian, may lawfully use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of crime and in making lawful arrests."

Brigadier Frank Kitson, head of the British occupying force in the 1970s, put it more clearly: "Everything done by a government and its agents in combating insurgency must be legal. But this does not mean that the Government must work within exactly the same set of laws during an insurgency which existed beforehand."

EVOLVING IRA

As the Provisional IRA developed, it came to understand that the time-honored Republican propaganda — which continually emphasized the idea that "one more big push" would drive the British out once and for all — was mistaken. It became increasingly obvious that Merlyn Rees, then Northern Ireland Secretary who had orchestrated the cease-fire, had no intention of striking a permanent deal and was merely playing for time. In 1975, the British Government ended the cease-fire and a greatly changed Provisional IRA returned to action.

The Northern Command concluded that greater emphasis had to be put on open political activity as opposed to its previous clandestine nature to mobilize a mass base. The Provisional IRA made political gains by defending the Catholic community and provided a strong foundation for the emerging round of anti-colonial struggle.

In June 1977, at the annual commemoration at the grave of Wolfe Tone, Jimmy Dhone first floated the idea of "The Long War" strategy. This new strategy was described years later in an interview with an IRA man:

"During the early 1970s, everyone had this belief that freedom would come the following year. It has now been accepted by the IRA, particularly by ordinary volunteers, that this is going to be a long, long war. We're not prepared to set a time on it. At the same time, we're not prepared to take on an all-out offensive in such a way that it would jeopardize our chances of chipping away at the British Army and therefore the

British Government."

Republicanism would now be carried forward not just by force of arms but also by agitation and participation in elections. This strategy was designed primarily to disseminate the Republican message on a wide scale.

The IRA drew on the examples of Latin American urban guerrilla movements and transformed itself into a structure of cells, known as Active Service Units (ASU), containing three or four members and receiving orders from regional Brigades, formed out of the old companies. The new strategy involved ASU members being unaware of the identity of other ASU volunteers, senior commanders, explosive experts and quartermasters. Only ASU leaders were in contact with the next level of authority. The ASUs would observe targets, hijack vehicles and carry out attacks independently. The IRA was now less vulnerable to the danger of potential informers.

With the ending of the cease fire, a new problem confronted the Provos. On the streets, the IRA suffered heavy losses and Republican supporters decreased in the face of military repression. But on August 27, 1979, the Provos were to strike back hard with a brilliant ambush at Warrenpoint, in County

**'I had personally
viewed the body and
had seen the burn
marks on the boy's
hands and feet and
the cross which had
been etched into
his back...'**

Down, which left 18 members of the elite Parachute Regiment dead. That same day, a bomb killed Lord Mountbatten, uncle to the English Queens consort, and Prince Philip, on his pleasure boat in Mullaghmore in the Irish Republic. On a wall in the Falls Road of Belfast, the words "13 gone but none forgotten, we got 18 and Mountbatten" appeared.

In the prisons, the struggle went on. In 1981, 10 committed Republicans of the IRA and I.N.L.A. went on a hunger-strike to the death. Bobby Sands, elected MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, was the first to die, followed soon after by his nine comrades. In the mass demonstrations this provoked, seven people were shot dead with plastic bullets.

In 1983, Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, was elected as Westminster M.P. for West Belfast in a General Election. In September of that year, in what became known as the Great Escape, 38 IRA prisoners succeeded in fighting their way out of Long Kesh's H-Block 7, the most heavily guarded prison complex in Europe. The British occupation realized that, in the face of Republican resourcefulness and determination, they would know no peace.

In a secret British Army document it was observed that:

"The Provisional IRA is essentially a working class organization based in the ghetto areas of the cities and the poorer rural areas ... our evidence of the caliber of the rank and file terrorists does not support the view that they are mindless hooligans ... The movement will retain popular support ... the campaign is likely to continue while the British remain in Ireland."

THE 1990s: ARMED STRUGGLE OR NEO-COLONIALISM?

The IRA's military campaign, while nothing approaching the scale of a people's war, reaches much further into the British state than the latter will admit. The so-called mainland campaign has struck some blows at the heart of the British imperialist system. Armed roadblocks have been introduced across the square mile of London in an attempt to keep IRA bombs from the hub of Britain's economy.

The April 24, 1993, bombing of London's Bishopsgate with a one ton device devastated a quarter of a mile of the city's financial heartland, and laid waste to more than two million square feet of office space. The blast displaced more than 20,000 workers and cost up to 2.5 billion (pounds). This came almost a year to the day since the IRA bombing of London's Baltic exchange, which cost around 350 million (pounds).

Since the attacks on the city began, insurance in the area has gone up by 300%, leading the chairman of City Corporation, Michael Cassidy, to claim that city firms were now "entitled to regard security as the number one priority of the city authorities." This view is used to justify the scheme

which the media branded "fortress London." Under the scheme, 18 streets have been blocked off, thus guarded by armed police, empowered to make random searches. There is now talk of the violence, so long inflicted on Ireland, moving to London. Significantly, far more extensive measures than this have failed to deter the struggle in Belfast itself.

The city of London, nesting within its "ring of steel," contributed 17 billion (pounds) to the British economy in 1992 through its historical role as the world center of finance capital. That year, it held 30% of the world's foreign market business, with 526 foreign banks and 160 overseas securities firms. Increasingly Frankfurt and Tokyo threaten London's dominance in this area, as investors begin to flee the risk of repeated bombings.

In July 1993, the IRA wrote to all firms based in London explaining the history of the conflict and warning of continued bombing until the complete withdrawal of British troops.

On December 21, 1993 of last year, in the days prior to the IRA's traditional three day Christmas cease-fire, London was thrown into chaos. The IRA caused maximum confusion and disruption by a mix of hoax warnings of small incendiary devices in key areas of London, and real bombings. More than 100 stations on the tube and commuter rail network were closed down as police searched over 200 miles of track. At Northfields, on the Piccadilly Line, a small firebomb concealed in a litterbin exploded adding to the disorder. Hundreds of police were

drafted into central London to make spot checks on scores of suspected car, van and truck bombs. As the city ground to a halt, an estimated 365,000 commuters were caught in the confusion. The day's campaign cost business more than 34 million (pounds).

The cost of the war in Ireland — the maintaining of the British garrison, the prisons, the police and all other wartime expenses at the time of recession — has led to a Governmental re-evaluation of its colonial strategy. The direct cost alone reaches more than 1 billion (pounds) a year.

The British state has come to the conclusion that the IRA cannot be defeated militarily. The IRA has the ability to strike at will, retains a hard-core of community support and an arms supply estimated capable of lasting into the next century. The state also realizes that a settlement will be impossible without the participation of the Republican movement. MI5's attempts with the South African armed death squads to intimidate the Nationalist community into isolating the IRA have largely failed. If Britain is successful in negotiating permanent cease-fire, it will signify the defeat of the Republican movement. Apparently, the IRA leadership has lost faith in a military victory and is now attempting to gain political respectability through bourgeois democratic channels while hoping to nego-

'... I filed my story only to learn that the RUC Press Office had stated that the victim had not been tortured.'

The concern is that, as it realizes the shortcomings of focoist strategies, Sinn Fein will abandon the people's demand for self-determination.

tiate self-determination and a British withdrawal in the future.

The Downing street declaration, British imperialism's latest proposal for peace on its terms, has not made Sinn Fein's position easy. As an organization, Sinn Fein is lacking in political policy. There is a great deal of confusion and concern within the occupied counties' Republican community about Sinn Fein's future direction.

