

AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM: TOWARD PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

There has been a flowering of revolutionary ideas and actions among White people in the US. We are influenced by the material conditions of imperialist crisis, and inspired by the example and theory of our heroic comrades in the many oppressed nations battling to smash imperialism and to build socialism.

More and more White workers recognize the failure of capitalist trade-unionism and see "some kind of socialism" as the answer to their growing problems. The women's movement, gathering strength in the working class, is raising questions which strike at the very heart of the capitalist system. Sections of White workers, especially veterans, and students have proven willing to fight in solidarity with oppressed nations outside of the US.

At the same time a fascist-racist mobilization of White workers is going on. Around husing, law-and-order, etc, the ruling class is attempting to mobilize white workers into a fascist base. An incredible number of "pig shows" are being pushed on television. The ranks of the KKK and the Nazi Party are suddenly swelling. Our people are being thrown into conflict with the oppressed nations. White revolutionary leadership must emerge to take on this new nazism.

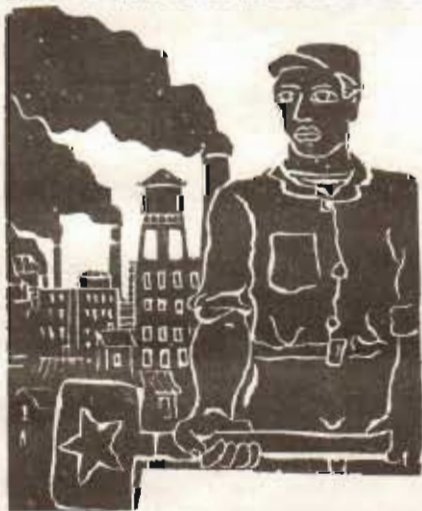
Always and everywhere, more and more as the crisis deepens, we come up against the crying need for a Marxist-Leninist Party. Without a party we are weak and disunited, and the working class lacks its own leadership-- with a party we can steer our movement and propel it forward.

DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE WHITE MOVEMENT

It is critical that we see that one key area for struggle and development today is within the White revolutionary movement.

"It (materialist dialectics) holds that external causes are the conditions of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. In a suitable temperature an egg changes into a chicken, but no temperature can change a stone into a chicken."
--Mao Tse Tung, On The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

So too under suitable conditions the White vanguard can lead the White masses into international revolutionary alliances for the smashing of imperialism and the construction of socialism,



But under no conditions can White national chauvinists do anything of the sort.
NATIONS AND PARTY BUILDING

As members of the mightiest nation in the history of civilization, we occupy a particular historical position. We must understand the implications of that position, and with that understanding our work among our people as well as our relationships to the oppressed nations and colonized peoples can be based,

The world is an international community. Nations are not isolated from one another, but are united in struggle for liberation or controlled by the bonds of imperialism. Reflecting this

international unity, the working class is an international force. Communists always seek the highest possible unity with their comrades in other nations.

The main form of class struggle today is the struggle against imperialist domination and exploitation. National liberation movements have arisen throughout the world. Within the boundaries of the imperialist nations the colonized peoples living under national oppression have begun to move as nations to defeat imperialism.

National liberation movements are led by the vanguard of the proletariat of that nation. This has meant that relatively autonomous Leninist parties, based upon an independent development, are leading those battles. However, the nature of the communist movement demands that those parties be one day united in an international organization--a new Communist International.

The conditions within the US demand international organization. The imperialist unity of different nations, oppressor and oppressed, in the US is based on material conditions which also demand and promote the socialist unity of the working class. So here in the heart of the empire we must step beyond the organizational disunity which pervades the international communist movement. We must form an international communist party based on the alliance of the oppressed nations and the working class of the oppressor nation.

Two factors will determine the success or failure of this enterprise. The first is the independent development of the Black and Brown forces prior to the formation of the international party. The decision of the vanguard of an oppressed nation to ally wholeheartedly with the vanguard of the oppressor nation cannot be made by a White organization which decides to start recruiting individual Third World cadre. Only a period of independent development can insure that the unity will not be imperialist unity and prevent the sabotage of the national movement.

It is possible that this "independent development" will include the formation of one or more autonomous nationalist parties. This is a decision to be made by the vanguard of the oppressed nationalities. If such a party is formed it should be seen as a transitory phenomenon.

