

HOW TO CORRECTLY HANDLE THE CONTRADICTIONS
IN PEOPLES COLLEGE IN ORDER TO MAKE GREATER
STRIDES TOWARD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND
BLACK LIBERATION

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Internal Document

Peoples College

INTRODUCTION

This document contains my response to the present crisis in Peoples College. This crisis reflects the particular history of Peoples College, and it also reflects the overall crisis of the movement, the left and the Black liberation movement. This document has been written in response to the last meeting of the P.C. collective.

At that time we set our individual and collective task to deepen our criticism and self-criticism as the way to struggle for unity around a correct revolutionary line.

However, this task is only the final outcome of the meeting, and does not reveal the very important struggle that took place during the meeting. Everyone should have come to the meeting with a common understanding of the proposal being put forward. I had talked with everyone individually, and then at the beginning of the meeting I repeated the main points that I had been putting forth so that everyone was clear and had the same understanding:

1. our approach to the present situation must take into account that two different political tendencies exist within Peoples College, a trend toward two lines (ideological, political and organizational).
2. our approach should be based on unity-struggle-transformation-unity. This means that we must affirm our unity now in order to have a definite context within which to carry on our struggle for a correct line.

3. in doing this we should avoid liberalism, avoid acting as if everything is fine. Rather, our approach should be that even with the problems that we face our commitment is to unite on what we agree on; then, in the context of carrying out the work of PC, we can continue to wage struggle for the correct line.
4. There are five areas or questions that we must have answers to if PC is to move forward.
 - a. overall statement of line, what we believe on the ideological and political plane
 - b. leadership and decision making, how is PC going to be structured
 - c. programmatic areas of work, different divisions of the work
 - d. recruitment, how PC is going to grow, and development of new recruits
 - e. 2 or 3 year plan with concrete objectives for each of the above four categories

However this was not the way things tended to work out. I must make a self-criticism for being liberal regarding the further development of Peoples College. I tried to achieve unity in the midst of serious difference without a correct approach to struggle to clarify those differences, and make a hard headed division of things into points of unity and points for continued struggle. We can't avoid drawing clear lines of demarcation, defending the correct line, leading comrades to repudiate the incorrect line as a necessary aspect of rectification, and then unity on a higher plane based on deeper knowledge of a correct line.

This is the only way to fight opportunism. And why is this? Because as Lenin points out opportunism must be fought free of liberalism to stop its snake-like wriggling:

When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget a feature that is characteristic of present day opportunism in every sphere, namely. its vagueness, diffuseness, elusiveness. An opportunist by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and decisively, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to "agree" with both and to reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, good and pious suggestions, and so and so forth. (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back 1904)

METHOD

This paper is intended to go along with a list of documents; a complete list is attached. Contact Abdul for copies if necessary.

1. OUTLINE HISTORY OF PEOPLES COLLEGE
 - A. HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

The development of Peoples College must be seen in the context of the radicalization of the Black intellectual. In concrete terms, there have been several historical developments that have served as the precedents for this new organization of revolutionary Black intellectuals, Peoples College:

1. Charles Johnson, at Fisk University, formed the first Peoples College. This was an effort to unite the student and teachers of Fisk in an effort to provide a community education program, e.g., literacy training, civics, etc. We learned the importance of building unity between^e Black intellectuals and the masses of Black people.
2. Carter G. Woodson, in Washington DC, developed an independent organizational thrust to develop and promote a correct understanding of Black history. He was the leading force in forming the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, the Journal of Negro History, and several other publications. He also founded Negro History Week. From Woodson, we learned the importance of self-reliance.
3. OBAC was founded in Chicago by Conrad Kent Rivers, Hoyt Fuller, and Gerald McWorter. It was a major organization that consolidated the cultural activities that have dominated Chicago for the last 10 years, and kicked off the national mural movement. We learned the importance of culture as a force among the masses of people.

4. The Malcolm X Liberation University was created by activists in North Carolina led by Owusu Saudauki. It was the key attempt to develop an independent educational institution drawing from committed activists from the community and politicized students from elite institutions in the North (e.g. Cornell) and the South (e.g., Duke). We learned the importance of building unity between the Black intellectual and the liberation movement, but its weakness is that it was elitist (in that it could not be replicated in other communities since it was built on "national" resources and not local ones). Moreover, MXLU became ultra-left in its approach to some in the movement, right opportunists with others.
5. The El Jah Malik El Shabazz Communiversity of Chicago was founded by Anderson Thompson and others from the Black nationalist "intellectuals" of Chicago. During its initial stages there was a tremendous capacity to bring people together from very diverse backgrounds. We learned the importance of waging a struggle to build unity in the Black Liberation Movement. Its weakness was liquidating the interests of the masses and following a middle class oriented "race" type of nationalism.
6. The Institute of the Black World was founded in Atlanta, Georgia by Vincent Harding, Stephen Henderson, AB Spellman, Council Taylor, Larry Rushing, Bill Strickland, and Gerald McWorter. This was a negative lesson. We learned that Black intellectuals can choose to let the legacy of

Woodson and Johnson lay, and follow the momentary
path that best furthers their careers while allowing
the ruling class to dictate ones moves.

B. ORIGIN OF PEOPLES COLLEGE

The six historical actions that serve as the historical precedent of Peoples College clearly demonstrate the planning for Peoples College was based on historical landmarks of Black intellectual history and the vanguard attempts by Black intellectuals in this current period. Peoples College was formed in October 1970. It resulted from a mass meeting of radical activists on the Fisk faculty and a group of interested Fisk students. It spread to Tennessee State University, Meharry Medical College, and Vanderbilt University all in Nashville, Tennessee. During the first Black Liberation Month in 1972 the basic line was put forward in question and answer form:

During this period Peoples College was mostly a united front type of effort, a reality that reflected a mix of faculty and student views. The two forces were an anti-imperialist force led by Abdul, and various cultural nationalist forces (Phil Royster, Bobby Sengstack, Dante (the poet), etc.). Of course the very middle class character of the general situation led to structural support for the cultural nationalist positions, especially reflected by the way that Meharry students were recruited out of Peoples College into the Muslims (where they could feel more comfortable with their class aspirations going along with "Blackness").

C. LOCAL ACTION AS THE MAIN FOCUS: 1970 - 1973

See document # 1 (Peoples College Handbook March 1972) and

See document # 2 (Peoples College Principles of Unity 1972 Summer)

The initial period was a period for the establishment of a study process focusing mainly on Marxist Leninist Ideology. This was accomplished by first setting up mass anti-imperialist educational forums: then, within this setting, we sectioned off the advanced and set in motion ML study sessions in order to consolidate the advanced students on a higher level. This was done and they became a collective, being consolidated by living collectively one summer in a house in Nashville. Programatic development included Basic college and Timbuktu books. Also a lot of theoretical work was done.

There were two main dangers to the correct path of Peoples College a "right" opportunism and a "left" opportunism.

- a. The right opportunist line came from students who had gotten involved with Peoples College and then wanted to cut it loose when it got in the way of career plans etc. Examples of this include Little Rock who quit PC to run

for student body president of Fisk, he won. But what's interesting is that just before he quit to do this he represented PC at a BWC conference and came back on their organizational roles. Also there are people like Lee who quit to finish Fisk so that he could go on to MeHarry which he did.

- b The "left" opportunist line came from students that went ultra left and joined BWC. A group of graduate students who at first were reluctant to join PC (due to conservative middle class backgrounds) and then flipped over to being super left revolutionaries in BWC going to the point of production. They were guilty of the most decadent sexual exploitation of sisters they diverted from PC and their ultra left posture had overtones of Trotskyism.

In general for our situation of Black intellectuals connected to the campus, composed mainly of students and a few of their teachers, the main danger came from the right, careering etc. However, in the context of the rise of a radical movement, an unintended consequence of fighting against this right line is often an ultraleft line, a lazy dogmatic application of the new knowledge. However, the main thrust of the leading line in Peoples College has been correct, a creative revolutionary application of Marxism to the tasks of Black intellectuals in the context of the Black Liberation Movement.

This was a time of "the return to the classics" in the communist movement, necessary as a way to build the ideological break with revisionism. (see Wamba's article in Ikwes: on this point). Peoples college was in touch with the major organizations in the

anti-revisionism movement, (RU, OL, BWC, CL, WVO, etc.). It failed to unite with some organizations because of their white supremacist and unprincipled manner of dealing with advanced Blacks from the struggle or because they negated being on the campus without providing the necessary rationale and political leadership to lead us away from it. What happened is that we moved to build unity with others we found who seemed to be most like Peoples College.

D. NATIONAL ACTION AS THE MAIN FOCUS (1973 - 1975)

Peoples College went to a national ALSC meeting during the winter of 1972 held in Atlanta, Georgia. This was the first public national presence of Peoples College in which we were to play an important role. However, before this we had been having liason discussions with a collective from North Carolina (the joint command of the MXLU-YOBU leaderships) and part of our unity with them was for us to become involved with ALSC which they were giving leadership to at this time.

After the local ALSC demonstrations in 1973 (a development that we jointly initiated, and which was quite correct and led ALSC to form nearly 50 chapters at its height). Abdul was elected to the National Executive Committee. However, the most important meaning of this has to do with the principles of unity proposed by Peoples College, we mailed our draft to everyone before going to North Carolina for joint discussion. (see document # 3). This was our definite push from the left. North Carolina was persuaded over to our position with some very good changes of the position. The joint command was playing games; they were developing into closet communists. The agreement was for the Nashville position to be counterposed against some nationalist position and then a North Carolina position would be put forward with the changes we had agreed upon, and whatever

compromises that we had to make based on the reaction of the delegates to the meeting. We were successful and ALSC voted in an Anti-imperialist program initiated by Peoples College in conjunction with the forces connect to the joint command leadership of MXLU and YOBU. (see document # 4)

This was only the opening round of a struggle that was to become one of the most important struggles of Black intellectuals during the post war years. The two line struggle, as it came to be called, was waged on a national level between two principle forces the narrow nationalism of Barake and the Marxism of Abdul, though the front actors were Congress of African People and forces around YOBU, including Peoples College.

In this context unity was reached with comrades from Northern California. However, controversy surrounded the comrade regarding a joint encounter with folks from North Carolina. Subsequently, the comrades action was correctly identified by him as right opportunism (when the leadership of a mass anti-imperialist organization is left, even though they are making mistakes, when they are attacked from the right they must be defended). The main thing is that this is not a military question; in essence, it is a political question. Neo-Facist tendencies must be thoroughly exposed, even if the actors are Black. Moreover, political statements must be forthright and definite, otherwise it appears as vacillation and something not to be believed. On the other hand, there were comrades from Nashville who were in Peoples College but were not prepared to move to join a communist oriented organization (as opposed to continuing to study ML). Last another comrade came from Southern California who moved into the center of Peoples College activity.

Three levels of the organization developed: 1. Peoples College, 2. October 1st Collective (see document # 5, 10 Revolutionary Thesis of the 10 - 1 Collective) ; and 3. Revolutionary Workers League. The main work within the 10-1 collective was 1. political education, 2. mass work, 3. and criticism-self criticism. All of these three aspects came together and heightened around three issues: (1) The question of a proposed conference (PCOI) and its relationship to the critique Lenin makes of "legal" Marxists and whether we should continue to work with them. (2) The question of how to build unity in a struggle of campus workers between students, clerical workers, and maintenance workers; (3) The question of how to fight economism in our plant work.

The main fight was against a "right opportunist line."

The main activity turned out in the end to being the application of the lessons in What is to be Done? to the summation of the 10 - 1 collective, all based on criticism self-criticism of our practice. Peoples College appeared to disintegrate, with the one comrade being criticized by everyone else as being a right "opportunist" while the continued role in RWL by others reflected as increasingly ultra left line. Still other comrades pulled out of RWL but failed to follow through with open polemics to weaken RWL and liberate others to find the correct path. This must be summed up as the error of liberalism, a right opportunist error.

The main collective broke and relocated in four different cities in that many regions of the country.

E. TRANSITION FROM UNITY TO DIVISION TO UNITY (1975 - 1977)

Peoples College divided in the Spring of 1975, and relocated to pursue their respective interests. Some messages were passed on, but then Abdul made contact and began to reestablish a dialogue between a couple of comrades to get things going again. This led to a joint meeting, and an agreement on moving forward. A proposal was written for this process but never formally united around (see document # 6) Peoples College Collective: Notes on a Draft Program, July 1976). The second year, a year of consolidation, the collective established geographical unity in southern California.

The year was an intense year for the comrades in SB a struggle in which the main error being fought was a right opportunist error by the newest member. This included making moves based on personal desires and needs vs the collective plan, and a negation of line from collective discussion (or leadership) until after the fact. Again, this fight against a right line led to the opposite error of an ultra left leap on the part of leadership. This lasted less than one year, and certainly can't be distorted as the main thing. In fact, during this period Peoples College did some of its best mass work which demonstrates that a "left idealist" line was not dominant.

F. BUILDING A BASE IN CHICAGO (1977 - 1979)

The process of pulling out of SB and setting up in Chicago was not handled well. Because of the intimacy in SB, a loose organizational process was not very damaging because things were very convenient. But Chicago was another story, and this less than intimate setting, additional comrades were joining and they floundered

because there was no intimate process, and no formal organizational structure. At no point in Chicago has PC functioned with a clear organizational structure, although organization has been a key question.

The shape of things has been determined by the twists and turns of our movement campaigns. Mostly our relationship with the masses has been through ALSC now CCFA. Our main PC work has been with Intro. In the main the tendency to fight against is a right-ward drift:

1. the question of criticism in our African Liberation Sunday work ("up off your knees")
2. the question of the superpowers in our "sell the stock" movement work.
3. the question of placing political criteria above all when building unity with someone in the context of our political work.

