



mere road accident. The CBI colluded with the Congress party and did everything to destroy the case and set free Anderson. The Vajpayee government, which came to power next, supported all the associated conspiracies. Today, all these criminals pretend as if they were innocents.

The judgement delivered to the Bhopal victims, who waited for over 28 years, is a brutal attack worse than the massacre itself. Now, this injustice is about to become even a law under the Indian Constitution. The Manmohan Singh Government's nuclear law says, 'even if the nuclear plants that we buy from American companies blow up tomorrow and cause several million deaths in India, we will not hold the American companies responsible or even ask them for any compensation.' Dow chemicals, which acquired Union Carbide some time back, was the sole supplier of napalm firebombs to the US military during the Vietnam war. This blood-thirsty company is being welcomed with red carpet by the Manmohan Singh Government to come and set up business in India! The Bhopal massacre has exposed the tenets of the Indian state... "kill the Indian people for the profits of MNCs, usurp the people's land, drive them out, do away the rights, destroy the indigenous industries, what the MNCs say is rule of law, and the growth of MNCs is the nation's development"

Jallianwala Bagh exposed the brutal face of colonization in the colonial India, which gave birth to revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh. Bhopal has unveiled the real face of recolonization and the sham of Indian independence and democracy. Well, if you need justice, revolution is the only path, lit by the flame from Naxalbari! This is the only lesson the Bhopal massacre and its aftermath wants to teach us.

Peoples Art and Literary Association
Peasants Liberation Front
Revolutionary Students and Youth Front
New Democratic Labour Front
Tamilnadu.

Courtesy: Pamphlet issued by PALA and its associate organizations, Tamilnadu.



Tens of thousands commemorate PFLP anniversary in Gaza City

Tens of thousands of members and supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine gathered today, December 11, 2010, in Gaza City's Palestine Stadium, marking the forty-third anniversary of the PFLP's founding in a mass rally.

Palestinians from all sectors -men and women, elderly and children, workers and farmers, attended the rally from all sectors of Gaza City, and traveling in groups from throughout the Gaza Strip, waving red flags that filled the stadium.

Comrade Jamil Majdalawi, member of the Political Bureau of the PFLP, delivered the main speech of the rally, emphasizing the need for Palestinian national unity to confront the occupier and build the resistance in the face of all repression. He emphasized that the Palestinian people have the right to all forms of resistance, including armed, popular and economic resistance, and that resistance is the only solution to the occupation.

He denounced the accumulation of wealth, power and influence at the expense of the struggle of the Palestinian people, saying that it benefits the enemy only. He called upon Hamas and Fatah to move toward reconciliation and prioritize the national struggle of the Palestinian people.

He denounced the path of "negotiations" and "peace talks" flowing from the Oslo accords and said that the masses of the Palestinian people must lead a collective reevaluation in order to learn the lessons of this period to continue the march of the Palestinian revolutionary struggle.

He emphasized that for the PLO to fulfill its role as an umbrella uniting the people, it must be democratic and embrace all of the parts of the Palestinian national movement in a pluralistic manner, based on democratic elections and proportional representation.

Comrade Majdalawi paid tribute to the Front's leadership and history, calling for the freedom of General Secretary Comrade Ahmad Sa'adat in the jails of the occupier, and the freedom of his comrades and all Palestinian prisoners, and saluting the legacy of past General Secretaries Abu Ali Mustafa and George Habash. He noted the strength and importance of the involvement of young people and women in all activities and at all levels of the Front and the Palestinian movement.

Comrade Musab al-Bashir, a freed former prisoner, spoke about the struggle of prisoners, calling on all forces to prioritize the case of Palestinian prisoners, and pointing to the prisoners' movement as an example of ending the internal division. He discussed the ongoing crimes and abuses being committed against prisoners in the Zionist jails, and emphasized the commitment of the Front on the 43rd anniversary to its imprisoned comrades and all of the imprisoned sons and daughters of the Palestinian people.

The festival included artistic performances, speeches and poetry and concluded with a new song performed by the Palestinian artist Ahmed Assaf entitled "The Backbone of the Front."



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Right On! #23



Newsletter of the New Afrikan Black
Panther Party - Prison Chapter



EDITORIAL

2010 has been a year of intensified class struggle – all around the world. Millions took part in mass demonstrations, strikes, occupations, rebellions and other forms of struggle against capitalist-imperialism. Few would now deny that a new wave of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution is on the rise.

The imperialist's global economic crisis continues and is hitting hard, particularly in the Third World and Second World countries. From Haiti to Greece – and even in First World countries like France and England – images of youth and students, workers and unemployed, hurling bricks and gasoline bombs at club-wielding ranks of helmeted police amid clouds of tear gas and burning barricades are all over the internet, demonstrating the depth of people's anger and frustration.

In Oakland and other U.S. cities, powerful demonstrations against police murders and brutality have been organized, such as the campaign for Justice for Oscar Grant. In Puerto Rico, militant strikes by workers and occupations by students combined into a general rebellion against neo-colonial domination. And in Georgia, the prisoners staged the largest prison strike in U.S. history with all factions uniting to wage disciplined struggle as a class.

All in all, it was a significant year of rising revolutionary consciousness all around. It was NABPP-PC's fifth year, and a year of growth and development – particularly in the Old South, where we are forming our first regional organizing committee. Our numbers are still few and almost all are locked down in isolation cells. But leadership is a question of ideological and political line, and you can't lock-down ideas.

If all we can do is stay true and illuminate the path forward for the people's struggle we fulfill a need as great as air and water. Those who refuse to be broken men and women have already taken a step down the Revolutionary Road. We can transform these "Slave Pens of Oppression" into "Schools of Liberation." WE can challenge the world to dare to be revolutionary and dare to be all-the-way revolutionary and have a mass escape from the Epoch of Exploitation."

Building the United Panther Movement is our first priority. In doing so, we will find the cadre to build the Party and its infrastructure. To be real, the Party must grow organically among the masses in struggle. Rallying around a correct ideological and political line the masses can become a powerful political force.

Our task as revolutionaries is to uplift the conscious understanding of the masses so they can be their own liberators. Power to the People means what it says, giving the people control over their lives and the power to move society forward, making it more just and equitable, more democratic, progressive, humanistic and communistic through waging the class struggle.

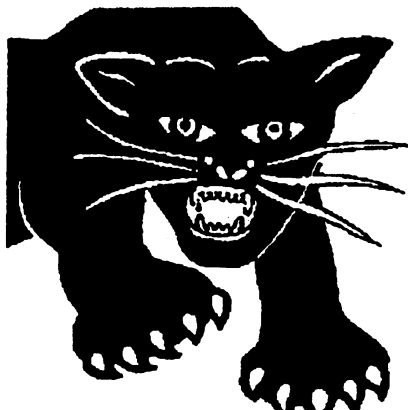
The point where we can unite as a class is in the communities where our class is concentrated. Revolutionary Inter-communalism means uniting as communities – ghetto to ghetto (or ghetto to barrio) – and not just nationally but internationally. Panther Power can only be built in the course of building People's Power and revolutionary consciousness.

Being Revolutionary Intercommunalists we are at home wherever poor and oppressed people are concentrated. Pantherism is applicable to all oppressed communities regardless of their ethnic composition. Black Panthers, Brown Panthers, White Panthers, whatever, a Panther is a servant of the People, a warrior of the oppressed class. All comrades are brothers and sisters. We arise from the masses and we belong to them as well as to all humanity.

A Panther is motivated by love for the People. We have no agenda apart from transferring all power to the people. To end the People's oppression, to end racism and all the evils generated by a society based upon exploitation is the purpose of our Party and our Movement. So long as there is a need for our Party, we must do our duty and serve the People heart and soul.

DARE TO STRUGGLE DARE TO WIN!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Rising Sun Press, PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105

Right On! #23

Since the Maoists ambushed and killed more than hundred CRPF men in Bastar this summer – incidentally one of the ambushes took place close to the proposed army training range – an intense debate has raged over whether at all the army should be drawn into anti-Maoist operations. For the record, the government has maintained that the army's role would be limited to training. The army itself has shown great reluctance for the job. But sources indicate the army has begun mapping the contours of the conflict, preparing itself for the eventuality of deployment, in case the government decides to declare Maoist affected territories as disturbed areas, like parts of the North East, or Jammu and Kashmir.

While one view is that the training range in Bastar will bring the army tantalisingly close to the Maoists, and hence could be part of future strategic positioning, another view is that the move is purely routine, linked to the army's needs. "Since the army's counter-insurgency training centre in Vairengte in Mizoram is under great pressure, the army has been scouting for training grounds in tropical forests, either in Orissa, Maharashtra, Jharkhand or Chhattisgarh," said a security expert. Recently, the army also announced the setting up of a peace time station, called a sub area command, near Bilaspur in Chhattisgarh, one of the few states where the army has no presence.

Whether strategic or routine, the army's move into Bastar would be significant, pointed out a retired army officer: "Look at this in the light of psychological warfare. It is like telling the Maoists, beware, the tiger is outside your den."

Reprinted from Frontlines of Revolutionary Struggle website

Press Release: CPI (Maoist) Condemns the Brutal Murder of Com. Tutul By Bangladesh RAB

It was with great shock and deep sorrow that we heard the news of the brutal and savage murder of our beloved comrade Mizanur Rahman Tutul, General Secretary of the Purba Bangla Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Lal Pataka and a founding member of CCOMPOSA. He was killed in a fake encounter (termed "killed in crossfire" in Bangladesh) in late July 2008 by the notorious Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) of Bangladesh.

The Central Committee of the CPI(Maoist), the PLGA and the entire rank-and-file of the Party conveys its revolutionary condolence in this hour of serious loss to the CC and entire ranks of the Purba Bangla Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Lal Pataka of Bangladesh. As a fraternal party and co-member of the CCOMPOSA the loss to the Purba Bangla Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Lal Pataka is like a loss to our Party. We are fully with them in this hour of serious loss, particularly as it has come soon after the loss of their main ideological leader and guide, Com Kamrulislam (Master).

Comrade Tutul was a leading figure in the Maoist movement of Bangladesh. In 1997, along with comrade Kamrul Islam (Master) he founded the Purba Bangla Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Lal Pataka. Comrade Kamrul was martyred in 2008, murdered while in the custody of the RAB.

Comrade Tutul played a leading role in initiating a thorough summation of the rich history and experiences of the Party



and of the Maoist movement in Bangladesh. He was keen on unifying the genuine Maoist forces of that country into a single party. He was an active participant in CCOMPOSA and had close relations with the CPI (Maoist). We shared experiences and sought to learn from each others practice. His death, coming in the wake of the loss of comrade Kamrul, is a heavy blow for the Party.

The martyrdom of comrade Tutul has deprived the Purba Bangla Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Lal Pataka and the Maoist movement of Bangladesh of one of its most able leaders. Yet, we are confident that the movement will get over the loss and advance the New Democratic Revolution in Bangladesh which is reeling under acute poverty and fascist army rule.

We once again assure the Purba Bangla Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Lal Pataka that we are with it in this hour of crisis and repeat our sincere condolence to the ranks of the Party and the family and relatives of Com Tutul.

Azad

Spokesperson

Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

Reprinted from Frontlines of Revolutionary Struggle website

"MURDEROUS DOW-CARBIDE, QUIT INDIA!"

AUGUST 15, 2010

Dear working people,

The accused in the Bhopal Gas tragedy have been let off, without even having to spend a single day in jail. And, the Bhopal high court has painted this massacre as a mere accident. The American government has refused to hand over Warren Anderson, the Chairman of Union Carbide and the prime accused in the Bhopal Gas tragedy. Not willing to interrogate Anderson, who was responsible for the death of over 23,000 people and the maiming of over 5 lakh people, the Manmohan Singh government is lying that it would reopen the case and provide compensation to the victims.

The gas leak that happened in the midnight of 2 December 1984 in the Union Carbide factory was not an unexpected accident. It was a cold-blooded murder committed by the American company. The crimes included shoving off the manufacture of hazardous materials from America to India, setting up a plant to manufacture insecticide from Methyl-iso-Cyanide in a residential area, cutting down on expenditure involved in implementing safety measures to increase the profits despite accidents in the past and hiding the name of the poison (cyanide) to doctors who treated the victims, thereby letting the victims suffer a painful death. The fundamental crime is the manufacture of chemical weapons under the cover of insecticide production.

Union Carbide is not the only criminal. Indra Gandhi licensed it despite being aware of the dangerous nature of the plant. And, Rajiv Gandhi, released Anderson, apologized to him, and safely sent him on a state aircraft to America. In 1989, the Rajiv Gandhi government connived with Union Carbide and fixed the price of one Indian life to be Rs 12.414. The Supreme Court undermined the crime to a



Philippines to adopt U.S. strategy in counter-insurgency starting January 1st

Monday, December 20, 2010

Asian Defense News

ANN - Tuesday, December 21 Manila - A Filipino lawmaker on Monday bared that the Armed Forces of the Philippines' (AFP) new counter-insurgency strategy had the mark of the United States' own counter-insurgency operation plan, but said it is bound to fail if the government will not address the root causes of the armed conflict.

Left-leaning Anakpawis party-list Representative Rafael Mariano said Oplan Bayanihan was patterned after the U.S. Counter-Insurgency (COIN) Guide in January 2009, which shifts the strategy of combating insurgency toward a "whole of nation and people-centered" approach.



This file photo taken on July 2, 2010 shows Philippine soldiers marching during a parade at the handover ceremony for the new military's chief of staff, attended by President Aquino (not pictured) at the military headquarters in Manila. The Philippines said December 7, 2010 it was set to sign a 'substantial' deal to buy military equipment from China, but insisted it should not impact on its close ties with the United States.

Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) spokesman Brig. Gen. Jose Mabanta Jr. said Oplan Bayanihan, which will be implemented starting Jan. 1, 2011, will shift to the "whole of nation approach," which means that "even ordinary people should be involved."

Mabanta had said that it will also be a "people-centered approach which gives primordial consideration to human security."

The direction of the new counter-insurgency strategy, which replaces Oplan Bantay Laya of the Arroyo administration, takes after the US COIN's "population-centric (focused on securing and controlling a given population or populations) than enemy-centric (focused on defeating a particular enemy group)," according to the COIN Guide furnished by Mariano.

"Note that this does not mean that COIN is less violent than any other conflict: on the contrary, like any other form of warfare it always involves loss of life," the COIN Guide added.

Mariano said that "in reality, COIN campaigns will rarely be purely enemy-centric or population-centric, but will generally include elements of both, with the relative balance changing over time."

"This means that Oplan Bayanihan will be a combination of grand pay-war operations and violent armed suppression," Mariano said. "The Aquino administration is set to mobilize all security and civilian agencies for counter-insurgency."

He added that there is no guarantee that the AFP's new operation plan will do away with the human-rights abuses committed by military and police forces.

The party-list lawmaker said Oplan Bayanihan is bound to fail if it fails to address the root causes of insurgency.

"It promises so-called development while maintaining the status quo... the monopoly and control of the few of the country's resources," he said.

