

National Liberation Struggles Support Committee

N.L.S.S.C. Defeats Liquidators



The neo-Trotskyite line of "party building is the central and only task" has shown its ugly face again. This time within the work of the National Liberation Struggles Support Committee (NLSSC). This line, which led the so-called "genuine wing", in particular PRRWO-RWL, to total bankruptcy and degeneration, has not been totally defeated and it can still cause great harm and mislead some comrades. We are publishing a recent struggle around this line so that other comrades around the country may learn from it and be vigilant against all its manifestations.

Today, the main contradiction in the world is between imperialism, in particular the two superpowers (U.S. and U.S.S.R.) on the one hand, and the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the other. The national liberation struggles of the third world peoples are the main force in the struggle against superpower aggression and hegemonism, and against superpower war preparations. At this time, the creation of a mass, anti-imperialist, revolutionary organization with the aim of providing concrete support to those national liberation struggles is not only timely, but crucial to the struggle for proletarian revolution in the U.S. and worldwide.

The principles of unity of the NLSSC are four:

1. We support the struggles for national liberation waged against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and all reaction, including feudalism, neo-colonialism, racism, and zionism.
2. We support and strive to unite the struggle of the U.S. multinational working class, the oppressed and working people in the U.S. with that of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. We firmly support and unite with the struggles of all the world's oppressed people against imperialism's (especially the two superpowers) control, plunder, and destruction. We see ourselves as part of the world-wide United Front Against the Two Superpowers.
3. We resolutely oppose the two superpowers -- U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism--as the greatest enemies of the people of the world and as the source of a new World War. We oppose the two superpowers' peddling of "detente", "lasting peace", etc., as the cover for their feverish preparations for war.
4. We support the oppressed nationalities and national minority struggles in the U.S.

The main purpose for the creation of the NLSSC is to give concrete support to national liberation struggles around the world and its goal is to mobilize the broad masses of workers and oppressed peoples in this country to support such a cause, as part of our duty to overthrow our own monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie and as part of the world-wide United Front against the two superpowers.

At this time, in which the spontaneous struggles of the masses in support of national liberation struggles is mainly led or organized by revisionists, reformists or Trotskyites, the task of supporting these struggles comes to be nearly liquidated in light of incorrect strategy and tactics by these forces, or the abandonment of this duty by the Marxist-Leninists precisely because these struggles are in the hands of these opportunists. To fill this vacuum in leadership, to give this spontaneous struggle a planned and conscious character, to correctly fulfill and channel the efforts of genuine revolutionaries in this duty, the creation of an organization such as the NLSSC was absolutely necessary. A moribund and narrow African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) can not do the job. All the committees, that come into existence and go quickly out of existence after some spontaneous work, can not do the job. The leadership by the opportunists of all hues can not do the job. Thus, the NLSSC was created, early this year, by the conscious effort of LPR-ML, unaffiliated Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements.

NLSSC IN THE CONTEXT OF PARTY BUILDING

As communists, we in LPR see our work within the NLSSC as being consistent with our central task of party building. That is, we see the NLSSC as facilitating our work towards party building, and thus we place it in the context of party building. How is this so?

Proletarian internationalism is a duty of all communists at all times. We must carry out this duty, regardless of what period of party building we find ourselves, place where we are, etc. In order to build the multinational unity of the U.S. working class, so necessary for proletarian revolution and the solving of the national question in

the U.S., the broad masses of workers and oppressed people must be educated as to the duties of proletarian internationalism and mobilized to this effect. The NLSSC provides the concrete organizational tool to carry out this duty.