Britain now claims to have no strategic interest in Ireland and is seeking a solution that will allow them to pull out their troops but continue to grasp the strings of power. With the defeat of Soviet Revisionism in Europe, NATO, British interest in Ireland has waned greatly. SDLP leader John Hume accepted the declaration in a bid to improve his position as a statesman. SDLP M.P. Seamus Malon, who was involved in the Hume/Adams talks, claims there is little difference between the talks and the declaration. This raises many questions around Sinn Fein's reluctance to inform the Republican movement on these talks. Only the key players are aware of the true workings of the so-called "peace process."

The Downing Street declaration is a bid to "reshape Northern Ireland." It envisages Dublin surrendering its claim to the North for a role in the six counties limited to tourism, farming and probably security. There would be no change in the six counties' colonial status unless the "majority consented" and the IRA must lay down its arms before Sinn Fein is given these concessions. These proposals are by no means new to the Irish people.

James Molyneux, John Major's favored unionist political ally in the British Parliament, has accepted the declaration without qualms, which is highly significant when one recalls that his party has always said they would not compromise.

On the international stage, the overt bigotry of the unionist councils and their lack of willingness to reform has cost Britain some embarrassment and diminished their historical ties of loyalty. Public expenditure in the six counties is almost double that in England, shielding Protestants from the bulk of the recession. The ruling class profits, which have long been sacrificed for the loyalty of the Protestant working class, are increasingly under threat. The privilege the Protestants enjoy, while being necessary to ensure the continued division of the workers into a labor aristocracy and a proletariat, is lessening in its major importance to Britain's ongoing control of Ireland. The long bitter war that began over 25 years ago against partition and foreign control of Ireland looks set to draw to an eventual end. The declaration offers nothing in concrete terms to the Nationalist people but a stepping down of state-backed violence.

Sinn Fein is showing its will for peace by engaging in talks with the British government despite continued violence

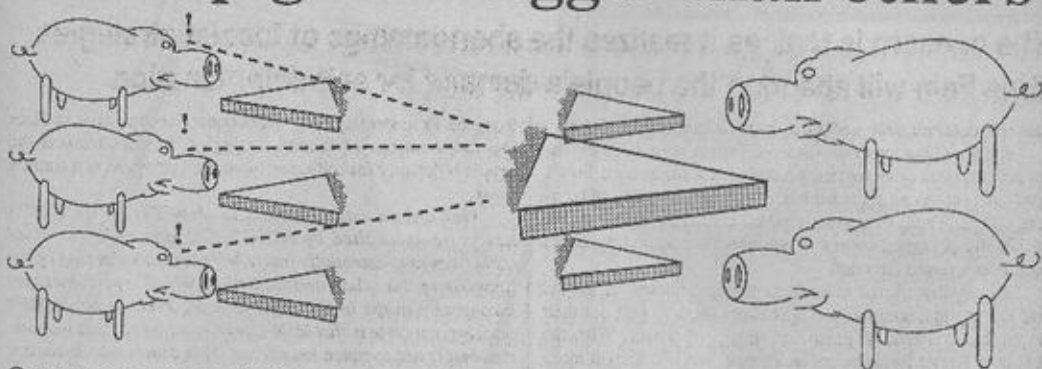
from the Protestant settlers. The concern is that, as it realizes the shortcomings of focoist strategies, it will abandon the people's demand for self-determination. History is at a turning point.

This article was submitted to MIM Theory by a MIM Associate and edited by MCB52. The line of the original author remains essentially intact, with some sharpening of the analysis of the labor aristocracy — which was sometimes inconsistent in the initial draft. One difference between MIM and this associate is that MIM always cites its sources in material that is not common knowledge. This article was submitted without citations and MIM was unable to obtain all of them. However, we recognize that much material contained in the article is in fact common knowledge for the Irish or English reader. Much of the information was also corroborated by other published sources. MIM welcomes debate on this piece and encourages people to submit their responses to MIM Theory for future issues.

Notes:

1. R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972*. Penguin: London, 1988. p. 390.
2. Foster, p. 395.
3. Foster, p. 457.
4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. XIX. International Publishers: New York, p. 299.
5. Lenin, *op cit*. p. 301.
6. Gerry Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*. Dingle, Co. Kerry: Brandon, 1986.
7. Foster, p. 586.
8. Michael J. Cunningham, *British Government Policy in Northern Ireland, 1969-89: Its Nature and Execution*. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1991. p. 60.
9. Tess Cahill, *Women in the War Zone*.
10. Foster, p. 619.
11. For a bourgeois journalistic account of romping, see Martin Dillon and Denis Lehane, *Political Murder in Northern Ireland*. Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1973. p. 110.

Some pigs are bigger than others



Once upon a time, all the pigs in a pigsty noticed an extra piece of pie that the fattest pigs were about to eat.

"We owe at least that much pie to the starving pie-makers!"



Said some red rebel pigs.

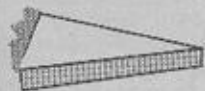
But the big pigs said that was ridiculous.

"The pie-makers aren't even pigs!"



When you live in a pigsty, it's hard not to think like a pig.

So some "nice" union pigs spoke up on behalf of the smaller pigs in the sty. The nice pigs opposed the rebel pigs, and pointed out how small the little pigs were: "The extra pie should go to the little pigs," the nice pigs said. They ignored the pie makers themselves.

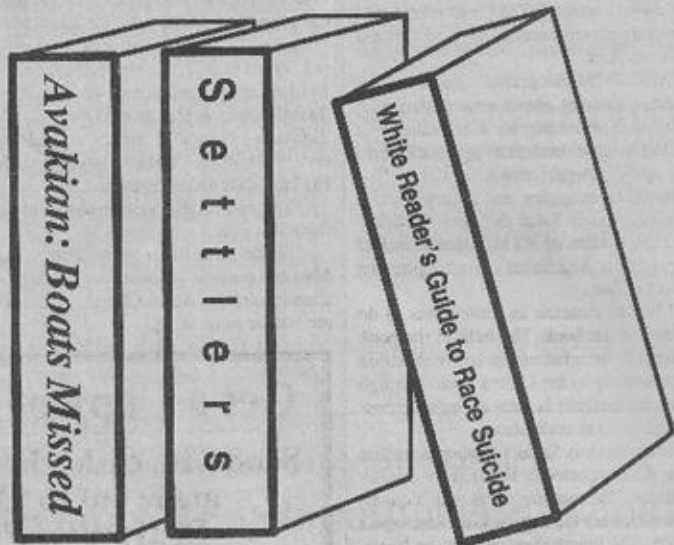
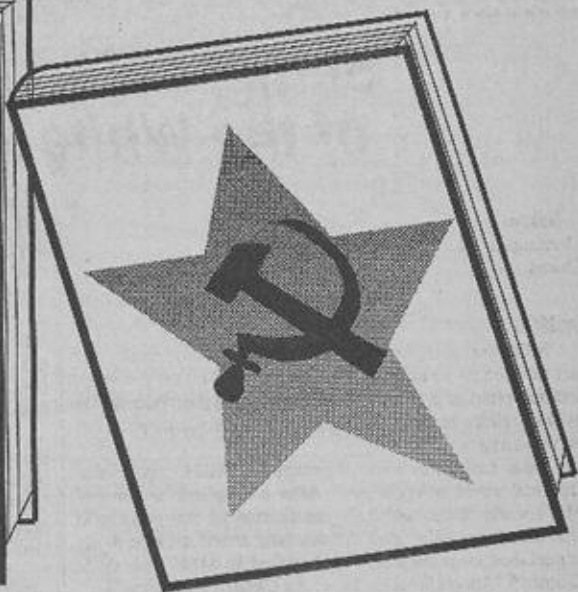
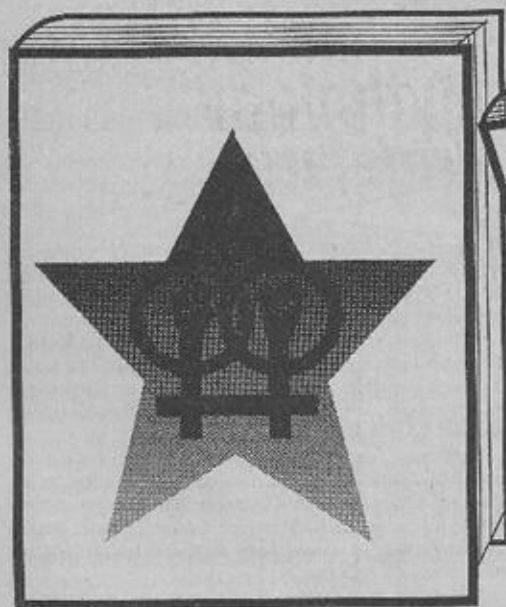


(Extra pie = Billions in profits from Third World exploitation.)