We believe that it is disastrous to cloud over the international relations within the US into some vague "multi-nationality." The internationalization of society in general, caused by the international nature of advanced capitalism, does not reduce the need for national integrity and self-determination. On the contrary, it promotes it as a precondition for unity. White communists occupy essentially the same relationship to communists of the Black nation as we do to the communists of Vietnam--except that thrown together we have the opportunity to forge an international communist party.

The second factor is the battle against White chauvinism in the revolutionary movement.

AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM (IN DEFENSE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM)

The White revolutionary movement recognizes its interest in providing assistance to national movements today. With our support, the Vietnamese were able to move mountains.

But significant organizations are now leading the White revolutionary movement down the path of failure in this area. Their lines attack the rights of oppressed nations within the US and place the White revolutionary movement in an imperialist position.

These organizations must be seen for what they are--bourgeois forces caught up in the relations of imperialism,

attempting to dominate the Black and Brown liberation movements.

They weaken the revolutionary movement with their analysis concerning territory. Some decide what is the territory of the Black nation and confine the movement to that territory, then expel that same movement from the international working class. Some deny the need for territory. Some say that there is no territory and therefore no nation.

Are they afraid to recognize that they have little to say about territory? Has self-determination become a secondary priority? If a people decides to seize territory it will. Native Americans did not ask permission of White organizations before seizing Wounded Knee.



COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The Communist League (now "Communist Labor Party") is particularly guilty of trying to isolate and contain the Black liberation movement. "The Watts uprising objectively linked the struggle of the Anglo-American workers to the national liberation movement in the Negro Nation." (NEGRO NATIONAL COLONIAL QUESTION, pg38) According to CLP the Watts uprising was an uprising of Anglo-American workers and not a part of the Black liberation movement because it did not take place in the Black Belt.

CLP goes on to call for the separation of the Black Belt--on behalf of the White workers outside the south! When are the "Negroes" in the Black Belt to be consulted? After the secession takes place--then they can decide if they want to secede or not. The weakness of the CLP line would be easily exposed in the mass movement if the CLP were engaged in the mass movement.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION

On the other hand, the Revolutionary Union attempts to equate the struggle for national liberation to a fight for bourgeois civil rights as they attempt to convince us that all nationalism is bourgeois.

At a CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action) demonstration against the US border patrol in which CASA had skillfully unfolded proletarian internationalism on the basis of an affirmation of revolutionary nationalism, White RU cadres showed up. They tried to shout down, "El Pueblo Unido Jemas Sera Vencido!" with "Workers United Can Never Be Defeated!"

While CASA put forward "one people, without borders!", referring to the entire Latino people, RU passed out a leaflet, "one class, without borders!"

The RU has done in its mind what the imperialists in all their power can not do in the real world. The RU has eliminated national movements.

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AGAINST CHAUVINISM CONT.

FORCES OF IMPERIALISM IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

These organizations struggle to co-opt revolutionary leadership in national movements by seeing national and proletarian liberation in contradiction and subordinating the former to the latter. They struggle to drain the national movement of revolutionary content by reducing its demands to "Against discrimination, for democratic rights," right in line with the NAACP and CPUSA. As they attempt to extend their hegemony over the revolutionary movement in the US, these organizations reveal themselves as conscious or unconscious forces of imperialism in the revolutionary movement. As the Chinese Cultural revolution has shown, these relations are internal to the communist movement as well as external.

The tendency to sabotage national struggles, to avoid concrete support for self-determination, can mean disaster for the White revolutionary movement. The lowest form of this deviation is the attack on revolutionary action,

IN DEFENSE OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

"Reformist and revisionist political groups are frightened by revolutionary violence, by the ascending tidal wave of the masses. They do not want to impose on the historical forces or become engaged in revolutionary struggle. Action is divorced from theory in the application of Marx's dialectic."

---Abraham Guillen (Spanish civil war veteran, a theoretical leader of the Latin American revolutionary movement, writing during the emergence of these forces in the mid-60's.)

The primary way in which the reformist White chauvinist groups tend to weaken the struggle for socialism and against imperialism is their line on armed struggle. They adhere to the national chauvinist line that, while revolutionary war is necessary for all colonized nations outside the US, it is not on the agenda here in the US. This is supposed to be because we are somehow more civilized. The fact that Chile is urbanized, unionized, industrialized, thoroughly literate, etc., and that history has proven people's war to be necessary there, does not seem to mean anything to these groups. This is nothing other than American Exceptionalism.