This is the general picture as well. Within Peoples College the main danger has always been a rightward drift, a problem endemic to the petty bourgeois character of the Black intellectuals. In reaction to this rightward drift there is a secondary tendency for the leadership to go left in order to correct the right line. However the main corrective to this leftward drift has been to avoid the dogmatist error and actually test our ideas in practice. Grasping the correct line must be done in or in relation to the context of struggle, and this is what has kept the correct road clearly in view.

In this regard there are 10 MAIN QUESTIONS regarding specific ways that we face this danger of right opportunism.

2. THE TEN MAIN QUESTIONS

1. Theory:

This is the main area in which we can grasp the essential nature of the rightest trend within Peoples College. This is the practice of belittling theory, lowering theory to fit the actual condition of the masses rather than plant a revolutionary ideal in the context of the mass movement and fight to uphold it and create a burning desire in the hearts and minds of the masses to bring it into existence.

a. rational versus perceptual knowledge: this often results from forcing known facts to make up a picture without understanding the logic of the facts and how they constitute contradictions. Mao warns us against this, and our practice with others should warn us. While we do have an error of empiricism on the part of some, the main thing is to grasp better the entire Marxist key of knowledge.

b. theory versus practice. The main lines put forward by Peoples College have been correct, and to the extent that it has been carried out in a correct manner then it has led to Peoples College being highly regarded as a revolutionary force and developing a very important beach-head here in Chicago. The main problem is the rightward drift in our practice. This main problem comes from not always holding the banner high.

c. left phrase mongering versus right opportunist practice
The key issue here is whether the main error is running too fast and outstripping what is possible in the specific context, or diverting the revolutionary ultimate aim to what

is possible based on the need to unite with the very people we are working with. Since the organization that we have worked in most is CCFA it should be clear that no ultra left line has been run. On the otherhand our very quantative success has led to qualitative problems.

d. individual study versus collective study. This is not a new problem. The main thing is that there must be more self motivated political study. Moreover, study should always be summed up and shared in an appropriate context. The same thing applies to a piece of political writing, from the rank and file or from the leadership. Everything, whether written individually or collectively must be incorporated into collective practice. A negative example is how our work on sell the stock issue ~~was~~ quite controversial, but we failed to systematically answer the challenge and publicly refute all phoney criticisms. A good example of our political education is how we took up the study of Stalin, Foundations of Leninism. This was a collective project, to study ML, by learning to apply it to the task of summing up our work and plotting the road forward. This problem of theory must be dealt with like we treated Foundations. Moreover, we must follow through and finish the writing and come up with final documents. Theory must be viewed as the use of revolutionary principles to sum up our practice and arrive at general principles that can be used again in practice. This is the Marxist theory of knowledge, and it is the method of theoretical work that we must engage in as a group. The main thing is that our theory is the most important group identity that we have

It must be correct, everyone must fully grasp it and put it forward in appropriate ways in every situation. This is the need to consistently wage struggle on ideological and political levels. Our main error here has been not applying the line. At this time however a rising problem is the need to develop theory.

2. LEADERSHIP During the history of Peoples College the main aspect of development has been its leadership (ofcourse errors limited PC to being a relatively small collective though its influence is far bigger than its size). The political line and administrative leadership of PC has been of considerable importance, and must be recognized as such because of its continued survival in the movement relative to so many others dropping out of the movement or slipping into hopelessly stuck dogmatic pits of quicksand. PC has been led in a good and correct manner.

However while leadership had correctly led fights against right and left errors, the situation is fast becoming one in which leadership is faced with a critical test. There is a need to give both theoretical and practical leadership to Peoples College in order to survive the present crisis.

Indeed, weaknesses that were secondary in the past might at any time rise and become dominant. This must be overcome. There must be open cooperation with leadership and leadership must take the initiative to learn from all cadre. The issue is what is necessary for leadership to work in a correct manner. Leaders serve the masses by giving general guidance based on the rank and file making correct summations. The test of an organization however, in the final analysis is how well the line is implemented and how well the masses are united with by the members of the organization. Leadership is ultimately

subordinate to the masses, though in the immediate short run the role of leadership is to lead.

One secondary error needs to be pointed out here, as the manifestation of an incipient left idealist line, an ultra democratic line on leadership and organization. PC has tended to liquidate levels of responsibility and authority. This has often given people the wrong impression leading them to falsely view themselves as the same as leadership. This has a positive, but also a negative aspect.

This error of ultrademocracy is a perfect context for right opportunist petty bourgeois tendencies to flower. If there is no leadership, then anybody can be a leader. If there is no leadership inside the organization then a leading line has not been established. If the public does not clearly recognize the leadership of an organization then the organization is amorphous and the public will select their own leadership (e.g., the authorship of Intro., and the contradiction people have with Abdul but not someone else, leads to them and us agreeing!!!!!!!! to send someone else. Doesn't this constitute a criticism of our leadership. Who determines who speaks for us????).

Peoples College must do the following:

1. institute good leadership training procedures based upon both changes in internal relations (committees, etc.) and our relations with the masses.
2. have a public face to the masses, establish public Peoples College leadership.
3. institute policy for leadership style.
4. establish democratic procedures to choose and affirm leadership

3. DECISION-MAKING: Peoples college has been weakest on the question of organization, and therefore decision making has taken a variety of forms from an individual (and not always the same person) to the entire collective. There is a need for a definite organization a structure. Stalin makes this point quite clear:

Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning: they merely express the desire for victory, but not the victory itself. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organized; on the organization of the struggle for the application of the Party line; on the proper selection of personnel; on the way a check is kept on the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading bodies. Otherwise the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being seriously prejudiced.

There are a couple of things that can be said about various aspects of this situation. There is a difference between overall political leadership of a whole thing and the tactical leadership of one aspect of that thing, but the tactical leadership is always subordinate to the strategic political leadership. This must always be handled with appropriate discussion to resolve all differences. Commandism is as wrong as vacillation.

Further, decisions must be clear and always kept distinct from having things mentioned but not decided upon (collective discussion or a mention in that setting is different than collective decision), being remembered by one person but not every^{one}.

being in one persons notes but not in others, etc. Decisions should be written down, because the essence of the formulation is contained in words and phrases.

4. STYLE OF WORK: In Peoples College there is a degeneration of a revolutionary style of work. This means that our approach is off, that we are putting non proletarian or personal interests before the interests of the struggle. Therefore we must always keep several things in mind:

- a. never raise personal problems or let them become problems that take away from the work
- b. never withdraw from debate because you don't come to it with the background of others. If it is an important issue facing Peoples College then everyone should be in it.
- c. always keep the final aim in mind and carry out lively discussion within Peoples College of how well we are moving toward our ultimate goal
- d. unite and stand behind the political line of Peoples College and always defend it and the leadership of Peoples College whenever challenged.
- e. fight the tendency to allow jobs to force you to minimize the importance of political work even when you have to give less time.

5. LIBERALISM: Peoples College is guilty of liberalism, but that is not because of criticism is not raised, but rather it is because of how it is raised and how it is not followed through with. There is a lot of criticism and discussion, but there is not deepening of criticism so that the ideological character and class of the incorrect line and behavior can be fleshed out. Moreover, a lot

of criticism is partial, raised in passing and not systematically followed up on, and not directed to the people involved, but rather to some comrade that we have a personal relationship with. This is degeneration into a petty bourgeois liberalism that eats away at the revolutionary spirit that Peoples College needs to have.

We must practice fighting liberalism by using the following equation: good criticism = unity + criticism + transformation + unity.

6. INDIVIDUALISM

This is the negation of an established collective process or with the degeneration of an organizational procedure what is a spontaneous tendency. Individualism in the main has emerged in the latter fashion, particularly with the leadership. However, in many other ways individualism has emerged and must be carefully distinguished from personal initiative within a political context, and when such and such a decision is a personal matter and therefore rightly a matter of personal choice.

7. CAREERISM

This is a question that fits the practice of virtually everyone working in the Peoples College Collective at this time. The issue is finishing a course of study. Abdul set the example in the early '70s by returning to his dissertation and completing it.. This was followed by a comrade finishing her thesis in California. The first year in Chicago, another comrade finished a thesis. This year there are two comrades finishing, and one comrade has just started. We will probably have another comrade returning for the final degree next year as well.

The issue is not whether you are finishing a degree, but why and toward what end. The substance of what one does at school ought to be as closely related to PC work as possible. Leadership must be of much greater assistance in this process, and some formalized organization procedures should be set up. Whenever a person does something for their own self advancement even though it is going to have a negative impact on Peoples College then that person is turning into an enemy of Peoples College.

8. UNITING THE OLD WITH THE NEW

This has always been a problem because of the maorphous organizational structure. To a new person no body is really saying how things work, so it is assumed they all know and the new person doesn't and somebody will tell them how things get decided in PC. To the old person the free wheeling situation draws some people closer than others, but not as in any way guided by organization other than what tends to spontaneously comes up from meeting to meeting. Each situation has also brought with it a whole set of emotional and subjective problems. We have to learn how to do things better:

- a. take a persons whole life into consideration and make sure that something social happens every month or so.
- b. try and work with the person for a brief time so that you get to know each other in a focused political context.

9. ORGANIZATIONAL AD HOCISM

We proposed that democratic centralism be the guiding organizational principle for Peoples College in the 1976 document but it was not implemented. It is necessary to put that proposal forward again. Democracy is a chain of knowledge coming from the masses through the cadre to the center; centralism is the analysis of the

information on the basis of revolutionary scientific principles resulting in correct knowledge of what to do as we continue on our long march to socialism. Chain of knowledge, chain of command.

We have let a casual conversation replace a structured disciplined process. We have operated without clear rules. This is a right opportunist line on organization. We must rectify it with Leninist organizational principles.

10. BUILDING A MASS ANTI IMPERIALIST ORGANIZATION

The Black Liberation Movement needs a left revolutionary center, and this is the contribution Peoples College in making its contribution to. However, this can not be done unless Peoples College is rooted in practice of struggle, the mass movements, there is a need to always maintain close links with the masses.

I propose the following as the contradictions and how we should deal with them.

- a. crisis in CCFA: forge ahead with the summation process, do a self criticism by Peoples College with our close comrades in CCFA, and prepare our documentation of the Zimbabwe work
- b. Road forward: sum up Peoples College line on mass work at this time and compare it with the world by Black Liberation press with BNYAC. I suggest we try to unite with their work as much as possible.

3. THE ROAD FORWARD

A. UNITE AROUND THE BASIC STAND OF PEOPLES COLLEGE!

The line of Peoples College is and has been basically correct. In general this means that we must all study INTRO and struggle for unity. Read Sell the Stock and struggle for unity. Further everyone must engage in a study of Peoples College History so that the consistently correct line of Peoples College, but including all of the errors that have been made along the way, can be full known especially as PC has struggled with other incorrect tendencies in the movement.

There are many tasks, but the main task of Peoples College in this period is to engage in basic Marxist propaganda work, to promote Marxist theory and practice in the Black Liberation Movement, and from within the Black community to the society as a whole especially the working class and all genuine progressive forces. In addition there are several secondary tasks:

- a. to build a revolutionary organization, Peoples College as the leading revolutionary circle within the Black Liberation movement.
- b. to build unity with other progressive organizations in the BLM e.g., Black Liberation Press
- c. to do as much political exposure as possible, especially focus on the ruling class.

Take a stand with revolution! Oppose right opportunist tendencies!

Build a revolutionary Peoples College! Forward with the struggle!

B. ADOPT A MULTI YEAR PROGRAM

The adoption of a three year plan is essential if Peoples College is to start making definite strides toward the accomplishment of its objective. Overall there are three objectives:

1. develop Chicago into a major center for progressive Black intellectual activity
2. establish a major Marxist current, a center of left thought in BLM with world wide exposure
3. Build organization and promote unity

The organizational changes that must be made are as follows:

1. PC structure:
 - a. leading body is the executive committee, its chairperson is the chairperson of Peoples College these are elected positions for the duration of three years. It can expand and coopt people.
 - b. every three years Peoples College has a major conference in which everything is up for consideration
 - c. the chairperson is a public figure, the executive committee is secret
2. Programatic Division of Labor
 - a. the national propaganda center will have the chair as the leading figure
 - a. editorial for Maybett
 - b. research quarterly
 - c. periodization research
 - d. Peoples College Political Education
 - e. curriculum development

- b. the Chicago project will be the major local base for mass work
 - a. bookstore information and cultural center
 - b. Black liberation month activity & News
 - c. build a mass anti-imperialist organization
 - d. basic college
 - e. organizing in Black Studies are a
(serve as staff (e.g. exec. director)
of Illinois council for Black Studies).

C. CONDUCT A STUDY OF THE 10 MAIN QUESTIONS IN RELATIONSHIP TO OUR WORK.

The main thrust of our political education from now until August should be concentrated on the 10 Main Questions.

In addition we need to deepen our preparation from the new program.

The calendar year for Peoples college is October to October.

The following study guide is the tentative initial list of readings.

