

# **DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS**

**BOX 1 OF 16**

**FOLDER 25**

**LRBW GENERAL MEETING JAN  
2 1972**

## ON THE RATIONALE FOR STRATEGICAL RETREAT

At a Policy Committee meeting held on December 4, 1971, a collective decision was reached that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers should go into an organizational strategic retreat. This decision was based upon both internal and external conditions. Internally speaking, the organizational conditions are characterized by: a) ideological confusion; b) political vacillation; c) organizational chaos which gave rise to the floundering of external activities. In order to make the retreat effective, it is necessary not only to make a general call, but to follow it up with concrete and specific guidance. (1)

### WHAT IS A STRATEGIC RETREAT?

"WAR IS A CONTINUATION OF POLITICS BY OTHER...MEANS". IT CAN THEREFORE BE SAID THAT POLITICS IS WAR WITHOUT BLOODSHED WHILE WAR IS POLITICS WITH BLOODSHED" (2)

"A STRATEGIC RETREAT IS A PLANNED STRATEGIC STEP TAKEN BY AN INFERIOR FORCE FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONSERVING STRENGTH AND BIDDING ITS TIME TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY WHO FINDS ITSELF CONFRONTED WITH A SUPERIOR FORCE WHOSE OFFENSIVE IT IS UNABLE TO SMASH QUICKLY." (3)

### OBJECTIVES OF A STRATEGIC RETREAT

"THE OBJECT OF STRATEGIC RETREAT IS TO CONSERVE MILITARY (POLITICAL) STRENGTH AND PREPARE FOR THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE. RETREAT IS NECESSARY BECAUSE NOT TO RETREAT A STEP BEFORE THE ONSET OF A STRONG ENEMY INEVITABLY MEANS TO JEOPARDIZE THE PRESERVATION OF ONE FORCES." (4)

"STRATEGIC RETREAT IS AIMED SOLELY AT SWITCHING OVER TO THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE AND IS MERELY THE FIRST STAGE OF THE STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE. THE DECISIVE LINK TO THE ENTIRE STRATEGY IS WHETHER VICTORY CAN BE WON IN THE STAGE OF THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE WHICH FOLLOWS." (5)

↑ G.H.L:10

### THE PLAN

"STRATEGIC RETREAT HAS ITS DIFFICULTIES. TO PICK THE TIME FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE RETREAT; TO SELECT THE TERMINAL POINT; TO CONVINCE THE CADRES AND THE PEOPLE POLITICALLY-----THESE ARE DIFICULT PROBLEMS DEMANDING SOLUTION." (6)

To prepare for the sounter-offensive, we must select or create conditions favorable to ourselves but unfavorable to the enemy so as to bring about a change in the balance of forces before we go into the stage of the counter-offensive. During the stage of retreat we should in general secure at least the following conditions before we can consider the situation being favorable to us and unfavorable to that of the enemy and before we can go over to the counter-offensive. (7) These conditions are as follows:

1. Forge ideological unity (through political education classes)
2. Centralize the leadership
3. Establish and put into practice Democratic Centralism
4. Concentrate and secure our ranks
5. Establish organizationally the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
6. Define our enemies and define our friends (class analysis)
7. Developm a policy and programs
8. Establish a firm economic base

Failure to follow ALL of the principle mentioned above in general and the three points in particular (timing, terminal point, convincing cadres and the people politically), would reduce the strategic retreat into a chaotic and disorganized rout.

#### APPLICATION OF THE UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES TO OUR SITUATION

(The Policy Committee has taken some necessary steps in order to ensure that the above steps (eight points) are secured during the retreat. These are: 1) closing the ranks on membership; 2) minimizing organizational activities; 3) confining classes to League members only.)

Since the split in the organization our movement has been stifled by ultra-democracy in the organization to the extent that it was impossible to carry out our tasks. This was primarily due to the lack of a centralized leadership and structure. We must therefore establish a centralized leadership and an organizational form of Democratic Centralism.

In order to concentrate and secure our ranks it has become necessary to unite and wage active ideological struggle with those whom wish to unite and move forward along the correct path of revolutionary struggle and to use the method of purge against all vacillators retrogressing our movement (i.e. Leonard Brown Jr., William Brown Jr.).