The Communist League, for example, calls for the immediate independence for the Black Belt on the one hand, and implies the possibility of eventual armed insurrection on the other. Do they think that the Black Nation can declare independence by the ballot? And does the RU think that the Black Nation can liberate itself by calling up and announcing it to CBS? Certainly we have been given clear evidence that the US does not surrender power over to its victims in a peaceful manner.

The struggle for liberation from imperialism and for socialism involves a protracted war against the imperialist state.

So we put it to these White chauvinists--do you believe the lessons of Chile do not apply to the US? (American exceptionalism) Where do you deal with the question of armed struggle at all?



PEOPLE'S ARMY

We do not believe that at some unclear point in history the working class will suddenly rise up and smash the most powerful state ever constructed. This line constitutes bowing to the spontaneity of the masses. There is a need to build a people's army and that need grows as the crisis deepens. It is criminal to conceal the question of armed struggle from the people and from the revolutionary movement.

In short, we believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat--not only in words but in fact.



ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE WHITE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The white revolutionary movement has its own relation to the question of armed struggle. Community self-defense, defense of our children, is not yet a major mass question among our people. But in the Black community and increasingly in the Chicano community this issue is very important. Repeated murders by the police and the mobilization of white forces such as the Ku Klux Klan are calling forth armed self-defense and militant mass action.

White revolutionaries must take the lead in combatting the developing Nazi forces. We alone can teach our people that our interests lie in support of the militant and armed struggle of the national liberation movements.

Armed struggle is an element in the revolutionary power of the people. That does not mean that we make demands now and hope that the ruling class will comply because of the threat of a possible insurrection some time later on. It means that in the mass struggle our demands shall be enforced by our people's army. When that army backs up the demands of the mass movement--provides cover for a demonstration, enforces a strike, liberates us from jail--then it will become our duty to go to the masses and point out how it is in their interest to support the clandestine army that is supporting us.

If we fail to do that work we are cutting out the very guts of our force; we are doing the enemy's work and allowing a split to develop between our open and clandestine forces.

It is because of that split that groups like the SLA carry out such actions as shooting Marcus Foster, an abortive attempt to lead the masses into a struggle which they had little or no desire to carry out.

On the other hand groups like the RU and CLP denounce all guerilla action within the US as terrorist. Although the two positions are opposite in form, they both have the same content, they both disarm the working class,

In no way should a correct understanding of armed struggle divert us from our task of party building. A people's army can only be crystallized upon the formation of a party, because the party is the core and leadership of the army.

THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

We declare our total solidarity with the action against Anaconda taken on September 11, 1974, the anniversary of the bloody CIA coup in Chile. We call on our sisters and brothers to read "PRAIRIE FIRE", carry on discussions and struggle over their line, and to publicize and support actions like the one taken on Sept. 11.

Our main criticism of the Weather Underground is that they fail to deal thoroughly with themselves as members of a White revolutionary movement. They have failed to enforce the progressive demands of White workers in the US, or carry out armed propaganda around those demands.

While our national movement is certainly no longer progressive, and while it is surely better to see ourselves as an international formation than as a national force, we are still certainly a distinct historical phenomenon, subject to our own internal basis of development. We are the White revolutionary movement. The Weather Underground is a manifestation of our movement.

Today, when White workers are being chased down the road to fascism by the Ku Klux Klan, drawn down by the action of the extreme backwards elements into a racist cop mentality, we desperately need revolutionary leadership in action in the White movement.

Weather Underground began a self-criticism in this area in PRAIRIE FIRE. We call on them to carry that self-criticism out.



"Breadline--No One Has Starved"
by Reginald Marsh, 1932

SUMMATION

We need to build an International Marxist-Leninist Party which bases its development on the conditions of the portion of the working class we are to lead. This means:

1. Prior development of national parties or organizations.
2. Combat national chauvinism among the White masses and in the revolutionary movement
3. Destroy the American exceptionalist ideology which denies the need for protracted war in the US, and which fails today to defend revolutionary masses from the attacks of the enemy.

We must seek at all times to organize and lead the White revolutionary masses. But our organizational tasks in the mass movement will not move forward until we have achieved ideological clarity within the White revolutionary movement.

FIGHT US IMPERIALISM, THE COMMON ENEMY!

---White staff of SEIZE THE TIME