

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 8 OF 16

FOLDER 14

MCLL INTERNAL NOTEBOOK

1971-74 1 OF 2

POLITICAL AND ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES OF THE
MOTOR CITY LABOR LEAGUE

SUMMER, 1971

1. We are a Marxist-Leninist organization and consequently accept the methodology of dialectical materialism and its resultant class analysis of society. We therefore call for a socialist revolution and understand that armed struggle will be required for the great tasks of seizing state power and controlling the basic means of production.

2. We accept the proposition that the class nature of society resulting from the organization of productive capacity for profit rather than for use is the primary contradiction in United States political economy.

3. We accept the proposition that there must be a proletarian revolution inasmuch as the working class is the most critically positioned section of the population for the purposes of the control of the means of production and the fundamental alteration of economic relationships.

④ We accept the proposition that the color-caste contradictions of United States society result in blacks, Chicanos, Indians and other Third World groupings being the most oppressed sections of the population. This color-caste system permeates the already-existing class structure in that racial minorities are always the victims of invidious discrimination and prejudice regardless of their class position, most particularly in the attainment and maintenance of that position. Racism is the great secondary contradiction of the political economy.

⑤ The conclusion to be drawn from the above analysis is that the most oppressed elements of the working class are the black and other Third World working people. Inasmuch as we accept the proposition that people in general and societal groups in particular move and organize in response to their own self-interest, we conclude that black and Third World workers will provide the forward-most thrust of a working class revolutionary movement and will play the vanguard role in bringing about fundamental societal change. We accept that vanguard leadership and must organize a concomitant response and consciousness among white workers and in the white community.

⑥ It is necessary for white proletarians of advanced political consciousness to organize within the white working class, to link up our efforts with black struggle and to end all class and race oppression in this society.

7. We believe production workers of the mass, basic production industries are the most advanced and significant sector of the working class. We believe this because:

a. All subsequent production of goods and services in the economy is dependent upon this basic production.

b. Such workers are concentrated in the largest masses; essentially undifferentiated by craft, skill, shop or union.

c. Working conditions are relatively worse and wage scales relatively lower in such industrial situations.

d. As international political-economic contradictions are heightened, we will feel its most immediate and severe effects in terms of speed-ups, lay-off and real wage-inflationary spiral lags.

e. Here we have a history of militant class struggle.

f. Unions have become bureaucratized and unresponsive to needs; present leadership has abandoned the class struggle.

8. However, we find that there are other categories of workers who occupy and increasingly critical position in our complex society-

① Workers in the public sector (teachers, postal workers, garbage men, social workers, hospital workers) of all categories who are necessary to the delivery of critical services. These groups of workers have a number of special characteristics:

(1) Certain sections tend to be heavily black.

(2) Certain sections are comprised mainly of women.

(3) Certain sections represent a high pseudo-level of social consciousness and concern.

(4) Pay levels are generally low, although working conditions and job security are relatively high.

② Office and white collar workers (clerks, secretaries, stenographers, bookkeepers, etc.) who are almost exclusively women, and who have extremely low pay scales, no advancement opportunities and little job security. But unless this "paper" work is performed, the entire "commercial" system becomes paralyzed in its intricate inter-relationships.

9. The situation of governmental and office workers points out another critical secondary contradiction--that of sexual oppression. Like racism, sexism permeates all sectors of society and has severe social, economic and psychological repercussions. Sexual oppression must be resisted on an equal basis with that of class and race.

10. In all organizational and educational activity we must break down the artificial barriers and divisions the ruling class seeks to impose on the working class. These divisions exist between black and white workers; between men and women in the same position and in different occupations; between public and private employees and between blue collar and white collar workers. Our goal must be to promote class unity against exploitative forces.

11. Propaganda alone is insufficient:

a. Workers have been propagandized constantly from so many different perspectives that cynicism and suspicion prevail.

b. In accordance with our emphasis on practical activity, "theoretical production" and ideological refinements cannot be the main work of a revolutionary party. The measuring rod must be the level of practice and practice must constitute more than the printing and distribution of newspapers and leaflets.

c. We must develop programs, activities and services responsive to our needs in the plants, in the unions and in the community.

