

DEVELOP OUR WORK AMONG THE BLACK MASSES AND THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE!
(Report coming off meeting of Black cadre...)

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE FROM REGIONAL LEADERSHIP:

We feel this national bulletin brings forward important points which all comrades should study and discuss as part of our general effort to study and more firmly grasp our line and the general principles of Marxism Leninism on the national question.

Along these lines the RE, in coordination with national leadership, is preparing a set of study guidelines on the national question. This should be taken up by all collectives. The fact that Regional leadership did not follow up on the publication of Red Papers 5 and the NCC notes with this kind of organized study was an important error and undoubtedly contributed to weaknesses in our work around this question over the past year. The correct line and a firm grasp on this line are the key to advances in our work around the national question and all other political questions. The 10th Congress of the CCP points this out and experience such as this in our own work confirms it.

In the past few months many comrades in this area have begun to act on improving our understanding and work around the national question. This has resulted in advances. Our organization's campaigns around Farah and the Farmworkers are two examples. This has also begun to happen in relation to Black people's struggles. Advanced people -- especially Black, white, Chicano and Asian workers -- have begun to come forward where they have seen our organization come forward as fighters against national oppression.

But particularly in regard to Black people's struggles, our work is just beginning. Our organization's attention to these struggles has not measured up to the demands of the day. And the need to do this is getting sharper. National oppression is becoming more vicious and intensified as the imperialists sink into deeper and deeper trouble. We have the responsibility and the potential to help mobilize oppressed people and the entire working class to meet these attacks head on, and through this develop, the strength, understanding and unity needed to topple this foul system.

Study and struggle to grasp our line are a key step. Plans for militantly and boldly stepping out with this understanding to mobilize the masses around these questions must also be made by our whole organization.

Recently, under the direction of the Secretariat, a meeting of a number of Black cadre in our organization was held. The Secretariat's purpose in organizing the meeting was to investigate the work of Black comrades, and the organization as a whole, among the Black masses.

Many of the problems that Black cadre are having functioning in the organization were discussed at the meeting, but the most important question was to begin the process of summing up the work of the comrades and the organization in relation to the mass struggles of Black people, to try to begin to get an overview of the Black liberation and proletarian revolution is being grasped and applied.

While reports at the meeting from various areas showed that some work is being done in relation to the Black liberation struggle, overall the organization's work in this key struggle is very undeveloped, and it is true, especially in relation to Black people, that, as National Bulletin #8 puts it, "we are not yet fully multi-national in that sense that we are deeply rooted in the struggles of the Third World people, playing a leading role and bringing into our ranks and developing as leading cadre many of the active, militant leaders of these mass struggles."

The meeting brought out that on the whole the organization has not fully grasped and concentrated as thoroughly as necessary on applying the line of RED PAPERS 5. There has not even been uniform and systematic study of RED PAPERS 5 throughout the organization. And, along with this, in some areas, National Bulletin 8 on the question of recruiting working class and third world comrades through mass struggle, has not been discussed systematically. This must be rectified immediately, because as Mao says, the ideological and political line decides everything, and in order for comrades and the organization as a whole to grasp and apply the line, there must be systematic study of it. One step that the Secretariat plans to take on this is to work up, in the near future, uniform guidelines for study of RED PAPERS 5.

... The meeting also brought out that in some cases there has been a tendency in the organization to pose the building of Black forms of organization among the masses in opposition to building the multi-national unity of the class. Again, this is not the line of our organization, and indicates that to some degree the line has not been fully grasped. And the effect, where this has happened, has been to pull Black comrades away from their roots and isolate them from the Black working masses.

This same kind of problem arises for all comrades from the working class in the organization, since they are still surrounded by many people from the petty bourgeoisie who have only taken the first steps of integrating with the working class. But the problem becomes particularly acute for Black working class comrades, because for them it involves the national question in addition to the class question.

Some of the Black comrades, who are from petty bourgeois backgrounds, actually have little experience among the Black workers, and have difficulty integrating with them. The general class and national composition of the organization, the fact that it has drawn so heavily from the white petty bourgeoisie, has tended, spontaneously, to reinforce to some degree some of the difficulties of these comrades in integrating with the Black masses.

On the other hand, this problem--that many of the comrades in the organization are from the petty bourgeoisie--will be with us and the communist movement in this country, to some degree, for some time. Every communist movement in every country has come up against this contradiction. The solution is to assist the comrades to get out among the masses, to grasp our line and put it into practice in developing and leading mass struggle, and through this process recruit many more working class and basic oppressed people. As pointed out in National Bulletin #8, many of our working class and Third World comrades, and many comrades from the petty bourgeoisie as well have been models in taking initiative, in plunging into mass struggle and bringing forward our organization and its line. The whole organization must assist and strengthen these comrades and learn from their example.