WE STAND UNEQUIVOCALLY FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

We must have a correct Policy and Program because "NO POLITICAL PARTY CAN POSSIBLY LEAD A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO VICTORY UNLESS IT POSSESSES REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND A KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY AND HAS A PROFOUND GRASP OF THE PRACTICAL MOVEMENT." (8)

"IN SHORT IN THE STAGE OF RETREAT WE MUST SEE AHEAD TO THE STAGE OF COUNTER-OFFENSIVE. IN THE STAGE OF THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE WE MUST SEE AHEAD TO THAT OF THE OFFENSIVE; AND IN THE STAGE OF OFFENSIVE WE MUST AGAIN SEE AHEAD TO A STAGE OF RETREAT. NOT TO DO SO BUT TO CONFINE OURSELVES TO CONSIDERATIONS OF THE MOMENT IS TO COURT DEFEAT." (9)

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS...DEATH TO OUR ENEMY!

Footnotes:

1. Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership, June 1, 1943, Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 117
2. Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, December 1936, Selected Military Writings, p. 113
3. Ibid p. 121
4. Ibid p. 120
5. Ibid p. 120 (paraphrased)
6. Ibid p. 120
7. Ibid p. 121
8. The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War, October, 1938, Selected Works, Vol. II p. 208
9. Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, December, 1936, Selected Military Writings, p. 131



GENERAL MEETING, JANUARY 2, 1972

AGENDA

1. INTRODUCTION - JEROME SCOTT
2. MOTION OF THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS - JOHN WILLIAMS
3. RATIONALE FOR RETREAT - KARL WILLIAMS
4. RATIONALE FOR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP - WAISTLINE  
( DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT )
5. RATIONALE FOR DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION  
- CHUCK WOOTEN
6. RATIONALE FOR DUES STRUCTURE - CASS SMITH
7. POSITION ON LEONARD BROWN - GENERAL BAKER
8. FOLLOW UP ON SELF - RELIANCE - EDUCATION CLASSES  
DUES STRUCTURE
10. DATE OF NEXT GENERAL MEETING

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS  
DEATH . . . TO OUR ENEMIES  
LEAGUE OF REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS

RATIONALE FOR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP  
( DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT )

2-  
5- D-OP.  
centralized leadership

Comrades:

The current proletarian revolution inside of the League is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing pettybourgeois restoration, deviation and historical vasgillation and for building an organization to fight for socialism and communism.

" Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxist, only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (1) This is the basic principle in which our rationale for leadership lies.

On June 12, 1971 our organization was split as a result of the resignation of three persons (Ken Cockrel, Mike Hamlin, John Watson). These three pettybourgeois renegades resigned as a result of a position paper presented to the whole organization in the form of an organizational criticism. This paper was presented by the workers and students components of the League, charging the leadership with being pettybourgeois who were incapable of guiding the organization along clear lines and consolidating our ranks. This paper proposed that four workers "be selected by the general body and added to the executive board." At the first sign of the workers gaining control (which would have put the pettybourgeoisies in a minority) they became panic stricken, grew nervous and ran about aimlessly, sniveled and rushed from the camp of the proletariat (League) to the camp of the pettybourgeois revisionist rats who denied the dictatorship of the proletariat (Black Workers Congress). As a result the thin fibres which held our organization together were shattered, leaving the organization in a chaotic state without an identifiable leadership.

The lack of an identifiable leadership in our organization resulted in ideological confusion, political vasgillation and organizational chaos.

There was a breakdown in discipline making it almost impossible to mobilize our members; no policies were being carried through and almost all lines of communication were broken. It has taken us up until recently to begin creating that proletarian organization that is capable of educating and remolding its members so as to cleanse the organization of all incorrect views, ideas and habits acquired from this class society.

Before June 12, 1971

League members have experienced the incorrect methods of leadership employed by members of the executive board, which stifled and suppressed the proletarian outlook which existed on the board and throughout the organization. None of the correct methods of leadership (as written by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung in "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership"(2)) were employed by the petty bourgeois leadership and as a result we saw the principles of democratic centralism viciously raped.

These "rapings" of democratic centralism manifested themselves in the absolute refusal of criticism and self-criticism perpetuated by the petty bourgeois leadership and their running dog lackies. These acts brought the organizational development to a standstill. Members were verbally harrassed, intimidated, isolated, embarrassed and denied the right to criticize the leadership's style of work.