12. Plant and community projects will:

a. Fulfill some of the basic survival needs which the company, union and government do not.

b. Explain why such needs can never be met under the capitalistic system.

c. Point the way to organizational activity.

13. We must continually recognize that our oppression and that of the rest of humanity did not begin with our realization of it, but sprang from the reality of economic relationships. We must, therefore, always be sensitive to the real conditions of our brothers and sisters and always have faith in the strength of and potential of the masses of people.

14. We must never develop intellectual or organizational elitism and/or chauvinism, but always be open to growth and knowledge--prepared to work with all progressive movements on a principled basis and prepared to support all activities which advance the welfare of people.

15. We are totally dedicated to the struggle against capitalism, imperialism, racism and sexism. We understand that the process will be long, difficult and dangerous and that personal gain or comfort cannot be considered in political decisions or actions. Every revolutionary must realize the hardship of revolution and the responsibility of the exercise of power or not pretend to a leadership role in the struggle.

16. Finally, we understand that the ultimate goal of a revolutionary organization is the taking of power and the total reordering of the political, economic and social system. No reform, no accomodation, no transitional victory and no amount of opposition or failure can obscure or obviate that goal.

Strengths of MCLL

1. ~~Developing Marxist-Leninism theory.~~ *Increased the study of*
 2. ~~Survival as an organization of leaders (with a revolutionary theory)~~ *2. Bureau*
 3. ~~Base in the TEP and service sectors of the class base meaning that we are in positions of leadership.~~ *Can be located in some of the mfg. workplaces & unions in TEP & other sectors*
 4. More people at the point of production than one year ago. *we are providing leadership in many m-c leadership.*
 5. National and international relations
 6. Experience in the class struggle.
 7. Experience in military situations. *involving real or threatened physical conflict of the*
 8. democratic centralism
 9. commitment of cadre to struggle and work *the State elsewhere.*
5. *Increased the application of the theory of M-L.*

Weaknesses of MCLL

1. Lack of clear political lines.
2. Lack of a strategy for organizing the subjective (consciousness) of the class.
3. Uneven development of cadre in both theory and practice.
4. Underdeveloped cultural life in the organization.
5. Pace - misuse of cadre time, energy, and skills.
6. Lack of a base in the industrial proletariat.
7. Isolation from other progressive forces.
8. Family-children relations *w/ + to vgt tu*
9. Petty-bourgeois tendencies *- bourg. forms of struggle - mistak, sectarianism*
10. Use of criticism/self-criticism.
11. *Failure to study & put forth imperialism as highest stage of capitalism.*

Successes of MCLL since May convention

1. Theoretical production on the multi-national corporation.
2. Study of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan, Trong Chinh, and other.
3. Promulgation of the mass line on Vietnam.
4. Development of skills for linear propaganda: leaflets, newspaper,
5. Bookstore, darkroom, video equipment.
6. A & P strategy for work in the MEA.
7. Coffeebreak
8. Theoretical production on the woman question.
9. Leadership in WEU
10. Food-Coop
11. Leadership at Metropolitan Hospital
12. Legal work for point of production workers.
13. Theoretical production on trade unions.
14. Marxist-Religious Dialogue
15. Theoretical production on class composition
16. Control, Conflict and Change
17. Building a material base - the office, machines, etc.
18. Labor Day
19. Leadership in TEP and service sector trade unions.
20. Developing understanding of culture, the superstructure, and the means to strengthen proletarian culture.