Reprinted from Frontlines of Revolutionary Struggle website

Indian government prepares larger war on the people



Indian Army Base in Abujmahad, Bastar to become operational soon

Supriya Sharma, TNN, Dec 14, 2010

RAIPUR: The Indian Army is moving into the conflict theatre of Bastar, arriving at the doorsteps of what is arguably the strongest military base of the CPI (Maoist) - not for combat, as yet, but ostensibly for training. "Manoeuvre ranges have been finalised in Narayanpur district where training will be given to our troops," confirmed a highly placed official in the army. Significantly, the hundred square kilometres identified for training lie in the foothills of Abujmahad a thickly forested plateau, straddling both Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra, one of the only regions of India unsurveyed by the government, considered but of bound for the administration, entirely controlled by insurgents, and often described as a Maoist liberated zone.

While the army sought to emphasise that its plans are limited to training, and there will be no active troop deployment against the Maoist insurgency, sources in the security establishment said any training facility would necessitate logistical support. "This means the army would first secure the Kondagaon-Narayanpur axis, placing a large number of troops in a series of camps, before it moves inwards for the purpose of training, somewhere near Orcha in the foothills of Abujmahad" explained a senior official.



The Ten Point Program and Platform of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC)

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALISTS OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder to Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of our fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then we will build and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will liberate us and enable us to participate in the political and economic decisions that affect our lives. We believe that the government should be run by the people and that the people should have the right to elect their representatives to the government.



6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide our selves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desire of the United States ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the United States government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in United States prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the United States military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are most disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, forces a decision to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to institute new guards for their future security.

Our members and potential members must study and memorize our Ten Point Program and Platform.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Those who expected the revolution to move straight ahead from victory to victory were disillusioned, while those who proclaimed the class war over and done were greatly mistaken. The victory of capitalist-imperialism in the "Cold War" only served to accelerate its decline and hasten the unfolding of the crisis inherent in the system. Capitalism is outmoded and dysfunctional. It cannot solve the problems it creates. Instead of general prosperity it is creating world poverty, mass unemployment, economic crisis, debt crisis, food crisis, health crisis and environmental crisis.

The American Dream unfolds as a nightmare of stolen and broken hopes and possibilities; a chaotic mix of violence, greed and decadence; false religion and fake reformism. People get ground down and fed to the dogs. Pigs fly and drop shit from helicopters. Rats gnaw on the bones of ghetto saints in the alleys where homeless children play. Everywhere there are false promises and fake sincerity as the pitchmen promise packaged satisfaction, recovery to be around the next corner and pie in the sky when you die.

The anarchy of production leads to a cycle of boom and bust - but even more fundamentally to a permanent downward cycle of declining rate of profit, overproduction, speculation and soaring debt. Fewer and fewer people can be profitably exploited by the capitalists as workers and more and more become marginalized and cut off from a "normal life" of work, raising a family and saving for retirement. The end of this epoch must come soon, because all that capitalism has left to offer is the "New Slavery" of the prison industrial complex, unending imperialist wars, a climate of fear and a fascist police state.



Half the people in the world are trapped in dead-end, grinding poverty so severe mothers feed their children mud-cakes to quell their hunger pains. Continents rich in resources and fertile land lie caught in the web of imperialist finance and dollar diplomacy and can only create zones of liberation by the gun: Building for the future by breaking away from imperialism's grip through people's war. Surrounding the cities with the countryside, they march on forest trails with AK rifles and homemade bombs to place on roadsides, while the imperialists blow the tops off mountains to get at their mineral resources.

The end of this epoch must come soon, because all the needless suffering of humanity demands it. The needs of the many must overcome the greed of the few. Reason must overcome oppression and institute social justice. The people must prevail by building unity, organizing and refusing to be slaves anymore. Only a revolutionary people can make the future bright.

DAMN ALL SLAVES WHO DO NOT DARE TO DREAM OF LIBERATION! DAMN THOSE WHO COUNCIL PATIENCE AND PASSIVITY - WE MUST BE OUR OWN LIBERATORS, NO ONE IS GOING TO SAVE US BUT OURSELVES!

May Day is a day of celebration of who we are and our great destiny. Our sweat and blood created all the wealth of society and we who built the cities and highways, the jet planes and railroads, can - and will - do much more. We shall create a world of freedom and plenty where each is entitled to share in the fruits of our collective labor - a worker's world based upon a worker's sense of fairness and justice.

LONG LIVE THE FIRST OF MAY!

LONG LIVE REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



MAY DAY 2011

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY



May Day (May 1st) is the international holiday of the working class – born in struggle here in the U.S. – it has spread to every country in the world where it is celebrated by raising the red flag of revolution. Every year May Day is a battle as the exploiting class and their apologists try to suppress or subvert it.

Sometimes the battle is open and bloody as club wielding police attack the workers' demonstrations. Other times it is covert, with attempts to substitute national flags for the international one and appeals to nationalism instead of proletarian internationalism by misleaders of the working class. But always it is a struggle that calls upon the advanced workers to boldly declare themselves for all-the-way, Worldwide Proletarian Socialist Revolution.

This is the historic mission of the proletariat, and every year – in a multitude of languages – workers sing the *Internationale*, the marching song of the Paris Commune, which proudly proclaims:

We want no condescending saviors
to rule us from a judgment hall,
we workers ask not for their favors,
let us consult for all.

to make the thief disgorge his booty,
to free the spirit from its cell,
we must ourselves decide our duty,
we must decide and do it well!

The great Worldwide Proletarian Socialist Revolution transforms one epoch of human social development into another – the Epoch of Exploitation into the Epoch of Equality and Social Justice – into Communism. This transition is made possible by the overthrow of the capitalist-imperialist ruling class by the broad masses led by the international working class.

It is a struggle of generations, and each year on May Day we take stock of this history and the current situation from a revolutionary proletarian perspective. From the world's great cities to remote peasant villages, the oppressed celebrate their coming liberation with parades, rallies, speeches, songs and slogans.

Revolution advances in waves, and between these are periods of reaction. After the upsurge of the late '60's and early '70's, we went through a long period of reaction. The capitalists won the "Cold War," and they proclaimed their "New World Order."



Thug Life: On the Revolutionary Potential of the Lumpen

Posted: December 17, 2010 by Rowland Tupac Keshena



Native gang members, part of the lumpenproletariat

This reposting of an older article, *The Lumpenproletariat and the Revolutionary Youth Movement*, from the proto Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Communist Party, USA Red Papers 2, appeared on Mike El's Kasama Project website.

One of the outcomes of 500 years of racist settler capitalism on Turtle Island has been the pushing down of indigenous people, Africans, and even many whites, into an endless cycle of crushing poverty, leading many of them to a life of under and unemployment, as well as crime. This criminal element has been identified by traditional revolutionary theory as the lumpen proletariat, a class, or subclass, the nature of which has been debated endlessly since the time of Marx.

The Black Panther Party identified as the lumpen proletariat not only the criminal element, but also the permanently unemployed sections of the working class. Together, according to the BPP, these under strata of capitalist society could be forged into the vanguard of revolution. Classical approaches on the other hand often identify the lumpen as a source of reaction, and a possible breeding ground for fascism.

Ultimately, the Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Communist Party, USA viewed sections of the lumpen as a potential ally of a revolutionary force, but that itself was not that force. Unlike the proletariat, the lumpen are not an inherently revolutionary class, and because of that they require a much more conscious leadership on the part of communist revolutionaries.

Given the state and life choices of so many people in our communities these days, I feel it is quite important to revisit these discussions. For that reason I am reposting this article.

• • •

The first major Black rebellions' since 1943 broke out in several large cities in the summer of 1964. That fall, the Free Speech Movement erupted at Berkeley. Since then, it has become increasingly obvious that the Black Liberation Movement plays a leading part in revolutionizing large sections of white youth, and recently we have come to see a

Revolutionary Youth Movement in the mother country dialectically related to the struggle of the internal Black nation.

Clearly it is crucial that some of those engaged in both struggles develop a correct theoretical understanding of the relation between the two. In trying to arrive at this understanding, some people within both the Black and youth movements have started relying on the term "lumpen-proletariat."

The reasons for this are clear. A section of white youth has dropped out of its privileged position and consciously assumed a sub-proletariat mode of existence. These "street people" now live a life at least superficially similar to that into which a large section of Black youth has been forced. Black youth on the block and white street people own no property, rarely sell their labor (in one case because they cannot, in the other because they will not), hustle and drift; they despise and are despised by bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie, and privileged sections of the working class alike. Their resemblance to each other has now been driven home by the police, who have begun to use on the white drop-outs the kind of systematic terror and brutality usually reserved for Black and brown people and the poorest whites.

All this has led some to theorize that the principal class struggle in the United States is not that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but that between the lumpenproletariat and all other classes, who are seen as more or less bourgeoisified. They visualize an anarchic force, made up of the most desperate and alienated sub-groups in society, ripping the vitals out of the Empire and dragging the rotting corpse to some fiery Armageddon. Since this idea has been advanced by some people strategically enough placed in the movement to be able to put it into practice, we must seriously analyze both its theoretical foundations and practical consequences. To do this, we must answer two very difficult questions: What precisely is the lumpenproletariat? What are its possible roles in the American revolution? This paper is offered as a preliminary examination of these questions.

Marxist-Leninist Theory and the Lumpenproletariat

The lumpenproletariat is a class that has received extremely little attention in classical Marxist-Leninist theory, and what has been said about it is somewhat puzzling.

Marx and Engels were writing at a time when most other writers about the history of revolutionary struggle took a consistently bourgeois viewpoint. To these other writers, revolutions – and for them of course the French revolution was the archetype – were carried out by a mob, an undifferentiated mass, *le fou*. Marx and Engels, in singling out the industrial proletariat as the vanguard of socialist revolution" were anxious to distinguish it from that urban mob of the bourgeois writers. This may help account both for the contempt they express for the lumpenproletariat and for their lack of detailed analysis of its conditions of life, its consciousness, and its relations to capitalist production



In the Communist Manifesto, they refer to the lumpenproletariat as "the dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society," and claim that although it "may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution, its conditions of life prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." (Selected Works, I, 44). In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx says that the lumpenproletariat "in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," and analyzes it as "a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, gens sans feu et sans aveu, varying according to the degree of civilization of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their lezzaroni character." (Selected Works, I, 155). The most savage passage comes in Engels' "Prefatory Note to The Peasant War in Germany":

The lumpenproletariat, this scum of the depraved elements of all classes, which established headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all possible allies. This rabble is absolutely vengeful and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: *Mort aux voleurs!* Death to thieves! and even shot some, they did it, not out of enthusiasm for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary above all to keep that gang at a distance! Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as guards or relies on them for support proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement (Selected Works, I, 648).

Yet even this passage, taken with the others, presents some apparent contradictions.

First of all, what do Marx and Engels see as the class background of the lumpenproletariat? This is not an idle or academic question. Class background should certainly have something to do with determining consciousness, both actual and potential. And recently it has become fashionable in some quarters to write off the street people as not even lumpenproletariat but "lumpenbourgeoisie," or fake lumpenproletariat. In the previous passage from Engels he says that they come from the "depraved elements of all classes." But the Manifesto says that they come only from "the lowest layers of old society." And in the very passage in which Marx says that the lumpenproletariat is "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," he also indicates that it comes directly from only one class, that same proletariat (And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst. ...). Yet in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, Marx is quite explicit in stating that the lumpenproletariat comes from all classes:

Alongside decayed rouses with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lezzaroni, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, maquereaus (pimps), brothel keepers, porters, literati, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars - in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term *le bohème*; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December 10. A "benevolent society" - in so far as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation. This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself chief of the lumpenproletariat, here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, recognizes in

this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally. (Selected Works, I, 295).

But this is all very confusing, because in the Manifesto the paragraph which immediately follows the sentence condemning the lumpenproletariat describes the pauperization of the proletariat in these terms:

In the condition of the proletariat, those of the old society are already swamped. The proletariat is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relation. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests. (Selected Works, I, 44).

A few paragraphs later, it states that "The modern laborer...sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of his own class"; "He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." Well, then, if this is true, what happens to the pauperized proletariat? How do they manage to live? Why is a knife grinder or a tinker or a porter or a beggar or a discharged soldier or even a discharged jailbird a member of some other class, the lumpenproletariat, "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat"? It cannot be just a question of values, because to the true proletariat "law, morality, religion" are just "bourgeois prejudices." And it cannot be a question of personal relation to the means of production, because in that case any worker who becomes unemployed would automatically become a member of the lumpenproletariat and the industrial reserve army would become a lumpen army.

I would like to draw the following working conclusions: Marx and Engels, perceiving the existence of an important but ill-defined social class and angered by the treacherous role often played by that class, tended to make an ethical judgement rather than a Marxist analysis of its role in capitalist society and revolutionary struggle. This class may be defined as follows: It does not engage in productive labor, and is therefore not exploited in industry (The bourgeoisie, however, does utilize it as police, army, or agents). Its principal means of support is the labor of the productive class, and its relationship to the proletariat is therefore inherently parasitic. Its members have come from all classes, and they have ceased to be members of those other classes because of a combination of two conditions, one objective, the other subjective - they no longer have the same relationship to the means of production and they no longer have any loyalty to their former class. From this it follows that the lumpenproletariat will contain more varied forms of consciousness than any other class in society, for the previous experience of the individuals within it will be most varied and their present precarious means of existence will throw them into many different forms of contact with all the other classes (the prostitute providing the most striking example of this). So the role of the lumpenproletariat is inherently unpredictable both strategically and at each and every moment.

If this is true, we should be keenly aware of the unreliability of the lumpenproletariat, but we must reject Engels' condemnation of them as completely worthless and merely dangerous. Marx provides a key insight in a passage which foreshadows the analysis of Mao and Fanon and relates directly to the development of the Revolutionary Youth



Battle lines are drawn in this city where the proletarian socialist revolution was born. The classes the students are learning from now are not on the university campuses but in the streets.

In San Juan:

"In December 2010, students from the state-run University of Puerto Rico staged a series of protests and blockades and a second strike in less than a year, this time specifically against a proposed \$800 annual tuition fee, and have clashed with police and private security guards hired by the administration. For the first time since 1981 police forces have entered and occupied the main campus indefinitely, ostensibly to 'guarantee the rights of those willing to go to class.'



"A severe economic crisis was compounded for many citizens when Governor Luis Fortuño dismissed 20,000 civil servants in October 2009 when unemployment rates were already peaking. In March 2009, the newly elected governor pledged that his goal would be to cut \$2 billion from the budget. Puerto Rico experienced two general strikes in less than a year, with students joining in full force in April, 2010 objecting to educational budget cuts, the elimination of certain merit-based fee waivers, and privatization attempts. They occupied the main campus of the University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras, San Juan for two months. Students of campuses from all over the island joined the protest. They were supported by professors, artists, activists, intellectuals, workers, and civil society at large."





politico-economic Guantanamo where everything goes. No longer.

"The tuition fees were approved, but it is the Decembrists who have established themselves morally and politically on the higher ground. What happens next? The political establishment will be hoping that Christmas cheer and getting further into debt via easy bank overdrafts permanently on offer might sap the energy of the students. My experience of speaking at a few occupations and engaging in street talk tells me otherwise. I sense a steely resolve on the part of many school and university students who have suddenly realised that they're part of a much bigger picture. In fighting for themselves they are fighting for the interests of society as a whole, a society that has had enough of privatisations and deregulation with the public services chained to PFIs, a rail system where the fares are permanently reaching for the sky, a society where profit is king, regardless of what it costs the country.