WE MUST DEVELOPE CLEAR OBJECTIVES ON
A YEAR BY YEAR BASIS

AREAS OF WORK	MAJOR PROJECTS	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
NATIONAL PROPAGANDA CENTER	MAYBELL	Begin a 2nd year		
	RESEARCH QUARTERLY		Begin Publication	
	PERIODIZATION RESEARCH	Initial Essay	Search for Bibliography	Begin Research
	PC POLITICAL EDUCATION			Complete documentary History of Peoples College
	CURRICULUM DEVEL- OPMENT		Finish culture course	
	BOOKSTORE	Begin	Publish Catalogue	
CHICAGO PROJECT	BLM NEWS	50,000		100,000
	ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANIZATION			
	BASIC COLLEGE			
	ORGANIZE BLACK STUDIES	Publish Directory	Begin Nat'l Conference in Chicago	

4. STUDY MATERIAL ON THE 10 MAIN QUESTIONS

1. Theory
2. Leadership
3. Decision Making
4. Style of Work
5. Liberalism
6. Individualism
7. Careerism
8. Uniting the old with the new
9. Organizational Ad Hocism
10. Building a mass anti-imperialism organization

1. TEHORY

- a. Lenin, What is to be Done? Part 1 "Dogmatism and Freedom of Criticism" especially D. "Engles on the Importance of the Theoretical Struggle" (17 pages)
- b. Mao Tse Tung, On Practice especially perceptual vs. rational nknowledge, empiricism, diehards vs left phrase mongering
- c. Mao, Reform Our Study (vol 2, pp 17 - 25) pay attention to "integrating the universal trugth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice"
- d. Bolshevik CC, On the Oraganization of Party Propaganda on Connection with the Publication of the History of CPSU(B) Short Course (1939) especially on the study of ML as applied to concrete historical material, and on collective vs individual study of ML
- e. Stalin, "The Right Deviation in the CPSU(B) 1929" especially section 1 "One Line or Two Lines?"

2. LEADERSHIP

- a. Stalin, op cit, section 5 "Questions of Party leadership"
- b. Mao, Methods of Work in Parrrty Committees Vol 4 pp 377-381
- c. Mao, Some Questions concerning Methodd of Leadership" vol 3
- d. Mao, Persevere in Plain Living and Hard Struggle, Maintain Close Ties with the Masses vol 5 pp 436 -439
- e. Stalin, On Organization (a collection of his writing

3. DECISION MAKING

- a. Mao, On setting up a System of Reports vol 4 pp 177-179
- b. Mao, On Strengthening the Party Committee System
vol 4 pp 267 - 268
- c. J. Peters, The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization
see especially democratic centralism, discussion,
self criticism, factionalism, party organization
units and fractions

4. STYLE OF WORK

- a. Mao, Rectify the Partys Style of Work
vol 2 pp 35 - 51
- b. Liu Shao Chi, How To Be A Good Communist (1939)
- c. Frank Meyer, The Moulding of Communists: The Training of the Communist Cadre (1961) a conservative political and bourgeois ideological stand, but a very interesting analysis

5. LIBERALISM

- a. Mao, Combat Liberalism
- b. Stalin, Against Vugarizing the Slogan of Self-Criticism
- c. On the Ideolgoical Character of Gossip
- d. What is Leninism? "#6 Self Criticism and Training of the Proletarian Party, and How It Must be Taught to Profit By Its Own Mistakes"

6. INDIVIDUALISM

- a. Mao, On Individualism (vol 1, pp 112-113)

7. CAREERISM

- a. Declaration Against Imperialism.
- b. Frazier, Failure of the Negro Intellectual
- c. DuBois, My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom
- d. Che, from his diary when he discusses the contradiction of being a doctor and a revolutionary when the Granma landed. They were under attack. He dropped both the medicine bag and a box of ammo. Being able to only get one, he grabbed the Ammo. Che was not a careerist.

8. UNITING THE OLD WITH THE NEW

- a. Mao, On the correct handling of the Contradictions Among the people. especially sections 1, 5, 8 and 10 vol 5, pp 384-396, 404-406, 408-414, 416-417

9. ORGANIZATIONAL AD HOC ISM

- a. History of CPSU(B) pp 44-53
on struggle against Menshevik organizational line
- b. Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back
see democratic centralism, party rules, need for one center and not two

10. BUILDING A MASS ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANIZATION

- a. DRUM Constitution
- b. Black New York Action Committee Unity Statement
- c. ALSC Principles of Unity (Frogmore)
- d. Black Panther Party 10 Point Program
- e. IBWC Manifesto
- f. League of Struggle for Negro Rights Program

PEOPLES COLLEGE HANDBOOK

(A Discussion Draft)

CONFIDENTIAL

march
1972
nashville, tennessee
usa, earth

PEOPLES COLLEGE HANDBOOK

A. INTRODUCTION

B. IDENTITY: RACISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

1. Contradiction: White Racism vs Black Community
2. Contradiction: Bourgeoisie vs Proletariat
3. Contradiction: Imperialism vs National Liberation
4. Contradiction: Capitalism vs Socialism

C. ANALYSIS

1. Principles Of Unity
2. Mass Line
3. Ideological Positions
 - (a) Struggle of Black Workers
 - (b) Struggle of Black Youth
 - (c) Struggle of Black Political Propaganda
4. Theoretical Study
 - (a) Dialectical Notes
 - (b) Area Analysis
 - (c) Topical Research

D. COMMITMENT: PEOPLES COLLEGE HISTORY

- (a) Historical Development of Peoples Coll.
- (b) Self-Criticism--Criticism

E. PROGRAM

1. Principles of Policy Making
 - (a) Two-Up, Two-Down
 - (b) Democratic Centralism
2. Levels of Development
 - (a) mass discussion
 - (b) study circles
 - (c) collectives
3. Methods of Work
 - (a) 4 points of Study
 - (b) How to Run a Meeting
 - (c) How to Give a Report
4. Methods of Political Behavior
 - (a) How to Live Among the People
 - (b) How to Represent P.C. at a Conference
 - (c) How to Participate in a Caucus

F. ACTION: PRACTICAL WORK

1. Propaganda, Political
 - (a) Basic College
 - (b) Timbuktu
 - (c) VIBS
 - (d) Labor Newsletter
2. Agitation and Protest
3. Organizing new People

POINTS OF INTRODUCTION

1. THIS HANDBOOK IS THE BASIS OF UNITY IN THE PEOPLES COLLEGE.
2. THIS HANDBOOK IS PERPARED FOR THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF EVEN DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE PEOPLES COLLEGE, AND IS ALSO INTENDED AS A GENERAL MANUAL FOR WORKING IN THE MOVEMENT.
3. THE HANDBOOK MUST BE STUDIED BY EVERYBODY WORKING IN THE PEOPLES COLLEGE.
4. EVERY SPECIFIC GROUP MUST USE THE HANDBOOK AS A GUIDE TO ACTION.

IDENTITY: RACISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

There are four fundamental contradictions in the world today:

- 1. White Racism vs Black Community
- 2. Bourgeoise vs Proletariat
- 3. Imperialism vs National Liberation
- 4. Capitalism vs Socialism

IN order?

1. White Racism vs Black Community: Black people in the USA are an internal domestic colony. This means that Black people have been conditioned by an intense process of assimilation and simultaneously exploited and oppressed by the vicious ideology of white racism. The ruling class of big capitalists has made more money on our labor (construction of machines and factories, and then manufacturing with them) than any other colonized people on the earth. We are in the belly of the beast. White Racism is the most easily identified form of oppression because it is triggered off by vision and can be used to divide all oppressed people into different national communities (Chicano, Asian national groups, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and the Black Community) in order to better exploit them.

There has been a long struggle against this pattern of racial oppression. We have changed racial identities from African to Black to Afro-American to Colored to Negro to Black to African. The first four are the fall into complete colonization, the last four are the rise to self-awareness and acceptance. The most recent mass struggle on this was over wearing ones hair natural, rejecting the cosmetic ritual of colonial submission by attempting to look white. It is still a legitimate struggle. In summary, national communities must combat white racism by developing national forms of struggle; white racism is the major reason all national communities within the United States must struggle for national liberation.

necessity for national struggle & the actual potential antagonisms there creates between groups?

2. Bourgeoisie and Proletariat: The fundamental division within every capitalist society is between the Bourgeoisie and proletariat. Class conflict is between those who control the means of production (the factories) and those who have to work for them (workers). The factory owners have all of the money and control politics, the church, mass media like the newspapers and television, colleges and universities, and the armed forces. Workers serve the bourgeoisie by voting for them, fighting their wars, worshipping "other-worldly gods", and most of all creating the wealth the ruling class needs in order to rule. Class consciousness develops when the working class becomes aware of how they are exploited. Class struggle is when the working class begins to fight the Bourgeoisie, and fights for the just distribution of wealth. This represents the internal contradiction of every capitalist society.

The Bourgeoisie: "In 1965 there were some 340,000 industrial corporations in the United States. The biggest 500 of these, amounting to .15% of the total, had 60.2% of the industrial sales and 71% of the industrial profits. In 1969 the biggest 200 controlled well over 60% of the industrial assets. The biggest 100 industrials, only .03% of the total number, had nearly 40% of the industrial sales. More than a 68% of the workers in the 340,000 industrial corporations worked for the biggest 500 in 1968.

A similar state of affairs existed in other branches of the economy. The 50 biggest merchandising chains had a net income of over a billion dollars in 1966; 62.5% of that net income went to the ten largest chains. The three biggest commercial banks owned one-eighth of the assets of the some 13,000 banks in the country. There were 1,718 life insurance companies in the country with total assets of \$167-billion. The ten biggest of these held \$94-billion or 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the life insurance assets. Even more striking, the two biggest, Prudential and Metropolitan Life, owned 36% of the life insurance assets. American Tel & Tel owned 84% of the telephones in the country, while General Telephone, its "competition", owned 50% of the remainder. "

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The Proletariat:

Economic Sectors of USA Labor Force

	1929	1937	1947	1956	1965
Agriculture	19.9	18.8	12.1	8.3	5.7
Industrial	39.7	36.3	42.1	42.0	39.6
Service	40.4	44.9	45.8	49.7	54.8

This reflects the following historical trends:

- (a) Agri-business: concentrating agricultural production in large monopolies changing farming from labor intensive to capital intensive
- (b) Technology and the Monopolistic Conglomerate: production is increasing using more technology and speed up of production (e.g. in the new Vega Chevy plant in Ohio workers are expected to produce in 36 seconds what it takes Detroit 60 seconds to do). *what is the relationship? cf. p. 2*
- (c) Service: government spending has greatly increased this labor intensive sector. "In fact between 1950-1960, the increase in the number of workers in education was greater than the total combined number employed in the steel, copper, and aluminum industries in either 1950 or 1960".

1960 Characteristics by INDUSTRY AND SERVICE SECTORS

	% of US Total in:		% of Sector employment:	
	industry	service	industry	service
1. all employed	43	50	100	100
2. Females	27	71	20	46
3. Over 65	25	59	3	5
4. Part Timers	34	59	18	27
5. Self-Employed	16	50	5	13
6. Union Members	82	17	57	9
7. More than 12 yrs School	30	68	14	28
8. Fewer than 9 years school	49	37	34	22

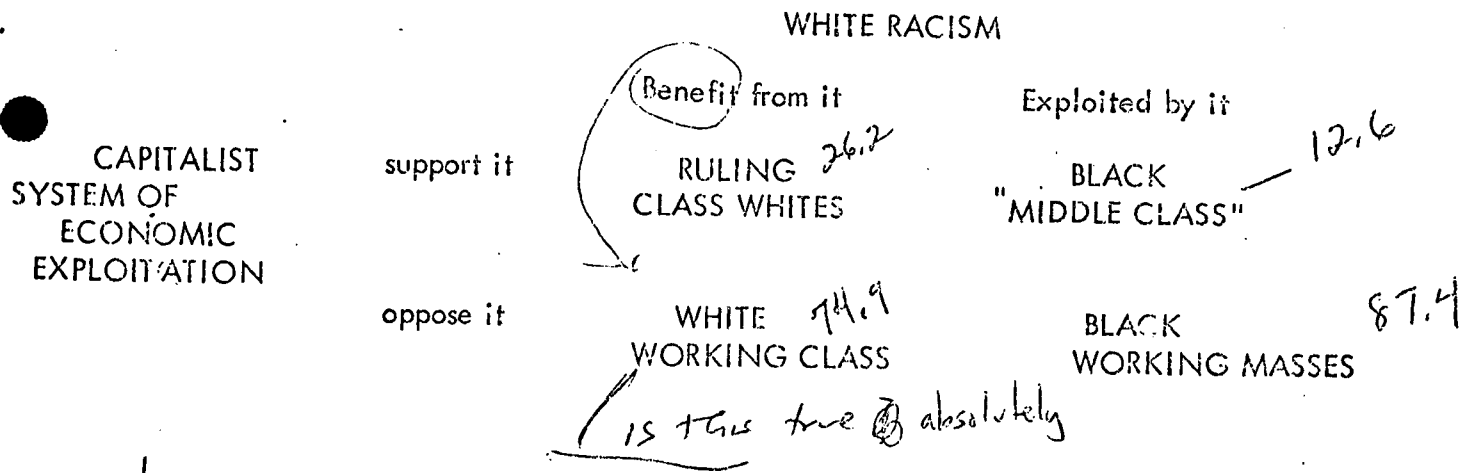
The class positions of labor force population in 1970 (1971 Statistical Abstract, table 348. Employed Persons, By Occupation and Race 1957 to 1970 page 223)

CLASS	OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	WHITE	BLACK
Petty Bourgeoise	Business	11.4	3.5
Proletariat	Professional	14.8	9.1
	Clerical	24.7	15.3
	Blue Collar Workers	34.5	42.2
	Service	10.7	26.0
	Agricultural	4.0	3.9
		<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Handwritten notes in table:
 - Next to 14.8: 26.2
 - Next to 10.7: 74.9
 - Next to 9.1: 12.6
 - Next to 26.0: 87.4

What is significance of these figures?