NLSSC is also a tool for carrying out the tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced to communism. Marxist-Leninist unity is not carried out in the abstract, or simply thru forums and discussion without implementing the line in practice. The NLSSC provides an avenue to jointly carry out the line of communists on the international situation and to unite in the course of providing communist leadership to the struggle to support the national liberation struggles of the third world. In this common area of work communists can jointly plan work, implement their line, develop communist propaganda and agitation, sum-up their experience and unite on the basis of the correct line as it is tested and enriched through practice. In the course of this struggle to provide communist leadership to the mass support for national liberation, communists will also be able to win the advanced to communism. Guided by the correct line, and thru the correct work and leadership among the masses, communists will be able to win over the advanced elements that at this moment are either struggling spontaneously, without correct leadership and guidance, or following the lead of the opportunists who leech on these struggles and temporarily deviate the struggle. It is not thru discussion alone that these advanced elements can be won over, but also in the course of actively providing communist leadership to the mass struggles, on the basis of a correct political line. The role of LPR-ML as communists, within the NLSSC has not been limited to its formation but we are also committed to building it, to the development of its line and practice. We are urging all comrades around the country to join in the NLSSC effort to build multinational unity around proletarian internationalism.

As it develops and grows, the NLSSC is carrying out its duties. In its short life, it has shown its commitment to the struggle against the two superpowers and in support of the national liberation movements the world over. Many activities have been organized by or co-sponsored by the NLSSC. Among them, nights of solidarity with the struggles of the Haitian people, the Dominican people, and the Ethiopian people, also a May Day celebration and the demonstration held in New York City for African Liberation Day. NLSSC has also participated in the demonstrations against the fascist Ethiopian Junta, against the visit of the Empress of Iran to the U.S., in protest against the military takeover of the Autonomous University in Santo Domingo, against the massacre of Turkish revolutionaries in May, in commemoration of the August 29 Chicano Moratorium, and others.

TWO LINE STRUGGLE

Conscious of the fact that a mass anti-imperialist organization cannot be a pre-party formation (as PRRWO-RWL attempted to do with ALSC and as WVO is trying to do now), from the outset we have guarded against those who under the cover of upholding party building as the central task liquidate both the building of the party and proletarian internationalism, by cadrifying or liquidating NLSSC. The two line struggle within the NLSSC finally came to open confrontation when a group of former wing members and sympathizers put forward that the NLSSC should be liquidated.

This group of liquidators, among which we recognize the existence of both opportunist elements and honest but ideologically weak, and/or confused ones, did not come up front with their line. It was the consistent ideological struggle waged against the liquidators' line that made them finally spell it out. They had not decisively broken with the "left" line at the time in which they broke organizationally with the "wing". As we will see, they were still holding to the line of "only" party building which was surfacing in the form of liquidate all involvement of communists in the mass struggle and only build the party. This line is contrary to party building, liquidates party building. The party is not built in a vacuum, Marxist-Leninists do not unite in the abstract. The advanced are won over in the course of struggle for the correct line and the implementation of this line.

HOW THE LIQUIDATIONIST LINE SURFACED

At the end of May, after the ALD event, the NLSSC had grown in the ties which it had developed with a number of national liberation movement representatives in the U.S. It had surrounded itself

with a small but committed number of contacts who were actively involved in the work of the NLSSC and anxious to join it and continue building it. It had become a genuine anti-imperialist organization respected and recognized as such by many, while having aroused the interest of comrades in other areas of the country. It had upheld a steadily developing correct line and was implementing it in a number of struggles. Many mistakes had been committed, but the birth pangs were over and the NLSSC was in the process of consolidating itself. The liquidators, however, with typical petty bourgeois impatience expected to mobilize the broad masses of people in its first few months of experience. They would have liked not to have committed any mistakes, so as not to have to tackle the problems generated, and they would have liked to have grown numerically "wave upon wave" and have the working class won over right from the beginning of its existence. The painstaking work of day to day organizing, educating, mobilizing, that waited for the future was too overwhelming for them. They had had it. So they looked for a way out.

CLOSET SUM-UP

After ALD, the liquidators proposed that the NLSSC stop their mass work until a sum-up was done. All along the way NLSSC had been doing sum-ups of its work. Practical work did not stop because we had to do a sum-up, or viceversa. The link between theory and practice was upheld, although with mistakes in terms of emphasis many times, and overestimation of the subjective factor (capabilities and level of commitment of each member, and the amount of time needed to carry out activities charted). Despite these mistakes we can say that the work of the NLSSC was overall positive and that we had to continue building on what we had started, while rectifying the mistakes.