Failures of MCLL since the MAY convention

1. Failure to do theoretical work on the areas in III A-D of the convention document.
2. Failure to develop the means of theoretical production listed in II A-E of the constitution.
3. Failure of the CC to lead the organization toward the clarification of political lines immediately after the May convention.
4. Failure to implement or re-evaluate the Three-stage strategy.
5. Failure of the CC to engage itself and the rest of the organization in process of criticism/self-criticism.
6. Failure of the CC to unify the membership, hold regular meetings as required by CC vote, and lead to the early clarification of tendencies in the organization and unified struggle around them.
7. Failure of the CC to implement the organizational priorities stated in the May constitution, and unite around the promulgation of the mass line on Vietnam passed at the last convention.
8. Failure of the CC to develop organizational security.
9. Failure of the CC to define and implement disciplinary measures.
10. Failure of the A & P commission to develop a strategy for implementing the commission description (VI, paragraphs 1 and 2) and commission priorities B, 2 & 3, and C.
11. Failure of the Women's Commission to carry out theoretical work as outlined in the commission description and disseminate it to the class.
12. Failure of S & P commission theory for the organization and the class around items D,E,H,I,J,K,L,M of commission description.
13. Failure of S & P to develop strength and a base in the industrial proletariat.
14. Failure of TEP commission to disseminate theoretical production on VIV, B in commission description.
15. The Alliance
16. MIC
17. CCC Institute
18. Work in the industrial proletariat (loss of Richard, Michael, Sam, Michael Berger, almost VB, almost Mark A.)

Clarification of organizational lines adopted at May Convention

mass line: that we would take Vietnam into all organizational and external work.

political lines:

1. commitment to developing a "strategy for organizing our class to the stage necessary for the creation of a revolutionary party."
2. "The ability to develop our own superstructure is an integral necessity in revolutionary struggle." "We must arm ourselves with the tools and skills of cultural control and influence."
3. Dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. "develop class unity, class consciousness and class struggle within the community, work place, and with the State."
5. "develop theory and practice to overcome class divisions and bourgeois power."
6. commitment to develop "strategies and tactics in such a way as to struggle against all forms of sychophancy and/or chauvinism (personality, sector, racial, sexual, age, regional, national); as well as left sectarianism, dogmatism, and elitism."
7. Acceptance of democratic-centralism as principle of organization.

Proposed general/specific tasks/policies

General Task of MCLL: Organize and consolidate the subjective conditions of the class to the stage necessary for the creation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

Specific Tasks: (not in order of priority)

1. Consolidate, strengthen and expand MCLL:
 - a. develop democratic-centralism to a higher level
 - b. internal education
 - c. investigation and analysis of objective and subjective conditions in the US (application of the science of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in the US, Detroit, and internationally.)
 - d. application of the principles of struggle, work, and comradely relations as found in the work of Mao Tse-Tung.
 - e. expansion of MCLL in the direction of the industrial proletariat, as well as expansion to people presently close-in to MCLL.
 - f. development of the material base of MCLL - further deprivitization of material resources.
2. Develop, clarify, and implement political lines. Determine which lines are the political lines of the organization, and which are mass lines for external projection in each sector of the class, under specific objective conditions.
3. Develop a base (position AND leadership) in the industrial proletariat.
4. Organize an army of cultural workers, attack the bourgeois superstructure and culture, and build a proletarian culture.
5. Use a Marxist investigation and analysis of objective conditions to clarify the fundamental, principle, and secondary contradictions internationally, nationally and locally at the present time, and determine which aspects of the contradictions are dominant.
6. Engage in joint work, communications, and political struggle with all other progressive and revolutionary groups and organizations.
7. Build the international united front against imperialism.
8. Build an apparatus for disseminating to our class the ideology of proletarian internationalism and Marxist-Leninist analysis of objective conditions, at the work place, in the local community, and nationally.

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the*

Ammy

Proposed political lines: (General)

1. MCLL is an organization of communist revolutionaries guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of struggle, work, criticism/self-criticism and discipline put forth by Mao Tse-Tung.
2. MCLL believes in the necessity of socialist revolution through political, military, and cultural struggles, which leads to the seizure of state power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of a socialist state, the consolidation of the rule of the proletariat, the implementation of a full cultural revolution, and the preparation for a communist society.
3. The vanguard of the proletariat, its general staff in the revolutionary struggle and after the achievement of state power, is a Marxist-Leninist party. It is therefore necessary that we guide our work toward developing the class consciousness and class organization which allow for the formation of the vanguard party of the proletariat.

