

Definitions of Mass Organizations and Cadre Organizations 84

These are working definitions for the purpose of our discussion in this workshop. They are not formal organizational definitions. 84

Mass organization reaches out to the masses of people with a program to meet their needs and to accomplish its goals (in working with the masses of people) of uniting the people organizationally around its program and goals. By its very nature, a mass organization has a wide divergence of political perspectives within the organization and must be democratic in its internal process with principled struggle, not intimidation, as the means of raising consciousness. A mass organization does all that is possible to bring the people into its ranks in a progressive way and in so doing must be a place where people can develop to a revolutionary or anti-imperialist consciousness and yet not be required to have a revolutionary consciousness to be able to join. 84

Mass organizations have a significant role in revolutionary struggle. It is a vehicle to draw people in on a basis of their concerns and needs to put those concerns and needs into a revolutionary context, together as a group and not individual. 84

Communist cadre organization has a greater requirement to join than a mass organization. Anyone in a cadre organization must have unity with and understand organization political line and program. This unity is based both on theory and practice. The Basis of Unity is Marxist/Leninist that must be studied and applied. Communist cadre is run on the basis of Democratic Centralism where an individual makes his/her choice to subject his/her individual will to that of the organization; this is a unity of will. Unity of will is achieved, however, through internal democratic struggle, clear discussion and principled debate. Once a position is arrived at within the organization, it is implemented by all and carried out by all, even though debate may continue internally. Democratic Centralism is also the concept of centrally summing up all people's experience and theoretical struggle, the development of a position/line, and applying it through practice. 84

Role of Cadre in a Mass Organization 84

There is not an antagonistic contradiction between cadre and mass. That is, the balance between the masses' independence and cadre's pursuing their line. That is why political struggle must be open, above board and principled. It is important that cadre not be viewed as merely "educators," "observers" or "facilitators;" they must be as full a member as anyone can be and emerge themselves in the work of the organization. Cadre's allegiance is to the people and the people's struggle and to enter into the work of any organization to build the people's movement. 84

In this mass organization, there are people who have strong political lines -- both cadre and non-cadre, and those who do not have a developed line. It is the burden of all members of this organization to conduct principled struggle. *Q u*

The following question was raised: Is it the purpose of a communist cadre, by pushing a line to keep a movement or organization in a narrow formation so it can fit neatly into the communist cadre's broader plan? *Q u*

The workshop summed up as an answer: No, specifically, the struggle around focus had begun well before RU cadre involved themselves in VVAW/WSO and their involvement helped heighten that struggle. In fact, if cadre are honest, they too will learn from the experience. *Q u*

We all, cadre and non-cadre, must take into account as objective reality many peoples' fears around manipulation and how easily people in mass organizations can be intimidated. We must struggle to understand these conditions and to be sure people are truly educated and moved in their consciousness and not intimidated. This can come from open principled struggle that is consciously non-intimidated. *Q u*

An essential aspect of this dialectic is people who have criticism must go to the people who need criticizing and keep that process open and alive. To ignore this is to promote liberalism which will only fester tensions if any exist. *Q u*

People should not be paranoid because there might be some secret member of a cadre organization in a mass organization. Some secret is necessary to protect these organizations from total destruction by an attack from the state. The important point is that all members with a line should be open about their line and struggle openly around it. *Q u*

VOTE: A move for acceptance of this workshop report by unanimous consensus was accepted with no objections. *Q u*

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b7D



January 7, 1975)  
January 27, 1975)  
January 29, 1975)

6. [Multi-National Organization Workshop] *Q u*

The nature of the struggle inside the workshop leads us to have both a majority and minority report. There was unity around a suggestion for the National Steering Committee. *Q u*

in relation to VVAW/WSO in the struggle against imperialism and that chapters should take up further investigation, practice, and struggle around this issue and should send to the National Office information about their work and readings, etc. that they feel would further our development. The practice of the chapters and investigation should be dealt with at the next NSCM in a workshop. *Q4*

### [MAJORITY REPORT]

We believe VVAW/WSO has to be a multi-national organization. The workshop achieved unity around the definition of a multi-national organization as one which fights for the needs of the whole working class and of all nationalities, and has members of all nationalities in the organization. The majority report believes it would be a "Left" error to dogmatically apply a quota as criteria in defining a multi-national organization. It would be a right error to believe that there is no necessity for a multi-national organization and that that denies the material basis of national oppression. *Q4*

National oppression is not just a subjective experience but an objective reality that oppresses not only national minorities but the whole working class and therefore, must be fought in a concrete way. *Q4*

We see the necessity under certain conditions for national minorities to organize around their specific oppression and for all people to organize in their class interest. *Q4*

As an anti-imperialist organization with a veteran and GI focus and base, we have multi-national unity around our common oppression. We can build a multi-national organization based on day-to-day struggles against the VA, the military, and the imperialist system. *Q4*

We destroy the material basis for national oppression in smashing imperialism, we destroy white chauvinism in the process of our common struggle and by winning white members of VVAW/WSO to fighting against the special oppression of third world people. *Q4*

We believe that the only way to smash imperialism is thru multi-national unity. *Q4*

Multi-national unity and national minority leadership is built from concrete struggles at a chapter level, tying that in to our common struggle against imperialism. Multi-national unity and leadership can only come in an organization that has full equality for all nationalities. *Q4*

The minority saw the struggle against national oppression and the struggle for a multi-national, anti-imperialist veterans and GI movement as divorced from the anti-imperialist struggles of veterans and GI. ~~VVAW/WSO~~. We see this stand as showing a lack of faith in the membership of ~~VVAW/WSO~~ and in the masses of third world people to achieve political unity in our struggle against a common enemy. *Q4*

[MINORITY REPORT] 4

We feel that the real question is how this organization can participate in the struggle against racism in the building of a multi-national movement, not the building of a particular multi-national organization at this time. We feel that we can work effectively in the struggle by:

- 1) developing programs that speak to the needs of third world people (in our case vets and GIs)
- 2) becoming increasingly better at putting forward, in our lives and in our propaganda, the interests of third world people
- 3) working in closer ways with third world organizations

We think that the above program is a realistic way for a predominately white organization to participate in the struggle against racism, as part of the anti-imperialist movement. Third world people who wish to join our organization are welcomed -- we do not think that their membership is the only way of demonstrating that this organization is speaking to the needs of Third world people. Respect for a predominantly white organization that is playing an effective role among white vets and GIs (as well as third world people) is also a significant evaluation of our role in the larger movement.

We feel this way for several reasons:

- 1) We think that the integrity of third world forms of organization at this time is not to be challenged by white people who claim that their political analysis enables them to understand the workings of racism as well as third world vets and GIs whose understanding, experience, past history and present level of struggle is higher than that of white people.
- 2) We think multi-national forms of organizations will develop out of the call by third world people for those forms, because racism as an institution and as an ideology is white. The class that rules and perpetrates institutionalized racism and ideology is white, and it is as the white working class identifies the class enemy of third world people as their enemy that the multi-national struggle will move forward.

Following the plenary discussion of the majority and minority reports from this workshop, a consensus vote on the preference of delegates for these reports was taken for the purpose of guiding chapters in further discussions of how to build a multi-national organization. The consensus vote is as follows:

Majority Report:	37 in favor
Minority Report:	16 in favor
Abstentions:	6

Following this vote, the workshop report was unanimously accepted.