Initially the liquidators claimed that they were not saying that the work had to be liquidated, but only that sum-ups had to be primary over everything else and that only if necessary, practical work would be liquidated.

But the liquidators soon proceeded to propose the postponing of mass work. According to them the sum-up should take at least a couple of months. This was a way to liquidate de facto -- objectively--the organization. The liquidators were told that sum-ups are not something that is done in closets alienated from the class struggle, but rather, in the course of the class struggle. It is not a question of class struggle for a while, sum-ups for another while, then back to practice, and so on, but a dialectical relationship in which theory (of which sum-ups are an important part) and practice are indissolubly linked.

THE NLSSC IS NOT A PRE-PARTY FORMATION

Later on the liquidators changed their reasoning, as their line was drawn out. Now it was a question of counterposing the work of the NLSSC with what they called "base work". Base work, according to the liquidators was work in factories. Somehow, the base work they were proposing was in contradiction to the work of the NLSSC. When pressed to deepen their analysis, one of the liquidators came out with platitudes such as "we have to build factory nuclei", "propaganda is the chief form of activity", etc. We say platitudes because, although these are correct lines that must be implemented by Marxist-Leninists, it was pure rhetoric and "leftism" to propose that the NLSSC take up the tasks of a communist organization.

This is pure and simply the same "left-wing infantile disorder" that has caused the destruction of many formerly revolutionary mass organizations (e.g. ALSC, PRSU, FFM, many committees to defend political prisoners, May Day and IWWD coalitions, etc.). This incorrect view of what mass organizations are and how communists carry out work in them, has to be thoroughly exposed and defeated so that communists can properly involve themselves

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Miners Oil Their Shotguns in Preparation for December Strikes

The recent wildcat strike of more than 80,000 mine workers in West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio was just a prelude, a preparation of the scenario for a bigger and greater battle to be fought in December when the three-year contract between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the mine owners expires. During the months of the wildcat, these 80,000 miners, as well as all the other thousands of miners and other workers around the country, learned important lessons that definitely improve their capacity to organize and carry on their struggle against the capitalist bloodsuckers that exploit them.

Historically, the miners in the United States have been in the forefront of the struggle against the capitalist oppressors. This also holds true for other capitalist countries. They make up with the steel, auto, oil workers, etc. the better situated strata of the proletariat, from whose ranks come, in the main, the advanced workers that determine the character of the whole working-class movement. The mining industry is of great strategic importance. Remember the strong unity and solidarity among mine workers (proved once again during the recent wildcat). The burning issues around which in all probability, the December strike will center--repeal of the no-strike clause, a complete company-paid Health and Retirement Fund, improvement of the Health and Safety Committee composed of rank and file miners with the right to call job actions to protect the health and security of the workers, as well as wage increases, cost of living clauses, scholarship funds for miners' sons and daughters, etc.-- makes that every worker in this country be on the look out for what will be happening in this contract negotiations. Whatever happens to the miners, whether victory or defeat, will indicate to a great extent what will happen in other major contracts coming up in 1978. It's in the interests of all workers for the miners to win a good contract and it's the responsibility of all of us to help them in their just struggle.

THE TREACHEROUS ROLE OF THE LABOR BUREAUCRATS

The first lesson to be learned was the treacherous role played by the bureaucrats of the UMWA. Led by president Arnold Miller (the same Arnold Miller that the October League Communist Party called "progressive" and gave support to until recently) the UMWA leadership showed immediately where their loyalty lies, whose interests they really represent. They called the miners back to work, they asked them to rely on the negotiations between Miller and his boys and the mine owners. The bureaucrats did put emphasis on asking the miners to "avoid violence" and keep their shotguns home.