This story brought to you by the

Maoist Internationalist Movement

A communist vanguard party dedicated to leading the oppressed of the world out of the pigsty of imperialism.



Theory in Review

Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat

J. Sakai
Momingstar Press
Chicago, 1983

August 1990

by MCS

MIM has distributed many copies of *Settlers*, as the text has profoundly contributed to the party's line on the reactionary nature of the white nation, including the white nation working class, in North America. MIM does, however, have some criticisms of *Settlers*.

Sakai has a dim view of groups like MIM, since Sakai supports armed struggle now. After a simplistic reading of Mao's work, Sakai even finds justification for this position in Mao's writings. [The issue of launching armed struggle in the imperialist countries now is handled in MIM Theory 5, Chapter 5 "Armed Struggle Now: An Ultraleft Deviation."]

Sakai's political economy is derived from the Revolutionary Youth Movement I (RYM I). For a history of RYM I, MIM recommends *SDS* by Alan Adelson, or *Weatherman*, edited by Harold Jacobs. RYM I was a faction of SDS that took the strongest pro-nationalist line and favored immediate urban guerrilla warfare.

RYM II, which is where MIM has greater sympathies for the most part, was more cautious about armed struggle, opposed Trotskyism without cheerleading for every nationalist struggle and generally had a more analytical approach compared with the feel-good armed struggle crowd.

Sakai supports nationalist struggles and opposes white nation chauvinism. So even though Sakai does not explicitly identify him/herself as a descendant of RYM I, that is in fact where Sakai's ideas come from. And Sakai's work represents the best that this trend has to offer.

Most of what MIM has to criticize in *Settlers* has to do with the beginning and end of the book. The bulk of the book is a penetrating exposition of the relationship between nation and class as they exist concretely in the United States through history. For the most part, the analysis is clear enough for people outside Sakai's political trend to understand.

Perhaps the biggest objection to Sakai's history is his/her rendering of World War II as incorrectly handled by revolutionaries in the United States. The analysis starts with a quotation from imprisoned revolutionary George Jackson that says it was a mistake to side with U.S. imperialists against the Nazis, as Stalin had advised revolutionaries abroad.

The problem with this section is that it does not attempt an

assessment of the balance of forces at the time and whether the oppressed in the United States would have done better by opposing the U.S. war effort.

Nothing guaranteed that the imperialists would not gang up on the oppressed. Germany was occupying the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, which proved to be a powerhouse on the side of the oppressed. Why shouldn't oppressed people side with the Soviet Union (via the United States) against Germany?

Furthermore, could both imperialists have been overthrown? One possibility is that a strong anti-war effort by the oppressed within the United States would have succeeded. Then the United States would have withdrawn or never entered the war. Roosevelt would have negotiated with Britain, Germany and Japan instead.

This would have cost the Soviet Union and more Jewish people their existence. For that matter, Germany would have likely have held on to Europe. Getting the United States into the war created some space for a number of groups to operate. If the imperialists negotiated away their differences, this may have meant more hardship for Third World peoples.(1)

Overall, though, the most important issue in the book is not World War II, but the national question. Sakai goes too far in equating the nationalism of the oppressed nations with proletarian internationalism. S/he cites the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe favorably while cheerleading for a particular faction of the PLO. On the back page, Sakai includes a picture of Ho Chi Minh and a quotation.

The rest of the book always cites nationalist leaders in a favorable light.

At the same time, Sakai borrows heavily from Lenin and Mao and decries "revisionism" throughout the book. However, cheerleading for nationalist struggles and opposing revisionism are not the same thing.

Get a Copy of *Settlers*

Send \$10, cash, check or m.o.
made out to "MIM
Distributors," to:

PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

Of course Sakai is correct that the chauvinist "left" has distorted Lenin's work on oppressed nationalities. Straightening this out is a tremendous favor to the international proletariat.

But for Sakai to go on to claim Lenin and Mao as backers is incorrect. In particular, Mao's Chinese Communist Party did not have any fraternal relations with any states except Albania. That means it regarded all the rest of the so-called communist world as hard-core revisionist or revisionist with the possibility of developing into genuine communist. How can one tell what is revisionist? Only Albania's communist party and other parties not in state power supported the continued class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The rest did not see the Soviet Union as state-capitalist.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was not a Maoist group and did not enjoy fraternal relations with the CCP as a party. There were some out-of-power parties that did, such as the one in Indonesia that was massacred in the 1960s, but Sakai is not referring to these nationalist armed liberation struggles for the most part.

So Sakai makes the error of confusing support of national liberation struggles with support of particular organizations dedicated to revisionism. This is the most important error in *Settlers*. To blindly cheerlead for Ho Chi Minh (while failing to point out what the Vietnamese Communist Party thought about the Cultural Revolution and mass struggles) to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat is the error of overlooking revisionism in the name of internationalism.

Sakai is correct that we only demonstrate our internationalism by supporting nationalist liberation struggles of oppressed countries. Yet to really support that struggle it is necessary to support a non-revisionist party leading it, a Maoist party. By 1994 it's clear that without a genuine communist party leading, countries such as Zimbabwe, China and Vietnam go back into capitalist dependency.

There are many contexts in which it is correct to simply support a nationalist struggle regardless of the organization involved. Especially in the United States where imperialism is headquartered, internationalists are called on constantly to oppose the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists. U.S. intervention must be stopped everywhere and national struggles supported everywhere. That is not the same thing as supporting particular organizations.

Vietnam and Zimbabwe are especially bad cases of Sakai's error. Here supposedly socialist construction is underway and the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) and Zimbabwe's Mugabe took incorrect lines in political economy and in regard to the all around dictatorship of the proletariat. They did not recognize Mao's teachings on the necessity of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and hence are nothing more than capitalist dependencies now.

Notes:
1. See MIM Theory 6, "The Stalin Issue" for an analysis of Stalin, World War II and the United Front.

Night-Vision: Illuminating War & Class On The Neo-Colonial Terrain

Butch Lee and Red Rover, 1993

December 1993

by MCS

Although MIM heard that this book had some connection to J. Sakai's *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, MIM does not distribute *Night-Vision: Illuminating War & Class on the Neo-Colonial Terrain*. All three books (*Settlers*, *Night Vision*, and *Settlers* sequel *False Nationalism, False Internationalism*) are essential background material for those preparing for armed struggle in the imperialist countries.

Instead of distributing *Night-Vision* generally, MIM recommends that its comrades and associates read this in a MIM-sponsored study group. In priorities, MIM study groups should go in the order the books came out. *Settlers* is most important, followed by *False Nationalism, False Internationalism*, and now *Night-Vision*. To make this a reality for its prison comrades, MIM proposes that the Vagabond Press donate as many copies of the book and corresponding postage as it would like, and we will see to it that it gets into the hands of prisoners already studying these questions.