The petty bourgeois liberalist infected executive board displayed utter contempt and disdain towards the workers in the organization. This contempt was brought to the fore by 1). the subordination of the workers interest (supposedly the interest of the organization) to those of the petty bourgeois ~~er~~, i.e. globe-trotting in the name of internationalism\* while our base areas were crumbling - very adventur~~is~~tic; out right lying to the masses claiming that we were capable of closing down "ten plants at

a minutes notice"; and more adventurism which was manifested by trying to create a national organization without a workers base. 2). refusal to do any type of hard physical labor whatsoever and integrate themselves with the workers not only in words but also in deeds. For, the criterion for truth is not idle jibberous or childish twaddle but social practice and social practice alone. 3). refusal to do "mundane" tasks and involve themselves in the practical movement, i.e. distribution of literature at plants and the selling of our official organ or anything beyond pushing a pencil and talking "shit". In essence point number 10 of Combat Liberalism which reads "To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quit unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study."(3)

The total absence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Proletarian Democracy gave rise to dishonesty, created and strenghten factions and alienated the workers from the ranks of the organization.

What is the correct method of leadership to ensure the consolidation of our organization politically, ideologically and morally and furthermore protect the 'real' meaning of democracy in all its aspects and bring about the destruction of the ruling class? the answer is the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY.

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat (DOP) means SUPPRESSION OF THE FEW HOSTILE ELEMENTS AND DEMOCRACY FOR THE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION -- THE WORKING CLASS, PEASANTRY AND OTHER SECTIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE" (4) When we speak of 'real' democracy we mean PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY, which can only be administered by the proletariat and safe guarded by the proletariat. If we are to establish a workers government, the dictatorship of the proletariat must first become a living reality inside of our organ-

ization.

In the past we have experienced being under the leadership of the petty bourgeois who proved to be totally incapable of creating the type of disciplined organization that is need<sup>d</sup> to carry out our revolutionary task while maintaining that basic democracy.

"THE PROLETARIAT DEMOCRACY IS DEMOCRACY GUARANTEED BY THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (5) THE MATERIAL BASIS FOR US SMASHING AND ESTABLISHING A WORKERS GOVERNMENT MUST COME FROM THE ORGANIZATION. "TO CORRECTLY LINK THESE TWO ASPECT OF THE ~~MEANS~~ TO COMBINE THE WORK OF UNITING THROUGH EDUCATION AND REMOLDING, THE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE MASSES OF PEOPLE WITH THE CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INTRIGUES AND MANOEUVERS OF THE"(6) .... PETTY BOURGEOISIE. WITHOUT THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND PROLETARIAT DEMOCRACY WE MAY AS WELL BECOME CIVILISED BELLY CRAWLERS AND BOOT-LICKERS FOR THE CAPITALIST CLASS ! ! !

With this understanding the Policy Committee unanimously voted for the following seven (7) people to provide leadership in our organization. These people are GENERAL BAKER, CHUCK WOOTEN, JEROME SCOTT, AARON PITTS, WILLIAM MITCHELL, MARIAN KRAMER AND KARL WILLIAMS.

"HOW CAN WE JUDGE WHETHER A YOUTH (PETTY BOURGEOIS<sup>e</sup> OR ANYONE - ED) IS A REVOLUTIONARY? HOW CAN WE TELL? THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE CRITERION, NAMELY, WHETHER OR NOT HE IS WILLING TO INTEGRATE HIMSELF WITH THE BROAD MASSES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS AND DOES SO IN PRACTICE. IF HE IS WILLING TO DO SO AND ACTUALLY DOES SO, HE IS A REVOLUTIONARY; OTHERWISE HE IS A NON-REVOLUTIONARY OR A COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY. IF TODAY HE INTEGRATES HIMSELF WITH THE MASSES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS, THEN TODAY HE IS A REVOLUTIONARY; IF TOMORROW HE CEASES TO DO SO OR TURN AROUND TO OPPRESS THE COMMON PEOPLE, THEN HE BECOMES A NON-REVOLUTIONARY OR A COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY". WE SAY THAT "TOMORROW HAS SURELY COME FOR THE PETTY BOURGEOIS RENEGADES" ! ! ! (7)

LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

## RATIONALE FOR DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION

"The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and that with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs."

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 421 found in Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, p. 39.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is a revolutionary organization actively engaged in revolutionary struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are an organization based on Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-Tung's thought striving to fully uphold their principles in opposing the reactionary forces that stand against the proletariat.