"And so the struggle must continue and the public-sector workers being dumped like canned food past its sell-by date will, I hope, take heart from the actions of the young Decembrists. As the German poet Bertolt Brecht wrote in one of his last poems:

So does that mean

we've got to rest contented.
And say "That's how it is and
always must be."

And spurn the brimming glass for
what's been emptied.

Because we've heard it's better to
go thirsty.

So does that mean we've got to sit
here shivering.

Since uninvited guests are not
permitted.

And wait while those on top go on
considering.

What pains and joys we are to be
permitted?

Better, we think, would be to rise
in anger.

And never go without the
slightest pleasure.

And, warding off those who bring
pain and hunger.

Fix up the world to live in at our
Leisure."



Movement. At a "youthful age," he says in *The Class Struggles in France*, the lumpenproletariat is "thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption." (*Selected Works*, I, 155). If so, at least the youth of the lumpenproletariat should be able to play an extremely important part in revolutionary struggle, because they are the only group to combine this potentiality for heroism with an intimate daily knowledge of how to cope with the police and to engage in underground activities as a way of life. And remember that in *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin makes the mastery of these skills the primary requirement of the professional revolutionary and of the revolutionary party as a whole, primary because these skills are needed to survive.

Lenin himself deals with one aspect of the lumpenproletariat quite relevant at the present moment – their tendency to engage in spontaneous and disorganized armed struggle against the state and in "expropriation" of state property. Lenin violently condemns those Bolsheviks who disassociate themselves from this by "proudly and smugly declaring 'we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this.'" (*Guerilla Warfare*, *Collected Works*, XI, 220.) He attacks "the usual appraisal" which sees this struggle as merely "anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralize the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganize the movement and injure the revolution." (*Works*, XI, 216-17). Lenin draws the following keen lesson from the disorganized state of this struggle: it is not these actions "which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions under its control." (p. 219). The Bolsheviks must organize these spontaneous acts and "must train and prepare their organizations to be really able to act as a belligerent side which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy's forces."

Mao's basic analysis of the lumpenproletariat and of their possible role in the revolution is clear and simple:

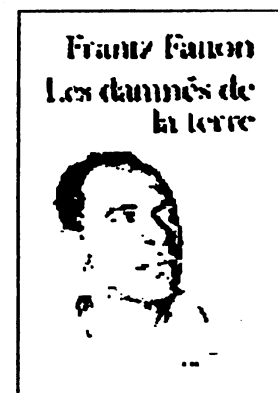
Apart from all these other classes, there is the fairly large lumpenproletariat, made up of peasants who have lost their land and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. They lead the most precarious existence of all. One of China's difficult problems is how to handle these people. Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance. (*Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*).

Although in American society the lumpenproletariat consists of more groups than the dispossessed farmers of the South and Mid-West and unemployed handicraftsmen, Mao's final generalization seems to be as fitting here as there. But unfortunately for us, Mao does not give any detailed theory on working with this particular almost entirely urban class. The closest he comes is a passage in *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* (*Works*, 11,325-26):

China's status as a colony and semi-colony has given rise to a multitude of rural and urban unemployed. Denied proper means of making a living, many of them are forced to resort to illegitimate ones, hence the robbers, gangsters, beggars and prostitutes and the numerous people who live on superstitious practices. This social stratum is unstable; while some are apt to be bought over by the reactionary forces, others may join the revolution. These people lack constructive qualities and are

given to destruction rather than construction; after joining the revolution, they become a source of roving-rebel and anarchist ideology in the revolutionary ranks. Therefore, we should know how to remould them and guard against their destructiveness.

The major Marxist theorist of the lumpenproletariat is Frantz Fanon, whose view is like an amplification of Mao's. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon, writing mainly about African colonies, sees the lumpenproletariat as made up almost exclusively of landless peasants (p. 90). This is the part of the analysis least relevant to the U.S., although, of course, almost all of the Black and part of the white lumpenproletariat has been driven from the land into the cities. But he argues that, for three reasons, the revolution cannot succeed without these people:



(1) They are the most ready to fight. (2) They therefore provide the way by which the revolutionary forces of the countryside enter the city. (3) If they are not fighting on the side of the revolution, they will be fighting against it. Fanon gives many specific examples of the counter-revolutionary role sometimes played by the lumpenproletariat. In Madagascar, the colonialists assisted in "the creation of a party out of the unorganized elements of the lumpenproletariat" and then used "its distinctly provocative actions" as "the legal excuse to maintain order." (p. 93) In Angola, Algeria, and the Congo, the colonialists were able to use elements of the lumpenproletariat as soldiers, agents, laborers, and counterrevolutionary demonstrators. Fanon concludes from this not that the lumpenproletariat should be ignored, but quite the contrary: the real danger lies in depending on its spontaneity:

Colonialism will also find in the lumpen-proletariat a considerable space for manoeuvring. For this reason any movement for freedom ought to give its fullest attention to the lumpen-proletariat. The peasant masses will always answer the call to rebellion, but if the rebellion's leaders think it will be able to develop without taking the masses into consideration, the lumpen-proletariat will throw itself into the battle and will take part in the conflict – but this time on the side of the oppressor. And the oppressor, who never loses a chance of setting the niggers against each other, will be extremely skilful in using that ignorance and incomprehension which are the weaknesses



of the lumpen-proletariat. If this available reserve of human effort is not immediately organized by the forces of rebellion, it will find itself fighting as hired soldiers side by side with the colonial troops, (p. 109).

What makes all this particularly dangerous is that it may occur after the lumpenproletariat has fought on the side of the revolution and may therefore take the revolutionary forces completely by surprise. Fanon points out that the enemy relies on careful analysis to take advantage of any such opportunity:

The enemy is aware of ideological weakness, for he analyzes the forces of rebellion and studies more and more carefully the aggregate enemy which makes up a colonial people; he is also aware of the spiritual instability of certain layers of the population. The enemy discovers the existence, side by side with the disciplined and well-organized advance guard of rebellion, a mass of men whose participation is constantly at the mercy of their being for too long accustomed to physiological wretchedness, humiliation, and irresponsibility. (109-110)

It's certainly not difficult to imagine a similar situation here, and we should be warned of the necessity of raising the consciousness of all those who join the struggle. The Black Panthers' political education courses, based on intensive study of Mao and stressing an application to people's immediate experience, here serves as a model. Many of their early recruits, although unaccustomed to reading and used to the life of a criminal, learned to serve the people with complete dedication. And, like Malcolm X, not only Eldridge Cleaver, but several other leaders of the Panthers are the "discharged jailbirds" which Marx sees as part of the lumpenproletariat.

Two other parts of Fanon's analysis are of even more strategic importance. The first is the theory of the lumpenproletariat as the way the countryside enters the city. "The rebellion, which began in the country districts, will filter into the towns through that fraction of the peasant population... which has not yet succeeded in finding a bond to gnaw in the colonial system." "It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the lumpenproletariat that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead." (103) How does this apply to the U.S.? It is easy enough to see the unemployed people of the Black ghettos as part of this mass of humanity. But where is the rebellion that began in the country districts? The answer, of course, is in the world revolution as described by Lin Biao in *Long Live the Victory of People's War*. The country districts of the world are Asia, Africa, and Latin America, homelands of the wretched of the earth. There are various groups of people in the United States who share the physical misery of these rural masses - American Indians, Chicano farm laborers, Black tenant farmers in the South, the dispossessed whites of Appalachia. But most of these groups are scattered and weak, living on the fringes of capitalist society, away from its vital centers. There is only one group that not only shares the degradation of the world's revolutionary masses but is sufficiently concentrated to attack imperialism at home - the urban lumpenproletariat. This class in American society is largely made up of Third World people, but also includes whites dispossessed from the land or dropped out of their class. This last is no inconsiderable group, and it has taken over areas of several important cities. from the Haight Ashbury

and Telegraph Avenue through Madison to the Lower East Side, Cambridge, and Georgetown. Wherever the lumpenproletariat lives in America, "law and order" are rapidly disintegrating. Imperialism, caught in its own contradictions, finds it increasingly difficult to develop effective weapons to use within its own diseased vital organs, its cities. Here stirs the lumpenproletariat, the one class whose physical existence approximates that of the main forces of the world revolution.

Fanon points to the symptoms of breakdown in the colonized country, and we see the same symptoms, perhaps more pronounced, in the colonizer; to "juvenile delinquency," "stealing, debauchery, and alcoholism," we can add the effects of methedrine and heroin.

The constitution of a lumpen-proletariat is a phenomenon which obeys its own logic, and neither the brimming activity of the missionaries nor the decrees of the central government can check its growth. This lumpen-proletariat is like a horde of rats; you may lock them and throw stones at them, but despite your efforts they'll go on gnawing at the roots of the tree.

...The lumpen-proletariat, once it is constituted, brings all its forces to endanger the "security" of the town, and is the sign of the irrevocable decay, the gangrene ever present at the heart of the colonial system, (p. 104)



The other extremely important part of Fanon's analysis has to do with the changing values and lifestyle of the



of students across Italy are demonstrating Wednesday as the Senate is expected to vote the cuts and reforms proposed by the Education minister Mariastella Gelmini. The banner reads 'stop the system.'

In Ireland:

"Mounted officers and gardai in riot gear were called to a number of locations in Dublin and confronted a number of protesters from left-wing political groups, with six people arrested.

"The riots broke out at the end of a demonstration where up to 40,000 students had marched on government buildings in protest at government plans to raise the third-level registration fee from €1,500 to €3,000.

"The Union of Students in Ireland (USI) said that if the registration fee rises again thousands of students will be forced to drop-out of college. The current charge is €1,500 but it is speculated to rise to as much as €2,500 under measures in the coming budget."



Students protesting against a increase in 3rd level fees, clash with police as they hold a mass demonstration in Dublin city centre outside the Department of Finance buildings off St. Stephens Green, Dublin.

In England:

"Large demonstrations took place in Brighton, Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Newcastle, Oxford and London. The Metropolitan police said 153 arrests had been made in the capital, 146 of which occurred after a group refused to leave Trafalgar Square at the end of the demonstration in London. Windows were smashed and missiles thrown at police, who charged at protesters with batons.

"Students climbed onto rooftops, stormed council buildings and stopped traffic in dozens of town centres, many saying they hoped the display of feeling would reverberate in Westminster.

"Earlier there had been chaotic scenes in the capital when 4,000 students marching toward parliament tried to evade what they believed were attempts by police to 'kettle' them in the bleak weather.

"The demonstrators responded by dispersing across the city in separate marches, leading police in cat-and-mouse chases. One "leader" march headed into the City, while others meandered past bemused onlookers at Oxford Circus and Hyde Park Corner, and near Buckingham Palace, stopping traffic en route.

"This is truly one of the most bizarre" demonstrations I have been on," said Michael Chessum, 21, as he jogged up Regent Street with a group of riot police in tow. "It has been a shambling policing operation because we had agreed with them beforehand that we would march along Whitehall - but the spirit and determination of the students to march and get their point across has been pretty impressive."

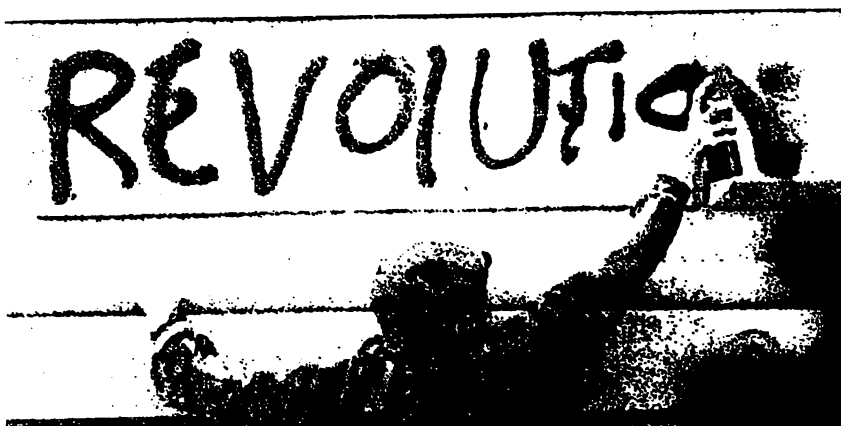
"The Met denied it had intended to kettle protesters, despite evidence of metal barriers and rows of officers waiting along Whitehall. It blamed the confusion on protesters, who, the force said, had begun their march earlier than agreed. "We made sure we had a flexible plan and sufficient resources to enable people to come back to Trafalgar Square where the protest was due to be held," said Chief Inspector Jane Connors. "That is what we did, moving around London, encouraging people to come back and meet together. We wanted to minimise disruption."

According to Wikipedia:

"The first major demonstration occurred on 10 November and was jointly organised by the National Union of Students (NUS) and the University and College Union (UCU). Arriving from all over England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, approximately 30,000 to 52,000 protesters attended the demonstration on the streets of central London. Further protests were held on 24 and 30 November, and 9 December, with students holding rallies and occupying government and university buildings. Organisers said that most of the protests were peaceful, but sporadic acts of violence and vandalism were reported by authorities; protesters and police officers alike were injured, and in some cases hospitalised. In one incident, a car carrying Prince Charles and his wife Camilla, Duchess of Cornwall, was attacked on Regent Street."

Tariq Ali, writing for *The Guardian*, Monday 27 December 2010, summed up:

"The Decembrists occupied, they sang, they blogged. Facebooked, tweeted and marched to show their contempt for the politicians who lied. The Prince of Wales and his consort saw all this from close up, a far cry from the sycophancy to which they have become accustomed. It was this movement that gave a majority of Clegg's and Cable's Lib-Dem parliamentarians the courage to vote against, abstain or absent themselves from the Commons on this fateful day. The fires lit in Parliament Square to keep the kettled Decembrists warm were also symbolic, turning the heat on a rotting coalition that might not last the full term so joyfully imagined. The hard-faced Cameron can no longer boast to his European counterparts that this country is a



Student rebellions rock the global empire

In London, Dublin, Paris, Athens and many other places, cutbacks in government aid and massive tuition hikes sparked massive protest demonstrations and riots in December as many tens of thousands of working class students are being forced to give up their studies. Everywhere the tone was militant and anti-capitalist and red flags were flying.

After bailing out the bankers and others deemed "too big to be allowed to fail," the "little people" struggling to get an education and escape poverty have been targeted for cut backs by the capitalist-imperialist establishment. In many places tuition is being doubled.



In Greece:

"Police fired tear gas and clashed with youths during the brief incident after some 1,500 people marched through central Athens. No arrests or injuries were reported by police.

"Greece avoided bankruptcy in May after it received a rescue loan package from EU partners and the International Monetary Fund, set to reach Euro 110 billion over the next three years. In return, the Socialist government imposed a strict austerity plan, that is facing renewed union opposition.

"Unions have called a general strike for Dec. 15, the seventh this year, while student protest groups are staging occupations of university buildings around the country.

"Another student rally is planned in Athens Monday, marking two years since the fatal police shooting of a teenage boy that sparked major riots in Greek cities."