Night-Vision is a hodge-podge of important information, mostly from the present, with some reference to older theorists — such as Amilcar Cabral and Kwame Nkrumah. *Night-Vision* is also about connecting nation, class and gender.

Much of the book, especially toward the beginning will seem old hat to the MIM reader. The two essentially new propositions for Maoist readers derive from Arghiri Emmanuel and Maria Mies. Mies is the theorist who should be noted for distinguishing between unwaged and waged labor in the capitalist context and how gender is bound up with unwaged labor.(1)

Arghiri Emmanuel stands out for noting the contradiction between settler populations and the imperialists. This contradiction is not the one between capital and labor usually thought of by the mother country "Left." Instead, Emmanuel is talking about how imperialists lose use for their settlers in neocolonial situations, when settlers no longer directly rule a society. Hence, in South Africa, capitalist imperialism can survive without having settler rule, but the settlers fight a vicious rear-

guard action to keep the imperialists in their old colonial mode. In many situations, the settlers are more of a problem to the oppressed than the imperialists themselves, according to Emmanuel.

Butch Lee and Red Rover emphasize that we are in a neo-colonial age and not a colonial age. This also includes "de-settlerization." The settlers may protest, but the imperialists dispense with the privileges granted to the settlers in direct rule and move to establish an indigenous bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations.

The authors' position opposing neocolonialism and the new elites created is not the same as J. Sakai's original position or if it is, then it is a crude position held by them jointly. As MIM said before in its critique of Sakai, Sakai treats all nationalist movements as equivalent and progressive — negating that some are bourgeois-led and some are proletarian-led. While it is indeed progressive for a national bourgeoisie to seize power from the colonial bourgeoisie, that is not something that should be equated with communist seizure of power. Sakai counters that outsiders should not be deciding which movements are communist, but MIM disagrees. Communists always have to make decisions based on concrete analysis, without which no action or consistency is possible. All people, including even individual Euro-American men, must decide what reality is and how to change it.

Lee and Rover improve on Sakai to some extent by pointing to the dangers of neocolonialism, but overall *Night-Vision* does not have the strengths that *Settlers* has. *Settlers* is dense history, heavily influenced by Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. It is also very detailed in attacking revisionism. While we can see that Sakai could be anarchist, the possibility is much more evident in the case of Lee and Rover.

Lee and Rover go a long distance, but in the end they take up idealism. Recently, MIM said this about Toni Morrison as well. Though they quote Toni Morrison,(2) Lee and Rover are much more radical, in that they understand the limits of multiculturalism, seeing it as an expression of neocolonialism.(3)

By idealism, MIM means the willingness to publish a whole book for the public that concludes with no answers. In so doing it continues the sort of agnosticism of Sakai with regard to counting on the masses to rise up equally, whether under national bourgeois or proletarian leadership:

"Everyone is looking for new political answers. Young movements are groping for strategies & programs. We are not even pretending to offer those answers, and it's important to understand why. Because new answers come from the grassroots, from the strategies and understandings that always arise out of the struggles of the oppressed themselves. From the inventions, trials and

errors of practice. Whether it's the Black Panther Party or ACT-UP. The political answers we need are only going to come from new struggles, new social forces taking over."(4)

In which case, MIM wonders, why bother writing a book? The Redstockings wrote about women who seek to evade and paralyze by asking questions of things for which there are already answers. This is what Lee and Rover have done, not quickly, but in the final decision.

How is it that Sakai is able to offer such a definitive history of settlerism in North America if we can only get answers from the masses without offering them ourselves? The answer is that like it or not, people who collect information, analyze and then make decisions on what is true and not true, are leaders. People who do not are not leaders, and might be passive — paralyzed by the march of history and an unwillingness to make decisions. Most people who are not leaders themselves have the sense to follow the leaders they have chosen. That is the lesson of the vanguard party this century.

While Sakai took many definitive stands and demonstrated the qualities of revolutionary leadership, Sakai left it open if there was any genuine vanguard party. Here we see Lee and Rover do the same, except more openly.

Another area in which Lee and Rover rise into idealism is on the necessity of picking principal contradictions. Lee and Rover see a happy unity in the women and children of the Third World. Hence they see no need for pitting gender struggle against the national struggle. One

graphic that Lee and Rover include in their book goes as follows from a poster protesting the St. John's rape case in New York in 1991: "We are sick to death of people who prioritize the fight against sexism over the fight against racism. We are sick to death of people who prioritize the fight against racism over the fight against sexism."

MIM has come to believe that this is a mistaken position, again flowing from an unwillingness to make decisions — agnosticism, a form of idealism which is fatal for the oppressed. In material reality, there are situations when the oppressed must choose which struggle to prioritize. While work in solidarity with women and children workers of the Third World avoids this question, many practical questions, especially in North America, are rife with the problem of having to choose strategic sides. Many times fighting oppression will be very simple because the oppressed will be female and oppressed nationality. In other situations, life will be more complicated because there are cross-cutting oppressions. That is not to mention individual circumstances, where we will certainly have to stand against the Black women cops and bourgeois lawyers and side with white, male revolutionaries.

In material reality, there are situations when the oppressed must choose which struggle to prioritize.

The authors mention, but do not discuss at length, the concept of Black men as "an endangered species." (5) The authors ridicule the concept for its exclusion of Black women. Similarly, the anarchist-feminist authors ridicule the idea that the Black family needs strengthening without offering any evidence to the contrary. (6)

On the other side, the authors appear unaware that the concept of Black men as "an endangered species" arose in many connections precisely to disprove the simple idea that picking the unemployed, oppressed nationality women as the principal vehicle for change was the best way to go (e.g. welfare). No, it was pointed out that the effort made by feminists to raise Black women ahead of Black men benefits whites. This controversy is common knowledge within the Black community. However, what is less common knowledge is that there is some evidence that Black men are indeed relatively more oppressed than Black women. In this connection, the mortality and imprisonment figures of Black men of all ages come to bear in connection to genocide.

On the other hand, in connection to the "family," there is ample evidence that where the family is not intact, where the male may be missing, problems ranging from higher infant mortality to drug abuse are more rampant. These are not questions that should be dismissed quickly with a moralizing barb the way Lee and Rover do in one sentence. Revolutionary theory is not about picking the words that sound most righteous most quickly. While Lee and Rover avoided the ultraleft liberal tendency to tell such anecdotes precisely to glorify the individual and to eliminate any possibility for developing group consciousness, they nonetheless are somewhat guilty of a moralizing approach to theory as demonstrated in the case of Black gender relations.

If the oppressed are not united behind one strategy, based on one analysis, the oppressed will divide. Vanguard parties do their best to pick one analysis and corresponding strategy and then unite people behind it. That may be the most important reason that vanguard parties have served as the midwives of revolution this century while anarchism has led to no tangible results in the struggle against imperialism. Having the oppressed masses divided and going in different directions to meet the same problem is not something that they themselves can afford.

Unfortunately, there is nothing MIM can do to stop the gender aristocracy from lining up with someone like Anita Hill and making a big fuss to confuse the oppressed and saddle them with another loss in battle. What MIM can do is prepare the situation so that the next time, the oppressed themselves will not be even slightly divided on the question. (7)

Lee and Rover recognize the many divisions among the people who aren't imperialists. They see splits in the working class and splits in the two genders and within the various nations. They say that neo-colonialism has unleashed chaos pure and simple, and that the imperialists are happy to have the various groups fight it out with the settlers and each other. For

this reason, MIM itself would never publish and distribute such a destructive book that doesn't explain how to line up and re-organize the pieces of a communist movement.

STRENGTHS OF NIGHT-VISION

In most regards, MIM finds *Night-Vision* very agreeable. Indeed, there is some high-level unity on questions right down to the details, unity that we don't find in many places, including organizations like the League of Revolutionary Struggle and RCP, USA which call themselves Maoist. There is nothing in the book that couldn't have been or hasn't been discussed within MIM.