Beyond the problems of Black cadre that were discussed, the Secretariat feels that the most pressing task for our organization, and the whole communist movement, in relation to the Black liberation struggle, is to make a thorough summation of this struggle. We have done this in relation to the youth and student movement, and we must certainly do it in relation to the Black liberation movement, which is a much more decisive struggle.

This summation should include an analysis of classes and class struggle within the Black nation and the Black liberation movement, the policy of the ruling class in recent years in dealing with this movement, the reasons why this struggle has temporarily ebbed since the high peak of the late '60s, what objective and subjective factors led to this. The purpose of this summation is to develop a programme, a political focus and some understanding of forms of organization, relation between national and multi-national forms, etc., that can enable the Black liberation struggle to make a new leap forward as part of the overall revolutionary struggle and to play a key role in moving the whole class struggle forward.

The Secretariat feels that making this summation and coming up with this programme is an urgent task. It can be carried out by building on the correct analysis of RED PAPERS 5, but go more deeply into questions not dealt with thoroughly in RED PAPERS 5, such as classes and class struggle within the Black nation, and the different lines put forward now within the Black liberation movement, especially Pan-Africanism, and evaluate how this relates to the overall class struggle.

In its discussion on the meeting of Black cadre, the Secretariat took up directly a number of recommendations coming out of the meeting.

It was proposed that a new pamphlet on Black liberation be done to take up questions that are not fully developed in R.P. 5. The Secretariat agrees that this should be done, and could be one of the concrete results of the summation of the Black liberation struggle already discussed. This pamphlet, written in a popular style, bringing forward and building on our line on the national question can be an important tool in developing our mass work among Black people.

The question of Black collectives was also discussed by the Secretariat, coming off the meeting. The basic principle of our organization is that collectives are organized around areas of mass work and not on the basis of nationality. And it is a basic part of our line that we must concentrate our forces in the industrial proletariat, which is multi-national. This means that most of our collectives will be multi-

*Summation
yes*

*collective
no*

national, especially as we recruit more workers, both white and third world, out of the work place. This will undoubtedly involve some contradictions, but communists, as the vanguard of the class, must take leadership in this area, too and set a model for the class in resolving these contradictions.

On the other hand, it is necessary and particularly important at this stage of our development, to concentrate some Black cadre, in order to carry out work among Black people. This can take a number of forms. In some cases collectives around areas of work that are strictly concentrated among Black people. In other cases, work teams or fractions around particular struggles or organizations--African Liberation, a particular demonstration, etc. The guiding principle is that the appropriate organizational form must be found to carry out the mass work and lead mass struggle.

The Secretariat has been developing plans to concentrate some Black cadre in certain key parts of the country, in order to help make a breakthrough in our work in the Black liberation struggle, which can be popularized and help advance the work not only of our own organization, but the whole communist movement in this country. The Secretariat, in consultation with lower bodies, is moving ahead to make this concentration, as soon as possible and with as little disruption as possible to local areas from which Black cadre will be drawn. But, overall, the need to make this breakthrough in a key area has to be given priority over local needs.

This concentration will also enable our organization to work more closely with other communist organizations, especially the Black Workers Congress. This can advance work around building Black anti-imperialist workers' organizations, study groups for Black people, work among Black students, and other important areas of mass work. And it will strengthen the ability of the communist movement to make breakthroughs in the Black liberation struggle.

The Black cadre meeting proposed that a Black commission be set up, as an outgrowth of the meeting. The Secretariat feels that it is very important for the organization to setup a Commission on Black Liberation, under the direction of national leadership, to play a key role in making the summation of the Black liberation struggle discussed before, and to assist national leadership in guiding the work of the organization in relation to the Black liberation struggle.

But the Secretariat feels that this Commission should not of necessity, or in principle, be all-Black. Its main purpose is to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Black liberation movement, and in order to do this most thoroughly, it should draw from all comrades in the organization who have demonstrated the ability to apply Marxism-Leninism to analyzing the national question and the Black liberation struggle, and its relation to proletarian revolution.

This will, of course, involve many Black comrades. And in conducting investigations, it will rely overwhelmingly on Black cadre, who have direct experience in this struggle. But in summing up these investigations and making the analysis required, Marxism-Leninism and not nationality is the decisive factor. We would be cheating the masses of Black people and the working class if we did not apply the best people to this task, whatever their nationality. This has always been the experience and approach of the world communist movement to this question.