In Italy:

"Students protest against the government-proposed education reforms which are being discussed at the Italian senate, in Rome, Wednesday, Dec. 22, 2010. Thousands



lumpenproletariat within revolutionary struggle. The conditions of life have shaped them to fight, but the fighting itself is a new condition which transforms them into a new kind of people:

So the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed and the petty criminals, urged on from behind, throw themselves into the struggle for liberation like stout working men. These classless idlers will by militant and decisive action discover the path that leads to nationhood. They won't become reformed characters to please colonial society, fitting in with the morality of its rulers; quite the contrary, they take for granted the impossibility of entering the city save by hand-grenades and revolvers. These worthless less-than-men are rehabilitated in their own eyes and in the eyes of history. The prostitutes too, and the maids, ... all the hopeless drags of humanity, all who turn in circles between suicide and madness, will recover their balance, once more go forward, and march proudly in the great procession of the awakened nation. (104)

All this emphasizes both the danger of tailing after the lumpenproletariat's existing values and life styles, and the necessity of conscious leadership for the lumpenproletariat to assert their own liberation through revolutionary struggle. Of all classes, this may be the one that most needs to be led by conscious revolutionaries with a sense of their historical condition and an awareness of their weaknesses and instability. It would be a mistake, probably a fatal mistake, to think that the only peoples qualified to lead them are individuals just as unpredictable and as lacking in ideology.

Students and Street People

Students now constitute a large portion of the entire population. The number of college students alone now approximately equals the country's entire armed forces plus its three largest unions (Teamsters, UAW, and United Steel Workers), and the number in high school is far larger. From the students has come the bulk of both the most militant white radical political forces and street people, two overlapping groups. Clearly, the radicalization and lumpenproletarianizing of students are not coincidences.

All students, particularly those living away from home, are partially and temporarily declassed, existing in a limbo between their wealthy or working-class past and whatever careers or jobs they are being channeled into. Although physically and psychologically capable of productive labor and childbearing, indeed more energetic and sexually motivated than most "adults," though often among the most intellectually alert and best informed people, they are branded by all classes as immature parasites. They are generally not permitted either to sell their labor or to own property. Although they may work quite hard in school, they do not produce anything, and are not workers. No matter how socially useful their knowledge and skills may later prove to be, they are still "dependents," a pleasant word for parasites.

Rather than earn a living, students chisel or hustle for one. Even the son of a member of the ruling class knows that he has gotten his sports car by finagling it out of his old man, not through productive labor (like his father's workers) or legalized respectable plunder (like his father); he relates to his father like a call girl or swindler. Students are denied even bourgeois democratic rights. As neither workers nor owners, living under coercive rules without even the illusion of having chosen the authority over them, students share some of the experience of

the more clearly classless elements of society, the true lumpenproletariat. This experience has at least some effect on their consciousness. They know what it is to be considered a parasite and to live like one. Their class loyalties weaken. The sanctity of both work and private property is questioned. Of course they are still largely products of their natal class. But because their class position is now ambiguous, many of them slip out of the class roles for which they supposedly were being trained, and some find it quite easy to become outright class traitors. Some sons and daughter of workers compete for managerial careers, and a few even become lower level bosses over their parents. Some sons and daughters of the wealthiest capitalists become conscious revolutionaries, seeking to overthrow their parents' rule, and a few even succeed in merging with the workers. But the most striking phenomenon is that of the dropout, who slides directly from an existence with some superficial resemblances to the lumpenproletariat into becoming a bona fide member of that class. And during the present period, the beginning of the final collapse of imperialism, that is becoming a mass phenomenon.





The alienated street people, predominantly ex-students whose neighborhood usually adjoins a Black or brown ghetto, form an ambiguous connection to the dispossessed lumpenproletariat and lower strata of the proletariat. The potential exists for two kinds of conflict, and both have already taken place: in one, whites and Third World people fight against each other; in the other, both fight together against the police. This represents in dramatically clear form the classical ambiguity of and within the lumpenproletariat.

The Lumpenproletariat and the Working Class

Although the lumpenproletariat must play a part in revolutionary struggle, as a class it is incapable of being the main force. Its capacity for fighting and destruction may be great, but of all classes within society it is the least capable of seizing and maintaining state power.

One error currently being made within the movement is empiricism, which bases its analysis only on what has already taken place here and now. In any pre-revolutionary or early revolutionary condition, the least stable elements within society are those to go into motion first. This almost always includes students and elements of the lumpenproletariat. Empiricism mistakes this first force for the leading force or vanguard, and concludes that the revolution will be made by precisely those elements in fact least able to carry it through to completion.

In developed capitalist society, there is of course only one class other than the bourgeoisie capable of holding state power; that class is the working class. At this point in history, revolution can mean only one thing: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. (Individuals can be fighting anti-imperialists, totally committed to the destruction of the bourgeois state, without being revolutionaries. If they are merely destructive, they sooner or later attack the working class as well as the state.) But in the obvious historical meaning of revolution lies the danger of dogmatism, which ignores living reality for historical certainty. The dogmatists, best characterized by the Progressive Labor Party and other varieties of Trotskyites, see the struggles of any group other than the proletariat as inconsequential if not downright counterrevolutionary. PL carries this so far that they assert that students and street people are not part of the people at all. Because they ignorantly assume that "when Mao or Lenin talked of the people they were referring (only) to workers and peasants," they arrive at the preposterous conclusion that "the fight for People's Park was a reactionary struggle." (The Battle of Berkeley, PL pamphlet, pp. 7-9.) Unlike PL, Marxist-Leninists understand that theory must be based on objective reality. They conclude, therefore, that the key revolutionary task at the present moment is spreading the intensely political struggle of the dispossessed and the alienated to the working class as a whole, which, mired in economism, can win its battle only in revolution, and can win the revolution only by leading other classes in alliance.

There is nothing automatic or certain about the relation between the present insurgencies and the working class. On the contrary, there is an extreme danger that the contradiction between the lumpenproletariat and the working class may become antagonistic (particularly if many workers were to listen to the bourgeois press or PL). The

lumpenproletariat is, after all, a parasitic class that lives off the labor of the working class. Workers may perceive anarchic rebellion as a threat to the marginal security they have been able to win from the ruling class. On its side, that part of the lumpenproletariat consisting of students who have dropped out of petit bourgeois, professional, and bourgeois families has been filled with the most virulent anti-working-class ideas. And particular situations may sharpen the contradiction. (Students and street people occupy a housing development from which working-class people have been evicted, and then demand that this be a free People's Pad, while workers in the surrounding neighborhood cannot afford their rent. Or the same situation may be turned into unified struggle. Out of the People's Pad project has come intensive organizing for a rent strike in the surrounding community. So the task of first linking and then uniting the struggles of the lumpenproletariat and the working class is not only essential, but needs the work of conscious revolutionaries.



Huey P. Newton

Among Third World people, there is a less clear demarcation between lumpenproletariat and working class than there is between street people and the white working class. Black and brown workers are the last hired and the first fired, so that a large percentage knows what it is to be among the unemployed. Many Black and brown women are on welfare or employed in part-time "domestic" (i.e., servile) positions. The Black Panther Party has shown the way to unite lumpenproletariat with working class — by constantly developing practical programs to serve the people in areas where the oppression of the lumpen proletariat is an extreme form of oppression suffered by Black working people. Beginning with a base almost entirely within the lumpenproletariat and committed to defending the people against police brutality, the Panthers now have wide support among Black workers, and thanks to the Breakfast for Children program, throughout the Black community. What has been central to this success has been the Panthers' refusal to take the opportunistic course of organizing around lumpenproletarian demands per se, but rather organizing through the lumpenproletariat as the most victimized members of the Black nation and therefore as ones capable



"Divide and conquer" is what they use to maintain these towers of oppression to keep us enslaved and complacent with our oppressor, yet enraged at our brothers and sisters whom we desperately need to make revolution possible. We stay so fixated on fighting our family, that we leave ourselves vulnerable to attack from the oppressor who is left untouched and unnoticed like a mosquito on the wall waiting to spread its disease. We stand at polarized ends listening to the lies that they spread to us about ourselves and never question the reality of things. "Illegals are stealing our jobs!" "Black people are just too lazy." Reality is, Capitalism always creates classism, so the poor and unemployed is a symptom of an ongoing issue. "Illegals are hurting the economy by contributing nothing and leeching off of Federal Programs that our taxes pay!" When reality stands that, America purposely neglects the poor, aid and welfare programs provided. Even more so, many of us provide labor for wages that are only a fraction of what employed US citizens would earn, saving corporations millions and boosting the U.S. economy as a consequence of our own exploitation. "Illegals don't belong here. Go back to where you came from!" When reality is that, from the tip of North America, to the bottom of South America, we were always here, and long before any European. For instance, Amerigo Vespucci, whom America is named after, or Christopher Columbus, who "discovered" a continent already inhabited with millions of people, who neither needed or desired to be "discovered." We were here long before Europeans set foot on this continent, let alone before they conceptualized that the earth was round and far larger than the small and incomplete world they lived in. Europeans are the real "illegal immigrants" who raped our people and stole and pillaged our lands at the taking, just to turn around about 500 years later and say "We must reclaim the Southwest 'THEY' are taking over!"

The time has come to reclaim our histories, our culture, our GOD, our tongues, and our DIGNITY. We can't sit by idly and watch this world crumble and die while the greedy of this world do all that they can to remain on top and destroy all that breathes. We don't have a choice. Our future generations are depending on us, just as we have depended on our ancestors to reach this point in time. Our ancestors did not die in vain over the middle passage and all the countless wars and battles they fought to keep our legacies, our humanity, and our spirits intact. We have an obligation to do all that we can to preserve life. You either ride or you die. Simple as that. As Zapata put it, "I would rather die on my feet, than live on my knees." We must ride for our people, as Malcolm X said, "BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!" That's for damn sure!

WE RIDE FOR THE IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BROWN PEOPLE.

WE RIDE BECAUSE WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BROWN COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BROWN SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BROWN COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY.

THE 2ND AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS.

WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BROWN PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF-DEFENSE

THE SAME RACIST DOG THAT BIT YOU BIT US TOO! WE MUST MASS TOGETHER TO KILL THAT RACIST DOG!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

**Brown Riders Liberation Party
PO Box 73888
Los Angeles, CA 90003**

SOMOSTODOS@RISEUP.NET 323-839-7454



TO THE AFRIKAN INTERCOMMUNALIST YOUTH — TO THEIR FATHERS — WE WILL NOW CRITICIZE THE UNJUST WITH THE WEAPON!

Statement from the Central Committee of the BRLP

All Power to the People!

Revolutionary Greetings!

Due to the Black revolutionary consciousness that is surging around the country, the Black Riders Liberation Party has organized a powerful nationwide prison chapter. New recruits from all over the country are setting up branches for the prison chapter in the spirit of George Jackson and his brother/alter-ego Jonathan Jackson. Each branch is organized by state. We have received numerous requests from people on the streets around the country to set up chapters, especially on the East Coast. Also, the Northern California chapter of the Black Riders was officially opened during the struggle to seek justice for Oscar Grant with a Feed the People program amongst the rebellious masses in Oakland. We openly admit that the requirements to be a member of the Black Riders requires strict discipline but we encourage others to take up the banner of freedom and bang on the system with a strong, structured revolutionary organization. There must be no other course but to fight it out. Every political and military position must be held to the last Black man and Black woman. There must be no retreat and no surrender. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause each one of us must fight on to the end. We call on all Black people who still believe in freedom to join us or support us with their minds, bodies and souls. There is a great war to be won and we will win it together. The Black man and Black woman, once properly politically educated, culturally inspired, and physically trained is the greatest human fighting machine the world has ever known!

**Black Riders Liberation Party
PO Box 8297
Los Angeles, CA 90008**

BLACKRIDERSLP@YAHOO.COM 323-245-5320



Brown Riders Liberation Party

By Comrade Meztil Yaotl

Reprinted from *Turning the Tide*, Vol. 24 No. 1

In the spirit of the Black Panthers and the Brown Berets, a new revolutionary group for the people has been born, the Brown Riders Liberation Party. In full alliance with the Black Riders Liberation Party, we have come together to unify our Brown and Black brothers and sisters during this urgent time in which the fascist state is attacking from every corner. With the resurgence of White Nationalism and White Supremacist groups, coupled with the support of the state's anti-migrant, anti-brown stance, and unparalleled police brutality, we must come together to defeat this monster.

For centuries past and present, our people, both Brown and Black, have been viciously oppressed. They have been murdered, raped, enslaved, forcibly assimilated, lynched, and robbed of their most sacred. For centuries past and present, our people have fought and defended our own when the enemies have come to our gates. Today, more than ever before, it is essential that we fight the circumstances under which we lie. Like our revolutionary brothers and sisters before us — such as Shaka Zulu,

Emiliano Zapata, Malcolm X, the Black Liberation Army, Pancho Villa, Montezuma, Comandante Ramona, and Che Guevara, and countless, nameless, faceless others — we must look past what society has offered us as reality, what society has offered us as our only choice, and come to terms with what has been placed before us. The fact stands: WE ARE AT WAR!

Our rights and dignity as human beings have been essentially denied through the advent of SB 1070 in Arizona. SB 1070 is testimony to this Nation's objective to EXTERMINATE our people, as blatant racism is now (and has been) part of this country's policy against the people, upon whose backs this nation was built. SB 1070 specifically calls for racial profiling, requesting that anyone suspected of being an "illegal" (Brown), show three forms of identification, proof of their citizenship (which, in this country, most times, means proof of our right to dignity). This is the beginnings of an openly fascist state, where now you must present papers, just as Slaves back in the day had to prove their status in society. Except now, those without are not taken back to their slave masters, but held in detention camps indefinitely or transported to an unknown locale south of the border. Backed by the Immigration Customs Enforcement and Border Control, the Minutemen, (a Neo-Nazi militia), patrols the borders while maiming, torturing and murdering all those they deem illegal aliens. This is an act of genocide disguised as U.S. Patriotism, where essentially, racists are legitimized by an illegitimate state to commit mass murder on our people. We must stand up and reclaim what is ours. Genocide is an act of war!

Furthermore, everyday, a protracted war of genocide is enacted on both Black and Brown locally, in our communities. The police, AKA, THE PIGS, are the main culprits. Police brutality is rampant in our communities. The recent deaths of Manuel Ramirez, Oscar Grant, Carlos Rivera and De' Andre Brunson are a sure reminder (De' Andre Brunson, who by the way, was brutally machine-gunned down in front of a house, left to die on the door steps for an hour, while THE PIGS airfired their K-9, until they sent to attack him, within only minutes). With these deaths, an echo was sent forth like a rolling thunder through out the community: a reminder for those that have become complacent. We are reminded that even in the present, our lives still mean nothing to them. We are reminded that the police isn't here to help us, to protect or serve us... and historically, they never have. They are here to protect the wealthy, the elite and capital. We are reminded that racism is not over as they continue to beat us, lynch us, killing us in cold blood, with no remorse and no accountability, even in the wake of the First Black President! We are reminded that we are just as much citizens as we were when we were trapped on the plantations picking cotton, building railroads and getting slaughtered off by the millions trying to protect the lands that were stolen from us and that we were stolen from, all to build their empire, which has stretched around the world with the same effect! We must realize our true histories, and how our pasts are intertwined and bound by the roots, through blood, solidarity, bullet proof love and revolution.