Our analysis of these first two fundamental contradiction can be easily summarized in the following chart:



Good point!

The major struggle is between the Ruling Class Whites and Black Working Masses. Our struggle is national in form and class in essence. It is only through the destruction of capitalism can racism be eliminated completely, but organizational struggle must have a national character in order to combat racism on a day to day basis as an inseparable aspect of the class struggle.

3. IMPERIALISM VS NATIONAL LIBERATION

Imperialism is the international reaching out of a capitalist economy in order to expand its economic domination and ever increasing profits. There have been four historical stages of Imperialism:

1. MERCANTILE Imperialism 1500-1760
2. INDUSTRIAL Imperialism 1770-1870
3. FINANCIAL Imperialism 1870-WW II
4. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION Imperialism WWII- Present

Lenin demonstrated that the third stage of Financial Imperialism had five distinct features;

1. Transformation of free competition into monopoly through concentration of production and capital
2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the formation of finance capital.
3. The exceptional importance of the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities.
4. The economic division of the world between international monopolistic alliances
5. The struggle between imperialist powers for the redivision of the world.

The current period of Multi national Corporation Imperialism is unique because big capitalist companies are not only using their own national capital, but are absorbing the national capital of other countries for their own purposes (US firms use European Capital to make their own USA investments in Europe).

The four stages of Imperialism have resulted in four forms of Oppression in the Third World, (Asia, Africa, Latin America)

1. Trade and Exploration
2. Slavery
3. Colonialism
4. Neo-Colonialism

Since World War II, and the initial rise of the Vietnamese in 1954, China in 1949, Algeria in 1961, Cuba in 1959, Ghana in 1957, Guinea in 1958, Third World Countries have burned with the thrust of national liberation. In large part this has led to neo-colonialism, and

give
3rd
world
examples,
e.g. Latin
America
re, monthly
Review
issue

2
1

You started by using 3rd world example. Be consistent in use

results results in the current historical motion to increase class conflict within African society (albeit based on the force of imperialism). There are six anti-colonial wars of national liberation underway in Africa today:

1.	COUNTRY	LEADING ORGANIZATION(S)
1.	Guine-a Bissau	PAIGC
2.	Mozambique	FRELIMO
3.	Angola	MPLA
4.	Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)	ZAPU - ZANU
5.	Namibia (South West Africa)	SWAPO
6.	Azania (South Africa)	ANC - PAC

The Capitalist world has been led by the United States from WWII until the 1970's. However the rise of the multi-national corporation and the costly defeat of the USA in

Vietnam has ended this dominance. The dollar has fallen as the world monetary standard, and the major international policies are being defeated. The major outposts of Western Imperialism are Japan, ^{2.} Israel, Iran, South Africa, Brazil. ^{2.}

4. CAPITALISM VS SOCIALISM

This contradiction is the struggle of the two major social systems in the world today.

There are socialistic countries of different qualities:

Albania	Hungary
Algeria	Lybia
Bulgaria	Mongolia
Chile	North Korea
China	North Vietnam
Congo	Poland
Cuba	Rumania
Czechoslovakia	Tanzania
Germany	USSR
Guinea	

The internal contradiction with the Socialist world is mainly the Sino-Soviet split.

The Capitalist world is riddled with contradictions resulting from the fall of the USA as unchallenged leader. A new order is in the making.

ANALYSIS

Principles of Unity

1. Peoples College is a Political Education Program designed to raise the political consciousness of Black people.
2. Peoples College is based on the universal science of historical and dialectical materialism, as creatively applied to the concrete realities of conditions in the USA and the world.
3. Peoples College is anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-racist. *cf. p. 1*
4. Peoples College is committed to national ^{liberation} ~~and~~ self determination for all oppressed nationalities and the revolutionary construction of a socialist society.
5. Peoples College is committed to organizing a revolutionary struggle of Black Working Class. *(mass ?)* ^{the}

MASS LINE

Our mass line is what we say to all the people. We have a mass line in order to wage ideological struggle among the people, some who hold different views, some who haven't developed a position and some who are in general agreement with us. Inside of the Peoples College the ideological struggle is on a more intense and particular level and takes into consideration a full examination of our concrete practice (criticism-self-criticism). The mass line should always be used when speaking before groups, at conferences, with some folks in a rap session, and in general correspondence. All members of Peoples College are required to accept the mass line and to use it whenever speaking about the Peoples College. We use our mass line for the recruitment and conversion of new members. Then we wage ideological struggle to move to higher levels of unity.

UNITY--STRUGGLE--UNITY

1. IDENTITY: We are an African people. We have been colonized in the United States, just as the Atlantic Slave Trade led to colonization of Africans throughout the Western hemisphere, esp. Cuba, Brazil, West Indies, Nova Scotia. We were brought here as slaves to work and have been exploited as workers ever since. We have been divided by color, many of our families have been broken, and our young are pacified with drugsub-culture. *is this a function of our identity*

in order?

2. ANALYSIS: Therefore, our major problems are Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism. Racism is the systematic institutional exploitation of all Black and Third World people on the basis of national identity (all Third World People are "Black" in the USA). Capitalism is the economic system of workers being exploited by the owners of business corporations; the larger majority of Black and Third World people are workers. Imperialism is the extension of monopoly capitalism (Big Business) into the Third World Continents (e.g., Firestone Rubber Company in Liberia, Ford Motor Comp. in South Africa, and United Fruit Comp. in Latin America).

The solutions to the problems must be based on the principle of "unite the many to oppose the few". Black and Third World people must unite to fight racism. This means to wage struggle among all people and organizations to create an anti-racist popular front. Black and Third World workers must form a central core of the unity movement of all workers against capitalism, and all must struggle in solidarity with the national liberation struggles of third world as represented by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese People in their successive defeat of Japanese, French and now USA Imperialist aggression.

3. COMMITMENT: Our commitment to the solution of our problems must be based on the concrete realities of how we spend our time and how we use our money. The more time we spend the more commitment we have. The more money we sacrifice-use for the movement -- the more we are committed.

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racism*

sec

4. PROGRAM: Our program is in two parts, study and organizing. Our study is organized around four topics:

- (a) historical analysis of African People on the continent and in the west, specifically our national Black history in the USA.
- (b) Current conditions in the USA, particularly in the local area
- (c) Revolutionary Theory
- (d) Developments in World Revolution and Socialist Construction.

Our organizing efforts are two fold:

- (a) we agitate and support spontaneous struggle of the people, especially struggle of central importance to the disrupting of the ruling class, Revolutionary Proletarian Struggle.
- (b) we attempt to regulate the spontaneous outbreaks of resistance into an organized force that can systematically develop into a politically conscious group with the power to confront and change capitalism.

5. ACTION: What to do first? Make contact with us and together we can determine how best to join forces.

(a) in Nashville: Come to Timbuktu Bookstore: 1048 Jefferson, open Monday-Saturday,

10 am--8 pm

(b) Out of Town: Write

Peoples X College P.O. Box 5747 Nashville, Tennessee 37208

or Call (615) 256-6441, 244-4636

of GCL
sampled on
vanguard party +

IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS

to be submitted by study circles
involved in each specific area

THEORETICAL STUDY

1. DIALECTICAL NOTES: the Peoples College program of political education has prepared a set of 15 short study guides on the dialectical development of the National Black Liberation Struggle. All study circles should incorporate these into the regular weekly program of study, (Available in bulk form Timbukty-Nashville, Atlanta or Riverside, and Peoples College in Nashville).

2. AREA ANALYSIS: All study circles are expected to engage in the systematic study of materials related to their area. For example, our communications group is not only expected to study Lenin on the political function of a revolutionary newspaper (in What is To Be Done), and Marshall McLuhan on the Electronic Media in modern capitalist society, but also more technical analysis of cinematography, photography, sound, etc., . Our labor study group must not only cover the broad theory of working class struggle, but also the historical development of specific unions in the area, the current developments in corporate capitalism, and labor laws.

3. TOPICAL RESEARCH: The Peoples College is preparing a brochure on research. But for now, everyone ought to have access to the following:

- (a) N.ACLA Methodology Guide
- (b) Where Its At
- (c) Organizers Manual
- (d) Statistical Abstract of the US.

Mar 18, 1972

TO: AD HOC STEERING COMMITTEE, PEOPLES COLLEGE

FR:

RE: NOTES ON PEOPLES COLLEGE HISTORY

1. Here is a chart on the history of the Peoples College. Read it very carefully. Twice.
2. Circle the numbers of the stages of your involvement.
3. List additional data within the seven categories for each stage
4. Attach any and all documents of importance that you feel will help to explain our history more clearly. Especially including those documents that reflect your personal involvement.
5. Everyone who has attended a Conference ought to write a one page report on it and attach it to the calendar.
6. All of this must be completed by March 26th, noon and delivered back to

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLES COLLEGE: SOME NOTES

STAGE	DATES	NEW ACTIVITY	TIME	MONEY	CONFERENCES	P.E. MATERIAL
1. Beginning Mess Discussion	Oct. 1970	Basic College	Saturday 10-4 am	Comrades Salary & Collection		Papers on Colonialism & Imperialism
2. 1st Transition	Jan-Feb 1971	BLM, 1st Calendar, Community Classes	Saturday & Sunday Afternoons	Fisk SGA paid for printing		Kwame Nkrumah
3. Finding a Political Direction	Mar-May 1971	Political Education	Tuesday Nights	25¢ Raffle	NABS-Tuskegee	Mao, Stalin, Popov, Lenin
4. 2nd Transition	June-Sept 1971	SAU, International Travel, Living Collective	Full Time	Fisk Black Studies Prog., Washing Cars, One Comrades Salary	NABS-Chicago, Anti-War Conf. Milwaukee	Cornforth, Vietnamese Workers Party
5. Developing a Base in the Community	Oct 1971	Bookstore	Mon-Sat 10am-8pm	Comrades Salary	CEC Conf Memphis	Student Struggle Pamphlet
6. 3rd Transition	Jan-Feb 1972	2nd Calendar BLM	4 Weekend Conf Fri. Night, Sat 9-9pm, Sun. Afternoon	Bookstore 4 Salaries	Imperialism, Stanford, Calif NABS-Kansas City	Common Problems Common Solution & BLM Handbook
7. Mobilizing the Community	March 1972	Organizing	At Least 1, study group session a week		Black Political Convention Chicago	Common Problems Common Solutions

What of Relationship to BUC; Atlanta conference; internal contradictions & self-interest retreat? Is this part of PC history?

SELF Criticism - CRITICISM

Good

We believe that mistakes are inevitable as we struggle against our oppression, and because we struggle for our people we don't hide our errors but try to overcome them. The best way to recognize errors and develop correct and successful action is to employ self-criticism-criticism.

There are four basic criteria for SELF-CRITICISM - CRITICISM:

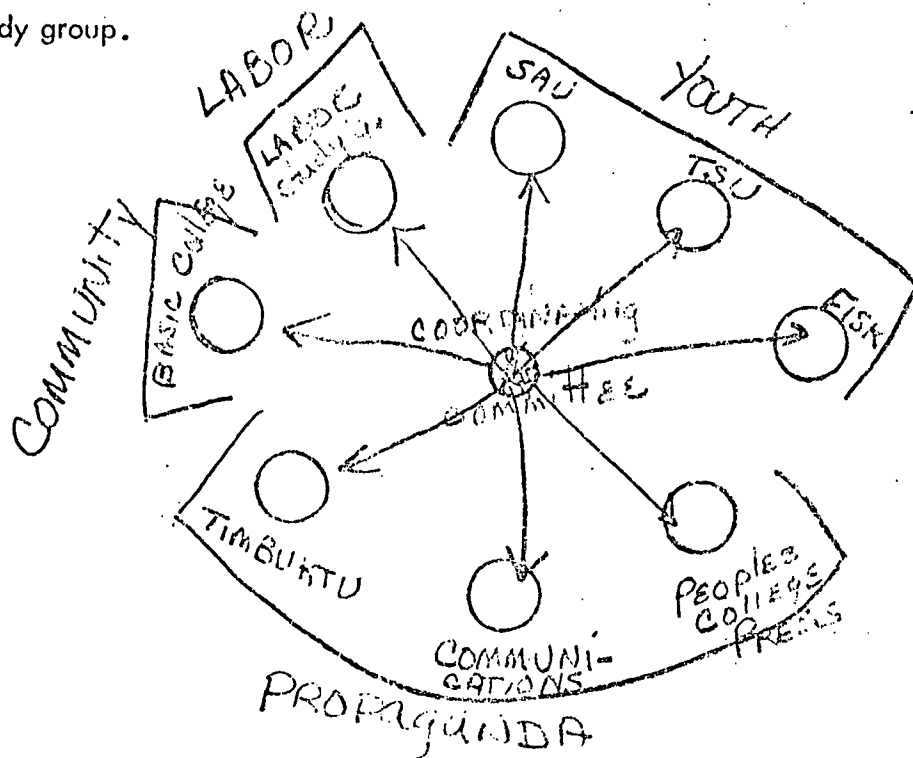
1. The speaker, if involved in the situation being discussed must begin by criticising him or her self.
2. The criticism must be oriented towards correction and not towards demolition and destruction.
3. The criticism must be objective and grounded in concrete evidence.
4. The criticism must deal with basic matters so that the program will not be bogged down in petty subjective issues.

The time spent in this way will improve the quality of all other time spent in struggle.