"The revolutionaries who meet around a revolutionary theory and a working strategy and combine together in a political organization to fight for the principle (of the dictatorship of the proletariat) need to define the manner in which they must organize their work.

"Democratic centralism is the basic principle on which all revolutionary parties that have led the revolutions of this age have been established. Consequently, the validity of this principle of organization does not rest on its soundness from the theoretical point of view alone, but basically on its validity as established by practice and the experiences of revolutionary action.

A Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine, Information Department, Aaman, 1969, pp. 117, 118.

Anarchistical "autonomism" (see glossary) is the basic principle on which all revisionist parties that have led the counter-revolutionary upsurges of this age have been established. Consequently, the validity of this principle of organization does not rest on any sound, scientific, theoretical point of view, but on the practices and experiences of revisionist actions.

Here are some examples of anarchistic "autonomism."

The leadership should be formed by a loose conglomeration of people coming together without any plan or direction to form an organization.

The leadership can be changed only in the event that the leadership deems it necessary.

Relations within the ranks of the leadership of the organization should be based on voluntary cooperation and free association.

The leadership looks upon itself as an elite body with no free exchange between the leadership and the membership.

The organization faces its problems and contradictions in the manner of skillful evasion by taking the attitude that "things will work themselves out."

When there is more than one point of view concerning a political position at issue, the leadership reserves the right to choose the correct position.

Discipline in the organization is unnecessary and undesirable and unity should be based on voluntary cooperation and free association.

Organizational relationships are subservient to all personal, family, regional and other relations.

Members are assigned responsibilities not based on their objective qualifications, but on subjective desires to get the work done.

These nine points are all manifestations of anarchistical "autonomism."

"The principle of democratic centralization lays the sound foundation for

all relations within the organization. It is the principle which combines between the member's rights and duties, between freedom and order.

"The understanding of this principle by all members, their comprehension of all its meaning, their constant endeavour to view it from both its opposite, yet united sides at the same time, and an honest and responsible effort by the leaderships and members to apply this principle provide the biggest guarantee for the building of the revolutionary party which is capable of leading an armed revolution and a hard protracted liberation war.

"This principle provides the basis for the collection of other organizational principles which govern the organization's life: collective leadership, leadership among the ranks of the members, interaction between leadership rank and file, submission by the minority to the majority, ideological contradictions and factions within the revolutionary party, individuals' submission to the Organization, submission by all party branches to the central committee. This basic principle and the principles emanating from it serve to determine the internal regulation and the collection of basic rules which define relations, powers, responsibilities, penalties and rewards. All this completes the general picture of the party's internal life as a disciplined democratic revolutionary organization."

A Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine, Information Department, Aaman, 1969, p. 123.

To wage revolutionary struggle we need developing cadre to firmly uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. The need for a developing cadre in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers is one of insuring successes to carry on the revolutionary line of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the face of all forms of revisionism and opportunism. Cadres must be



armed with Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung's thought to combat and prevent the tendencies of liberalism, pettybourgeois revisionism and anarchy as exemplified by the splitters which has hurt us and must be defeated in order for our struggle to be carried on successfully.

"In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.

"In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the leadership of our Party and state will remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by Marxism-Leninism, or, in other words, whether or not we can successfully prevent the emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism in China. In short, it is an extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for a hundred, a thousand, nay ten thousand years. Basing themselves on the changes in the Soviet Union, the imperialist prophets are pinning their hopes of "peaceful evolution" on the third or fourth generation of the Chinese Party. We must shatter these imperialist prophecies. From our highest organizations down to the grass-roots, we must everywhere give constant attention to the training and upbringing of successors to the revolutionary cause.

"What are the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat?

"They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

"They must be revolutionaries who whole-heartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

"They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

"They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of 'from the masses, to the masses,' and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

"They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

"Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution. It is essential to test and judge cadres and choose and train successors in the long course of mass struggle."

Quoted in On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World (July 14, 1964), pp. 72-74. found in Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, pp. 276-279.

Anarchistic "autonomism" is the tool of the bourgeoisie; democratic centralism is the tool of the proletariat.

#### GLOSSARY

Anarchistical "autonomism" means unbridled propoganda, organizational liscense which undermines party principle and party discipline. It is the justification for the glorification of the individualism of the intelligensia. It is the justification for the anarchistical contempt for discipline. Anarchy is the political doctrine which holds that any type of governmental authority is unnecessary and undesirable and that society should be based on voluntary cooperation and free association of individuals and groups.