The time has come for disunity between our people to end. The main strategy of COINTELPRO, is to neutralize threats of dissidence. "Divide and conquer" is one of the most effective strategies used to disrupt resistance movements.



of raising demands for the people as a whole. Although now and again contradictions have intensified between lumpenproletariat and working class within Third World communities, it now seems certain that revolutionary leadership, national oppression, and the intensifying crisis of imperialism will combine to forge revolutionary unity.

In the mother country, the problems are far more difficult. Certainly the lesson of the Panthers, Serve the People, is just as crucial here, to say the least. The principal organizing concept here is the Revolutionary Youth Movement, which is made necessary and possible by cross-class youth culture, the draft and imperialist war, high unemployment among youth, and the pigs.

Within the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the bulk of the work within the next year or two will continue to be building the movement on the campuses and on the streets and linking the two together. But the key job for revolutionaries will be to spread that movement to young white working people.

Here one vital area of work must be draft resistance and resistance within the army, because here the movement among alienated white youth connects directly to the needs of young workers. Another priority is the work among street gangs, who are themselves basically lumpenproletariat although their class backgrounds vary, and motorcycle clubs, which are mostly made up of young workers whose life style and off-work associations relate closely to the lumpenproletariat. A third area of vital importance is the high schools, where the channeling system has not as yet totally forced class separation and where oppression cuts sharply across class lines.



Fascists or Partisans

In Germany, the lumpenproletariat was the main source of shock troops for Nazism. Anyone who worships the spontaneity of unemployed youth should be reminded of the Brown-shirts. In the United States, unemployed white youth are a fertile breeding place for the worst forms of racism, national chauvinism, and the cult of the super-male. This is particularly true in the South, in the urban areas into which the dispossessed rural whites have been driven, and in European ethnic neighborhoods. And among these people there is no clear dividing line between lumpenproletariat and white working class.

The Young Patriots and Young Partisans have shown that these people are capable of becoming not only revolutionaries but revolutionary leaders. And the only way

for them to do this, as both groups have shown, is by organizing around the principle of serving the most oppressed and exploited people in American society.

The lumpenproletariat know what it is to be on the bottom, to be mashed into the gutter by the whole weight of an imperialist structure. They share the degradation of the wretched of the whole earth. At every moment two paths are possible for them. One is to turn their hatred against other victims, against each other, against themselves. They can put on the uniform of the U.S. Marines and butcher Vietnamese peasants, they can prey on their brothers and sisters in the streets, or they can shoot their own veins full of poison. The other path is the path of their own liberation.

To reach this path it is necessary for them, like all of us, not only to become conscious of who our real enemies are but to realize that the only force capable of overthrowing them and destroying their rotten system is a grand alliance of all their victims. And one thing is sure for everybody: no class will be liberated while there still exists a class that can be called the lumpenproletariat.



Untamed Street Guerrilla looking for contributors

The comrades working to put together a newsletter for the organizing committee for the Red Fist Alliance (RFA) are looking for writers and artists. RFA is about uniting the various street and prison tribes to work together to serve the people as part of the United Panther Movement.

This publication, *The Untamed Street Guerrilla*, will serve as a collective agitator, educator and organizer for the Alliance. There must be an open debate as to how best to organize the RFA and how to go about building it.



ESSAY CONTEST!!

NABPP-PC has put out a call for the various street and prison tribes to unite to form a Red Fist Alliance (RFA) as part of the United Panther Movement (UPM). How can this best be done, what should be the rules and points of unity, and what should be its program? What are your ideas?

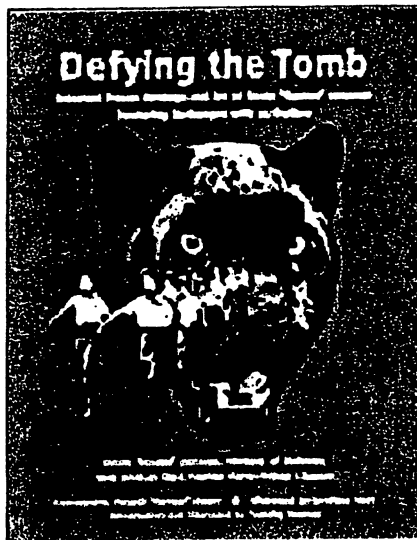
To stimulate debate and discussion and draw on the collective wisdom of the people, NABPP-PC is sponsoring an essay contest. First prize will be a set of the *Collected Works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Honorable mention will win a copy of Comrade Rashid's new book *Defying the Tomb*.



All submissions should be in English, typed or hand printed clearly, and be postmarked no later than April 15th, 2011. Include your name and mailing address, and your street-tribe or organizational affiliation if any. Submissions are non-returnable and will become the property of Rising Sun Press. They may be edited before publication. The winner will be announced on May Day, International Workers' Day.

Send your essays to:

Rising Sun Press
PO Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105



New Book by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson NABPP-PC Minister of Defense

Available at AK Press (<http://www.akpress.org/>) and Left Wing Books (<https://secure.leftwingbooks.net/>).

This is the latest book published by Kersplebedeb, and I am pleased to say copies have now arrived, and are ready to ship out!

Follow the author's odyssey from lumpen drug dealer to prisoner, to revolutionary New Afrikan and Black Panther, a teacher and mentor, one of a new generation rising of prison intellectuals. This book consists primarily of letters between Rashid and Outlaw, another revolutionary New Afrikan prisoner, smuggled between the segregation wing and general population over a period of months. These comrades educate themselves — and us as well — on Marxism and Maoism, the Five-Percenters, Dialectical Materialism, Dead Prez, Capitalism, Racism, Imperialism, Class Struggle, Revolutionary Nationalism, New Afrikan Independence, Psychology, and a host of other subjects, as they grapple with how to promote revolutionary consciousness in the most hostile of environments.

Rashid has been in prison for twenty years — the past eighteen of which have been in segregation (solitary confinement). Shortly after this correspondence between himself and Outlaw, he and his comrade Shaka Sankofa Zulu, a prisoner in New Jersey, founded the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter. The NABPP-PC has since developed branches in various prisons across the U.S. empire and has its own newsletter, *Right On!*



Comrade Samuel "Angel" Coley

RUDE AWAKENING

by Samuel "Angel" Coley

AmeriKKKa is due for a rude awakening
Choosing to dance to a fantasy tune
Ignoring the drum beat of reality
America the Jeckyl
AmeriKKKa the Hyde
Split personality
The promise of equality
The oppressive reality

Millions living in poverty
Brother Martin had a dream
Of high and noble aspirations
Martin, the great grandson of slaves
Tried to rouse America
Before he was cut down by AmeriKKKa

AmeriKKKa, instigator of the skin game
Caught in the act in the freeze-frame
Pushing opium on China in God's name
Claiming to be making the West tame
Living the lie
Always turning a blind eye
To the people it makes die
Deafening its ears to the people's cries

Unreality flashing on the TV
John Wayne popping off the Indians
Happy slaves singing on the lovy
Hop Sing serving up the biscuits
Wizard of Oz theatrics no longer fool us
We know how Horatio Alger rose from rags to riches
It was by robbing and exploiting the rest of us

"FREE AT LAST, FREE AT LAST."

Yes Martin, you read the handwriting on the wall
Before they caught you in the crosshairs
You are gone

But we carry on
Walking the yard in prison
Or walking the streets unemployed
Working the menial jobs
Turning a blind eye to the elders living on the street
To the youth rushing to an early grave

We have nothing more to confess
After 450 years at hard labor we should max out
Tell me Brother Martin
How much farther is it to the Promised Land?
When will America wake up?

Samuel "Angel" Coley was an original Black Panther and organizer of the BPP's Free Breakfast for Children Program in Philadelphia. Railroaded into prison by COINTELPRO for a crime he did not commit, he spent the rest of his life being shuffled from one prison to another. He contracted Hepatitis C from being cut by the filthy handcuffs and shackles, which eventually killed him.

A member of the Red Heart Warrior's Society, he was an initiator in the formation of the Black Brigade, which became the New Afrikan Service Organization (NASO). He is gone now, but his spirit lives on.

Panther Love!

To Die for the People

by Xingela

Tip the glass and pour a libation
for all the comrades gone but not forgotten

From Spartacus to the most recent of us
to fall in the struggle for freedom

Revolution is less cruel than Life

In Revolution some must die
but in Life all must die

To die for the people is heavier than a mountain

To die for the reactionaries and imperialists is lighter than a feather

To die a slave in your bed
without ever having risked your life to be free
is cowardice

What can one ask of life
really?

One can but hope to live with purpose
and die with honor

When we are gone all that remains is our name
and the ripples from the impact we made

What remains is the People

You gotta love the People!

Generation upon generation they struggle on

Each generation discovering its purpose
and striving to fulfill it



Heading up the outside support and serving as spokesperson for the striking prisoners is Elaine Brown, former chairperson of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and longtime prisoner rights advocate. She pointed out that while prisoners in other states get paid, the amount is so trifling as to constitute "slave wages."

She was instrumental in putting together the Concerned Coalition to Respect Prisoner Rights, an ad hoc group that includes the Nation of Islam, the Georgia Green Party and a host of other organizations. While the U.S. media has largely "whited-out" news of the strike, there have been some very supportive pieces written that are posted on the Internet.

Savvy commentators are noting that this represents a new trend in the fight for prisoner rights, and one that has the prison-industrial-complex worried. The growing sense of class consciousness and unity among prisoners is something they didn't factor into their investment planning. As Mao said, "ideological and political line will determine everything." Given the choice between a slave mentality and revolutionary proletarian ideology, the imprisoned lumpen will choose to "mend themselves."

Moreover, the U.S. workers may in turn learn from them and break the chains that hold them back. Ideology becomes a material force when it is grasped by the masses. No power is greater than that of the people united. The solution to all our problems lies in revolution.

The exploiters cannot do without the masses to exploit, but the masses have no need of the exploiting class at all. Thus we are in the stronger position strategically. As Steve Biko said, "the greatest weapon of the oppressor is the minds of the oppressed." When we free our minds, we shall inherit the earth.

DARE TO STRUGGLE DARE TO WIN!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



An Invitation to Swim Against the Tide Together

We could give you lifetimes of empty:
The unmarked graves
The lost languages
The uprooted trees and histories
The dead stares on the faces of nameless children
Before I start this poem we could be silent forever
Or just long enough to hunger,
For the dust to bury us
And you would still ask us
For more of our silence.

- Emmanuel Ortiz

Poem by George Jackson

Don't let them cover your eyes,
and tell you lies,
about the way America was born,
or lives or dies.

It's about being in the right place, at the right time;
and how the good in "the game" survive.

Convicting the innocent,
paying the guilty.
Laundering their money because it's getting filthy.
They don't understand the laws,
it's just to help their cause.



A number of Rashid's essays written as Minister of Defense of the NABPP-PC are also included in this book.

For more about Rashid, including links to his writings available online, Please visit the Kersplebedeb website.

What the Comrades Say

"Kevin 'Rashid' Johnson has put together an outstanding compendium of political essays and letters that addresses many of the critical issues of today. His intra-prison correspondence with his comrade, Outlaw, is a rewarding study in the determined and ingenious maneuvers that prisoners have to go through to politically educate and organize themselves and others around them. As a result, just reading the book itself provides one with the basic foundation of a political education."

— from the Afterword by Sundiata Acoli, New Afrikan political prisoner of war

"Your mission (should you decide to accept it) is to buy multiple copies of this book, read it carefully, and then get it into the hands of as many prisoners as possible. I am aware of no prisoner-written book more important than this one, at least not since George Jackson's *Blood In My Eye*. Revolutionaries and those considering the path of progress will find Kevin 'Rashid' Johnson's *Defying The Tomb* an important contribution to their political development."

— Ed Mead, former political prisoner, George Jackson Brigade

"The correspondence of Rashid and Outlaw, carried on within the tenuous cracks of a supermax prison, offers the reader a compelling blend of psychological insight, political analysis, and passion for learning. Their defiance in the face of oppression is matched by their broad human solidarity. As they grapple with ideas, they also think as organizers, probing the dispositions and motivations of their fellow prisoners. Their struggle for justice is informed by a commitment to reason."

— Victor Wallis, Professor, Liberal Arts Department, Berklee College of Music

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Comrade Rashid

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter: Our Line

by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Defense Minister, NBPP-PC

Reprinted from *Right On!* No. 1, Fall 2005

Introduction

In this paper, we outline the political and ideological line of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter. The NABPP-PC, an all-Afrikan people's revolutionary party, proposes through its work and example to spread its line to the general NABPP on the outside, and to all revolutionary-minded New Afrikans, and ultimately to expand the Party into a broad international vanguard of all Afrikan people the world over. We are in full accord with the analysis set forward in "The Panther and the Elephant," which this paper intends to further illuminate.

The Vanguard Party

As a vehicle for coordinating masses of people for action, organization is necessary. Planning is necessary, and so is assigning roles and tasks to those most capable of performing them, and holding them accountable for performing their assigned tasks completely and to the best of their abilities. Coordinating the activities of the active forces of the Afrikan Nation in America towards the achievement of full democracy and national liberation requires a genuine vanguard party based among the masses. No revolutionary or genuine national independence struggle has ever succeeded without a party to organize and coordinate the energy of the struggling people into focused result-oriented action.

"From the People to the People" is the Mass Line - the opposite of top-down organizations. The NABPP PC practices and promotes the Mass Line. In applying this, the



Party workers must go among the People, and, by living with them and struggling along side them, experience and learn their needs, ideas and interests. The Party then - applying the principles of Historical and Dialectical Materialism - returns the People's unorganized ideas to them in a comprehensive form, coordinating their collective actions, resources and abilities around their needs and thereby aids and organizes them in solving their own problems.

As a revolutionary vanguard party, the NABPP-PC realizes that strategic or tactical inflexibility runs counter to the organic nature of a mass-based leading party. Such a party must operate within the limits of existing concrete conditions as they develop and change, and it cannot attempt to drive people to stick stubbornly and mechanically to methods of struggle which actual conditions do not support or allow. It has been by failing to exercise flexibility and initiative and practicing "commandism" that many would-be revolutionary movements in the past have failed and have given vanguard parties a bad name.

Our strategic and tactical decision-making process is that of Democratic Centralism, which does not contradict applying the Mass Line. Nor does it go against maintaining flexibility and initiative and being creative in our political work. Democratic Centralism is the method by which our Party determines, through intense internal discussion, debate, and then majority agreement, the Party's overall strategic and tactical line. The basic principle is to raise criticisms and ideas up and to implement down. Once a strategy and tactical approach is decided, the lower bodies of the Party can then exercise a great deal of initiative and creativity in applying the line in practice, adapting to the particularities of local conditions.

At the heart of any democratic process is the need and right to be informed of all issues relevant to making accurate analysis and correct decisions. Therefore, Party cadre must never stop learning, (and teaching the People), and must never hold stubbornly to views not supported by the ongoing experience of the Party. Our sources of learning are our people's life experience, books, and especially our practice. We must never stop learning.

Essential to democratic practice is criticism and self-criticism. All Party members must feel free to criticize other Party members and leaders, line and practice within the context of internal Democratic Centralism. The Party must also be open to listening to the criticisms of the masses. If what is unproductive or harmful cannot be criticized, then how can what is productive and good be determined?