There are three main differences between MIM and the Lee and Rover types: 1) the question of the need for a vanguard party and democratic centralism 2) the weight of Mao Zedong and other proletarian leaders compared with that of various bourgeois nationalist leaders 3) the question of direct action and immediate armed struggle. We have discussed these

While progressives generally united on the point that Clarence Thomas is a bootlicking comprador, many were fooled by Anita Hill's individualist and reformist approach.

elsewhere, so here we will go into the astonishing unity between MIM and the authors, given the other differences that exist.

For instance, Lee and Rover do not make the mistake of cheerleading for Anita Hill. (8) While progressives generally united on the point that Clarence Thomas is a bootlicking comprador, many were fooled by Anita Hill's individualist and reformist approach. We are happy to say that Lee and Rover were not swept up with the spontaneity of the situation that the bourgeois media and the Senate created.

Indeed, one thing that makes the Lee and Rover brand of ultraleftism so attractive is that it is not patently liberal. While many descendants of the Weather Underground would build bombs one day or front for those who did, they would often go fight charity battles or make excuses for Democrats the next day. Court battles are a favorite place of the ultraleft liberals to get righteous, usually by taking one side in a hopelessly confused situation. An example that Lee and Rover avoid is the Mike Tyson/Desiree Washington conflict. (9) Tyson got convicted for rape, but Lee and Rover don't then sing the praise of the criminal justice system and conclude that this is the way to go, as so many ultraleftists who are unconsciously liberal do.

The conflict between Tyson and Washington is searched

endlessly by the liberals for symbolic meaning. Somehow the lives of the world champion fighter and a Miss America got mistaken for something real by the ultraleft liberals.

Lee and Rover also attack paternalism and the whole ideology of protection quite correctly. "Men are supposed to protect women, and adults are supposed to protect children. But nowhere in the world is this true. The supposed need to 'protect' is really the ideological justification for keeping you powerless so you can be abused and exploited." (10)

"Whenever anyone says that, how this group or that group is special and need protecting, that only means that they own you. That only means that you're property. When they're free, animals don't need the SPCA. Check it out." (10)

This issue has been a big one in the feminist movement in the imperialist countries. Not surprisingly, given their line against paternalist protection, Lee and Rover also find that gender is not something strictly biological: "Gender can even drift away from sex, away from its physical moorings." (11) They go on to explain how in some situations, biological men have been made into women.

Above all, MIM shares with the authors a sense of the importance of understanding parasitism. As much as MIM, the authors realize that the white nation is subsidized by the Third World and not the other way around. (12)

CONCLUSION

The book destroys the existing answers without offering new ones. This is something that MIM is careful to do only within its party circles, and then only by accident. Even within party circles, those advocating the creation and use of new theoretical weapons are required to bring forth evidence and a possible practice to replace the old ones being discarded. It is important not to sow doubt and confusion for the sake of doubt and confusion the way the police would like.

MIM is not aware if this kind of anarchism by Lee and Rover can sustain itself. Most anarchists are really only civil libertarians with another name. Lee and Rover appear to be

more of the genuine communist anarchists who are the only ones worthy of the name. This century, such anarchists have been increasingly outnumbered by bourgeois liberal rebels who call themselves anarchists. These bourgeois anarchists only make the genuine communist anarchists stand out more. In addition, the genuine communist anarchists deserve the respect of the Maoists because they do not falsely claim the mantles of Marx, Lenin and Mao the way revisionists do.

Lee and Rover are scientists, more or less influenced by Marxism-Leninism. They have made many, many advances by making analyses and then taking a stand. It appears that with regard to the need for a vanguard party and a summation of socialist experience, this group of people throws up its hands, right into the skies of agnosticism.

History has created this group of people, but in the long-run, we believe it will separate into two parts. One part will continue with its application of revolutionary science and work in the vanguard party. The other part will get lost in confusion over the conditions of neocolonialism, fall for pop sociology and fads in general, and then degenerate into parasitic anarchism or individualism.

Notes:

1. See Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. Zed Books: London, 1986.
2. Butch Lee and Red Rover, *Night-Vision: Illuminating War & Class on the Neo-Colonial Terrain*, 1993, p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
4. *Ibid.*, p. vi.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
7. See MIM Theory 2/3, Chapter 3 for extensive treatment of the Hill/Thomas debate.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Support MIM's Prison Work

1. Struggle with, work with, finance and join MIM. The best way to help prisoners is to overthrow the system that profits from their oppression.
2. Finance MIM's prison work. Our biggest bill each month is postage. Most prison comrades have no way to pay for their literature. Send what you can afford. Stamps are as good as cash.
3. Distribute *MIM Notes* and *Notas Rojas*. Bring the voices of prisoners and their supporters to a wider audience. Contact MIM for distribution information. Send \$12 for a one-year subscription to *MIM Notes*.
4. Start or join a prison support group. MIM can help with advice and resources.
5. Fight censorship, beatings, torture and other fascist crimes. Work with political allies and let the enemies know you are watching. Sometimes political pressure brings local victories.
6. Stay in touch. Keep us informed of pro-prisoner work you do. Our readers will find it educational and inspirational.

MIM Notes publishes *Under Lock & Key* — news from prisons and prisoners — every month.
Write: MIM Distributors, PO Box 29670, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0670.

Race Traitor: 'Treason To Whiteness'

Race Traitor

Issue #3

P.O. Box 603

Cambridge, MA 02140

\$5 single copies

subscriptions (4 issues) \$20

December 1994

by MC17

This new journal proclaims as its mission: "Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity." As a start this is pretty good, if a bit provincially focused on Amerika only. MIM has long been saying that members of the white nation in Amerika are reactionary as a group. We have also been imploring youth, women, students and all progressive people of the white, oppressor nation to forsake their material interests and fight on the side of the international proletariat.

Race Traitor views the struggle within the white nation as the principal contradiction, all under the name of fighting "racism." Although Race Traitor understands the biological fallacy of "race," it does not have an alternative analysis of the social group "nation." Consequently, its goals are admirable, but hopelessly idealist.

Race Traitor is filled with life stories and testimonials from whites about how they became revolutionaries, anarchists, or some other progressive political bent instead of fascists: In other words, all is not lost if you were born to this oppressive race. Supporting letters and stories from a few Blacks celebrate incidents in which Blacks and whites worked together against their oppressors (most notably the Ohio prison rebellion where the fascists joined with the Muslims to fight the prison guards).

These testimonials lend themselves to individualism. There is no analysis attached to the stories, and the message that the reader is left with is that one individual can act differently from the way that white people are expected to act — differently from what is in the material interests of white people. While this lesson is true, it is meaningless without a larger context of revolutionary science. Once people understand national oppression and oppose it, how are they to proceed? If they no longer take leadership from the bourgeoisie, where will their leadership come from? Race Traitor does not provide this crucial answer.

It is correct to tell white people that they can in fact be revolutionary and can make contributions to ending oppression. But Race Traitor seems to argue that the act of voluntarily giving up whiteness, presumably taken by a vanguard of white people, will lead to the elimination of racism and make

white people as a group revolutionary. This is grossly misleading and will never work.

Race Traitor exaggerates both the spontaneity of the masses in responding to individual acts of "counter-culture," and the confusion these acts will create in the ranks of the powerful. The best example of the failure of this strategy is the Weather Underground of the 1960s.