FOOTNOTES

1. Taken from LeDuan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party.. Is taken from a speech delivered in Hanoi commemorating the 80th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. LeDuan is quoting Lenin. He leaves no reference.
2. Selected Works Of Mao Tse Tung, Volume III p. 117; FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING 1967 Second Printing.
3. Selected Works Of Mao Tse Tung, Volume II p. 31, FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING 1967 Second Printing.
4. LET US UPHOLD THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY - KOREA TODAY, PYONG, No. 157, 1971. FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA. Page 3
5. IBID Page 3
6. IBID Page 3
7. QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG Page 292, "THE ORIENTATION OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT" (MAY 4, 1939). SELECTED WORKS, VOLUME II, p. 246

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS  
DEATH ....TO OUR ENEMIES!

Jan 2, 1971

## Dues Structure

The Dues Structure is based on the principle of self-reliance. In order for the League to exist its members must support, protect and sustain it materially. Instead of relying totally on external support using the methods of proposal writing and emphasis on fund raising activities which were present in the old League structure we must rely on our own efforts.

"We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the army and the entire people." (1)

It would be the responsibility of the organization using education, criticism and self criticism to develop comrades who are selfless, self sacrificing and willing to put the interest of the revolution first in order that in the process of remolding as our individualism is disintegrating and dying away, our material contribution to the organization is arising and developing.

"This passive mentality of an "employee" of the revolution is also a manifestation of individualism. It explains why there are not very many activists who work unconditionally for the revolution. Unless it is eliminated, the number of activists will not grow and the heavy burden of the revolution will remain on the shoulders of a small number of people, much to the detriment of the struggle."

Dues should be based on the average income of proletarians in the League, because we are a worker's organization and support the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The other categories of semi-proletarians, petty bourgeoisie, and students would fall either above or below the average on a sliding scale, based on the income level of these three classes in relationship to the proletarian's income.

The students in the organization are placed in a separate category on the sliding scale because they lack an economic base and also because their role as students is transitory.

"The Party organizations should not treat them in the same way as everybody else and ignore their special characteristics. Of course, the young people should learn from the old adults, and should strive as much as possible to engage in all sorts of useful activities with their agreement." (3)

The particular role of the students cannot be isolated from the general role of all members which is to accept and follow wholeheartedly, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and engage in a remolding process of proletarianization. In this light, students in particular because in general they lack a material base, should strive through their collective labor to meet their financial responsibilities to the organization.

"How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice.

If he is willing to do so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns around to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary." (4)

Each member would fill out a work sheet which would give a picture of their economic situation based on net income. The work sheets should be updated periodically and in addition each member would be responsible for making an honest adjustment on financial obligation based on any changes in their economic situation. The rationale for this is so that the organization will have this information in a centralized place and can offer concrete assistance to member if there is a need for this. This will aid the collective leadership in maintaining strong discipline "which is indispensable for the success of the organization in the execution of its policy and programs without this discipline being at the expense of the member's dignity or rights or the development of his personality". (5)

In order to put the principle of self reliance and economic self development into practice we must unite theory with practice and be willing to engage in collective labor in order also to remold ourselves and develop a proletarian outlook. Both students and comrades who may be unemployed could donate their labor to the organization as one way to meet their obligations. And all members should be willing to accept

this same responsibility. In following the principle of socialist competition we must all work together for the common advancement, which means we don't make distinctions between members whether proletarians, semi proletarians or petty bourgeoisie in terms of the amount of dues they are able to pay and between those who lack material resources for paying dues. Those who can pay must be willing to help those who cannot through a collective effort in order to insure the general advance.



## Footnotes

1. "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work" (January 10, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 241. Also Quotations from Chairman Mao, p. 195
2. "On Individualism", from "Five Articles by Chairman Mao", p. 44
3. Introductory note to "A Youth Shock Brigade of the No. 9 Agricultural Producer's Co-operative in Hsinping Township, Changshan County" (1955), The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside, Chinese ed., Vol. III. Also - Quotations from Chairman Mao, p. 291.
4. "The Orientation of the Youth Movement" (May 4, 1939), Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 246. Also - Quotations from Chairman Mao, p. 292
5. "The Popular Front For the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) Information Department, Aaman 1969, p. 117