The Party will exercise greater or lesser degrees of centralism, depending upon the freedom and necessity of the struggle in a given time and place. For example, security considerations may restrict the ability to hold discussions and force the leadership to assume more authoritative methods at times, restricting certain information, to protect the cadre or the Party as a whole. But overall, our goal is to promote democracy and collective decision making. In all cases, we must adjust and adapt new, varied and creative tactics and approaches to maintain the initiative in our work and avoid becoming predictable and thus susceptible to being out maneuvered and defeated.

Classes and Class Struggle

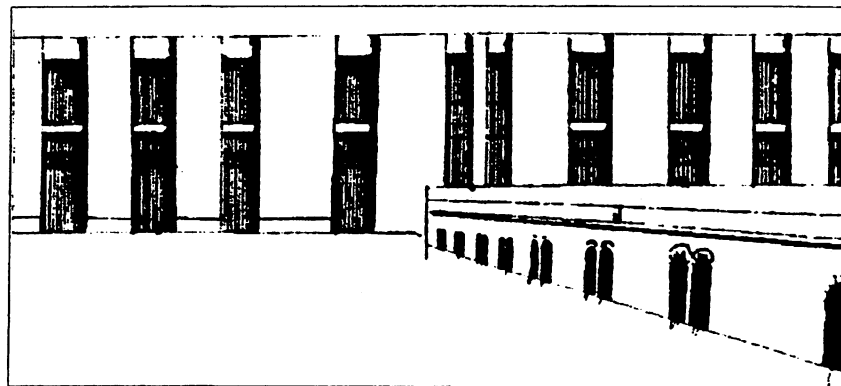
On the point of classes and class struggle, we adopt the analysis presented in "The Panther and the Elephant," we also add in relation to the Lumpen Proletariat that the NABPP-PC, as its name implies, is an autonomous chapter of the NABPP centered within the prisons. The vast majority of prisoners in the U.S. are proletarians, but many come from a lumpen background, and all are influenced by this perspective in the context of prison culture. The lumpen class overlaps with the proletariat, (drifts in and out of employment), but maintains an outlook that opposes a proletarian class outlook. The lumpen's confused and backward values stem from its position of preying upon others and general ignorance, which can be corrected through education and struggle, and through guided practice in a mass organization like the Black Brigade. A minimum condition for the acceptance of lumpen class militants into the Party must be a period of re-education and practice inside a Party-affiliated mass organization like the Black Brigade, where we can observe their practice, and they can remold their class outlook and develop into a full-time, all-the-way revolutionary.

Contradictions in Proletarian Versus Lumpen Perspectives

Many people when presented with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist idea that only the proletariat can lead in making all-the-way revolutionary class struggle question why this is, and why some other class, (without changing its class perspective), cannot lead such a struggle. One reason is because the proletariat is the only class that has no real stake in preserving the class relations of the capitalist system, but has everything to gain in taking control over the social wealth it has itself created by its labor and the tools it uses to create it. Another reason is that the proletariat, (in contrast to the lumpen), has the conditioning in patient work, social unity and cooperation necessary to wage the protracted class struggle required to abolish all exploitation and oppression. Basically, it is our social practice that determines how we think and not how we think that determines our social practice.

The proletariat has a strong sense of family commitment and unity and a sense of respect for and commitment to the community. These values grow out of the routine of going to work each day in the social environment of the workplace to provide for the needs of one's family, and not only maintaining employment but also engaging in domestic labor in the home, rearing children, and taking part in the social life of the community. This requires and instills stability, discipline and responsibility as well as cooperation with one's peers.

The class conscious worker can be of two sorts, the militant and the revolutionary. The militant worker takes the sense of commitment beyond the family into the workplace and will stand up to the bosses for workers' rights, even to the extent of jeopardizing one's employment, freedom and safety by participating in strikes and job actions. The revolutionary worker takes the sense of commitment even farther and challenges the oppressive social order to change the social relations for all and put an end to class exploitation and oppression once and for all. The revolutionary is inspired by a great love for the people and sense of duty to the masses and to future generations.



The Georgia Prison Strike

On the morning of December 9, 2010, tens of thousands of Georgia prisoners refused to leave their cells in what is being called the "largest prison strike in U.S. history." Organizers had been working for months, utilizing cell phones sold by the guards, to unite every faction of the imprisoned population. As one leader put it, "We have the Crips and the Bloods, we have the Muslims, we have the head Mexicans, and we have the Aryans all with a peaceful understanding, all on a common ground."

The strike was publicly announced beforehand and outside supporters were recruited. When it came, ten prisons went out on strike together. Seven days later, the four prisons still on strike ended the action, announcing they were now switching to the courts to continue the struggle.

At the heart of the prisoner's demands is recognition of their right as workers to receive pay for their labors. Georgia is the only state that pays no compensation at all to its prisoners. Undoubtedly this will be an issue that will end up before the Supreme Court, for it tests the constitutionality of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution - the one that supposedly ended slavery.

The state assumes that it not only has the right to confine people in prisons but to expropriate their labor power by force while they are imprisoned: in other words to consign them to the status of chattel slaves owned by the state. This strikes at the heart of the "New Slavery" and raises the question of would there have been an eight-fold increase in the imprisoned population in the U.S. since 1968 if it were not so immensely profitable to special interest groups within the capitalist-imperialist ruling class?

The demands of the prisoners are:

A LIVING WAGE FOR WORK: In violation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery and

involuntary servitude, the DOC demands prisoners work for free.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES: For the great majority of prisoners, the DOC denies all opportunities for education beyond the GED, despite the benefit to both prisoners and society.

DECENT HEALTH CARE: In violation of the 8th Amendment prohibition against cruel and unusual punishments, the DOC denies adequate medical care to prisoners, charges excessive fees for the most minimal care and is responsible for extraordinary pain and suffering.

AN END TO CRUEL AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENTS: In further violation of the 8th Amendment, the DOC is responsible for cruel prisoner punishments for minor infractions of rules.

DECENT LIVING CONDITIONS: Georgia prisoners are confined in over-crowded, substandard conditions, with little heat in winter and oppressive heat in summer.

NUTRITIONAL MEALS: Vegetables and fruit are in short supply in DOC facilities while starches and fatty foods are plentiful.

VOCATIONAL AND SELF-IMPROVEMENT OPPORTUNITIES: The DOC has stripped its facilities of all opportunities for skills training, self-improvement and proper exercise.

ACCESS TO FAMILIES: The DOC has disconnected thousands of prisoners from their families by imposing excessive telephone charges and innumerable barriers to visitation.

JUST PAROLE DECISIONS: The Parole Board capriciously and regularly denies parole to the majority of prisoners despite evidence of eligibility



poverty to a growing majority, who are cramming into urban slums and shantytowns around the world. For this growing mass, the only alternative to this poverty, and all that goes with it, is proletarian socialist revolution.

For the first time ever, people are identifying as both gangster and revolutionary, and as Amílcar Cabral said, "Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history." The government's strategy of criminalization and mass incarceration of the poor - which has been in play since the Nixon administration - has shaped a generation of ghetto youth, their psychology and culture. No artist more iconically than Tupac Shakur, who was born into a family of Black Panther Party and BLA militants and grew up watching them railroaded into prison or hounded into exile. Drawn into anti-social and criminal rebellion, he was the first artist to top the Billboard Chart while serving time in prison.



Tupac, who died tragically on the street in a hail of gunfire, gave voice to the torn-up feelings of a generation trapped in ghetto poverty amidst the affluence and decadence of the dying Empire. Like Tookie and others who have been condemned to die because Amerika has no place for them, only prison and the execution chamber, Tupac became a martyr to youth who live and die everyday on the streetz of Babylon whose only hope is revolution.

Ironically, it is the revolution that will proletarianize them and teach them proletarian discipline, such as was exemplified in the recent Georgia prison strike - the largest prison strike in U.S. History. Unlike the usual rebellions of the lumpen, the form of the Georgia Prison Strike was characterized not by acts of daring by individuals but by solid unity and collective determination. Instead of taking hostages and seizing cell blocks, tens of thousands of prisoners remained voluntarily locked-down in their cells refusing to work without pay as slaves.

Unlike the lumpenproletariat of Marx's time, today's lumpen are in a position to play a vanguard role relative to the employed industrial proletariat, who have been held in check by the trick of class collaboration and the reality of a globalized and shrinking labor market. Where unionization allowed the industrial workers to escape poverty in the past, it has no leverage now - unless it aligns with the revolutionary struggle of the poor confronted with the "New Slavery" of the prison-industrial complex. The "Front Lines" of the class struggle have shifted.

Huey P. Newton was a visionary in his conceptualization of "Revolutionary Intercommunalism." It is in the oppressed communities - where the victims of the "New Slavery" are captured and placed on busses in chains - that the revolutionary struggle must be centered. We must transform the hoods into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution in the context of building a worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism.

It is within this context that we must transform the "slave pens of oppression" into "schools of liberation" and the street and prison tribes must be transformed into fighting units of proletarian socialist revolution. Hip Hop culture must be honed into a razor-sharp weapon. And overall, the mass of urban poor and marginalized workers, youth, women and all the oppressed concentrated in the urban centers must become a conscious force demanding social justice and an end to this rotten capitalist-imperialist system.

Once you determine that you're on a dead-end road, and the alternative path forward is illuminated, you switch direction. Leadership is a question of ideological and political line. The spontaneous ideology of the lumpen is not revolutionary - it is bourgeois - it reflects the ideas and values of the ruling class in society even as it rejects its conventions. Rich rappers from the ghetto live out a ghettoized imitation of the American Dream with pimped-out cars, expensive clothes, conspicuous bling, blowing fortunes up their nose and getting blown by hoes, but it's a dead-end.

Nobody can be free if their people aren't free, if the society they live in is unfree. The bourgeoisie are crazy, and they are self-destructive. They are destroying the planet and they are destroying the opportunity to advance human society to a rational and equitable system. They have to be stopped and their criminal rule ended. It will take the masses of oppressed of the whole world to do it, but those here, inside the "Belly of the Beast," have a singularly important role to play. In the tradition of Nat Turner and the slaves who would not submit to die a slave without risking all to win their freedom, we shall dare to struggle and dare to win!

On its own, the lumpenproletariat cannot overthrow capitalist-imperialism, but acting as a catalyst upon the masses of proletarians and the people generally it can be the spark that starts a prairie fire!

Dare to Dream and Dare to Awaken the People to Demand All Power to the People!

Turn Rebellion into Revolution!

Free the Land, Free the People!

Dare to be All the Way Revolutionary!



The revolutionary worker doesn't swagger or boast and has little sense of ego. He or she is serious-minded and self-disciplined. The revolutionary knows that like a strike, the revolutionary struggle must be a united mass struggle, and that it will take quite some time to succeed. Each contribution is important, and the end result is to benefit the overall society. In contrast to the proletariat's practice and outlook, the lumpen schemes and preys upon others to acquire survival needs and personal wealth, which renders him or her indifferent to the effects visited upon others and society as a whole.

The lumpen mentality mirrors - on a smaller scale and with less sophistication - that of the big gangsters (the monopoly capitalists), and amounts to a ruthless drive for immediate self-gratification, power, control and "respect," (even though their lifestyle is anything but respectable), through deception, corruption, violence and intimidation of others. These tendencies are what lies behind certain lumpen aspiring to be perceived as "crazy" and unpredictably violent.

Translated into the revolutionary movement, the lumpen tendency has some thinking that militant swaggering, posturing, and "tailing shit," is acceptable behavior for revolutionaries, which is very wrong and demonstrates political immaturity and lack of a true proletarian outlook. Such posturing leads to actions of a reactionary, adventurist and provocateur nature, that invites enemy attack that the movement is unprepared to deal with and alienates the masses. Comrade Sundiata Acoli, (a member of the old BPP and BLA), observed that just such lumpen tendencies contributed to the downfall of the old BPP and the general Black Liberation Movement in America. (See Sundiata Acoli, "A Brief History of the Black Panther Party and its place in the Black Liberation Movement," (1985), which is posted on the internet and was recently reprinted in the Summer issue of *Leviathan*, the newsletter of the Black Brigade).

Also, because they are conditioned to seek immediate and short term benefits in their daily practice, the lumpen generally lack the resolve to pursue and stick with tasks that require hard work and patience. We in the NBPP-PC feel that a major factor that led to the old BPP's destruction was the failure to raise many of the Party's members' world view to that of the revolutionary proletariat and allowing the Party and its leadership to become saturated in lumpen ideology, values and practice.

The motives behind revolutionary violence are fundamentally different from the reactionary violence of the lumpen, who model their violence after that of the big gangsters. Revolutionary violence is rooted in the collective resistance of the masses organized against the violence of the big gangster bourgeoisie system of repression and exploitation. History is made by the collective masses, with the genuine revolutionary vanguard serving to raise their consciousness and organize their force into collective revolutionary struggle. Correct thinking is the catalyst, just as intelligence draws order out of chaos - out of the chaos of noise - music, and out of chaos of images and color - art.

Raising the Lumpen Outlook to a Revolutionary Proletarian Outlook

To serve in the capacity of a truly revolutionary vanguard.

the Party must consist of committed, disciplined people who have the outlook of truly revolutionary workers; people who are committed to work every day in a patient and disciplined way until the conditions for a revolutionary seizure of power by the masses arise. Without remodeling their class outlook, the lumpen will pursue ultra-leftist militant acts of exhibitionism and spew forth "Off the Pig!" rhetoric, and when this provokes repression from the Establishment, they will flip-flop to right opportunism, turn rat and become enemy agents, or run for cover. Lacking correct analysis, self-discipline and patience, they will vacillate left to right, and they will confuse one stage of the struggle for another and try to skip the stages that require hard work and tenacity.

These elements disdain to apply the Mass Line, ignore the Democratic Centralism of the Party, fear Criticism and Self-Criticism and lean towards individualism and "commandism," indulging in personal attacks and attempts at intimidation and coercion of other Party members and the masses through threats and force. Their unremolded lumpen ideology is a corrosive to building Party unity and maintaining discipline, and it makes them easy prey for recruitment by the enemy. The lumpen are capable of "the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices, or of the basest banditry and dirtiest corruption."

A large part of our work in NBPP-PC is to properly educate and re-orient the lumpen through ideological and political training and bringing as many of them who are capable of "the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices" into the active work of the struggle as possible, and thereby expand the Party while struggling against opportunism, both of the "left" and right varieties. We know that in this work, the enemy will incessantly attempt to infiltrate its agents of repression and seek out the weak links among us to turn them into their snitches and agent-provocateurs, and we must be vigilant to guard against this, without becoming paranoid. In the struggle, "ideological and political line determines everything," and we must rely on ideological and political training and commitment to practicing the Mass Line, Criticism and Self-Criticism and the Democratic Centralist method of determining what should be done and how to do it.

We realize that the lumpen are our brothers and sisters, and we do not desire to make war on them, rather we look upon their wrong ideas and lack of understanding as loads upon their backs, and we endeavor to help them cast them off. "Cure the sickness to save the patient," is our goal. However, we are not naive idealists, and we realize that there are those who lack the moral fiber and will to change or courage for the struggle. Some people have no integrity or loyalty, and those who, after struggle, persist in wrong ways must be purged from the ranks of the people's movement.

Before someone is recruited into the Party, they must be tested and prove themselves in the people's mass organizations, like the Black Brigade. They must show proof of both good character and advanced understanding of what needs to be done. Words are cheap. Practice is the measure of commitment and the way consciousness develops.