The miners correctly identified Miller and Comp-

as what they really are, sell-out bureaucrats that the imperialist have bribed with part of the superprofits obtained in the colonies and neocolonies. They operate as fifth columnists in the labor movement. Miller's role is to keep the workers in line, to spread reformism among the miners' ranks, to stop or neutralize any attempts of the rank and file to fight in a militant way for their rights. The miners not only continued the strike, after repeated calls by Miller to go back to work, but also kept the strike breakers out of the mines --not by leaving their shotguns home but by bringing them along and making repeated use of them. Miller, running frenzied by this time, went on national television to make an appeal to the miners and as a response got a resolution from District 17 in Charleston, West Virginia, the largest district in the UMWA, asking for his immediate resignation.

The role played by Arnold Miller and the whole national leadership in this strike, shows once again why it is that reformism is the main danger within the U.S. labor movement. It was through calls for "reforms" that the actual president of the union got his job, posing as a very militant leader who opposed the corrupt leadership of Tony Boyle. Boyle was so exposed, his criminal maneuvers well known that it was easy for Miller to portray himself as the liberal alternative to a known crook (a very similar situation to that of Sadlowsky's opposition to Abel in the Auto workers). The struggle for union democracy, for rank and file power in making decisions within the union that was at its peak in the struggle against Boyle, was momentarily blunted by the election of Arnold Miller to the presidency. But the miners are already aware that there's no real difference between Miller and Boyle, and the above-mentioned resolution of District 17 is just an indication of the growing resistance against Miller and his boys by the rank and file of the UMWA.

COMMUNISTS ARE LAGGING BEHIND THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

It is clear that the communist presence and participation in the wildcat was insignificant to say the least. This corresponds to the concrete reality that despite the boasting and self-proclamations a la October League (CP-ML), RCP, WVO, etc., the anti-revisionist communist movement in this country has no real ties with the mine workers and other advanced sectors of the proletariat. This objective weakness is based on the objective reality that in the U.S. there exist two distinct movements, a communist movement and a working class movement. The lack of fusion between the working class movement and scientific socialism does not allow communists to fulfill the leading



role that we must exercise within the working class movement in order to make the proletarian revolution in the U.S. not just a theoretical certainty but a living reality.

The masses, who are the makers of history, are fighting as they always have and always will fight. These heroic battles are being fought by the working class spontaneously, deprived of its general staff, of its leading body, that can make the working class conscious of its historical mission of liberating itself and at the same time liberating all oppressed people. The miners in their strike, like the masses in revolt in Chicago and York, and workers throughout the land, are telling us every moment with their actions that we U.S. Marxist-Leninists are not living up to the highest concept in human history: Communists. They tell us that our words and deeds don't correspond in the real world, that we cannot call for battle far away from the battle fields, and claim to be leaders without proving in the heat of the class struggle that our theory and practice serve the working class and lead it in the glorious path of proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. As Marxist-Leninists we should strive to be in the forefront in that battle. We have to overcome all difficulties in order to contribute to that struggle. The weapon of communist agitation and propaganda must be used to draw support for the upcoming struggle. Solidarity actions can be held all around the country. But the greatest contribution we can make to the mine workers, and to the whole U.S. multinational working class, the oppressed nationalities, women, youth and all oppressed people in the U.S. and the world, is to fulfill the central task of this period: to build the new communist party of the U.S., without which we will continue to be, as at present, incapable of providing the communist leadership that the masses so urgently need. ★★★★★

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in mass organizations, in mass coalitions, etc. as one of the ways, not the exclusive one, not the primary one, but one of the ways, to establish firm ties with the toiling masses.