PROGRAM

PRINCIPLES OF POLICY MAKING:

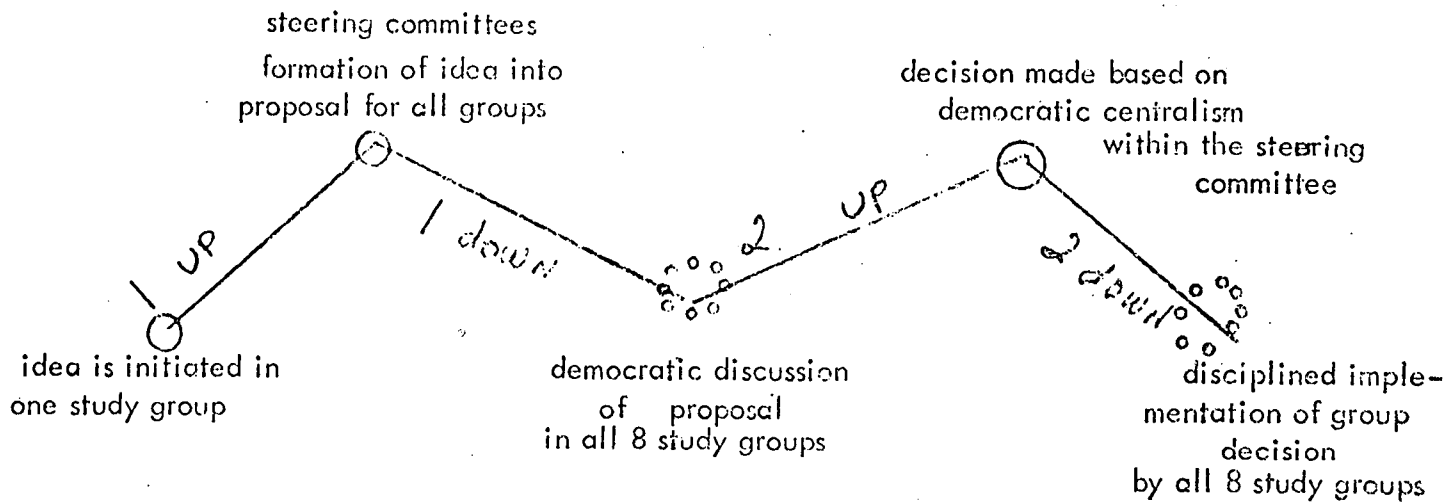
Our basic structure at present is on two levels: the coordinating committee and the study group.



The major functions of the coordinating group are:

- (1) to maintain an up-to-date analysis of all areas of Peoples College work.
- (2) to call meetings when necessary of the entire college.
- (3) to make policy pending support from all study groups.

The basic decision making process is two-up, two-down.



This process is based on :

- (1). The necessity of responding as a group in writing in a principled way.
- (2). The necessity to combine democratic discussion with organizational discipline in order to act in a collective manner.
- (3). The necessity of holding each group accountable for the political direction and development of the entire Peoples College.

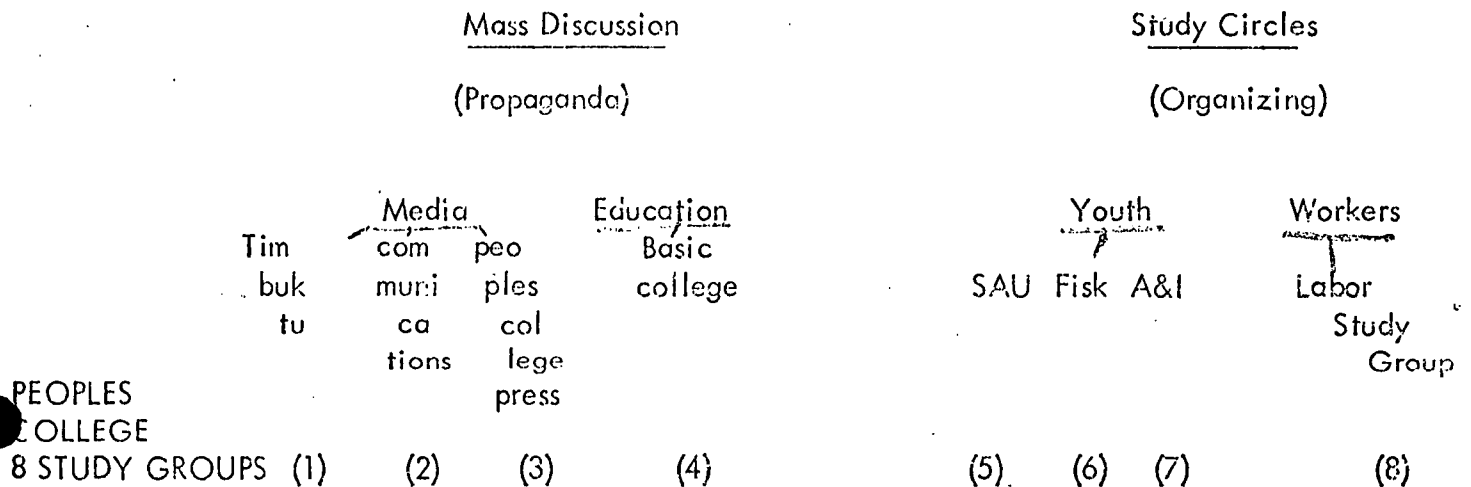
In sum, this basic process can be described as Democratic Centralism.

LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT

There are three distinct levels of development :

- (1) mass discussion: open discussions, mass participation
- (2) study circle: small group, concentrated study , concrete action
- (3) collective: dedicated workers, peoples struggle, democratic centralism

At present we have two levels of operation:



PEOPLES
COLLEGE
8 STUDY GROUPS

This diagram indicates the eight functioning groups within the Peoples College. Our Mass Discussions result from the direct efforts of four study groups in Media (Timbuktu Bookstore, Peoples College Press, Communications Group) and Education (Basic College, Peoples College high school). Peoples College has four study circles organizing Black Youth, (Students for Afro-American Unity, Fisk Study Group and Tennessee A & I study Group) and Black Workers (Labor Study Group).

Our program is to maintain all three levels for the purpose of serving the stages of a persons political development.

Mass Discussion: Recruitment and Conversion

Study Circle: Ideological development and leadership experience

Collective: Mobilization for Peoples Struggle , Involvement in Workers Struggle

Very Good

FOUR POINTS OF STUDY: LISTEN, TAKE NOTES, READ, THEN SPEAK

1. LISTEN

This is a problem for most people. Listening is important for many reasons: (1) To be in the Black Liberation Struggle means you love Black people and want more than anything else to see all Black People Free--Liberated. If this is so then it is your duty to respect every Black person by listening carefully to what they are saying. We all know from our study that it is the masses of people that will ultimately bring about Revolution, we are only their servants, their helpers, hopefully their loyal skilled technicians. We are nothing unless we understand our people. We cannot ever hope to understand Black people unless we listen to all Black People. (2) Many people who are neophytes to struggle seem over anxious and appear to be know it alls. Knowing what dialectical and historical materialism means, being able to point out the principle contradiction, and understanding its universality and particularity means nothing unless you have concrete practice to insure that your analysis is correct. For youth like us, listening to Black people, especially older Black people can be, is, the key to a correct analysis. (3) Black people are a colonized people who have been used and abused for 500 years. We have been lied to and lied on, we have been one of the most oppressed peoples of the world. Given our history of oppression we as a people have grown callous, skeptical and unbelieving. And because of this, most of us don't trust many other human beings. People will never trust you if you don't listen to them.

2. TAKE NOTES

We have all been places and heard speakers, (conferences, and organizational meetings, Churches, schools, social gatherings) and said to ourselves, "They're saying some pretty hip things". But the question is, can you remember those pretty hip things? Probably not if you didn't write them down. We are not, cannot be, nor can call ourselves political, or serving the people, or wanting to be apart of the Liberation of Black People unless we take notes. It would be right on if you had perfect recall, but none of us do so the only way we can duplicate past experiences is to

write them down.

It takes discipline to constantly take notes. But we have all been to political meetings, or conferences and seen other "political people" just sitting and listening never taking notes. This shows their lack of commitment to Black People. You just can't be about the liberation and serving of Black People unless you listen to Black People. And listening means nothing unless you can later duplicate this listening experience so you can analyze it, to further the struggle we are all trying to wage. There is just no way to be political without taking notes.

Notes should be taken in a notebook. Your notebook is your most valuable political possession. You can get another book, but not another set of notes. If someone is careless with their notes, then they are allowing anyone to have access to their political information and must be considered a high risk.

3. READ

In most political situations there will be material for reading in at least one of the following ways:

- A. a general display of print materials, e.g., Timbuktu sets up displays at most political activities.
- B. a display of organizational materials that reflect many specific applications of the organizational line
- C. documents distributed for the occasion, such as conference reports, working papers, major addresses, resolutions, background material, etc.
- D. bibliography in written form or mentioned in a rap, speech, lecture, answer to a question, etc.
- E. when confronting a particular organization, person, event--one should always ask for a bibliography

This material must be read. Something must be read specifically for each political encounter, even if it means reading it for the second, or fifth, or tenth time. Everything must be read after the political encounter. Only when this becomes normal political behavior will we have a scientific world outlook.

Remember always have reading material, just as always listen. Rather than sleeping while riding in the car, bus, or plane--Read. And when possible have extra reading material so if someone is with you and doesn't have any--you can solve their problem.

4. SPEAK

We list speaking last because it is the easiest and most misused of the four points. Remember it is possible to say anything. But to be scientifically-politically correct it is necessary to say specific things for specific reasons. So we first emphasize that after one listens, takes notes, and reads, it is more likely that one will be correct.

Always speak from notes. The longer you speak the more notes you should have. Even when asking a question in a political gathering you should try and write the question out first.

Always speak loudly, and look into the eyes of your audience. Your job is to communicate, to penetrate, to educate, to stimulate, to make it plain.

Always be brief. It is important to go straight to the main point, say what is necessary and stop. Your audience will dig you for it and will also dig what you've said.

Always repeat your main points twice, once when you start and once when you finish. Keep your main points simple and clear. Don't try to be so heavy, you will confuse yourself and everybody else.

HOW TO GIVE A REPORT

When giving a report we must keep in mind our 4 points of study. Because if they were used constantly and as accurately as possible, the report you're about to give will be accurate and scientific.

There are 5 concepts or questions to answer when giving a report.

1. Identity--who or what are you reporting on.

Here you are giving your audience basic objective information. You should answer:

- (a) Where you were? (City, neighborhood, building, type of room, layout of room and seating arrangements are the facts to include when they are relevant)
- (b) Who was involved? (number of people, ages, sex, race, and all other noticeable physical characteristics.)
- (c) What was the organizational basis? (names of organizations and positions of people involved, other key positions held by people, organizations associated with subject being reported on, like whose funding it)
- (d) What class forces were involved? (class positions of all people involved indicating occupations, incomes, education, status, etc.)

2. Analysis: Here you are going to give an accurate statement of the basic lines of political thought represented.

- (a) You should organize your report so that the analysis part will fit the identity part because our concrete social experiences are the basis for our ideas.
- (b) With every situation there is a principle contradiction, problem and solution, and your report must show how each line dealt with it.
- (c) Every political line must be included in your report.
- (d) As much as possible your report ought to include actual quotes (always short) that illuminate your report and ground it in fact.

3. Commitment: There are two major points to include in your report:

(a) break down of time: when things were scheduled, when they happened, how much time was involved in doing everything.

(b) money: how much was spent and on what? and where did it come from.

4. Program: What were the plans, scheduled activities and what actually happened?

5. Action: Select certain key events that summarize all that you've reported on, Identity, Analysis, Commitment and Program.

Notes:

(a) if your report is by a group never use "I", me, my or mine. These words should never occur to you because you are the voice of the group! Always use we, our us, etc.

(b) it is your responsibility to present as pleasing and easy a manner as possible. Sit where you can be seen by everyone. Look at everyone in the eyes when you talk. End on a positive note.

METHODS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

1. HOW TO LIVE AMONG THE PEOPLE ??

- (a) When someones hospitality is offered except it politely. Never demanding on your host. Except what is offered or do without. be
- (b) Always respect someones home as your own.
- (c) All food and drink consumed ought to be repalced if you have just helped yourself in your hosts absence. It also helps if you bring some orange juice, pop, etc. and serve the entire household.
- (d) All facilities used should be cleaned and straightened before leaving (ash trays, and garbage emptied, sheets and blankets folded, bathroom in good shape, dishes washed)
- (e) Always leave a thank you note and then before 3 days are up send a card "Thanking You Again".
- (f) Always carry Peoples College propaganda materials with you. Give then out to the people with follow up on their reactions, face to face and later through correspondence.
- (g) Always act and leave wo the next comrade will get a warm welcome.
- (h) Our science deals with all reality, so accept everyones area of interest as legitimate, then relate it to our basic analysis.

2. HOW TO REPRESENT PEOPLES COLLEGE AT A CONFERENCE??

- (a) Always have our propaganda materials to distribute.
- (b) Never use "I" always "we", not "my" but "our".
- (c) Always obtain mailing addresses and phone numbers concentrating on:
 - 1. Socialists--Revolutionaries
 - 2. Black People
 - 3. Workers
 - 4. Youth
 - 5. Bookstores - Presses - Newspapers

(d) Collect at least two copies of everything - one for your study group and one for Peoples College files.

(e) Attend all sessions - fight your subjective reactions. Your behavior must reflect the highest standards of the Peoples College.

3. HOW TO PARTICIPATE IN A CAUCAS ??

(a) Have the interests of Peoples College clear and on paper- let no one see this as it is only for your reference.

(b) Formulate the key proposal we are interested in the Caucus supporting .