Our goal is to be more than a prison organization. The struggle of our New African and African people worldwide cries out for vanguard leadership. With the Black proletariat concentrated in America and Europe and our peasantry



concentrated in Afrika, we have an internationalist duty to provide revolutionary proletarian leadership and to set an inspiring example. Our struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism is a class struggle of international dimensions. We have much to learn and much to do. We must become good at learning and resolute in struggle.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The Panther and the Elephant

Reprinted from Right On! No. 1, Fall 2005



The Elephant is large and powerful and is unsurpassed in direct confrontation. The Panther is agile and stealthy and is unsurpassed in indirect confrontation. The Elephant relies on his size, thick skin and tusks to meet his enemy head on, while the Panther blends into the night, exercises patience, and employs the art of surprise and ambushes his prey. His intelligence and cunning are greater weapons than his formidable fangs and claws.

In the "Art of War," the ancient Chinese sage, Sun Tzu, proposes that two types of forces and maneuvers are called for. He called these *CHENG* and *CHI*. These would be regular and special forces and direct and indirect maneuvers. The purpose of *CHENG* forces is to engage the enemy, and

the purpose of the *CHI* forces is to defeat the enemy.

In advancing the cause of Black Liberation, both types of forces, *CHENG* and *CHI*, are needed. Or to put it another way, both a vanguard and a mass form of organization is needed. The mass form of organization is based upon programmatic unity, and includes people of various political, spiritual and cultural orientations. In the case of the Black Brigade, its basis of unity is service to the Nation of Africans in America. The vanguard form of organization is based upon a higher level of unity, application of the Science of Revolution, which is Historical and Dialectical Materialism, and commitment to being a full time revolutionary.

Classes and Class Struggle

The Proletariat is the class that must sell its labor power to the capitalist class, submitting to exploitation, to survive. In other words, it is the working class, the class of "wage slaves." This is the only class with nothing to lose but its "chains," and thus is the only class capable of leading the United Front Against Imperialism to make all the way revolution and advance society to communism or classless society. Other classes have more or less of a stake in the capitalist division of society, even though they are compelled to resist and to revolt against the Monopoly Capitalist Class dictatorship and the imperialist system to some degree.

In this historical period, the most advanced application of the Science of Revolution is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but one need not be a communist with a capital "C" to be part of the Vanguard force. However, one must be a revolutionary nationalist, and as Mao put it: "Revolutionary Nationalism is applied Proletarian Internationalism." There is a difference between the Black Nationalist Movement and the Proletarian Internationalist or Communist Movement, but the two are inexorably intertwined.

The Nation of Africans in America is divided into classes, though overwhelmingly it is a Proletarian Nation. There is also a Black Bourgeoisie (Bush-wa-zee), which is divided into National and Comprador sections, the latter being those who objectively serve the ruling class of the white colonial-settler regime. Clarence Thomas and Condoleezza Rice are examples of this grouping. The National Bourgeoisie are more independent, and those who got rich through sports or the entertainment industry are examples.

The Petty Bourgeoisie is the strata in the middle between the rich class and the working class. It includes the professionals, (like doctors, educators and lawyers), small business owners and middle and lower management. Though they may actually make less money than the upper strata of the industrial proletariat, their relationship to production is less direct, and they are more likely to reflect the outlook of the employing class and to nurture hopes of becoming big bourgeois themselves.

Some sections, such as the intellectuals, or the semi-proletarian artisans, can be won to become relatively firm allies of the revolutionary proletariat. On the other hand, sections of the middle class are the historic base of fascism. The upper strata of the industrial proletariat, or "Labor Aristocracy," were the vanguard of the unionization movement, but due to the super profits engendered by imperialism and the exploitation of the Third World



What's New with the Lumpenproletariat?

By Tom Big Warrior

In Marx's time, the proletariat, the modern class of wage slaves, was a new class being summoned into existence by the bourgeoisie (*bush-wah-zee*), the rising class of capitalists – who were revolutionary in the context of the decaying era of feudalism that was being overthrown. Two great revolutions were changing the way goods were produced and how society was organized, the Agricultural Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. The old feudal mode of agricultural production was being replaced and masses of peasants were being displaced providing a surplus population that could be employed in manufacturing, in shipping, in the military and colonization and colonial administration.

The Industrial Revolution was changing the way goods were made, ruining the artisans and small commodity producers and creating an industrial economy where raw materials from around the world were shipped to industrial centers where the army of proletarians transformed them into manufactured goods to be shipped around the world as commodities.

The bourgeoisie rose from a middle class subordinated to a landed aristocracy to become the new ruling class of the industrial society. Society was being divided into two great classes, the bourgeoisie and proletarians – the wage slaves, whose only means of survival was to sell their labor power to the capitalists. In the middle was a strata of petty (petite) bourgeoisie; merchants shopkeepers, professionals, artists, and managers, able to survive by providing services useful to the bourgeois order and accommodating themselves to it.

In all of this upheaval, another strata emerged Marx termed the lumpenproletariat ("broken wage slaves") or those whose means of survival was to steal, pimp, prostitute, con, murder or otherwise prey upon the others in society. Of course there had been "broken men" and "outlaws" under feudalism and even earlier under Roman civilization, and these formed bands or gangs in both urban and rural settings. The upheavals of wars, famines and plagues drove masses of people to live lifestyles of a predatory nature taking as they could and scrambling for existence.

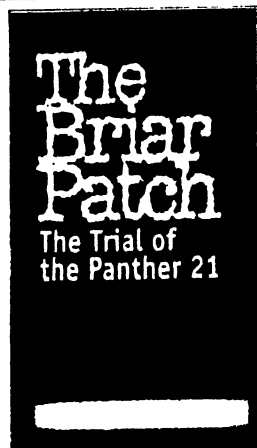
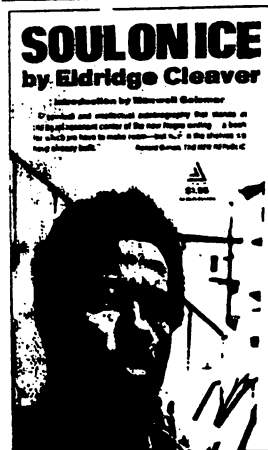
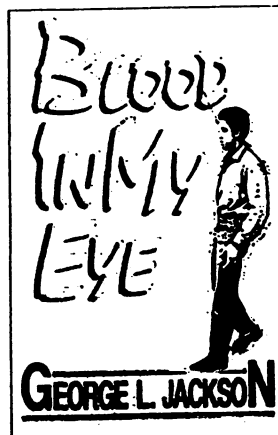
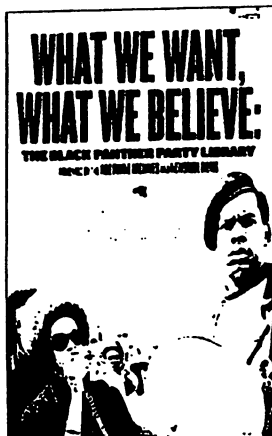
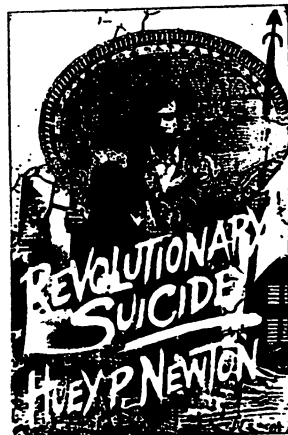


From "footpads" to "highwaymen" and every other form of criminal pursuit, the lumpen have been around throughout civilization, and at times in great numbers. What's new is that in this time of declining capitalism, when growing masses of people cannot be profitably exploited as workers and the ongoing Agricultural Revolution is displacing masses of peasants throughout the "Third World," the employed proletariat is shrinking while wages are declining and the urban scene is increasingly becoming a lumpen lifestyle.

Globalization of the economy and mass culture has produced a mass sub-culture based on "hip-hop," "gangsta rap" and "thug life." The lumpen are becoming conscious of themselves as a class (really a subclass of the proletariat) for the first time in history. While socialist reconstruction of society would enable everyone on the planet to be productively employed and enjoy a decent standard of living, declining capitalist imperialism offers only bare subsistence.



Study Black Panther History



We Must Make the Past Serve the Future!



countries, the monopoly capitalists were able to bribe this strata with a higher standard of living and middle class aspirations. Their class consciousness was dulled and the white workers particularly were rallied around U.S. national chauvinism and anti-communism.

Now, as a result of increased globalization, this strata has been greatly reduced by the outsourcing of their jobs overseas by the multi-national corporations and the downsizing of their U.S. workforce. This has greatly reduced the power of the industrial workers and the number of unionized workers overall. The largest section of the Black proletarians are part of the great mass of non-organized workers who have no unions, (and in most cases no health coverage), and live from paycheck to paycheck barely getting by. Linked to them are their dependents and the de-classed poor; welfare and disability recipients, pensioners, the marginally employed, and the jobless and homeless.

There is also the Lumpen Proletariat. "Lumpen" literally means "broken." The Lumpen make their living by illegal means; as petty gangsters, drug dealers, pimps, con-artists and thieves. They reflect the mentality of the big gangsters and monopoly capitalists and feed parasitically off the people, but some have the potential to be won to a proletarian outlook and become revolutionaries. Unlike the big parasites, they do not enjoy immunity from prosecution for their crimes and often end up spending most of their lives in prison.

The Black Nation in America

Black people were forged into a nation in America under conditions of slavery and segregation. Stripped of their national cultures, languages and identities under slavery, they were amalgamated into a new nation based upon their common African origin and features. Four hundred years of oppression and exploitation shaped the national identity and culture of this nation. Originally centered in the "Black Belt," or "Cotton Belt," of the Deep South, where most Blacks and many poor whites were reduced to a condition of being made share-cropping peasants after the overthrow of slavery. KKK terror and Jim Crow segregation laws denied them a political voice, even though they were the majority, and the region was made an internal colony of the U.S. with Third World-like conditions.

Mechanization of cotton picking and the demand for industrial workers in the industrial centers, particularly during WWI and WWII, encouraged a massive exodus of Black people from the South to the North and the West. Huge urban ghettos sprang up and became new internal colonies of the U.S. From Harlem to Compton, these centers defined the faster-paced urbanized culture of Black America in the 20th Century. New music and worldliness replaced the rural life style and outlook.

The national liberation struggles of the people in the former European colonies in Africa and throughout the Third World were echoed in the civil rights and Black Nationalist movements within the U.S. Revolutionary Black Nationalist groups, like the Black Panther Party, sprang up to challenge both racism and imperialism and begin the struggle for socialist revolution. The high tide of struggle in the U.S. in the 60s and 70s coincided with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in People's China and the Vietnam War and numerous other national liberation struggles and attempts to

establish socialism in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The U.S. emerged victorious from the Cold War, and the ebb in struggle internationally, (with the right-wing coup in China following Mao's death, the collapse of the former Soviet Union and Socialist Bloc and the defeat of socialist forces in Africa and elsewhere), was mirrored by a decline in the Black Liberation Struggle here too. But the emergence of the New World Order and sole-superpower domination only served to intensify exploitation and the aggressive and predatory nature of U.S. imperialism.

Neither the Neo-Liberals nor the Neo-Conservatives saw a need to continue the pattern of Cold War Liberalism and concessions to common people. The decline of the Left was more than matched by the rise of the extreme Right. Backing both Islamic and Judeo-Christian religious fundamentalism, the stage was set for the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq and increased pressure on all the oil-producing countries by U.S.-Anglo imperialism. Under the cover of the "War on Terror," major attacks on the democratic rights and protections of the American people have been made and steps have been taken to build a more efficient police state.

Since the end of the Cold War, a massive increase in the number of people incarcerated in the U.S. has taken place, (mostly Black and other people of color), so that America now accounts for nearly half the imprisoned people in the world. Affirmative action programs have been cut back and social welfare programs have been dramatically slashed. The ruling class is aggressively waging class struggle against the working class and poor while the Neo-Cons are aggressively suppressing the Neo-Liberals, characterizing them as the "Radical Left."

The white, capitalist, colonial-settler state was built upon genocide and dispossession of the indigenous nations and the kidnapping, enslavement and exploitation of the African people, and this oppression continues to this day. Legal desegregation has not altered the condition of super-exploitation of Black people in America or in Africa. Civil Rights is still an issue. White Racism is still an issue. The right to self-determination and national liberation is still an issue. The Nation of Africans living in America has the right, and the necessity, to struggle for solutions to its problems as a nation. This includes the right to define and govern its own territory and to transform the internal colonies of exploitation into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution.

At the same time, it also includes the right to fight for full civil rights for all within the U.S., including prisoners and those convicted of felonies and the so-called "illegal aliens." We say: "NO INCARCERATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!" and: "AMEND THE 13TH AMENDMENT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY FOR ALL!" And we say: "IF YOU ARE HERE, YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO VOTE AND TO RESPECT OF YOUR CIVIL RIGHTS!" It is the white-settler colonial regime that are the real "illegal aliens." Every bit of this land was stolen from the indigenous nations. These indigenous nations have historically been the main ally of the African people in America. Long before there was an "Underground Railroad," the path to freedom led to the Indian nations. Many of the so-called "illegal aliens" are in fact Native Americans from south of the border drawn by the whites. The Red-Black Alliance is key to national



liberation within the U.S.

Pan-Africanism

Just as African people were formed into a new nation in America, so too African people internationally have been formed into a new type of nation by conditions of colonialism, slavery and racism. This Pan-African movement and nationalism links the primarily proletarian New Africans of America and Europe with the primarily peasant Africans of Africa. The African Diaspora created new conditions for both building All African Unity and advancing World Socialist Revolution.

The anti-colonial wars of national liberation following WWII, led to numerous attempts to build African socialism in several countries. Undermined by CIA and European-hatched assassinations, coups and tribal conflicts, these were rolled back, and a destabilized condition of neo-colonial domination prevails in Africa. Dire poverty and conditions exist across Africa. Famine, AIDS, alcohol and drug addiction, warlordism and religious and inter-tribal strife weigh heavily on the African peoples. Rich in natural resources, Africa remains the poorest place on Earth, while everywhere people of African descent are faced with racial discrimination.

Building Pan-African Unity is vital to the uplifting of the African people everywhere and particularly here in the U.S. Conversely, supporting the Black Liberation Movement here is vital to continuing the struggle for liberation and socialism in Africa. This calls for new forms of organization and struggle as well as the renewal of previous forms. The Black Panther Party needs to be renewed not only in the U.S. but internationally and the Black Brigade needs to be built both nationally and internationally.

In supporting and building ties with Africa, it is important to include elements of the national bourgeoisie and all classes in contradiction with imperialism and neocolonialism, uniting all who can be united. The principles of New Democratic Revolution need to be applied.

New Democratic Revolution

National liberation involves a two stage revolutionary process to advance to the building socialism. First your have to liberate the country from imperialist neo-colonial domination and their agents and address the question of: "LAND TO THE TILLERS." Since the emergence of Monopoly Capitalism and modern imperialism, the bourgeoisie has proven incapable of leading democratic revolution against remnants of the old feudal order, and this duty has fallen to the proletariat and its vanguard.