The Secretariat also took up the question of revolutionary nationalism, which was discussed at the Black cadre meeting.

The Secretariat feels that the following statement of the Chinese Communist Party, in the 1963 "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," is correct. "On the national question, the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive." (p. 17)

As applied to our situation, the Secretariat believes that this means that we must support and unite with progressive, or revolutionary nationalism among Black people, nationalism that directs itself against the imperialist system and not against white people. In practice this means developing concrete programs of struggle against the ruling class, and infuse into it class consciousness. All this is a crucial part of carrying out the basic strategy of building the united front against imperialism under proletarian leadership.

At the same time, in order to do this, communists must put forward their independent line, which is the stand of the whole class, Marxism-Leninism, and not nationalism of any kind. Otherwise, we will tail behind revolutionary nationalism and not lead it forward. And, in the final analysis, if we communists do not lead it forward, through uniting with the broadest masses of Black people in anti-imperialist struggle and carrying on ideological struggle within this, revolutionary nationalism will be turned back to bourgeois nationalism. It is our duty to unite with people in struggling against imperialism, move this struggle in a consistently anti-imperialist direction, and establish proletarian leadership to make revolution.

Finally, the Secretariat feels that it must criticize itself for certain errors it made in organizing the meeting. And the Sec. thinks it is necessary to explain why the meeting was only Black and not all third world cadre, and why, for example, we are calling for a special commission on Black liberation.

First off, while the Secretariat knew about the meeting some time in advance, it did not inform leadership on the lower levels until the last minute and did not really involve them in deciding who should come to the meeting, or in assisting the comrades coming to the meeting to make summations of their work and other work among Black people, in preparing for the meeting.

By failing to do this, the Secretariat did not approach the meeting as seriously and systematically as the importance of the question demands, and did not fully apply the Marxist-Leninist method of leadership, which Mao describes as follows: "...go through the leader of the lower organization concerned so that he may assume responsibility; in this way both division of labor and unified centralized leadership are achieved...Both the person in over-all charge and the person with specific responsibility should be informed and given responsibility!" Our organization, as a communist organization is based on democratic centralism and a unified chain of command. And in order to uphold this, it is very important for the leading bodies to practice the methods of leadership Mao describes. This is why it is particularly important for the Secretariat to criticize itself for this error.

As to why the meeting was only Black cadre and not all third world cadre. The purpose of the meeting, as stated, was to do some investigation into the work of the organization specifically around the Black liberation movement. It was not to set up a permanent body or commission as such. While there are many similarities in the oppression of Black and other third world peoples, there are also important differences. The different national struggles have their own histories and today involve some different questions.

The Secretariat feels that it is very important to also begin summing up these other national struggles, to investigate the work of our organization in relation to them, and to develop our line on them. In particular, a study commission has been assigned to investigate the Chicano national question, and, in the near future, the Secretariat plans to assist these comrades in summing up this investigation and developing our line around it, in consultation with the organization as a whole. And we are also beginning the tasks of summing up different aspects of the Asian peoples movement, in consultation with comrades working in these movements, and with progressive forces we are working with within these struggles.

Overall, despite the errors of the Secretariat in organizing it, the meeting of Black cadre did help to pinpoint many weaknesses of our organization in relation to the Black liberation struggle and did bring out a key contradiction. We have developed a correct line on Black liberation and proletarian revolution in the U.S., as formulated in R.P.5, but the organization as a whole, and leading bodies in particular have not really assisted the organization and the comrades most directly concerned in fully grasping and applying this line to build mass struggle among Black people and to build on this to help unite the whole class.

In addition, the Secretariat feels it is important to add that, while it is, of course, the Black comrades who have the primary responsibility for organizing and leading the struggles of Black people, it is also the responsibility of white and other comrades to take up this struggle in their mass work, wherever possible. For example, white comrades working in a multi-national caucus in a plant should take every opportunity to mobilize the caucus to fight against discrimination and to win the white workers, as well as Black and other Third World workers to this struggle. Not to seize every chance to do this, and to concentrate only on economic issues means tailing behind and falling into right errors, and objectively holding back the development of class unity.

Work Among Black Masses/5-5-5

In summation, the meeting of Black cadre brought out, again, that we must move much more decisively and systematically, to strengthen our work among Black people qualitatively, to concentrate on making a breakthrough, and, together with comrades from other communist organizations, play a leading role in the Black Liberation struggle, building it and linking it up with the overall class struggle. The Secretariat calls on all leadership bodies to take this up as an urgent task, to redouble their efforts to guide the work of the organization in doing this.

#####

Reud