(c) Study the composition of the caucus and determine the class contradictions and the varying political tendencies.

(d) Use the following formulae:

1. Unite the many to convince the few
2. Unify, Struggle, Transform, Unify

ACTION

Each study group must draft short factual statements reflecting what has been done and what is planned in the following areas of work:

1. Propaganda: Media

VIBS
Labor Newsletter
Timbuktu

Communications
Press

2. Propaganda: Education

Basic College

3. Organizing: Labor

agitation-Protest Support
organizing new people

4. Organizing : Youth

agitation-Protest
organizing new people



PEOPLES COLLEGE COLLECTIVE: NOTES ON A DRAFT PROGRAM

JULY 1976

Contents:

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 - (e) Peoples College Research Library
Afro-American Research Quarterly
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SECURITY NOTE: STRICTLY INTERNAL

5 xerox, original to CA. files

4 handwritten/xerox to be acct. for/destroyed

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS, HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS

A. Introduction

This document is a discussion draft of a program for Peoples College. A program is a brief statement of ideological, political, and organizational line that serves as the basis for unity and gives direction for the current stage of struggle. This is not an attempt to simulate a communist party program, but is an attempt to sum up the line for a Marxist-Leninist collective. Due to the particular character of the work and the people involved, this draft program will spell out this stage of development and point to the key contradictions to be faced.

This document should be treated as a confidential document. Each comrade should read it, formulate a response (specifically, points of agreement and disagreement, revisions, new questions, etc.), and prepare a written document to be taken up when we convene in California.

B. Historical Sketch

Peoples College emerged out of the 1960s at a point when the two lines of bourgeois and proletarian ideologies were sharpeningⁱⁿ the struggle for Black liberation. Historically, the first Peoples College was formed by Black sociologist Charles S. Johnson at Fisk University in the 1930s as a community education program. We chose this name because it expressed a link with the democratic struggles of our past, and also adequately expressed our ideological orientation at the time (1970). In form it was inspired by the Communiversities in Chicago and Malcolm X Liberation University in North Carolina, though these were respectively nationalist and Pan-Africanist groups while Peoples College had an explicit anti-imperialist line. The initial forces came from faculty and students at Fisk, Tennessee State, Meharry and Vanderbilt and spread into the working class Black community.

At this time, we can sum up the history of Peoples College in two stages based on the content of the dominant line:

- (1) Anti-imperialist, 1970-1973: from the first Black Liberation Month to African Liberation Day 1973;
- (2) Communist, 1974-1976: from ALSC to Peoples College, Washington, D.C. to California.

In its development, Peoples College has had important relationships with the following:

- (1) Black Workers Congress
- (2) National Association of Black Students
- (3) October League, Revolutionary Communist Party (once Revolutionary Union)
- (4) North Carolina: YOBU, African World, Malcolm X Liberation University
- (5) Cuba, Venceremos Brigade
- (6) African Liberation Support Committee, National Black Assembly
- (7) China, U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association
- (8) Liberation movements in West and East Africa
- (9) Newsreel, Peoples Press, New England Free Press
- (10) CPUSA, Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL)
- (11) ELCRAP, Nairobi Collective, N.Y. Collective, individuals in Philadelphia, Cincinnati,

These relationships represent important developments of line, development of unity and disunity, and resulted in different levels of influence in the movement on local, national, and international scale. All of these relationships as well as the day to day work of Peoples College must be summed up so that our critical analysis can result in both positive and negative lessons for Peoples College work in the future. This will be a necessary aspect of our political education process during 1976-1977.

In general, during the first period Peoples College fought against right forces and during the second period we fought against left dogmatists: Haki in the first case, Black Workers Congress (BWC) in the second, Baraka in both cases. Our main work has been on the right line--it has been the overall main danger. The left dogmatists are significant only among a small sect and are a secondary though dangerous element at this time (See Epton, 1976). An example of this is the fact that ALD-1976 for ALSC was a bust due to insufficient ideological struggle against ultra-"leftism", allowing Stokely to usurp the stage and have a rally with 5000 people. Clearly this is a negative example showing how the left in ALSC has degenerated into self-destruction liquidating its role in mass organization. The National Black Assembly is another example--Baraka's flip-flop from right opportunism to left opportunism.

C. Notes on a Draft Program

Our draft program is based on a general formulation of ideological, political, and organizational line that serves the working class and leads to proletarian revolution and Afro-American liberation. What follows in this section is:

- (1) Line
- (2) Stage I: Consolidation
- (3) Programmatic Activities

(1) Line

(a) Ideological Line: The ideological line of the Peoples College is Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary science of the working class. On all questions, our work should take up the two line struggle of identifying the proletarian vs. the bourgeois stand, and struggle to consolidate the left, isolate the right and win over the middle forces. Therefore, the study of Marxist-Leninist classics as applied to concrete conditions will always constitute a programmatic feature of Peoples College.

While the study of philosophy and historical materialism are important, we view political economy as the key area for study. Also, our study will focus on communist social practice in world revolution (USSR, China, Albania, etc.) and in the USA, and the historical development of the Black liberation movement.

(b) Political Line: The Political line of Peoples College results from the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the USA and the world, and represents a scientific formulation of strategy and tactics for proletarian revolution and national liberation in the USA. The key focus of Peoples College is on Black Liberation and the fight for socialism in the USA.

We are opposed to the dogmatic left who play down the hard protracted task of scientific investigation and analysis. Therefore we see our empirical investigation to be essential. Moreover, the key questions concern how classes in the USA are or are not revolutionary, the developing crisis of world capitalism, the nature of the US capitalist state and the threat of fascism, etc.

(c) Organizational Line: Peoples College is a communist collective based on principles of democratic centralism and criticism/self-criticism. The main feature is political unity based on study, discussion/persuasion, and struggle. A secondary feature is organizational effectiveness based on efficiency, productivity and a professional style of work.

Based on these general statement, the following is proposed as a statement of unity for internal purposes, and to be expanded for use in our liaison work with other groups and individuals.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

Peoples College is a Marxist-Leninist collective dedicated to Black people and socialist revolution in the United States of America. We stand firmly with the oppressed and exploited peoples, countries, and nations of the world.

Our particular contribution at this time is to provide materials for political education. Our current focus is on the (national or racial) oppression and class exploitation of Afro-American people in the USA. However, we will also develop and make available materials that deal with every other aspect of exploitation and oppression, liberation and revolution in the USA and throughout the world.

We hold the view that a protracted struggle needs to be waged against the brainwashing and racist ideology of the ruling class. The scientific understanding of history and revolution must be grasped by the masses as a weapon for revolutionary change. After summing up the last few years in the context of the last few decades, we conclude that theoretical development (ideological and political line) for those in struggle and for those yet to come is the main task at this time.

Peoples College is an independent communist collective. We salute all comrades who are engaged in revolutionary work, we urge more to join, and we declare our allegiance to the proletariat, and we swear a fight to the death in the struggle for socialism.

(2) Stage I: Consolidation of Collective Around Ideological and Political Line:
Theory is our Key Link

In our first stage it will be necessary to unify the collective around a correct view of the science of Marxism-Leninism. This will require the systematic study of certain classic texts and a full discussion of them. Also, since theory is the summation of practice, our grasp of M-L is contingent upon our ability to correctly sum up the historical experiences of the working class, the communist movement, Black people, the Black liberation movement, and Peoples College. Therefore our grasp of theory must also involve our summation of history. So, in the contradiction of theory and practice--theory is key. In line, between ideological and political line ideological line is key (See Foundations of Leninism, Chap. 7). Obviously M-L (ideology) is required and results in political line when applied creatively and correctly to the concrete conditions of the USA and the world today in order to determine the main course of the revolution, i.e., to develop strategy and tactics.

TIMETABLE	MAIN ACTIVITY	GOAL
A. June-August	Transition	Geographical Unity
B. Sept.-Jan.	Ideological Line	Unity on M-L Theory
C. Feb.-May	Organizational and Practical Work	Organizational Unity and Practical Productivity
D. June-Aug.	Transition	Geographical Unity on a higher level
E. September-Nov.	Practical Work and Theoretical Study	Political Line

A. In this phase we will be moving to the same geographical location. After considerable struggle we have united on the view that geographical unity is a necessary precondition for political unity. Also during this stage each individual should be preparing to enter a year of intense study and struggle to fully consolidate Peoples College. The earliest we can move the better, though the deadline should be September 1st.

B. Our first task is to engage in the study of basic Marxist works and the historical development of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC). The result of this study (as always) should be study guides and draft documents for internal use and/or public use--work toward a correct ideological line.

C. On the basis of achieving a certain level of unity on the basic features of Marxism-Leninism, in addition to our study, we will actively begin organizational preparations for practical work. This period will be to formulate guidelines, plans, organizational tasks and styles of work; as well as the physical preparation of all organizational materials that will be used in our work. We will all begin to look for jobs.

D. This will be our transition back to Chicago based on the plan developed in C. above.

E. This is when we will be ^y trying to deepen our grasp of theory by applying M-L to the USA in order to develop a correct political line. In addition, we will be trying to establish links in Chicago, individual and group contacts in order to have the basis for forming study groups and concrete links to mass struggle.

(3) Programatic Activities

(A) Journal: For the past four years, Peoples College has been committed to developing a journal for the development, application, and propogation of Marxism-Leninism. This will be the major vehicle for our theoretical work.

--(1) The journal is aimed at the advanced elements in the working class, movement and intellectual groups. Being an advanced force means having no objective interest in preserving the capitalist system and actively engaged in struggling against it. The journal is geared to winning these forces to Marxism-Leninism.

--(2) The journal will be at least/^aquarterly publication with widespread circulation.

--(3) The Peoples College Collective will serve as the interim editorial board until such time as political unity with other individuals and groups has been achieved so that a permanent board can be the outcome of organizational unity.

--(4) All articles will be (a) unsigned if they represent the position of the collective; (b) signed if they don't, but this only when followed by an unsigned article on points of difference and points of unity.

--(5) Public Announcement: (a) Date: October 1st; (b) Send out flyers soliciting orders; (c) Publish draft editorial statement for circulation (at least to key contacts) with cover format same as journal.

--(6) Proposed First Issue Content:

- (a) Editorial Statement
- (b) ALSC article
- (c) List of future issues
- (d) Ads (African Red Family, etc.)

Timetable

- (a) Publication date: January
- (b) Project second issue May 1st or for AUSA conference if BAG hookup works

--(7) Possible Journal Topics

- (a) Two-Line Struggle in Black Studies
- (b) Black Intellectual Radicals and the Great Depression
- (c) The African Slave Trade and the Development of Capitalism in the U.S.
- (d) Black Literature and the Class Struggle
- (e) Blacks in the Auto Industry
- (f) Rise of Marxism-Leninism in the Black Liberation Movement, 1960-1976

--(8) Draft Outline/Notes on First Issue of Journal

(a) Title: IMPERIALISM AND BLACK LIBERATION: THE STRUGGLE OF ALSC, 1972-1976

1. Introduction

(a) General Issues

- (1) Black liberation movement and support for African Liberation
- (2) Proletarian Revolution and National liberation in US, World Revolution

(b) Historical Context

- (1) Main character of international situation
- (2) Contradictions in political economy of USA
- (3) Contradictions in USA movement

2. Historical Sketch of ALSC

- (a) Mozambique to ALD 1972
- (b) The Road to Frogmore (1973)
- (c) From Frogmore to Washington, D.C. (1974)
- (d) From Houston to North Carolina (1975-1976)
- (e) The Road Ahead

3. 1st Line Struggle: Opportunism (ALDCQ to ALSC)

4. 2nd Line Struggle: Bourgeois Nationalism and Emergence of Genuine Anti-Imperialism in ALSC (CAP)

5. 3rd Line Struggle: Revisionist Attempt to Liquidate ALSC (CPUSA)

6. 4th Line Struggle: Ultra-Leftism versus rise of Marxism-Leninism (BWC)

7. 5th Line Struggle: Left Liquidationism and Dogmatism (RWL on: ALSC and Angola)

LOCAL CASE STUDIES OF ALSC IN:

- | | | |
|--------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 8. New York | 12. Los Angeles | 16. Washington, D.C. |
| 9. Nashville | 13. Philadelphia | |
| 10. Atlanta | 14. Chicago | |
| 11. Bay Area | 15. Detroit | |

17. Lessons of ALSC

18. ALSC: The Road Ahead

(b) On the ALSC Analysis

1. Basically, the analysis is in five parts: (a) general introduction, historical background, issues; (b) historical sketch; (c) line struggles; (d) local case studies; (e) summation, lessons learned;
2. Actually, b,c, and d could be united but drafts should probably be written first;
3. Project a document of 350 pages long in draft form with extensive quoting of material;
4. Methodology:
 - (a) Plan to publish main body of analysis as Journal.
 - (b) Plan to publish complete analysis with documents, leaflets, and photos in a book.
 - (c) STEPS:
 1. Peoples College prepares a draft;
 2. Draft sent out for comments
 3. Revised draft sent out
 4. Peoples College tour for face to face struggle over document (Atlanta, D.C., NY, Texas, Philly, Detroit, Chicago)
 5. Publish the Journal
 6. Prepare Political education study guide on total analysis
 7. Publish book with summation of response to journal
 8. Set up study groups
 - (d) Arrange to have ALSC archives micro-copied

(B) News Column: Given the continued existence of print media (metro newspapers, community press, campus press, magazines, movement press) and radio, Peoples College will take up the task of regularly analyzing topical issues in a format very accessible to large numbers of people (agitation), (For a discussion of the difference between propoganda and agitation, see What is To Be Done? Chap. 3,5). This will involve a monthly news column sent out camera ready to print media and radio stations. The editorial board will have to approve every column in order that a consistent revolutionary line is maintained, avoiding right and "left" errors, so that we build a following among the advanced elements as well as a mass audience for recognition first, then trust, then

accepting theoretical leadership of the proletarian line. Fraternal forces will eventually be asked to contribute articles.