The question facing the NLSSC, and other mass anti-imperialist and revolutionary organizations, is where to draw the line of demarcation, how to determine what the principles of unity should be, what should be the focus of the work, what should be the principal form of activity, etc.; in order to fulfill the tasks for which different mass organizations are built in the first place. In addressing, this question of utmost importance we can not come with ready-made formulas and blue prints. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the soul of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and that is the only way to determine which should be our principles of unity. In the case we are discussing, how to build a mass anti-imperialist organization to give concrete support to the national liberation struggles, our view has to be of unite all those that can be united to fulfill that purpose. Correctly, then, the NLSSC put forward, for example, opposition to both superpowers. This reflects an understanding that true anti-imperialism at this moment has to combat both superpowers as well as all imperialism, neocolonialism, racism, zionism, bureaucrat capitalism, feudalism, etc. This is a correct principle of unity that allows for the unity of the broader masses within the context of true anti-imperialism. Right opportunists will question why the two superpowers and will argue that if you only oppose U.S. imperialism that we would have a broader base. The broader base will be undoubtedly true, but it will be a base around an incorrect political line and that's not what Marxism-Leninism is all about. It is not unity for the sake of unity, nor numbers

for the sake of numbers, but all that can be united to fulfill the task in front of us. On the other hand, and this was the problem posed by the liquidators, there is the "left" view--"we must look for the highest possible level of unity". This "highest possible" is determined not on the basis of concrete analysis of concrete conditions but on the idealist notion that whatever is clear for us, whatever is accepted by us, then should be acceptable for everybody that "merits" work with us. [This line sometimes comes in the form of asking for nonsense like "party building is the central task for all Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces" and should be a principle of unity for a mass organization to which in the first place belong, or should belong, people that are neither Marxist-Leninist nor advanced.] In the case of our liquidators, the line came in the form of seeing the NLSSC not as a mass organization but as a pre-party formation and that therefore it should perform the same tasks as a communist organization.

Coming from their line of the onlys, then the pre-party organization (meaning the NLSSC) should have the same purpose, the same scope and focus in their activities, etc., as any democratic-centralist communist organization. In the last weeks of their participation in NLSSC, they consistently opposed all mass work, all plans for future activities and attempted to convert, as a matter of fact were able to impose it for a couple of weeks, the NLSSC into a debating society in which the other members and contacts would have to choose between the line of LPR-ML (as characterized by them) and their own line which since then they are trying to hammer out in the darkness of a closet.

"ONLY PARTY BUILDING"

The line of the NLSSC taking up the tasks of a communist organization was quickly unveiled and defeated, and the liquidators then came with some quotes, taken out of context, in order to counterpose party building with the building and participation of communists in mass organizations.

Communists must participate in mass organizations wherever they exist, and strive to give communist leadership to their struggles. Also, wherever

these organizations do not exist and there is a duty to fulfill--such as the duty of proletarian internationalism and the task of supporting national liberation struggles of the third-world--communists must create such organizations and strive to build them, providing communist leadership in the course of giving a planned and conscious character to the otherwise spontaneous struggle of the masses. This task is inseparably linked with party building and can be neither counterposed, nor made equivalent to it-- as the liquidators tried to do on different occasions throughout the struggle.

This debate within the NLSSC threatened to liquidate the organization and practice began to lag. Liquidators obstructed the process of recruitment of the contacts who were anxious to become full members. At this point, it was key not only to incorporate these contacts fully into the work of the organization for their development and training and the development of the organization, it was also key for them to be aware of the line struggle taking place and to be able to participate in it and unite with the correct line. Thus a decision was reached to open up the struggle in a meeting intended to fully incorporate them as new members.

At this meeting, the liquidators exposed themselves thoroughly. They had private meetings with contacts, but the line laid out at those meetings was certainly not the line that they were in fact holding. All contacts and the rest of the members saw clearly beyond these inconsistencies. One of the liquidators' arguments was that the NLSSC "had not been able to win anybody" and that it was a worthless organization. This was an insult to the contacts, and utter disdain for the masses. What were they? Hadn't they been won over thru the line and practice of the NLSSC?, and were they considered by the liquidators as "nobody"? Also, what nonsense was this that because the broad masses had not been won over at one swooping wave, the thing to do was to destroy whatever had been achieved and cut those links with the masses that had in fact been established. Cut the links with the masses in order to link with the masses, such was the reasoning of the liquidators.