In its editorial "When does the unreasonable act make sense," Race Traitor lays down its view of how to undo the concept of race:

"The way to abolish the white race is to disrupt that conformity. If enough people who look white violate the rules of whiteness, so flagrantly that they jeopardize their white standing, their existence cannot be ignored. If it becomes impossible for the upholders of white rules to speak in the name of all who look white, the white race will cease to exist."

and:

"We are calling for ... a minority willing to undertake outrageous acts of provocation, aware that they will incur the opposition of many who might agree with them if they had adopted a more moderate approach."

'If it becomes impossible for the upholders of white rules to speak in the name of all who look white, the white race will cease to exist.'

In response to the question "How many will it take" to abolish the white race, Race Traitor answers "No one can say for sure."

"Nowhere near a majority — just enough to undermine public confidence in the official staff. When it comes to abolishing the white race, the task is not to win over more whites to oppose 'racism,' there are enough 'anti-racists' enough already to do the job."

So here we learn that Race Traitor is not really calling for the building of a movement. The new strategy it proposes is fococism in its extreme form. It is not even intended to win over more whites to anti-racism, but rather is assumed to be a means to eliminating the concept of race in Amerika. Race Traitor states that the reason for printing the testimonials is "that to popularize such examples will contribute to altering current notions of what constitutes reason, and will encourage others to be still bolder."

In one interview with an activist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the activist says "It's probably a lot to do with what Race Traitor is about, I guess, is just getting over being white." This sums up the message the reader is left with after reading Race Traitor. MIM, on the other hand, says that white people can't "get over" being white, unless they are willing to give up their national privilege that comes with being

white through actively fighting on the side of the international proletariat. It is not a single courageous act but a lifetime of arduous struggle.

Focusing on the need for a split within the white nation holds out false hope for the revolutionary nature of the white nation as a group. Race Traitor is also hopelessly naive in its belief that the entire construct of "race" can be eliminated by just confusing the powers-that-be about who is the real bad guy in Amerika. This is a dangerous strategy because it will land people in prison very quickly after accomplishing very little. The Race Traitor people should read MIM Theory 1 and J. Sakai's *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, and study the question of the nature of the white nation before wasting more time cheerleading for a group that does not have a material interest in revolution.

There are some good parts to this journal. Race Traitor editor Noel Ignatiev, in a discussion of the history of white workers and the labor movement makes some of the most important statements in this issue of the journal. He writes: "This solidarity leads me to assert, as provocatively as possible, that the black church has historically been more of a proletarian organization than the white labor union." MIM agrees with this statement. Ignatiev also correctly concludes that "... in the period before the Civil War, the class movement of American workers was not expressed in the trade unions, working men's parties, and suffrage and land reform efforts of white labor, but in the striving of the black slave and free person."

But Race Traitor suffers from a lack of internationalist perspective. By focusing on the white nation within Amerika it does injustice to all revolutionary-minded people who are trying to fight the imperialists on their own scale. Revolutionaries have to be able to think big and act big. Not only do we need to be splitting off those progressive white people willing to give up their national privilege and uniting them with other revolutionary comrades in the internal oppressed nations, but we also need to work to support revolutions in the Third World, keep a perspective on what it means to live in an imperialist country, and never lose sight of the interests of the international proletariat.

Race Traitor has all the anarchist and focoist, academic and liberal, feel-good elements to make up a popular new movement in the wake of the demise of many activist groups of the 60s and 70s. MIM predicts that this new Race Traitor concept will find a significant following, but as with similar movements without a clear theoretical orientation, people will drift in and out of whatever work the movement offers without any real direction, and ultimately many people will become disillusioned when they realize that the white nation is not disappearing and white people are not rising up in revolution they way it was promised.

INTERVIEW WITH EDITOR NOEL IGNATIEV

MIM was given a copy of an Utne Reader interview with

Race Traitor editor Noel Ignatiev. The interview helps to clear up some of Race Traitor's goals and theory. Ignatiev touches on the construction of race in North American history, pointing out the distinction made at the end of the 1600s between people of African descent and those of European descent. "In return for these privileges, European-Americans of all classes came to be part of the apparatus that maintained Afro-Americans in chattel slavery ..." Ignatiev's understanding of the distinctions between nations that has been created in this country and the privileges enjoyed by all members of the white nation is important.

Ignatiev also correctly points out that race is a social construct; in Marxist terms, race is part of the ideological superstructure of national oppression in the United States. But his interview, as well as the journal Race Traitor, beg the question of nation. Stalin described nations as groups of people who share distinct language, culture, economy and land. MIM believes that given the history and current reality of internal colonialism in the United States, there are a number of oppressed nations within the borders of this country.

By focusing on the white nation within Amerika it does injustice to all revolutionary-minded people who are trying to fight the imperialists on their own scale.

Because of Race Traitor's idealist orientation, anti-racist struggles are trapped in the superstructural realm of culture, ideology, morals, etc., while ignoring the material basis for that superstructure's continuing force. MIM, as a communist organization, upholds national liberation and self-determination as the antidote to national oppression. The philosophy that white people "can dissolve the white race from within, by rejecting the poisoned bait of white-skin privileges" leaves out the question of national self-determination. Asking white people to take on some "blackness" in acts of counterculture suggests that there is no such thing as national oppression.

While it is self-evident that the cultures of oppressed nations are major sources of strength for the revolutionary movement, Race Traitor misunderstands the correct position of culture in the movement. Black Panther Party founder Huey Newton's formulation will clarify this:

"The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and it's not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us. We're going to need

some stronger stuff.”(1)

Ignatiev further blurs the issues by stating that “All people who wish to be free have an equal stake — yes, an equal stake — in overturning the system of white supremacy.” This is a view that is possible to adopt from within the limited perspective of this country, only by ignoring the realities of global imperialism and colonialism within the United States. Does Ignatiev really think that well off Americans have the same interest in overthrowing the rule of the white nation as do the peasants in Peru, or the working people of Eritrea, or the farmers of the Philippines, or even the migrant workers in California? Some people clearly have a much greater stake in overturning this system. That’s why we speak of the international proletariat as the *class* which is too big to bribe.

Ignatiev asks “... if the cops and the courts and so forth couldn’t be sure that every person who looked white was loyal to the system, then what would be the point of extending race privileges to whites?” But the cops and the state know that they don’t have the loyalty of every person who looks white, which is why the FBI keeps files on many whites. It’s why members of the 1960s Weather Underground were imprisoned,

and present day white revolutionaries are still at risk of harassment or murder. If the white race really needed unanimity to survive, it would have fallen in the 1960s if not earlier. The strategy of individual whites acting as traitors has already been proven a failure.

Ultimately Noel Ignatiev gets stuck in the narrow thinking of nationalism when he admits that “not all forms of injustice can be collapsed into whiteness ...” He is correct, of course, but if this is true, why doesn’t he also discuss what is going to be necessary to achieve true fundamental social change?

Without an internationalist outlook, it is hard to see beyond the provincial questions of race, but as Ignatiev admits, the construct race has not always existed everywhere under capitalism. Even if race could be abolished by Ignatiev’s small-time focoism (small time compared to that of Che Guevara and others), people would be very disappointed to find themselves with no plan for what to do when they realized that underneath race was imperialism and a struggle that can not be waged by a few white people alone.

Race Traitor declined to respond at this time.

Notes: 1. Philip Foner, ed. *The Black Panthers Speak*, Lippincott: Philadelphia, p. 50.

The RCP and the National Question

September 1990

This essay deals only with the RCP line on the Black nation — it does not address the Latino or First Nations.

by MC12

Considering important historical differences and the internal nature of the Black nation, Blacks in this country are still a nation — based on common language, culture, economic system and to some extent territory (although this last is obviously more complicated than in cases of external nations).