(C) Timbuktu Books: Peoples college will carry on its history of distributing books and related materials, developing national and international contacts, and also Timbuktu will keep certain key titles available to the working class and Black people. A new catalogue will be produced each year with a new titles list every quarter.

(D) Peoples College Press: This is our production arm responsible for producing the journal, news column, and other books, etc. that we will produce. Timbuktu is our distribution outlet. Our goal is to be as self-sufficient as possible.

(E) Peoples College Research Library: Our goal is to socialize our work into one common library owned by the collective and subject to control by the Peoples College editorial board. We project a publication from our library called the Afro-American Research Quarterly to sum up organizational activities and new publications by and about Black people in the USA.

D. Notes on Logistics in California: These notes are proposals for implementation:

(1) Living facilities--One large house where there is ample space for print/graphic work, collective work area, sleeping space for everyone, etc. In all other cases, economy is the key--so we can all get the smallest and cheapest possible set up.

(2) Money--Collective saves \$1,000 per month; based on (1) individual budgets being discussed, (2) from what is left over deduct \$1,000 per month, (3) use the rest for operating expenses;

(3) PC Meetings--Attempt to have 25 two-day sessions during Sept.-May with a 4-5 day seminar at end of year before Chicago. Typical would be:

Friday night--Political Educ. Session
 Sat. morn --Practical work or Pol. Ed.
 aft. --Practical work
 night ---Business meeting
 Sun. morn. --Summation

(4) Sample Monthly Budget for Peoples College

(a) Savings-----\$ 1,000

(b) PC Facility for:-----

1. Printing facilities
2. Work area
3. Sleeping arrangements

(c) Acquisitions

1. Equipment-----
2. Books-----
3. Periodicals-----
4. Transportation-----

(d) Areas of Work

1. Timbuktu-----
2. Print Shop-----
3. News Column-----
4. Afro-American Research Q.-----
5. Journal-----
6.

(e) Communications/Transporation

1. Phone-----
2. Stamps-----
3. Travel-----

(f) Miscellaneous/Contingency-----

BLACK NEW YORK ACTION COMMITTEE

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

The BLACK NEW YORK ACTION COMMITTEE is a political organization that believes that the history of Black people in the United States is one of resistance and struggle against the forces of capitalist exploitation and racial oppression. We, as Black people, are actively committed to continuing this struggle on our jobs, in our schools, in our communities and in our daily lives to create a new and humane society where the masses of people will take power and wealth out of the hands of the few and place it in the hands of those who created it - the entire working class. In essence, we are struggling to help create a society where the vast majority of people will have the power to control the economic, political, social and cultural institutions that affect our lives. We do not view our struggle as an isolated one. We are, in fact, part of a world-wide movement against the forces of exploitation and oppression.

WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION.

Capitalism is an economic system in which a few people, the ruling class, have total economic and political control over the things needed to produce the necessities of life - the land, the natural resources, the industries, etc. Yet, the vast majority of people in society, whose collective work and energy produce the necessities of life, own and control nothing, and must work everyday to be able to eat and keep a roof over our heads. The ruling class does not have to work to eat. They are able to hire us to work for them. Then we buy back from them the things that are rightfully ours - our food, clothing and shelter. The interests of the ruling class and the vast majority of people are in direct opposition to each other. The ruling class is only interested in increasing their profits. They care nothing about the needs and well-being of masses of people. Our struggle then, is a class struggle against capitalist exploitation and the ruling class, which cannot be victorious without a consistent struggle against racial oppression.

WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST RACIAL OPPRESSION.

Nat'l quest

Racism is an economic and social practice which evolved from the development of capitalism during American slavery, intensified and has taken on new and more deep-rooted forms over the years. The practice of racism puts money in the pockets of the ruling class by paying lower wages to Black workers than to white workers. Racism makes us the last hired and the first fired and relegates us to the dirtiest, most dangerous, most unskilled jobs. Racism has ensured the imprisonment of Black people in the worst housing, the worst schools and the worst hospitals in the country. Racism encourages the false idea of white superiority and Black inferiority. These practices and attitudes divide those who produce the wealth, the working class, because racism dictates more exploitation of Blacks than whites. We must struggle against racial oppression wherever it exists and against working class divisions encouraged by racist practices and attitudes.

WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY OF BLACK WOMEN.

Black women are triply oppressed, suffering from class exploitation, racial oppression and oppression as females. The oppression of females is a necessary part of the capitalist system. Sexism perpetuates the myth that men are better than women, that women don't have the right to earn an income and that somehow, women are not "complete" human beings. Sexism is an ideology that does not recognize the value and importance of half of society. We recognize the major contribution that Black women have made to Black history and to the Black liberation movement. We are committed as Black women and men to the struggle against practices and ideas that de-grade and oppress Black women.

WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE VIOLENT AND REPRESSIVE FORCES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

The domination of the many by the few is maintained through the use of force and violence. The primary purpose of the police is to control us and to protect the property interests of the ruling class. [The courts and the legal system are run by the wealthy in the interests of the wealthy.]

WE ARE STRUGGLING TO MAKE AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURE AN EXPRESSION OF REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS AND PRACTICE.

Afro-American culture, a form of resistance to the oppression that we have suffered in this country, is in a state of decay. The protests and rebellions of the 60's, a response to the dire living conditions we have so long endured, gave rise to a high level of cultural development in the Black community. This cultural development, along with the movement of the 60's, has been dissipated - bastardized and commercialized for the sake of profit. This was a deliberate attempt to stifle the Black liberation movement. We must create new cultural forms, images and institutions that reflect the needs and aspirations of masses of Black people. We must make our culture a powerful weapon in our movement towards liberation.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO BUILDING A BLACK, MASS-BASED, RADICAL ORGANIZATION WITH THE BLACK WORKING CLASS AS ITS BASE AND LEADING FORCE.

The Black working class should be the base and leading force of our movement and our organization because of the vital and strategic role they play in the production process. Due to the strategic position the Black working class has in U.S. economy, the Black working class possesses the power to be a leading force in the struggle to reorganize U.S. society. Therefore, the BLACK NEW YORK ACTION COMMITTEE is committed to strengthening and deepening our roots in the Black working class and to fighting on a day to day basis for our democratic rights and to improve the conditions of our lives and communities. We believe that the Black middle-class has historically played a progressive role in anti-racist struggles and in the struggle for democratic and human rights. The role of the Black middle-class must be to use their skills, their knowledge and their resources in the interests of the Black working class.

contradiction

WE ARE FIGHTING TO CREATE A NEW, HUMANE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM.

This system is called a socialist system. We have been programed to believe that socialism is bad. However, socialism is the only system that will lay the basis for victory over racism and class exploitation. In a socialist society, the fundamental needs and interests of the masses of people will be more important than profits for a few. This will happen because the natural resources, industry, financial institutions, culture, communications, health care, education and all parts of society will be owned, controlled and operated by the working masses in their own interests. Full employment, free and quality health care and education, shelter and clothing will be basic guarantees of this new society. The "dog eat dog" competitiveness, the "making it" and "getting ahead" while our sisters and brothers subsist in poverty and despair will be replaced by the belief and understanding that we make it as a whole or not at all; that until everyone's needs are met, we cannot really "make it." It is only under socialism that people's creative and productive potential will be fulfilled and realized.

WE SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLES OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD STRUGGLING AGAINST ALL FORMS OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION.

The BLACK NEW YORK ACTION COMMITTEE understands that capitalism is a world-wide system. Therefore, we support African and Carib-bean liberation struggles, in particular, because they are an important part of our history and culture, and also the struggles of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world with whom we share a common enemy and a common goal.

WE ARE STRUGGLING TO TRANSFORM OUR NEGATIVE AND BACKWARDS IDEAS INTO A UNIFIED AND COLLECTIVE SPIRIT.

The ruling class maintains its rule over us, not only by force, but also by their control over the institutions that shape and mold our ideas and the way we think. The educational systems, the television, radio, newspapers, magazines and cultural institutions owned and operated by the ruling class serve to perpetuate their way of looking at the world - an outlook that keeps people divided and makes money and material objects things that must be acquired by any means necessary. Thus, we come to believe that a few "tokens" represents progress and that the "American dream" is something that we should knife our brothers and sisters in the back for, if we have to. BNYAC believes that the well-being of any one of us, depends upon the well-being of all of us, that we cannot work to build a new society until we first begin the process of changing ourselves and our relationships to each other and that we must build independent institutions that help develop the collective and cooperative spirit and creative energy of our people.

We, of the BLACK NEW YORK ACTION COMMITTEE, recognize that our struggle is a long and difficult one. However, we are committed to doing everything that we can, within our lifetime, to hasten our victory so that our children and our children's children will live in freedom and peace forever.

FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM

P.C. study sessions Jan. 79

General: What did Stalin (Lenin) say and how can we apply this to the Zimbabwe campaign summation?

Chapters 1-3:

1. World outlook vs Leninism

'World outlook' and 'Leninism' are not identical phases because the first speaks to the Marxist theory of knowledge based on dialectics and materialism, while the latter addresses Marxism in a particular era. "To expound Leninism means to expound the distinctive and new in the works of Lenin that Lenin contributed to the general treasury of Marxism and that is naturally connected with his name." (p.1)

Mao's extensions ^{of} ~~to~~ ^{include developments} Marxism ~~have been~~ the concepts of the United Front and Peoples' War, and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat - the struggle against revisionism.

The most profound ^{ideological} breakthrough for a person or society is the use of Marxism as the basis for their world outlook. In evaluating ZANU it is important to be able to critique their use of Leninism as a basis for their world outlook. In particular, to be able to distinguish any non-Marxist views of imperialism.

In relating ZANU's struggle to the people of Chicago, it is important to show why Leninism is appropriate for Zimbabwe and the US. This is the issue being raised by the three points of the ZLW leaflet.

"Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular." Another example of United Front politics is Iran. There it is

essential to unite with the Shah against Russia but it is possible to question the nature of the unity, i.e. should China supply conventional weapons rather than strategic weapons of war?

To further understand this overall point, the five points raised by Lenin in Imperialism should be reviewed.

2. Three contradictions of the imperialist system

Within the imperialist system there are the contradictions between labor and capital, among the financial groups and imperialist powers for raw materials, and between the ruling nations and the ruled. This question also speaks to the struggle for a general line in that the fourth contradiction is now that between socialism and capitalism. This last contradiction has been heightened with the increase in socialist countries. Reviewing Proposal for General Line, Teng's statement and the Theory of Three Worlds, would help to develop the correct line.

US imperialism has the capacity for facism but will only become so if pushed. It operates in the context of necessity so there are periods when the legal climate is quite favorable for left work. Understanding this last contradiction will also help in deepening the grasp of the dynamics of state-to-state vs state-to-party relationships. The best condition for revolution is peace since that time can be used for the development of proletarian political armies.

3. What are the four aspects of method?

- testing dogma in practice
- testing policy by deeds
- reorganization of work along revolutionary lines
- self-criticism

Testing dogma in practice is essential to maintaining a correct political line. CCFA's work has consistently tried to apply this requirement as witnessed

by this slogan from 1st Wave: Walk on two legs with mass struggle as the key link. Work in Chicago, from the Oct/Forum, through Carson's, Dec. 3, the BLM News, ALS, ALD and the bank, has focussed on testing dogma in practice.

"Is it not clear that revolutionary slogans and resolutions are not worth a farthing unless backed by deeds?" (p.18) For all the campaigns, the slogans could be evaluated in terms of CCFA's deeds but the most recent example of the Zimbabwe slogans may serve to highlight this point. CCFA raised 'Full Support for the Patriotic Front.' Subsequently the organization was criticized for giving less than 'full support.' In terms of CCFA's deeds though, every effort was made to present a united PF to Chicago .

One way in which CCFA failed to back slogans with deeds was in terms of the resolutions accepted at the retreat. There was still considerable confusion as to what the slogans meant and therefore they were not backed by deeds.

To understand the difference in necessities between CCFA and the PF, the PF should be viewed as a tactical issue whereas building the United Front in Chicago is strategic. Part of the summation should include a critique of the role of other left groups by those interviewed. The movement's reaction to CCFA should also be summed up.

Organization should serve line and one way of training and preparing CCFA would be to get all involved in the summation process.

"Self-criticism within proletarian parties, their education and training on the basis of their own mistakes; for only in this way can genuine cadres and genuine leaders of the Party be trained." (p.15) "Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the circumstances which gave rise to it, and thoroughly discussing the means to correct it - that is

the earmark of a serious party,..." (p.19) Self-criticism is one of the main bases for developing line. Real self-criticism equals class struggle and can be the basis for class defection.

To get a better grasp of the problems resolved during serious criticism, review 'Combat Liberalism', Ch.8 in Intro I and Ch.7 here on strategy and tactics.

4. What is theory?

Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. It is the "...task of generalizing on the basis of materialist philosophy..." In this respect it is the process of going from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, practice to theory and from particular experience to the general that constitutes the meaning of theory.