Cl. conc. must come from party interest

4. The party of the proletariat is nothing without both a political and a military army of the proletariat, willing to accept the leadership of the party in the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, and uniting all classes which can ally themselves with the proletariat and against the bourgeoisie. It is therefore essential that communists work tirelessly toward the development of, and give leadership to, a broad united front of the people which will fight for proletarian democracy, freedom, equality, and international solidarity on the political, diplomatic, cultural and military fronts.

5. The four principle international contradictions are:
 1. The contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations.
 2. The contradiction between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp.
 3. The contradiction between and among capitalist nations.
 4. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries.

Of these, the contradiction which must be heightened in order to weaken imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, and strengthen the position of the world proletariat, is the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations. It is therefore our obligation as communists to give support to national liberation movements and help build the international united front against imperialism.

6. The primary focus of the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations has been and still is Indochina. The struggle in

China
S. U.
Korea

Indochina has brought about the first major defeat for US imperialism, united the world's progressive forces, and heightened the internal contradictions in the US. It is in the fundamental interest of the world's proletariat to complete the victory of the Vietnamese and support in every way the consolidation of a socialist state in all of Vietnam. It is particularly critical that communist forces within the US, the leading imperialist nation, organize continuously in support of the struggles of the people's of Indochina in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

7. The principle antagonistic contradictions internal to the US are:
1. the contradiction between the form of organization of the means of production and the social relations of production.
 2. the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.
 3. the contradiction between bourgeois ideology and culture and proletarian ideology and culture.

Of these, the contradiction which must be heightened in order to weaken bourgeois power and develop the conditions for the formation of a vanguard party of the proletariat to lead the masses in the revolutionary struggle is the contradiction between bourgeois ideology and culture and proletarian ideology and culture. [The material (objective) conditions for socialism exist in the US, as clearly described in Marx and Lenin. What does not exist are the subjective conditions necessary to transform the spontaneous motion of the class into a revolutionary force for the defeat of the bourgeoisie.]

JANUARY (?) 1973

Comrades:

Beacuse I will not have time over the next week to engage in many of the discussions I would like to have with each of you, I feel it necessary to at least communicate some of my thoughts about the upcoming convention and elections.

On the reorganization proposal: my primary concern with the reorganization is threefold: that it bring us to a greater emaphasis on external work; that it put us in a position to develop, from our expanded practice with our class, the necessary ~~theory~~ analysis, theory and strategy to provide better leadership within our class; and that it strengthen our practice and understanding of leadership within our organization.

To those ends I want to share my perspective on Commissions and the Central Committee.

The correct and rapid development of Commissions is absoulty critical to the development of our struggle. It is from the Commission that work in the class originates. It is within the Commission that such work is analized, ~~and~~ It is true, as Lennin says " without revolutionary theory there ain't gonna be a revolution", but it is also true that Mao went one further and said " get out there and look around and work you ass off and then you will know what you're talking about".

The commissions structure as proposed creates a set of dialectical tensions within our ranks: the tensions that exist within our class. We must push ourselves to the highest level we can acheive in order to fully comprehend what that means. We ~~know~~ know that the force of our enemy has build a system which pits us one against the other as individuals. We must also now know that our enemy has built a system ~~and~~ that pits us section against section tendecy against tendency. It is not enough to operate in a collective manner with our sectors or tendencies. It is necessary that the different sectors and tendencies operate in a collective method within our class (organization) .

What then is the role of Commissions? To develop to the fullest the struggle within our class: to do that in a situation where the struggle for unity will occur because it must within our organization as within the class at large.

It will require that we develop patience with our differences. It will require that we develop clarity and sensitivity to the needs of the class as a whole, and not only to a sector of the class.