This theory follows from a general analysis of the various classes in Amerika today, largely informed by J. Sakai’s *Settlers* and the experience of the Black Panther Party. In 1926, Mao Zedong said: “To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies.” This requires “a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes ...”(1)

MIM’s line on nationalism needs to take into account at every step the analysis of the white working class as an oppressor group among the American classes today, as well as divisions within the Black nation — its proletariat, semi-proletariat, petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. This must be applied generally — as a class analysis — and will reflect on basic strategic assess-

ments made along the way. As Mao saw important divisions among the Chinese national bourgeoisie — such that some would follow the imperialists, and some the Communists — so must we see a similar division among the Black bourgeoisie today.

In China the lines were drawn around economic ties and dependence on the imperialists, as they are in the United States today. So that here we may see elected Black politicians, mainstream Black business leaders and other economic agents of the state kowtow to the imperialist system; but at the same time some Black petit-bourgeoisie, revolutionary nationalists, Muslim nationalists and so on will sincerely resist the white imperialist system without supporting the vanguard party of the proletariat or socialism in general.

Those who argue against a revolutionary nationalist struggle, in favor of proletarian revolution for the Black nation now, are usually assuming the white working class will be an ally in that fight. They don’t recognize what Sakai points out as the historical class antagonisms between white labor and African

They don’t recognize the ‘dialectical unity of democracy and oppression.’

proletarians throughout American history to the present day — the “dialectical unity of democracy and oppression” which poisons white working class struggles with national chauvinism, genocidal tendencies and bourgeois aspirations.(2)

Bob Avakim, Chairperson of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) is

guilty of this oversight in his analysis of Black nationalism (See "Summing up the Black Panthers," *Revolutionary Worker* 4/4/80, which is still distributed). Avakian seems to take the high ground in his proclamation that "the working class can't tolerate any form of division by race or nationality," that it has to "not be divided up — my race, my nationality, my people first." He ascribes this negative attitude to American individualism and says it must be resisted. But without an analysis of the class nature and consciousness of the white labor aristocracy in this country, this amounts to throwing the Black nation to the wolves, and belittles the countless betrayals and compromises which have resulted from such alliances in the past.

The RCP line is a little more complicated than Avakian's piece makes it sound, as they do define Blacks in this country as an oppressed nation. "Black people suffer not just racism but national oppression — oppression as a people, a people whose roots are in Africa but who developed into a separate nation based on their historical experience in this country," they write in the pamphlet, "Cold Truth, Liberating Truth: How This System Has Always Oppressed Black People, And How All Oppression Can Finally Be Ended."⁽³⁾

As in Avakian's piece, revolutionary nationalism for Blacks is upheld "to a point," after which it fails because "nationalism falls short in uniting oppressed people of different nationalities."⁽⁴⁾ And more explicitly than Avakian himself, this document holds out a false hope to the advocates of national liberation. "While there are certainly white people who are well-off, comfortable, and conservative, there are many who are not. There are, in fact, millions of whites who are poor and exploited and whose most basic interests are with the proletarian revolution."⁽⁵⁾

All this is used to say, in effect, a national liberation struggle is not what the Black people of this country need. Rather, they need to be united with the workers of the world in proletarian revolution to smash the whole imperialist system. While upholding the right of self-determination for Blacks (and carefully avoiding the phrase "national liberation"), the RCP does not apparently see a role for the revolutionary vanguard in that particular form of struggle.

The RCP line is not all wrong. That's why it's being reviewed here instead of the countless other approaches to the question. But what is needed here is just a little more thorough and sophisticated analysis. In China, the Communist Party — at Mao's suggestion — placed itself squarely within the nationalist struggle, uniting with real friends and fighting against real enemies, based on a class analysis of that time. What the RCP line does not take into account is the possibility of a revolutionary vanguard party taking a leadership role in the national liberation struggle of Blacks, in coalition with those revolutionary nationalists who are truly opposed to American imperialism.

As an internal nation the situation is different in that the national liberation struggle here is taking place in the belly of the beast. Here more than anywhere there can be no true

national liberation for anyone without the destruction of the imperialist state first. But this does not have to mean refusing to cooperate with the natural allies of national liberation in a tactical alliance. In fact, breaking off a division of the revolutionary nationalists who might otherwise be driven over to the bourgeoisie might make a crucial difference in the balance of power during the revolutionary struggle.

Ultimately, the line against revolutionary nationalism in the United States stems from the real lack of support for proletarian revolution among the white working class. So without Blacks, the reasoning seems to go under the surface, there is no proletarian revolution. But whatever the case of the white working class, the oppressed nation needs a national liberation struggle because of the alliances that struggle fosters in the crucial balance of power. The RCP line in this case represents dogmatic pragmatism and opportunism, rather than an honest and thorough-going analysis of the class forces at work right now.

Avakian predicted a revolution in the 1980s that would involve the white working class. He was wrong.

In 1979, Avakian saw the U.S. economy in decline, which he thought was sure to lead to revolutionary insurrection in the 1980s. He was wrong. But this analysis is still at the core of the RCP line. He said then, "The drastic changes and upheavals in this period (1979), unlike the 60s when just a few sections of society were involved, will involve the whole of society, including the working class."

Besides (again) the obvious error of not distinguishing between sections of the working class in this broadly-sweeping statement, what Avakian meant was that the role of the white working class would change as it got squeezed from its temporary allies the bourgeois imperialists, making it a real ally of the Black nation. Wrong again. Although it is not unlikely that the decline of the American empire compared to other imperialist powers will result in a decrease in the amount of bribe money available to the labor aristocracy — leading to a smaller labor aristocracy and more real white proletarians — it is equally probable that the real result of this shift will mean even more exploitation of the Black nation and a slide into a fascism based around national chauvinism. This is the reality which the advocates of a national liberation struggle for Blacks face.

Notes:

1. "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tseung*, Foreign Languages Press: Peking, 1971, p. 11.
2. J. Sakai, *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*, Morningstar Press: Chicago, 1983, p. 16.
3. Published in *Revolutionary Worker*, 8/14/89, p. 20.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

NAFTA Stand Clarifies RCP's Differences With MIM

Revolutionary Worker
November 28, 1993

December 1993

by MCS

Many around the world believe that there is no difference between MIM and the RCP, USA on the question of the imperialist country working class. Elsewhere we have analyzed the major documents of the RCP, including its program, to demonstrate that this is not true.(1)

Recently, the bourgeois internationalists behind the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on the one hand, and the Amerika-first bourgeoisie led by Ross Perot on the other hand, forced the RCP into taking a fairly recognizable and concrete position on NAFTA.

This position is contradictory, but nonetheless it is something for which we can hold the RCP accountable.(2)

The article, "The North American Bloodsuckers Trade Agreement,"(2) starts by tailing after the social-chauvinist opposition to NAFTA, but ends up echoing MIM's line on the labor aristocracy — but only applied to certain "sections" of it rather than the class in its entirety.

THE CONTENDING LINES

When MIM first received J. Sakai's *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* and H.W. Edwards' *Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy*, MIM was in a better position to analyze the different lines out there on the labor aristocracy. MIM reviewed four of the major positions in an early issue of MIM Theory:

Position I was that the question did not matter, because line — derived from the proven desires of the international proletariat — was decisive, not social base in North America.

Position II was Sakai's position that there is no Euro-American proletariat.

Position III was H.W. Edwards' position that the majority of workers in the imperialist countries are labor aristocracy, leaving open the possibility of a small Euro-American proletariat.

Position IV was the RCP position. It held that the labor aristocracy was in decline and that hence there was a growing basis for a revolutionary movement in the labor aristocracy. Such a position can be found in some of the writings of Lenin and Zinoviev, while at other times they lambasted the notion that the labor aristocracy is always in decline.

MIM eventually adopted Sakai's position, while applying the truth of position I at certain times and sympathizing with Edwards to the extent of distributing his book. MIM came to conclude that it did not sympathize with position IV.