The question of what role does Marxism play in terms of Black people usually elicits two types of responses a) the purpose of Marxism is to build revolutionary struggle among Black people, or b) Marxism should be used in order to build the BLM.

a) This position is that the way for freedom of Black people is through socialist revolution, the reason why there is oppression of Black people is the imperialist system and only the destruction of the system and replacing it with socialism will enable us to annihilate the whole notion of national and racial oppression.

b) This position represents a backward, narrow view. To restate it in popular terms, it is the view that the aspects of Marxism that help analyze the conditions of Black people should be used but that which speaks to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrow of imperialism and a socialist state, that is in large part the essence of Marxism, is negated. The position assumes that the BLM can accomplish freedom for Black people and either ignores or tries to explain away the necessity for socialism.

This position has failed in the past and is destined to fail again. It negates the theory of Marxism-Leninism and as Lenin has written " Without a

revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." Revolutionary theory is the heart beat of the revolution because it a) "can give the movement confidence" - knowing you're right and why you're right; b) has "the power of orientation" - familiarity with how to do things, eg. organize and know why you do certain things and an understanding of c) the inner relations of surrounding events - enables us to go from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge and the class essence of things as they relate to imperialism and the forces of production. It is using the dialectical process to discover the essence and the internal relations of things. It therefore follows that it and it alone can help practice to learn not only in which direction classes are moving at the present time and how, but also in which direction they will move in the near future - that is it is the experience of the WC movement taken in its general aspect so as to provide the necessary knowledge to move the revolution forward.

5. Spontaneity and theory of production forces

Spontaneity is opportunism - the belief that the initiative of the masses by itself - will lead to socialist revolution. But it does just the opposite. It leads to bourgeois reformism and trade unionism which is just a negation of the price of exploitation. Spontaneity also belittles theory. In P.C. there exists the view that it is bad to be too much of a communist, too much of a revolutionary, that "we should let some things work themselves out." This view is couched in the guise of 'concern for the 'low development of the masses' since we don't want to scare them (with the truth) or force them to discussion they must have if we are to learn how to help build the socialist revolution.

The theory of production forces states that the objective changes in the world and the material basis of society (productive forces and technology) specifically create the material basis for changes in production relations and the super-structure. Therefore, modernizing the production forces is not the decisive basis for communism. Another position that was defeated by Engels in Anti-Duhring

can actually force (from the top down) politically, intellectually and militarily the material basis of society to move faster.

As a result of this discussion, one important question for PC is what is the difference between attempting to unleash the masses and bowing to spontaneity. The way we can best make a determination of this is to ask ourselves the question 'Was there a time when people were unleashed and were there times when they weren't and why?'

6. Permanent Revolution

This is the belief that the proletariat alone should wage the struggle for socialism. This negates uniting peasants, the petty-bourgeois etc. in a socialist revolution-implying that they have nothing to contribute. CCFA was first introduced to this position during the Carson's campaign when the trots chanted slogans and waved banners that "...liquidated the national democratic revolutionary stage (in which a whole nation is at war against imperialism and national oppression) and concentrated solely on W-C struggle in South Africa." 1st Wave p.14. In essence the Trots do not support national liberation struggle. This position would also negate many people who are struggling for freedom in Zimbabwe who are not workers but peasants, schoolteachers, students who are united around overthrowing the white minority government of Zimbabwe and who can help work toward Zimbabwe becoming a socialist state.

7. Conditions Necessary For a Revolution

Lenin states that "only when the 'lower classes' do not want the old way, and when the 'upper classes' cannot rule in the old way-only then can revolution triumph." (Left Wing) He outlines two essential conditions that are necessary for revolution: 1) that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of class conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand that revolution is necessary and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly,

that the ruling class should be passing through a governmental crisis, which draws even the most backward masses into politics "...weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly." The tragedy of the 60's is that a revolutionary moment was missed because Lenin's second condition was fulfilled: Vietnam, shooting of officers, mass defections, Watergate and the hatred of the government and the Civil Rights movement. The first condition--the majority of workers did not understand, and still don't understand that revolution is necessary and possible.

However in Zimbabwe, both conditions do exist. A crisis exists in the country. The white population is fleeing, the productive capacity of the economy has been interrupted, there are splits between hard-line whites and white liberals. At the same time the question of the masses of people of Zimbabwe is another issue. The propping up of the BlackSmiths shows a weakness in the Smith government. Has the government postponed the elections because they know that the BlackSmiths can't win because the masses of people won't vote for them or the guerillas are strong enough to stop the elections? But ultimately this can only be tested by ZANU's practice - then we will know if both of Lenin's conditions prevail.

Chapter 6.

1. Transformation of the national question from a European question to a world problem of the colonies.

During the period of the Second International, the national question was generally confined to a narrow circle of questions concerning, primarily 'civilized' European nations. Leninism transformed the national question from a particular internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of the liberation of the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from imperialism. The fundamental point here is that the

rise of Imperialism greatly altered the notion of the national question. A case in point is Zimbabwe. Africa was historically dominated by Europeans - this domination was part and parcel to the rise of Imperialism. The Zimbabwe nation was formed as a result of Imperialist expansion. Prior to Imperialism the nation of Zimbabwe did not exist. The Berlin Conference (1884) represented the rise of Imperialism and because of the historical tendencies of ^{the} development of capitalism, helped to shape colonial nations of Africa simultaneously with the Zimbabwe nation. Similarly, the slave trade in the U.S. - which saw the development of the Afro-American nation - was part and parcel to the development of the capitalist system so the intensification of national oppression was a result of the rise of Imperialism.

Self-determination

The principle of SD of nations was usually misinterpreted to mean the right of nations to autonomy. The Second International further distorted this notion by narrowing it down to the idea of the right of nations to cultural autonomy, i.e., the right of nations to its cultural institutions, leaving all political power in the hands of the ruling nation. As a result, the right of SD was being transformed from an instrument for combatting annexations to an instrument for justifying them. Leninism broadly interpreted the right of SD as the right of dependent countries and colonies to complete secession and autonomy.

The bankrupt nature of the Second International's view on SD can be clearly illustrated by looking at the situation in Zimbabwe. There, SD is seen as coming from the Rhodesian constitution within which affrontations to the right of SD exists such as whites controlling Zimbabwe for ten years, etc. The SD of the Zimbabwe nation can in no way be dictated by anyone but Zimbabweans. If we look at the Smith regime as an extension of Britain and the Anglo-American plan

we see that they propose the right of Zimbabwe to cultural autonomy, leaving all political power in their hands. Thus the U.S. and Britain say "let Zimbabweans have the vote-the vote is the heart of true democracy." But the vote is a vote to ratify a constitution that has already been decided. The SD of the Zimbabwean people has been interfered with by the U.S. and Britain through Smith and the signers of the Internal Agreement.

Neo-colonialism is essentially annexation where the economy of a nation, its money and trade is directly tied to its colonial power. Nkrumah said "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all will come unto you." But Nkrumah was dead wrong. What the oppressed nations should be seeking is socialism! SSI undermined the notion of SD in its development of the theory of "world accountability." This is the process whereby raw materials are produced by some countries (eg Cuba) and industries exist in others so that some countries have little diversification and therefore lack autonomy. We must not only look at the judicial proclamations - the words and declarations- but we must look also at deeds. We can use this dialectic to compare ZAPU-ZANU, the PF to the Black Smiths, JC and human rights, etc. Remember, the Soviet Union proclaims its support of the revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe and the PF, but previously it gave guns to ZAPU and not ZANU.

3. Reformism vs revolution.

Reformists look at the national question independent from the question of the overthrow of Imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The question that must be asked in dealing with the national question is does it fight Imperialism? In John Henry, for example, we learn that the first PAC was not revolutionary, but the Fifth had revolutionary implications.

In Zimbabwe, the Internal Agreement is reformist; rather than undermine Imperialism, it supports it. ZAPU is revolutionary in essence - they are part

of the PF, but their leadership, Nkomo is reformist in essence: Nkomo meeting with Smith or the Soviet Union to negotiate the level of exploitation of Zimbabwe.

Criteria for support of national liberation movements

It is the responsibility of the proletariat of 'dominant' nations to support resolutely and actively the national liberation movements of oppressed and dependent peoples if it tends to weaken, to overthrow Imperialism and not strengthen or preserve it. Soweto, for example, undermined Imperialism in South Africa. But there are different kinds of movements in Soweto: SASO, BPC, etc., that supported the Soweto rebellion. How do we know it weakened Imperialism? The struggle in Iran is being led by Muslim fanatics yet the U.S. is fleeing. Have we the responsibility to help the Iranian struggle? During the Zimbabwe campaign, how do we know that we helped to weaken or overthrow Imperialism? Partly the answer is in dialectics: a) it will tell us if it has been hurt; b) observe the counter-attacks-^{or} government agency puts stuff in depository; c) in CCFA, the number of people who got the line. We can also 1) review the anti-war movement where people took a stand against the U.S. government and 2) the con game the U.S. government sells the American people- which CCFA exposes through education, material aid, and struggle.

5. What makes a national liberation movement revolutionary?

A liberation movement is revolutionary if it weakens, disintegrates and undermines Imperialism. The revolutionary character of a national movement does not presuppose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement, the existence of a revolutionary program, or the existence of a democratic basis of the movement.

In Zimbabwe, the revolutionary struggle is crippling Imperialist powers.

6. "Not in isolation but on a world scale."

When attempting to evaluate the revolutionary potential or results of a particular movement it is necessary to view the occurrence against the worldwide struggle against imperialism. In Zimbabwe it would be important to see how the interests of imperialism are represented in the region as well as in that particular country. In southern Africa any activity placed on the world scale would involve the superpowers. In Angola, US interests were represented before the USSR's role became principal. Viewed as a perceptual to rational problem, look to the contradictions in state-to-state relations. China's position has been to maintain links with Chile since in essence there is no difference in the political economy of Chile and France or the U.S. Once it becomes correct to unite with capitalism then it would only be incorrect when in the strategic interests of the revolution, i.e. Israel or South Africa.

7. Two historical tendencies of developing capitalism

There are two historical tendencies in the historical development of capitalism. In early capitalism, the leading force is bourgeois revolutionary in nature since the aim is to defeat feudalism. As it matures, it turns into its opposite based upon interlinking economies and the breakdown of national barriers. Zimbabwe is fighting against imperialism but other tendencies must be noted. Zimbabwe is fighting for a Zimbabwean national existence while building international links of unity. It may be said that the proletariat of Zimbabwe have both the first and second stage, i.e. a new democracy where the first stage is led by a revolutionary front which is so assured of moving to the second stage that there is a real question of whether there is the necessity to go through capitalism.

8. Tasks of revolutionaries differ: those of oppressor nations vs oppressed

Revolutionaries in oppressor nations have different responsibilities from revolutionaries in oppressed nations. Both have the responsibility of emancipating the oppressed from imperialism wherever they are throughout the world. Both have the responsibility of uniting people in a single world economic

system on the basis of mutual confidence and voluntary agreement. Both must help to transform the colonies into independent states. However, each must fight what principal in their own situations. For those in the dominant nations, this means big-nation chauvinism. On the issue of Black secession, it would be correct for white workers to support the right of Blacks to succeed. For Black revolutionaries, it would be correct to struggle for unity with whites to defeat imperialism in America. This can be further defined as white workers fighting big-nation chauvinism and Blacks fighting black nationalism.

Within the PF there are also conflicting tendencies. Both ZANU and ZAPU are mass organizations but one has more proletarian elements in both an objective sense and in terms of those who are class defectors.

Chapter 7.

1. What is strategy?

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution. p86

There are five aspects to a strategy: 1) objective, 2) main force, 3) immediate allies, 4) main blow, 5) plan. There are two parts to the strategy involving a revolution in Zimbabwe.

	First stage	Second stage
objective	overthrow reactionary white minority rule including its backers of imperialism (US/Brit/USsr) and reactionary sell-out Africans.	overthrow all exploiting classes within Zimbabwean society
Main force	Defeat Rhodesian state. Patriotic classes all not comprador	workers and peasant alliance
Immediate reserves	urban	PB, intellectuals, declassified youth and refugees

Main blow

Reactionary rule

Sellout Africans

Plan

Patriotic Front

Protracted War

2. What are tactics?

"Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the flow or ebb of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle and organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc." p.88

a) Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate to it and serving it. p88

b) Tactics change according to flow and ebb. p88

c) Tactics deal with the forms of struggle and the forms of organization of the proletariat, with their changes and combinations. p89

This gets at the form of and subforms within the campaign. In Zimbabwe there was the Patriotic Front, efforts to build the New Zimbabwe, and the changes in ZANU's North American Zone during its meeting here in Chicago. In Chicago there were the sticker dive, the weekly events and ZLD.

3. 'Loss of tempo' vs 'losing one's bearings'

'Loss of tempo' means lagging behind or running too far ahead of the movement. 'Losing one's bearings' is losing sight of the main goal of the struggle.

In the first case, the right line lags and the left line runs ahead. The second case is mainly a right error.

In order not to lose our bearing we had to criticize USSR/Cuba and Nkomo. However, it is correct that primary emphasis was placed on the first stage - here unity with ZAPU in the slogan "Full Support for the Patriotic Front" and the Friday night reception.

4. ...

Key link

"(T)o single out from all the tasks confronting the Party the particular immediate task, the fulfilment of which constitutes the central point, and the accomplishment of which ensures the successful fulfilment of the other immediate tasks." " (W)hich...will enable us to keep hold of the whole chain and to prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success." p98

Our task is to expose the internal agreement and establish the PF as the true representatives. This keeps the US from supporting Ian Smith.

5. Reform vs revolution

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a by-product of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating that rule, into an instrument for strengthening the revolution, into a strongpoint for the further development of the revolutionary movement." pp100-101

One way for PC to strengthen its contribution to the revolutionary movement would be to 'speak bitterness' as a means of keeping a proper perspective..