To date the only portion of our organization "rooted" in the class, as opposed to organized around a particular program has been TUG. The strength of such rooting is clear. But I do not believe that we should confuse the prior misorganization of the organization with the nature of the class. For instance I believe that many of the concerns about the placement of education, technical and legal workers is based in the dynamics created by the former organization structure. The objective need to organize defensive and offensive struggle at the place of work is not limited to production and unskilled or semi-skilled service workers. It runs throughout the class. The trade union organization of "professional" and white color personell, ~~xxxxxxx~~ is a growing phenomon in our class, not a declining one. The prolaterinization of working conditions, the destruction of the petty bourgouse continues, and I believe, will excellerate in the coming years.

The Womens Commissionis viewed with concern and skepticism by some. ~~We~~ I believe that women and children are the greatest untapped resource of our class. Objectively placed in structure perifferaly to the productive aperatus of capatlism. Made to appaer both weak and threatening at the same time, with tremendous forces of repression constantly operating at every level to "keep us in our place" to keep us objectively and sunjectively defined outside of the class struggle. The Womens Commission, rooted in a class perspective developing the theory and practice of full class struggle can help to build a mighty force against our enemye. Our perspective should not be a struggle against "sexism" but a struggle against our class enemy.

Agitation and Propaganda: the rock within the fruit. Most simply put a/p is not a class sector but a class process. It is the Commissions where the experience of other commissional work and the central committee is put into language and forms most appropriate for its dissemination and effect within the whole class. How do we take what we learn and put it out there to be used and acted upon (or to be rejected) by the class? I believe that the next period will see us necessarily concentrating

on political development and agitation within specific workplaces, programs and communities, to develop the necessary practice for correct theoretical development. We should not however limit our to only those with whom we can have direct contact. We need to build our theory and practice in effecting and being affected by masses of people. We need to begin the process of testing that which is learned through direct experience and study by making it available to hundreds and thousands of people we may never know directly. We must address the broad issues which face the class as well as expose the particular conditions of any given situation.

Production and Service: The best defence is a good offence. Trade Unionism suffers the faults of any singly defensive approach- although it can function adequately to protect any given situation it leads to a deteriorating position over the long haul. As an ideology and a practice (not to mention a power investment for burecrats) it offers no perspective or strategy for class victory. What then is our perspective for class victory? How do create an offensive strategy which in cludes the necessary defensive capability? How do we re-organize the shop floor from an offensive perspective?

... broad social issues affect this sector of the class? What are the bojective and subjective factors of national and sexual divisions? How would the reorganization of the shop floor create the basis of offensive struggle within communities?

What is the significance of the Central Committee at this stage of our development?

The ~~ENYK~~ Central Committee is the material ~~unification~~ expression of democratic development within the organization. It is the centralized authority - it is the central perspective.

The perspective of the Central Committe should be the perspective of leadership - seeking and providing the basis of unity, utilizing the perspectives developed in the commissions to expand the development of the organization. The central committee must move to organize the theoretical development of different commissions into a full class perspective.

It is crucial to our development that we raise our level of understanding of democratic centralism, and the role of leadership.

Leadership is not meant to function to create the most comfortable

conditions for itself or membership. Leadership is meant to engage the organization in the struggles necessary for the most rapid and progressive development of the whole.

It must assess the strengths and weakness of cadre, Commissions, and the entire organization vis a vis the needs of the class struggle in any given period. It must protect the development of the organization in as much as the organization serves a revolutionary function in the class struggle. It must make decisions and move to effect development - not simply to respond to them.

Leadership is always engaged in a process of struggle. It is not always a direct one to one struggle between people - the form of struggle we are most familiar with. It is always a struggle process when leadership takes positions and take actions - for the act of leading changes conditions by affecting conditions. Exercising leadership is a deep responsibility. Respecting the process of the leadership function is the precondition of revolutionary class struggle.

Democratic Centralism organizes the leadership function in a very clear manner. It places specific human beings in positions of the leadership function by democratic/struggle process. The responsibility of a democratic centralist process is that once positions are taken and persons placed the bodies of authority are supported in their exercise of leadership.

written by VPS -
 approved & supported by the
 full Central Committee