The RCP expressed its position very clearly by its only bold-faced quotation in the November 1993 article, a quotation from Neal Soss, chief economist of CS First Boston Inc.: "This in a nutshell explains why we can no longer afford to offer a bourgeois lifestyle to our white- and blue-collar proletariat." The RCP then went on to say that "the U.S. imperialists are telling the truth" in this regard.

The RCP then felt freed to take a line at the end of its article somewhat similar to MIM's but only with regard to "sections of U.S. workers." This is all that allowed the RCP to criticize the NAFTA position and Ross Perot, even while the beginning of the article tailed after the reformist NAFTA opposition.

The RCP article is in an open state of contradiction. It appears to want to have things both ways, while finally ending up on the side of the labor aristocracy's begging for reformation of its alliance with imperialism:

"For a decade, the U.S. capitalists have demanded 'take-backs' from industrial workers — freezing or lowering wages, shaving benefits, changing work rules ... And the

coming restructuring connected to NAFTA will be used to further 'depress wages' by placing U.S. and Mexican workers in much more direct competition."

So our hearts are supposed to bleed for those workers who have a "bourgeois lifestyle" even by the RCP's own backhanded admission!

Another contradiction is that the RCP has already supposedly set itself apart from the proponents of the "general crisis" approach to everything. Yet here it is echoing the general crisis theorists, who always take one-sided advantage of Lenin's formulation on imperialism to say that the revolution is just around the corner because the labor aristocracy is about to come to its senses, something predicted and proven wrong for most of the years of this century.

Related to this, the RCP seems able to live without the crisis theorists in the following formulation: "[NAFTA] will tremendously intensify the exploitation and suffering of the Mexican people." The general crisis theorists usually hold that

**So our hearts
are supposed to
bleed for those
workers who have a
'bourgeois lifestyle'
even by the RCP's
own backhanded
admission!**

imperialism cannot deepen its penetration of the world and has reached its end, so here is a hopeful sign from the RCP. It at least recognizes that the imperialists are expanding or deepening their penetration.

Yet how can this happen while the imperialists also decrease the bourgeois lifestyle of Euro-American workers? The RCP implies that somehow the U.S. imperialists will cut back on both the Euro-American workers and the Mexican workers, while it admits that the exploitation of the Mexican workers will increase and thereby make more surplus-value available for redistribution in the First World.

The RCP says, "But the U.S. government insists 'increased profitability and competitiveness' from this 'dislocation' will eventually mean more prosperity — at least for people in the United States. But the current global restructuring of capital is not about 'trickle-down' prosperity."

Here the RCP has had to perform a somersault. On the one hand it said the imperialists are telling the truth about NAFTA. On the other hand, when it comes to telling the U.S. workers what will happen to the extra surplus extracted from the Mexican workers, the imperialists are supposedly telling a lie. This is a common union bargaining tactic — to point to increased profits by the employers, and then demand a share by claiming they haven't gotten any of the increased profits.

Yet even Lenin in his day believed that there is "trickle-down" prosperity. He believed the superprofits trickled into the workers' life in the imperialists countries through a "million" different forms of "bribery." He was quite explicit that the "Great Powers" all set aside some money for such bribery. Speaking of the typical Great Power, Lenin said, "its superprofits most likely amount to about a thousand million. And how this little sop is divided among the labour ministers, 'labour representatives,' (remember Engels's splendid analysis of the term), labour members of war industries committees, labour officials, workers belonging to the narrow craft unions, office employees, [which by themselves are over half of Euro-American workers since the 1980 census —MC5] etc. etc., is a secondary question." (3)

So here we get to the reactionary kernel of the RCP position. According to the RCP, exploitation of the Mexican workers will increase, but that will not mean greater bribery of the Euro-American workers. Unexplained in the article, there will be a greater surplus-value extracted, but not greater bribery. The reason it won't be explained is that it is not based in fact, but in the necessity for the RCP to adopt a bargaining position for the Euro-American labor aristocracy.

Indeed, the RCP's position goes farther as we have already shown. According to the RCP, the surplus-value from the Mexican workers will increase, but the wages of the American workers have already and will continue to decrease! This mythology has already been debunked in MIM Theory I.

That bargaining position and political tailing of the labor aristocracy caused the RCP to side with one faction of the bourgeoisie against another: "Clearly, everything about

NAFTA is against the interests of oppressed people. Revolutionaries need to expose and oppose NAFTA." Yet NAFTA was a treaty between ruling classes. It was with regard to inter-bourgeois relations. It replaced one set of bourgeois relations with another. If the NAFTA did not pass, the existing set of bourgeois relations, tariffs, etc., would have prevailed. Why did the RCP feel obliged to oppose the NAFTA in particular? The reason is clear: tailing the labor aristocracy leads to reformism — social-democracy and social-chauvinism.

Contrast the RCP stand with the MIM analysis back in its August 1993 issue:

"MIM opposes the effort to 'save' American jobs.

These labor aristocracy jobs are what separates American workers from the cause of the proletariat everywhere. Rather than taking the piecemeal approach to fighting capitalism by opposing various trade agreements such as NAFTA, MIM calls on all anti-imperialists to build public opinion for revolution instead."

The RCP should look a little more seriously at what it said toward the end of its article, when it most sounded like MIM,

The RCP admits that the exploitation of the Mexican workers will increase and make more surplus-value for the First World.

if only for rhetorical purposes, for the purposes of fooling the most oppressed workers in order to use them for labor aristocracy purposes. If there are indeed even substantial "sections" of Euro-American workers using the NAFTA treaty, a treaty to change bourgeois relations, to make a point, then what was the principal responsibility of the RCP vis-a-vis the international proletariat?

What was the peculiar aspect of American workers' situation in comparison with say, the Mexican workers' situation? The RCP concluded that its responsibility was to side with those chauvinist workers by taking a stand on a strictly intra-bourgeois struggle in America.

Notes:

1. Order the "RCP Study Pack" from MIM by sending a \$15 check made out to "MIM Distributors" to P.O. Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.
2. "The North American Bloodsuckers Trade Agreement," *Revolutionary Worker* 11/28/93, p. 3.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," in John Riddell, ed., *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, Monad Press: New York, 1984, p. 500.

OK, MIM Theory — You're On!

If you're serious about wanting REVOLUTION TO END OPPRESSION, then it's time to subscribe to **MIM Theory**, the quarterly theoretical journal of the **Maoist Internationalist Movement**. Subscribe for the next year and get a free back issue: **MT2/3, GENDER & REVOLUTIONARY FEMINISM**, with more than 200 pages of theory, analysis, and history. Other back issues still available:

- **MT4 — A SPRIAL TRAJECTORY: THE FAILURE AND SUCCESS OF COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENT**
- **MT5 — DIET FOR A SMALL RED PLANET**
- **MT6 — THE STALIN ISSUE**

Back issues \$5 each, or bundled as below...

I must subscribe!

Name: _____

Address: _____

City & Zip: _____

Country: _____

Mail to:

MIM
PO Box 3576
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576
USA

Send cash, stamps, or checks made out to MIM Distributors.

- Gimme a year's sub. and a free copy of MT 2/3 (\$18).
- I better have copies of MT2/3, MT4, MT5 & MT6. too (\$15).
- If I get those four back issues & a one-year sub. knock off a few bucks (\$31).
- I'll take a year's worth of MIM Notes, the monthly newspaper (\$12 on its own), to go with my one-year MT sub (\$25).
- I know *MIM Theory* is at the leading edge, and it deserves my support. Here's \$100, I want to be a lifetime subscriber.

Libraries pay \$72 per year. Overseas subs \$36 per year. Ask about being a distributor. Send \$1 for a complete literature list.