The national bourgeoisie can be a vacillating ally in this struggle, in which the peasantry is the main force, but the ideological and political leadership must come from the proletariat. Even within the internal colonies of the US, the principles of New Democratic Revolution have some relevance, particularly in overturning the feudal remnant of the 13th Amendment, which perpetuates the status of slave for those convicted of crimes, and the unfinished civil rights struggle.

In the 3rd World, the New Democratic Revolution is advanced by means of People's War, surrounding the cities from the countryside and creating people's power on a national level before liberating the urban centers and

consolidating state power. The people's war in Nepal is a classic example of this strategy.

Strategy and Tactics

The Black Brigade¹ is needed to confront and engage the colonial-settler power structure frontally creating institutions of people's power locally. The basic unit of people's power must be neighborhood councils composed of the veteran fighters and respected elders of the community. We can then organize programs for the people's security and social welfare under these committees.

Private security firms can be created and licensed to operate under contract to the neighborhood councils, supported by voluntary neighborhood security patrols. These can present offenders with the option of having their cases decided by the people's council instead of being turned over to the municipal authorities. The council can levy fines, order that restitution be paid and/or mandate community service. It can also banish offenders from the community.

The security officers would be armed, equipped and trained to handle this role in a professional manner. Besides dealing with the problem of crime in the neighborhood, the people's security force can also monitor and collect evidence on police complicity and corruption. Over time, it can displace the police as the force most relied upon by the people to handle their security issues, empowering the people's councils to function as a parallel government.

Besides addressing the issue of the people's security, the neighborhood councils would also initiate and coordinate all manner of social service and survival programs taking up the slack of government cut backs and responsibility to see that the hungry are fed, the homeless are given shelter, the sick and injured are provided with medical care and health services and in general that the needs of the people are addressed. In addition, the councils would work to promote the political economy of the neighborhoods by assisting in the creation of worker's coops and consumer's coops and in the countryside grower's coops.

An important link to be forged is between the urban oppressed communities and the rural communities where most of the prisons are located. Regular transportation and housing for families visiting prisoners needs to be established. As part of the drive to extend voter rights to prisoners, uniting with the progressive forces in the communities where the prisons are located is important. These include family members who have relocated to be close to their loved ones.

Our general strategy must be to: "TRANSFORM THE IRON HOUSES OF OPPRESSION INTO SCHOOLS OF LIBERATION, AND TO BUILD THE OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES INTO BASE AREAS OF CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION." There is a dialectical relationship between these tasks. The more we are able to succeed at one aspect the better we will do at the other.

The vanguard force has the principle task of providing political education to the masses and making them conscious. They must represent the broad and revolutionary

¹ Now the New African Service Organization (NASO)



commandism. Tailism in any type of work is also wrong, because in failing below the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of leading the masses forward it reflects the disease of dilatoriness. Our comrades must not assume that the masses have no understanding of what they themselves do not yet understand. It often happens that the masses outstrip us and are eager to advance a step when our comrades are still tailing behind certain backward elements, for instead of acting as leaders of the masses such comrades reflect the views of these backward elements and, moreover, mistake them for those of the broad masses.

— "On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 318.*

Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then got to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership—such is the basic method of leadership.

— "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 120.

In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily "from the masses, to the masses." This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge.

— Ibid., Vol. III, p. 119.

We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness.

— "Get Organized" (November 29, 1943), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 158.

There are people in our leading organs in some places who think that it is enough for the leaders alone to know the Party's policies and that there is no need to let the masses know them. This is one of the basic reasons why some of our work cannot be done well.

— "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shanai-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 241.

In all mass movements we must make a basic investigation and analysis of the number of active supporters, opponents and neutrals and must not decide problems subjectively and without basis.

— "Methods of Work of Party Committees" (March 13, 1949), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 380.

The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate element and to win over the backward elements.

— "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 118.

To be good at translating the Party's policy into action of the masses, to be good at getting not only the leading cadres but also the broad masses to understand and master every movement and every struggle we launch — this is an art of Marxist-Leninist leadership. It is also the dividing line that determines whether or not we make mistakes in our work.

— A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shanai-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), Selected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 242-43.

However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level.

— "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" (June 1, 1943), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 118.

Production by the masses, the interests of the masses, the experience and feelings of the masses — to these the leading cadres should pay constant attention.

— Inscription for a production exhibition sponsored by the organizations directly under the Central Committee of the Party and the General Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army, Liberation Daily of Venan, November 24, 1943.

We should pay close attention to the well-being of the masses, from the problems of land and labour to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt. ...All such problems concerning the well-being of the masses should be placed on our agenda. We should discuss them, adopt and carry out decisions and check up on the results. We should help the masses to realize that we represent their interests, that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolutionary war, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution.

— "Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses. Pay Attention to Methods of Work" (January 27, 1934), Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 149.*





mistakes among cadres and peasants can be remedied or overcome provided we give them positive help.

— On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation (July 31, 1955), 3rd ed., p. 1."

The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Those who can only follow the old routine in a revolutionary period are utterly incapable of seeing this enthusiasm. They are blind and all is dark ahead of them. At times they go so far as to confound right and wrong and turn things upside down. Haven't we come across enough persons of this type? Those who simply follow the old routine invariably underestimate the people's enthusiasm. Let something new appear and they always disapprove and rush to oppose it. Afterwards, they have to admit defeat and do a little self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they go through the same process all over again. This is their pattern of behaviour in regard to anything and everything new. Such people are always passive, always fail to move forward at the critical moment, and always have to be given a shove in the back before they move a step.

— Introductory note to "This Township Went Co-operative in Two Years" (1955), The Socialist Uprising in China's Countryside, Chinese ed., Vol. II.

For over twenty years our Party has carried on mass work every day, and for the past dozen years it has talked about the mass line every day. We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders. The mass line, however, is still not being thoroughly carried out in the work of some comrades; they still rely solely on a handful of people working coolly and quietly by themselves. One reason is that, whatever they do, they are always reluctant to explain it to the people they lead and that they do not understand why or how to give play to the initiative and creative energy of those they lead. Subjectively, they too want everyone to take a hand in the work, but they do not let other people know what is to be done or how to do it. That being the case, how can everyone be expected to get moving and how can anything be done well? To solve this problem the basic thing is, of course, to carry out ideological education on the mass line, but at the same time we must teach these comrades many concrete methods of work.

— "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shensi-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 24142."

Twenty-four years of experience tell us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably strengthen our ties with the masses, and the wrong task, policy and style of work invariably disagree with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably alienate us from the masses. The reason why such evils as dogmatism, empiricism, commandism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and an arrogant attitude in work are

definitely harmful and intolerable, and why anyone suffering from these maladies must overcome them, is that they alienate us from the masses.

— "On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 315.

To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases, we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail. ...There are two principles here: one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, and the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them.

— "The United Front in Cultural Work" (October 30, 1944), Selected Works, Vol. III, pp. 236-37."

Our congress should call upon the whole Party to be vigilant and to see that no comrade at any post is divorced from the masses. It should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them; and, according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness and help them gradually to organize themselves voluntarily and to set going all essential struggles permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the given time and place.

— "On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, pp. 315-16.

If we tried to go on the offensive when the masses are not yet awakened, that would be adventurism. If we insisted on leading the masses to do anything against their will, we would certainly fail. If we did not advance when the masses demand advance, that would be Right opportunism.

— "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shensi-Suiyuan Daily" (April 2, 1948), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 243.

Commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity. Our comrades must not assume that everything they themselves understand is understood by the masses. Whether the masses understand it and are ready to take action can be discovered only by going into their midst and making investigations. If we do so, we can avoid



viewpoint of the proletariat. They must also act as shock troops and jump in as needed when a highly motivated and disciplined force is called for.

Conclusion

While a revolutionary situation does not at present exist in the U.S., as Sun Tzu pointed out: "BATTLES AND WARS ARE WON OR LOST BEFORE THEY ARE FOUGHT!" The Panther and the Elephant, the CHY and CHEN warriors and forces of the people, must be organized now so that when a revolutionary situation does present itself, the people will not be unprepared.

"IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL" against tyranny and national oppression, and we must "SEIZE THE TIME!" and "DARE

TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!" Many fine comrades and heroes of the people have sacrificed themselves to illuminate the path forward. We have our duty to the future generations.



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Short Definitions of the 'Mass line' and a 'Mass Perspective'

(Taken from: *The Mass Line and the American Revolutionary Movement*, Chapter 43.)

The mass line is the primary method of revolutionary leadership of the masses, which is employed by the most conscious and best organized section of the masses, the proletarian party. It is a reiterative method, applied over and over again, which step by step advances the interests of the masses, and in particular their central interest within bourgeois society, namely, advancing towards proletarian revolution. Each iteration may be viewed as a three step process: 1) gathering the diverse ideas of the masses; 2) processing or concentrating these ideas from the perspective of revolutionary Marxism, in light of the long-term, ultimate interests of the masses (which the masses themselves may sometimes only dimly perceive), and in light of a scientific analysis of the objective situation; and 3) returning these concentrated ideas to the masses in the form of a political line

which will actually advance the mass struggle toward revolution. Because the mass line starts with the diverse ideas of the masses, and returns the concentrated ideas to the masses, it is also known as the method of "from the masses, to the masses". Though implicit in Marxism from the beginning, the mass line was raised to the level of conscious theory primarily by Mao Zedong.

A mass perspective is a point of view regarding the masses which recognizes: 1) That the masses are the makers of history, and that revolution can only be made by the masses themselves; 2) That the masses must come to see through their own experience and struggle that revolution is necessary, and 3) That the proletarian party must join up with the masses in their existing struggles



bring revolutionary consciousness into these struggles, and lead them in a way which brings the masses ever closer to revolution. A mass perspective is based on the fundamental Marxist notion that a revolution must be made by a revolutionary people, that a revolutionary people must develop from a non-revolutionary people, and that the people change from the one to the other through their own revolutionizing practice.

The relation between the mass line and a mass perspective is simply that only those with a mass perspective will see much need or use for the mass line. It is possible to have some notion of the mass line technique, and yet fail to give it any real attention because of a weak mass perspective. On the other hand, it is also possible to have a mass perspective and still be more or less ignorant of the great Marxist theory of the mass line.

The mass line and a mass perspective are nevertheless best viewed as intimately related, as integrated aspects of the Marxist approach toward the masses and revolution. I have found the most felicitous phrase for both aspects together is "the mass line and its associated mass perspective."

— S.H.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: Study Notes

Excerpt on the Mass line

People's March was a revolutionary magazine in India from 1999 to 2007. It was apparently supportive of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War group, and then the CPI (Maoist) after the People's War group and the Maoist Communist Centre (India) merged in Sept. 2004 to form that larger party. The *People's March* web site was closed down and the magazine was suppressed by the Indian government in December 2007. However, all the issues and other documents that were available on that web site are now available on <http://www.bannedthought.net/India/PeoplesMarch/>. Among the interesting books on that web site is one entitled *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: Study Notes*, 1st ed., (Delhi: New Vista Publications, April 2002). Below is an excerpt from that book on the topic of the mass line.

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Chapter XIV The Party [Excerpt]

Mass-Line

Marxism has always stressed the absolute necessity of the Party's close links with the masses. This was stressed by Marx and Engels and one of the essential features of the Leninist party. Thus the *History of the CPSU (B)* concludes by drawing a historic lesson of the utmost need for close connections with the masses:

"Lastly, the history of the Party teaches us that unless it has wide connections with the masses, unless it constantly strengthens these connections, unless it knows how to hearken to the voice of the masses and understand their urgent needs, unless it is prepared not only to teach the masses but to learn from the masses, a party of the working

class cannot be a real mass party capable of leading the working class millions and all the labouring people.

"A party is invincible if it is able, as Lenin says, 'to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers, primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses.' (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. XXV, p. 174.)

"A party perishes if it shuts itself up in its narrow party shell, if it severs itself from the masses, if it allows itself to be covered with bureaucratic rust.

"We must take it as the rule," Comrade Stalin says, 'that as long as the Bolsheviks maintain connection with the broad masses of the people they will be invincible. And, on the contrary, as soon as the Bolsheviks sever themselves from the masses and lose their connection with them, as soon as they become covered with bureaucratic rust, they will lose all their strength and become a mere cipher.' I think that the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus. They, like Antaeus, are strong because they maintain connection with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain connection with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

"That is the clue to the invincibility of Bolshevik leadership." (J. Stalin, *Defects in Party Work*.)

Mao, starting from these basic standpoints, developed the concept of mass-line to a qualitatively new level. At the philosophical level he showed how it was an essential aspect of the Marxist theory of knowledge. At the political and organizational levels, he showed how it was the correct political line and also how it was the essential organizational line of inner-party relations.

"In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'. This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered and carried through: And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge."

The 1945 CPC *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party*, explains:

"As Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, the correct line should be 'from the masses, to the masses'. To ensure that the line really comes from the masses and particular that it really goes back to the masses, there must be close ties not only between the Party and the masses outside the Party (between the class and the people), but above all between the Party's leading bodies and the masses within the Party (between the cadres and the rank and the file); in other words there must be a correct organizational line. Therefore,



just as in each period of the Party's history Comrade Mao Tse-tung has laid down a political line representing the interests of the masses, so he has laid down an organizational line serving the political line and maintaining ties with the masses both inside and outside the Party."

"The concept of a correct relationship between the leading group and the masses in an organization or in a struggle, the concept that correct ideas on the part of the leadership can only be 'from the masses, to the masses', and the concept that the general call must be combined with particular guidance when the leadership's ideas are being put into practice — these concepts must be propagated everywhere — in order to correct the mistaken viewpoints among our cadres on these questions. Many comrades do not see the importance of, or are not good at, drawing together the activists to form a nucleus of leadership, and they do not see the importance of, or are not good at, linking this nucleus of leadership closely with the masses, and so their leadership becomes bureaucratic and divorced from the masses. Many comrades do not see the importance of, or are not good at, summing up the experience of mass struggles, but fancying themselves clever, are fond of voicing their subjectivist ideas, and so their ideas become empty and impractical. Many comrades rest content with making a general call with regard to a task and do not see the importance of, or are not good at, following it up immediately with a particular and concrete guidance, and so their call remains on their lips, or on paper or in the conference room, and their leadership becomes bureaucratic. We must correct these defects and learn to use the methods of combining the leadership with the particular in our study, in the check-up on work and in the examination of cadres' histories; and we must also apply these methods in all our future work.

"Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership — such is the basic method of leadership."

Briefly, this is the essence of Mao's mass-line.



Black Panther Party cadre studying Mao's Red Book

The Mass Line in China - Quotations from Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung)

From Democracy and Class Struggle

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 2010

THE MASS LINE

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

— "On Coalition Government" (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 257."

The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

— "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys" (March and April 1941), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 12"

The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and create more and more undertakings for their own well-being.

— Introductory note to "Surplus Labour Has Found a Way Out" (1955), *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chinese ed., Vol. II

The present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.

— "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 23-24."

The high tide of social transformation in the countryside, the high tide of co-operation, has already reached some places and will soon sweep over the whole country. It is a vast socialist revolutionary movement involving a rural population of more than 500 million, and it has extremely great and world-wide significance. We should give this movement active, enthusiastic and systematic leadership, and not drag it back by one means or another. Some errors are unavoidable in the process; this is understandable, and they will not be hard to correct. Shortcomings or